

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

FAITH, HEARING, AND THE POWER OF MUSIC IN HISPANIC VILLANCICOS,

1600–1700

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To Ann, Ben, and Joy, and in memory of Josie

ABSTRACT

In seventeenth-century Mexico and Spain, many villancicos (the predominant genre of vocal sacred music with vernacular words) used music to represent itself, with topics of singing, dancing, and music of the spheres. This study draws on such pieces as sources for understanding early modern Catholic beliefs about music. The central question concerns music's role in the relationship between hearing and faith, particularly as used by the Spanish church and state. In a series of case studies, the project traces lineages of "metamusical" villancicos on the subject of heavenly music through networks of interrelated musicians. The study balances a global perspective with local case studies, with particular focus on Puebla de los Ángeles in Mexico and Montserrat, Segovia, and Zaragoza in Spain.

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This dissertation was produced with free and open-source software using the Debian GNU/Linux operating system (release 7.8), running on Lenovo desktop with an Intel Core2 Duo 3.0 GHz processor.

The text was prepared in Vim and typeset with the L^AT_EX document-preparation system, which is based on the work of Donald Knuth and Leslie Lamport. The document uses Peter Wilson's *memoir* class with the *pdflatex* engine. Citations were formatted using David Fussner's *biblatex-chicago* package, and diagrams were produced with Till Tantau's *tikz* package.

The text typeface is Linux Libertine, freely available from the Libertine Open Fonts Project.

The music scores were typeset with Lilypond, version 2.18.2. The Spanish CZ metrical symbol used in the scores was traced manually in Inkscape from a seventeenth-century manuscript by Miguel de Irízar. Other images were edited with the GNU Image Manipulation Program.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND TERMS

A.	(In scores) Alto, <i>Altus</i>
Ac.	<i>Acompañamiento</i> : Accompaniment, <i>basso continuo</i>
<i>Auto sacramental</i>	Sacred drama for Corpus Christi
B.	<i>Bajo, Bassus</i>
<i>Bajón</i>	Dulcian, Bass curtal
C meter	<i>Tiempo imperfecto</i> ; meter in which <i>compás</i> equals one semibreve, divided into two minims (see preface)
CZ meter	Spanish cursive shorthand for C ³ ₂ , <i>Tiempo imperfecto de proporción menor</i> , meter in which <i>compás</i> equals one perfect semibreve, divided into three minims; minims in 3 : 2 proportion to those of C meter
<i>Calenda</i>	First villancico in set of villancicos for Christmas Matins
<i>Cielo</i>	“Heaven” or “sky”: singular <i>cielo</i> usually means <i>cielo Empyreo</i> , the supernatural Heaven beyond the outermost sphere; <i>cielos</i> usually means “heavens” or skies, the air above the earth and the planetary spheres
<i>Chirimía</i>	Shawm
<i>Clarín</i>	Clarion, bugle (plural <i>clarines</i>)
CN	(In scores) See critical notes in appendix D
<i>Compás</i>	Measure, metrical unit, <i>tactus</i> (plural <i>compases</i>)
<i>Coplas</i>	Verses, strophes; central section of villancico before repeat of <i>estribillo</i>
DMEH	<i>Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana</i>
DRAE	Real Academia Española, <i>Diccionario de la lengua española</i> , 23rd ed.
<i>Estribillo</i>	Refrain, repeated section in villancico
<i>General</i>	<i>Acompañamiento general</i> , equivalent to <i>basso continuo</i>
<i>Guión</i>	Conductor; used in <i>acompañamiento</i> partbooks
<i>Introducción</i>	Introductory section of villancico
ll.	Lines
<i>Maestro de capilla</i>	Chapelmaster (abbreviated MC)
mm.	Measures or bars
<i>Navidad</i>	Christmas (also <i>Nacimiento</i>)

<i>Pliego suelto</i>	Unbound printed leaflets or chapbooks; imprints of villancico poetry published to commemorate festival and venue
<i>Redondilla</i>	Spanish verse form: Quatrain of octosyllables with rhyme pattern <i>abab</i> or, for <i>redondilla abrazada, abba</i> .
<i>Respuesta</i>	Answer or response; formal section of villancico
<i>Responsión</i>	Formal section of villancico: polyphonic expansion of <i>estribillo</i>
<i>Reyes</i>	Epiphany
<i>Romance</i>	Spanish verse form with assonance in even-numbered lines, usually lines of eight syllables (six for <i>romancillo</i>)
<i>Sacabuche</i>	Sackbut
<i>Santísimo Sacramento</i>	Eucharist; <i>al Santísimo Sacramento</i> : dedication for Corpus Christi or other Eucharistic devotion
<i>Siesta</i>	Daytime Eucharistic devotion service
T.	Tenor
Ti.	<i>Tiple</i> (Treble, boy soprano)
Ti. I-1	Chorus I, First Tiple (example of notations in scores)

SIGLA FOR LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

Country	Siglum	Archive
Germany	D-Mbs	Germany, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Spain	E-E	San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial
	E-Bbc	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya
	E-CAN	Canet de Mar, Arxiu parroquia de Sant Pere i Sant Pau de Canet de Mar, Bisbat de Girona, Fons Capella de Música
	E-Mn	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España
	E-SE	Segovia, Catedral, Archivo Capitular
Mexico	MEX-Pc	Puebla, Catedral, Archivo Capitular
	MEX-Plf*	Puebla, Biblioteca José María Lafragua, Universidad Autónoma de Puebla
	MEX-Ppx*	Puebla, Biblioteca Palafoxiana
	MEX-Mc	Mexico City, Catedral, Archivo Capitular
	MEX-Mcen*	Mexico City, CENIDIM (Centro Nacional de Investigación, Documentación e Información Musical Carlos Chávez)
United Kingdom	GB-Lbl	London, British Library
United States	US-BLI	Bloomington, Indiana, Lilly Library, Indiana University

* New siglum devised for this study

PREFACE

This preface aims to help readers who may approach this project from a variety of disciplines and backgrounds by clarifying basic terms and concepts used in this dissertation. *Villancico* in this study refers broadly to a type of Spanish vernacular poetry and music prevalent across the Spanish Empire in the seventeenth century.¹ The genre originated as a courtly entertainment in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, similar to *formes fixes* like the *frottola* and later more similar to the *madrigal*. It likely drew on roots in oral traditions of poetic recitation and popular song. In the last decades of the sixteenth century, villancicos, some of which had always had religious content, came to be performed in and around church liturgies, especially in connection with sacred dramas. By the early seventeenth century the villancico had become a predominantly liturgical and paraliturgical genre.

In function, villancicos were performed most frequently in sets of eight or more pieces, interspersed after the Lessons in the liturgy of Matins, and either following or substituting for the singing of the Latin Responsories, depending on local custom. At the Cathedral of Puebla de los Ángeles, for instance, the musical chapel performed villancicos in place of the Responsory chants while a cleric spoke the words of the Responsory aloud (see appendix A). Sets of villancicos were

1. The fundamental sources on the history of villancicos as a musical genre are Paul R. Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1997); Samuel Rubio, *Forma del villancico polifónico desde el siglo XV hasta el XVIII* (Cuenca: Instituto de Música Religiosa de la Excmo. Diputación Provincial de Cuenca, 1979); Álvaro José Torrente, “The Sacred Villancico in Early Eighteenth-Century Spain: The Repertory of Salamanca Cathedral” (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1997); Bernardo Illari, “Polychoral Culture: Cathedral Music in La Plata (Bolivia), 1680–1730” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2001) and the essays in Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente, eds., *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800: The Villancico and Related Genres* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007). On the villancico as a poetic genre, see Martha Lilia Tenorio, *Los villancicos de Sor Juana* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1999) among others.

performed at Matins for the highest feast days of the Hispanic church year in every major church, from Madrid to Manila—Christmas, Epiphany, Corpus Christi, and the (Immaculate) Conception of Mary. Villancicos could also be performed at Mass (functioning similarly to motets) or as devotional pieces in Forty Hours' Devotion and so-called *siesta* services of Eucharistic adoration.

The villancico repertoire includes many subgenres within it, such as particular song and dance types and conventional topics. *Ensaladas* (salads) are medleys of song types probably based on popular sources. “Ethnic” villancicos make fun of non-Castilian people groups, especially through deformations of language. The most notorious of these are the *negrillas* or “black villancicos,” which represent people of African descent in denigrating, caricatured ways (see chapter 7).

POETRY IMPRINTS

Villancicos as a poetic genre were disseminated in printed leaflets or *pliegos sueltos* (another term would be chapbooks), which were published to commemorate these festivals. These *poetry imprints* spread across the globe through networks of musicians, clerics, and collectors (see chapters 4 and 5 for examples of this process). In most cases, villancico poets were anonymous, and multiple variant versions exist of the same texts, suggesting that each composer altered the texts to suit his own compositional strategy and local devotional needs. In a few cases, villancicos by known poets were published in collected editions, such as those of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, Vicente Sánchez, and Manuel de León Marchante. But even those editions often include pieces that can be traced back to earlier anonymous versions in separate poetry imprints.

The dissertation will use the term *villancico poem* to refer to the poetic text of villancicos, while in general *villancico* refers to the combined work of poetry and music. In some cases *villancico tradition* is used to refer to multiple versions of the same or similar texts.

MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS

Villancicos as a musical genre were almost never published, and the majority of surviving pieces today are in collections of manuscript performing parts. Only a few composers' scores survive (see chapter 5 for a detailed analysis of a rare complete set of draft scores). In a few cases, such as the cycles by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla in Puebla, the parts for a whole set of pieces are bound together into partbooks; but in most cases villancicos have been preserved in individual sets.

Villancico manuscripts as a rule show signs of frequent use over a long period. Many include performers' annotations like added barlines and *ficta* accidentals, even alternate poetic texts pasted over the original. Individual villancicos were probably performed repeatedly in a particular parish over decades.

The transcriptions of villancico music and translations of villancico poems in this dissertation are all new editions made from these primary sources, most of them for the first time.

STRUCTURES

The term *villancico* in this dissertation is used generally for religious vocal pieces from the seventeenth century with vernacular (usually Castilian Spanish) poetic texts, and involving the two primary formal components of an *estribillo* or refrain and *coplas* or verses. By the mid-seventeenth century, the elaborate *forme fixe* of the Renaissance secular villancico had broken down into a much simpler and more flexible set of formal expectations. Villancicos from before about 1660 generally follow a pattern like this:

1. (Optional) *Introducción*: An introductory section sung by a reduced number of voices
2. *Estribillo*: A motet-like section for a larger ensemble
3. (Optional) *Responsión*: An expansion of the estribillo for the full ensemble
4. *Coplas*: A series of stanzas sung strophically by reduced voices or soloist

5. Repeat of *Estríbillo*, sometimes after each copla or group of coplas, sometimes only after the last copla

Later villancicos generally include only a long estríbillo and coplas, and the estríbillo may have multiple sections in contrasting textures; in some cases the whole estríbillo may not have been repeated, or a small portion of the estríbillo may be included as a reduced refrain after the coplas. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, villancicos were developing in the direction that later become the Spanish *cantada*, with multiple sections including Italianate arias and recitatives.

The genre of the *tono divino* or sacred continuo song should probably be considered as a type of villancico, since these pieces follow the same basic pattern of estríbillo, coplas, and repeated estríbillo. These pieces are generally for one to four voices with instrumental accompaniment and often focus on affective themes like Eucharistic or Passion devotion. Such chamber villancicos predominate in convent collections.

SCORING AND INSTRUMENTATION

Villancicos always include at least one vocal part, and most commonly are scored for an ensemble of six, eight, or eleven or more voices arranged in multiple choirs. Polychoral textures alternate with sections of homorhythmic polyphony and imitative polyphony. Many villancicos include sections in starkly contrasting textures and styles, and sometimes these styles take on symbolic meaning as topical references (see chapters 4 and 7).

Usually the bottom voice part is untexted and would have been performed instrumentally. The most common bass instruments were the *bajón* (dulcian, bass curtal), which was joined by a continuo section that might include the portative organ and plucked strings like the Spanish cross-strung chromatic harp and *vihuela* (on the latter, see chapter 6). The upper voices could be doubled with *chirimías* (shawms) as well as other instruments like *sacabuches* (sackbutts). Some villancicos, especially from later in the seventeenth century, have independent *chirimía* parts.

Despite what may be heard in exoticized recent recordings, no one has yet presented any evidence in music notation for the use of percussion instruments in villancicos. Some villancico texts do refer to percussion instruments, but as shown in chapter 1, many pieces that speak explicitly of the *clarín* (clarion or bugle) do not include *clarín* parts, so it is difficult to extrapolate from the textual references alone. More research is needed into the makeup of the *ministros* or group of “minstrel” instrumentalists in each musical chapel (their function and constitution may be compared roughly to the contemporary Lutheran *Stadtpfeiffer*).

NOTATION: RHYTHM

Villancico manuscripts are written in a Spanish variety of mensural notation, which is fully described in the treatises of Cerone and Lorente. Most villancicos are in triple meter, often notated with the distinctively Spanish metrical symbol, . This sign will be denoted as CZ according to the description of the theorist Andrés Lorente. Lorente says that this is a cursive shorthand for C_2^3 (and also that C3 was sometimes written “by custom,” not by reason, to mean the same thing).² Many pieces also have sections in duple meter with the half-circle mensuration sign C, denoted in the text as C meter.

Spanish meter was based on the division of the basic metrical unit, called the *compás* (literally “measure”) and basically equivalent to *tactus*. Villancico partbooks rarely use regular barlines, though composers’ scores do use them (usually two *compases* per bar).

C meter is *tiempo imperfecto*, and CZ is *tiempo imperfecto de proporción menor*. In C meter, there are two semibreves in each compás, and each semibreve is divided into two minims. In CZ meter, there is one perfect semibreve per compás, and each perfect semibreve is divided into three minims. There is therefore a 3 : 2 or proportion between the minims in CZ and C, hence the

2. 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), 165.

notation C₂³³

This proportion is a notational and theoretical one only—it does not necessarily imply a tempo relationship. In actual practice, a *tempo* relationship of 3 : 1 actually makes more sense when moving between CZ and C, so that two compases of CZ have the same duration as one compás of C.

In the transcriptions, the original meters are shown in preparatory staves or above the staff, and the original note values are preserved. For the sake of performers, the music has been notated whenever possible in the modern meters of $\frac{2}{2}$ for C time and $\frac{6}{2}$ for CZ time. This barring allows many of the original durations to be transcribed without reduction into tied notes; and it allows for a general 3 : 1 tempo relationship between CZ and C (one bar of $\frac{6}{2}$ equals one bar of $\frac{2}{2}$). In some cases an extra bar of $\frac{3}{2}$ has to be added, and wherever possible this has been done at the beginning or end of a section. The usual cautions apply about using modern barlines with their implied downbeats, but it should be noted that villancicos do generally feature strong impulses at the beginning of the compás. The modern notation is only a convenience; performers should not take the barlines as guides to accentuation, nor should they assume the music lacks natural accentuation.

In triple meter, a deviation from the normal groupings of three minims per compás is indicated through *coloratio* or blackened notation (the noteheads are filled in). For instance, a blackened semibreve is imperfected so that it only equals two minims. Coloration allows for a special feature of CZ time, frequently used in villancicos—*sesquialtera* or hemiola. In this practice three blackened, imperfect semibreves take the place of two perfect semibreves; so two groups of three minims becomes three groups of two minims. In the transcriptions, coloration is indicated with short rectangular brackets.

3. See Pedro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples, 1613), 537–538, 750; Lorente, *El porqué de la música*, bk. 2, 219, “Compás en canto de órgano: Que sea?”

NOTATION: ACCIDENTALS, PITCH, MODE

Guidonian solmization and *musica ficta* practice were actively cultivated in the Hispanic world through the eighteenth century. Most villancicos are written with a signature of no sharps or flats (*cantus durus*) or a signature of one flat (B \flat). The latter is *cantus mollis* and indicates a transposition of the modal system from C to F. Villancicos that play on solmization syllables make clear that the three Guidonian hexachords were still actively used: the natural hexachord starting on C, the soft (*mollis*) hexachord on F, and the hard (*durus*) hexachord on G.

Sharps and flats could be added—most commonly C \sharp , F \sharp , and E \flat —though in many cases performers were expected to inflect cadences and common gestures (e.g., D–E \flat –D) without notated accidentals according the rules of *musica ficta* (see chapter 6). There was no “natural” symbol, so if necessary “cautionary sharps” were added: for example in a gesture notated D–E \sharp –D, the sharp tells the singer not to add a flat. When cautionary sharps are used on F the interpretation can be ambiguous; see chapter 3.

The notated pitch level of many villancicos is quite high by modern standards. It is possible that transposing clefs or *chiavette* were used to sing these pieces at a lower pitch level. But in many cases, if it is assumed that the prevailing absolute pitch level was as much as a minor third lower than it is today, the high tessitura may reflect a Spanish tradition of high singing, especially cultivated in the boys’ choir schools like Montserrat (see chapter 4) and in convent choirs (see chapter 6).

The Spanish theorists continue, like Zarlino, to reckon the mode of polyphonic pieces based on a combination of the ambitus and final of the Tenor, and the pattern of cadences. Cerone follows the early Zarlino in using Glarean’s system of twelve modes starting with D-Dorian as mode 1. By this numbering, many villancicos are in mode 11 or 12, resembling but certainly not to be confused with modern C major (or in *cantus mollis* F major).

The transcriptions preserve the original pitch level of the notated parts, as this makes the

pieces the most transparent for modal and hexachordal analysis. The author intends in the future to provide performing editions in a variety of transpositions to accomodate modern performing groups.

SPELLING AND OTHER EDITORIAL MATTERS

The orthography of seventeenth-century Spanish sources has generally been modernized whenever it does not affect the sound (so *agora* is preserved instead of *ahora*, but *ayre* becomes *aire*). Readers should keep in mind that the pronunciation of Spanish varied across the world, not necessarily in the same ways it does now. In particular, it can be determined from the orthography of villancico manuscripts that *ci* and *ce* were pronounced in Mexico and Catalonia like *si* and *se*.

Section titles in the transcriptions have been normalized (*estribillo* for *estribo*) and are often added in brackets when they are not given in the manuscripts. This is intended as a structural guide for analysts and performers, not as a definitive structural label. For editorial policies specific to each piece, please see the separate critical notes in the appendix.

References to the Latin Bible are to the modern critical edition by Robert Weber, which lacks punctuation.⁴ Biblical citations of the Psalms use the now-standard numbering from the Hebrew version; but Vulgate quotations use the Latin Bible's numbering (derived from the Greek Septuagint).

AVAILABILITY OF SCORES

Full scores are available by request from the author for most of the pieces mentioned in the text, in addition to the editions included in the appendix. Musicians wishing to perform any of these pieces are urged to contact the author in case a more up-to-date edition is available, or if customizations such as a lower key or instrumental parts are desired.

4. Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, eds., *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 4th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Biblegesellschaft, 1994).

PART I

HEARING FAITH THROUGH MUSIC IN VILLANCICOS

CHAPTER 1

VILLANCICOS AS MUSICAL THEOLOGY

*ergo fides ex auditu
auditus autem per verbum Christi*
Thus faith [comes] from hearing;
and hearing, by the word of Christ.

St. Paul, Romans 10:17

St. Paul taught that faith came by means of hearing, and one of the distinctive effects of the sixteenth-century reformations of Western Christianity was that Christians discovered new ways to make their faith audible. Voices raised in acrid contention or pious devotion boomed from pulpits, clamored in public squares, and were echoed in homes and schools. In new forms of vernacular music, the voices of the newly distinct communities united to articulate their own vision of Christian faith. Catholic reformers and missionaries enlisted music in their campaigns to educate, evangelize, and build Christian civilization, both in an increasingly divided Europe and in the new domains of the Spanish crown across the globe. In these efforts to make “the word of Christ” to be heard and believed, then, what was the role of music? What kind of power did Catholics believe music had over the dynamics of hearing and faith?

This dissertation is a study of how Christians in early modern Spain and Spanish America enacted religious beliefs about music through the medium of music itself. It focuses on villancicos, a widespread genre of devotional poetry and musical performance, for two primary reasons. First, these pieces were actively employed by the Spanish church and state as tools for propagating

faith. By the seventeenth century villancicos had grown into a complex, large-scale form of vocal and instrumental music based on poetic texts in the vernacular, and they were performed in and around liturgical celebrations on all the major feast days, across the Spanish world.

In their poetic themes and in their musical content, villancicos combined elements of elite and common culture. In subject matter as well as in the places and occasions of their performance, villancicos stood on the threshold between the world in and outside of church (which is not quite the same as a modern divide between sacred and secular). Sets of villancicos featured dramatic, often comic texts reminiscent of Spanish minor theater (*teatro menor*) alongside cultivated and even arcaneously sophisticated theological reflections. The music for villancicos covered a wide stylistic range from old-style polyphonic techniques to highly rhythmic music drawing on dance traditions.

Villancicos are valuable, then, for assessing the interaction of these distinctive elements that meet within the genre. Were villancicos a form of top-down “propaganda” intended to indoctrinate and control, as some have claimed of post-Tridentine religious arts? Or were they a grassroots expression of popular devotion? Did they work on multiple levels, even contradictory ones?¹

The second reason for focusing on villancicos is that a large portion of the repertoire explicitly addresses theological beliefs about music. The Spanish poetry of seventeenth-century villancicos frequently treats musical topics, sometimes using ingenious conceits that create rich and nuanced links between musical and theological ideas. The musical settings turn a poetic discourse about music into a musical discourse about music.

Of all the musical forms of Catholic Spain (and perhaps in Catholicism generally), then, sacred villancicos address the theological nature and function of music most frequently and directly. Among the hundreds of surviving musical manuscripts and the vastly larger quantity of printed poetry leaflets, a great many pieces begin with direct invocations of the sense of hearing, exhorting hearers to “oír” (hear), “escuchad” (listen), and “atended” (pay attention). Villancico

1. This question is a primary focus of chapters 2 and 7.

poets and composers favored themes of singing and dancing, as in Christmas sets, for example, they represented the angelic choirs of Christmas, singing and dancing shepherds, Magi, and even animals in the Nativity stable. There are also representations of instrumental performance and characteristic dances of different ethnic groups (such as African slaves and “gypsies”). Early examples of villancicos about singing include *Gil pues a cantar* from Pedro Ruimonte’s *Parnaso español* (Antwerp, 1614) and *Sobre bro canto llano* by Gaspar Fernández (Puebla, 1610).² A few “black” villancicos or *negrillas*, which feature dancing and playing instruments, have become well known: *A siolo Flasiquiyo* by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (Puebla, 1653) and *Los coflades de la estleya* by Juan de Araujo (Sucre, ca. 1700).³ These pieces constitute “music about music.” If a play within a play in Spanish Golden Age drama may be termed metatheatrical, then these pieces are “metamusical.”

Understanding the theology of music articulated in villancicos can illuminate why and how villancicos were used to propagate faith. Doing so will deepen our knowledge of how music in general fit into the religious worldview of early modern Catholics. For Catholic believers in the Spanish Empire of the seventeenth-century, what kind of power did music have to effect the relationship between faith and the sense of hearing? If music had supernatural power, how was that power linked to the worldly powers of the church and state? By engaging interpretively with these villancicos we may gain a better understanding of how early modern Catholics used music for spiritual ends, and how the spiritual intersected with the worldly functions of this music within Spanish society.

This dissertation is the first large-scale attempt to understand the theological aspect of

2. Pedro Ruimonte [Rimonte], *Parnaso español de madrigales y villancicos a cuatro, cinco y seys*, ed. Pedro Calahorra (Antwerp, 1614; Zaragoza: Excma. Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, Institución “Fernando el Católico” (C. S. I. C), 1980), 296–309; Gaspar Fernandes, *Cancionero musical de Gaspar Fernandes: Tomo primero*, ed. Aurelio Tello (Mexico City: Centro Nacional de Investigación, Documentación e Información Musical Carlos Chávez, 2001), 240–244.

3. See chapter 6 for a discussion of *A siolo Flasiquiyo* and other “ethnic” villancicos. One of several recordings of the Araujo piece is Jeffrey Skidmore, *New World Symphonies: From Araujo to Zipoli; An A to Z of Latin American Baroque*, Ex Cathedra (London: Hyperion CD A67380, 2003).

seventeenth-century villancicos across the Hispanic world. It is also one of only a few studies to analyze villancicos musically in detail. Most importantly, the primary goal of the project is to combine these two modes of analysis, to understand how theological beliefs were expressed and shaped through the details of musical composition and performance. The goal is to understand the *musical theology* of villancicos—this does not mean just a verbal formulation of theological ideas about music, and it certainly does not mean a personal spiritual interpretation of music. Instead, we may conceive of this historical form of devotional performance as a communal act in which religious ideas and values were enacted through musical structures. To understand the theological content, we must understand the musical practices; and to make sense of the music, we must seek to hear it as a form of theological expression.

1.1 SOURCES

The primary sources for this study are villancico poems and their musical settings. The poems are preserved in musical manuscripts and in printed pamphlets (*pliegos sueltos* or “poetry imprints”), and the musical settings are preserved in manuscript partbooks and some scores. These sources were found in archives across Spain and Mexico, plus a few from farther abroad such as Ecuador, and some from published editions. The poetic and musical sources are interpreted in the context of representative examples of the most influential music-theoretical, theological, and quasi-scientific literature in the seventeenth-century Spanish Empire, with additional reference to contemporary visual art, such as emblem books, altar paintings, and architecture. These are supported with a limited selection of archival documentation, such as chapter acts. The primary focus, though, will be engaging closely with the musical and poetic texts of villancicos themselves.

1.2 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

Part I argues that villancicos on the subject of music may be interpreted as sources for historical theologies of music. It considers how certain conceptual problems regarding music's role in the relationship between faith and hearing manifested in this genre, and proposes a historically grounded model for understanding these pieces theologically.

The first chapter introduces the category of metamusical villancico in its several subtypes, using examples by composers who will be discussed further in the rest of the dissertation. The chapter traces the roots of the interpretive approach in this dissertation within musicology and several other disciplines, and clarifies the project's relationship to existing scholarship on villancicos and early modern sacred music.

The second chapter argues that the relationship between hearing and faith was a theological problem in seventeenth-century Spain. Catholics had to balance the desire to make faith accommodate the sense of hearing with the need to train the sense of hearing. Hearing had to be shaped by faith in order to perceive the content of faith. To understand music's role in connecting hearing and faith, the chapter examines how villancicos that represent the senses, sensory confusion, and sensory impairment manifest theological concepts of perception. The chapter situates villancicos within a Neoplatonic understanding of hearing and music and outlines three primary theological functions of villancicos, each of which requires a different kind of listening practice.

Part II presents detailed case studies of individual pieces, or pieces in specific traditions and places, on themes of heavenly music. These pieces constitute “singing about singing.” Chapters 3 and 4 each interpret a single villancico tradition that represents earthly music as a Neoplatonic reflection of heavenly music. Chapters 5 and 6 present groups of pieces from specific locations that demonstrate a shift in theological understanding of music, where earthly music is seen as more an expression of human affects than as a reflection of heavenly order. All four chapters in part II also demonstrate that these metamusical villancicos functioned as a special subgenre in which

composers could demonstrate their own mastery within the context of a lineage of composition and a tradition of treatments of this theme of heavenly music.

Part III focuses on how the musical theology of villancicos was developed in coordination with the Spanish projects of colonizing and civilizing. It looks at the relationship by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla's Christmas villancico cycles (extant from 1651–1659) and the building of Puebla Cathedral (consecrated 1649). It argues that Padilla's villancico cycles construct a utopian microcosm of hierarchical colonial society. The chapter focuses on Padilla's representations of people at the bottom of the social hierarchy, such as Indians and black slaves, in a piece from 1652. Especially through the interplay of language and musical rhythm, this composer and his ensemble constructed a world in which every member of colonial society was put into its proper hierarchical place, in a combination of Neoplatonic music theory and ethics. The final chapter draws general conclusions and points to directions for future work.

The appendix includes, as an integral part of this project of interpretation and communication, transcriptions of poetry and music for the villancicos most fully discussed in the text. Most of these have never been edited before, and a few now receive their first critical, corrected editions. The English translations are among the first translations of seventeenth-century villancico poems into any language.

To begin, then, we must consider what metamusical villancicos are and what they reveal about seventeenth-century theological concepts of music.

1.3 MUSIC ABOUT MUSIC IN THE VILLANCICO GENRE

The villancicos studied in this dissertation refer in some way to music. Some focus on making music, others on hearing it. As such, these pieces constitute music that refers to itself. If we say that a villancico is “music about music,” with the first *music* we refer to a specific villancico as a musical entity, which includes (1) the performance instructions encoded in notation, (2) the music

as it sounds when performed, generalizing from various possible interpretations and guessing about elements of performance not recorded in notation, and also (3) the piece as it existed in history, such as at its first known performance in a particular place. By the second term *music* we may mean several things depending on the piece in question: (1) other sounding music (the *musica instrumentalis* of Boethius) that the villancico imitates or to which the piece alludes, quotes, or pays homage (as in musical topics and tropes); or (2) music as an abstract concept, which can have increasing levels of abstractions along a Neoplatonic chain ascending to the “music” of the Triune Godhead itself.

A global survey of villancico poems and music reveals nine main categories of metamusical villancicos.⁴ The survey found more than nine hundred extant, cataloged villancicos that reference metamusical themes, a number that only hints at the original size of this repertoire. Table 1.1 lists the most common topics in order of frequency.

1.3.1 Pieces with Multiple Topics: Padilla and Cererols

It is common to find references to several of these topics in a single piece, and looking at two typical examples of this sort will begin to make clear what is meant by metamusical villancicos. The first example is a villancico from the 1652 Christmas cycle (MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/2) written for the Cathedral of Puebla de los Ángeles by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (ca. 1590–1664).⁵ In just the first seven lines of this anonymous text (poem 1.1), the villancico refers to sound, voices, singing, choirs, dancing, birds, and solmization.

Padilla’s setting demonstrates several typical features of the genre (example 1.1). The piece begins with a soloist whose words present a striking poetic conceit, and whose music likewise lays out a central musical theme for the *estribillo* (refrain). The solo line is followed by a passage of

4. This non-exhaustive survey was drawn from archival musical and poetic sources and from listings in catalogs and published studies (see “Primary Sources” in the Bibliography), covering a global range of sources.

5. Chapter 7 discusses one piece from this cycle in depth, and another villancico by this composer is the subject of chapter 3. Many scholars use full surname Gutiérrez de Padilla, but it will be convenient throughout the dissertation to refer to this composer the way the Puebla manuscripts do, as simply “Padilla.”

Table 1.1
Topics of metamusical villancicos in global survey

Quantity	Percent	Topic	Notes
268	30.9	Hearing, sound	Includes explicit references to the sense of hearing, as well as echoes, applause, and exhortations to “listen,” “hear,” or “be quiet”
150	17.3	Music, singing	General references to music, singing, voices, harmony, rhythm, counterpoint, solmization
134	15.5	Birdsong	Birds as musicians, their songs, specific birds like the <i>ruiseñor</i> (nightingale)
113	13.0	Dance	Invitations to dance, specific dances such as the <i>jácaro</i> (though the references can be difficult to corroborate); many of these are “ethnic” villancicos parodying blacks, Indians, “gypsies,” Catalans, etc., singing and dancing
76	8.8	Instruments	<i>Clarín</i> (clarion or bugle: 38 examples in survey), bells, drums, castanets, tambourines, flute, violin, even theorbo
75	8.7	Angels	Specifically musical references to angels (among a vast number of pieces about angels in general): angel choirs, specific types of angels like cherubim, seraphim
20	2.3	Heavens or spheres	Usually not referring to English “Heaven” (in Spanish, this was <i>cielo Empyreo</i>), but to <i>cielos</i> as in the music of the heavenly spheres—the stars and planets of Ptolemaic and Boethian cosmology
16	1.8	Sensation and faith	Pieces that connect faith with the senses, especially hearing and sight
15	1.7	Affects	Exhortations to weep, cry, rejoice, or apostrophes to the affects themselves
867		Total	

Poem 1.1

En la gloria de un portalillo, estribillo as set by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, Puebla Cathedral, Christmas 1652 (MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/2)

En la gloria de un portalillo, los zagales se vuelven niños y en tonos sonoros repiten a coros en bailes lucidos. Canten las aves al Sol nacido. ¡Vaya de fiestas! pues Dios es niño.	In the glory (<i>Gloria</i>) of a little stable, the shepherd boys become children and in resounding tones they repeat in chorus (or “in choirs”) in brilliant dances. Let the birds sing to the newborn Sun (<i>sol</i>). On with the festivities! for God is a baby boy.
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polychoral dialogue between two four-voice choirs, concluding (typically for polychoral technique) with an emphatic cadence for the full chorus. Padilla’s setting is in a lively triple meter (*tiempo menor de proporción menor*, notated CZ in Spanish sources) that makes frequent use of *sesquialtera* or hemiola.⁶ The shifts of duple and triple stresses combine with stresses on the second beat of the *compás* (*tactus*, measure) to create an energetic atmosphere with a rejoicing affect. The polychoral dialogue, with the voices of each choir declaiming homorhythmically in the same highly rhythmic, syncopated manner as the soloist, and with the *tiples* (boy sopranos) of both choirs singing at the top of their range, would have brilliantly seized the attention of listeners.

After this introductory *exordium*, the Tiple I soloist continues to describe the scene at the manger. As the shepherds “are turned to boys” (se vuelven niños), Padilla has the musicians “turn” modally by adding C sharps, accented in a *sesquialtera* (3 : 2) group. The passage that follows this moment is in evenly accented ternary patterns, in two-*compás* groups. These groups emphasize the rhymes in “tonos sonoros, repiten a coros” and the clear triple meter evokes the dances of “en bailes lucidos.”

6. The preface provides additional background about the terminology and common structures of seventeenth-century villancicos. Please note the discussion there on common voicing and instrumentation patterns, and on rhythmic theory.

When the soloist refers to the newborn Sun, he sings the note identified in Guidonian terminology as D (*la, sol, re*)—*sol* in the hard (G) hexachord. On the same word, the bass accompanist plays a different *sol*, G (*sol, re, ut*). (Note that “sol re” in Spanish means “sun king.”)⁷

Padilla’s villancico may be understood as “singing about singing” on several levels. The text, which is being performed through music, itself refers to musical performance. The performance by the Puebla Cathedral chapel dramatizes the historical celebration of the first Christmas while also celebrating the festival in Padilla’s present day. The music is self-referential on a symbolic level (as in the plays on *sol*), but also functions on a more simple affective level to model and incite affections of exuberant joy and wonder, which contemporary theological writers emphasized were the appropriate affects for the feast of Christmas.⁸

Cererols

A similar example of a villancico that includes multiple metamusical topics is *Fuera, que va de invención* (E-Bbc: M/760) by Joan Cererols (1618–1680), monk and chapelmaster at the Benedictine Abbey of Montserrat near Barcelona.⁹ The piece summons up all the elements of a Christmas festival—masques, “zarabandas” (sarabandes) and other dancing, lavish decorations and clothing, pipes, drums, and so on.¹⁰ As in many villancicos, the chorus acts dramatically in the role of the festival crowd, shouting affirmations (“¡vaya!”) for each element of the celebration as the soloists name them. Whereas Padilla’s *En la gloria de un portalillo* focused primarily on the music of the historical Christmas day, the villancico of Cererols is unambiguously about celebrating “Christmas

7. The major Spanish music-theoretical treatises of the seventeenth century give full expositions of the techniques of Guidonian solmization: Pedro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples, 1613); 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). The frequent symbolic use of Guido’s syllables in villancicos suggests that these treatises do reflect how music was actually taught in practice.

8. See the detailed investigation of such sources in chapter 3.

9. Joan Cererols, *Joan Cererols III*, ed. David Pujols, Mestres de l’Escolania de Montserrat 3 (Monestir de Montserrat, 1932), 81–94. Another villancico by Cererols is the subject of chapter 4.

10. The piece may be compared with the numerous catalog-like Christmas songs in English, from *Deck the Halls with Boughs of Holly* to *Chestnuts Roasting on an Open Fire*.

6

Ti. I
A. I

T. I
B. I

Ti. II
A. II

T. II
B. II

10

Ti. I
A. I

T. I
B. I

14

Ti. I
A. I

T. I
B. I

T. II
B. II

Example 1.1

Padilla, *En la gloria de un portalillo* (MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/2, Christmas 1652), estribillo (mm. 6–17)

present.” The piece seeks a theological meaning behind the Christmas customs: the masques of Christmas, the poem says, are appropriate because in the Incarnation of Christ, “Dios se disfraza” (God masks himself). The villancico allows performers and listeners to celebrate the festival in two senses: to sing the praises of the Christmas feast, while also singing the praises of Christ that are appropriate to that feast. Cererols’s original audience of pilgrims to the mountaintop shrine of Montserrat would not have sung along with this piece, but the piece still invites their wholehearted participation in the rituals of Christmas, both through enjoying the choral singing (and joining “in spirit,” perhaps), and in the many other common-culture customs that the piece celebrates.

1.3.2 Imitative References to Music: Topics of Instruments, Birdsong, Dance

From these general examples, we may turn to more specific cases of metamusical references in villancicos. In each of the categories in table 1.1, we may distinguish between two main ways of referring to music. Some pieces are primarily imitative, referring to real human music-making (*musica instrumentalis*). These pieces are highly intermusical (in the way a verbal text full of references to other texts is intertextual).

In contrast to this first category of imitative pieces, villancicos in a second category refer to music as more of an abstract concept (such as the higher Boethian levels of music, music as a Neoplatonic ideal, and the music of Heaven—notions that overlap in inconsistent ways in early modern thought). Of course, the pieces in the latter group still refer to music in the abstract through the medium of real sounding music. Some of these pieces depend more on “intramusical” relationships—that is, musical references internal to the individual piece itself, such as melodic or rhythmic motives or internal contrasts of musical style without overt references to pre-existing styles “outside the piece.”



Example 1.2

Bird-like trills in Cáseda, *Sagrado pajarillo*, excerpt from the estribillo, Tiple I-1

Birdsong

A frequent example of imitative musical reference in villancicos is when the ornamented vocal lines are used to represent birdsong. In a piece called *Sagrado pajarillo* (Little sacred bird), Zaragoza composer José de Cáseda sets the lyrics “con gorgeos” (with trills) to twittering melismas (example 1.2).¹¹

Clarines

Another common example of the imitative, intermusical type would be a piece that mentions *clarines* (clarions or bugles), in which the singers perform patterns that are meant to sound like brass fanfares. The typical style of *clarín* evocations may be seen in two examples from the archive of the Escorial, which holds much of the surviving repertoire of the Spanish Royal Chapel. Most *clarín* pieces do not actually feature written-out *clarín* parts; in most cases the instrument is imitated vocally or by other instruments, like *chirimías*. Matías Durango’s *Cajas y clarines* (Drums and Bugles) (E-E: Mús.29/15, example 1.3) evokes these instruments with voices and *chirimías* in martial style, as part of a broader “battle” topic. Durango’s *clarín* topic is strikingly similar to one of the rare written-out villancico *clarín* parts, in a fragmentary piece by the prominent composer Sebastián Durón (example 1.4). A villancico by José Romero from about 1690, *Suene el*

11. This piece comes from the archive of the Conceptionist Convento de la Santísima Trinidad in Puebla de los Ángeles and is now preserved at CENIDIM in Mexico City (MEX-Mcen: CSG.155). Like many other pieces in that collection, the original lyrics (beginning “Sagrado pajarillo”) were replaced by another text (beginning “Fecunda planta viva”), which was pasted and sewn over the original words with thin strips of paper. The original may still be seen by lifting the strips.

For another example of the bird trope by this composer, see chapter 6.

Ti. I-1
Ti. III (chirimía)

Example 1.3

Clarín music imitated by voice and *chirimía* in Durango, *Cajas y clarines* (E-E: Mús. 29/15), beginning of estribillo, Tiple I-1

Clarín
Con violines

Example 1.4

Clarín part in Durón, *Dulce armonía* (E-E: Mús. 32/16), beginning of estribillo

clarín (Let the clarion resound) (D-Mbs: Mus. ms. 2914), includes an actual notated part for “los clarines de los autos,” that is, for the clarions played in the *autos sacramentales* or public Corpus Christi dramas. The sung voices layer bugle-like gestures above them, creating a more complex fanfare than the valveless instruments could play on their own.¹²

Perhaps there are few *clarín* parts because these instruments may not always have been allowed in church, or perhaps their music was generally improvised, like that of the Lutheran *Stadtpfeiffer*. In any case, the instrument was more important as a symbol than as part of the chapel ensemble. The *clarín* was used in military, royal, and apocalyptic symbolism as far back as the allegorical *clairon* fanfares in the 1454 Feast of the Pheasant hosted by the ancestor of the Habsburg monarchs, Philip the Fair of Burgundy.¹³ In *No temas, no recelas* by the famed Madrid composer Cristóbal Galán (D-Mbs: Mus. ms. 2892, from ca. 1691), the voices represent *clarín* music in a scene of “heavenly armies” going to battle.¹⁴

12. Edited in Bernat Cabero Pueyo, *Der Villancico des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in Spanien* (Berlin: Dissertation.de, 2000), 655–661.

13. Olivier de La Marche, *Mémoires d’Olivier de la Marche*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1888), 340–380; M. Jennifer Bloxam, “I Have Never Seen Your Equal”: Agricola, the Virgin, and the Creed,” *Early Music* 34 (2006): 391–408; Leeman L. Perkins, “Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI (1422–83),” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 507–66. The dissertation in progress by Anita Damjanovic, “The Biblical Clarín” (University of Chicago), will explore the symbolic functions of the stock character named Clarín in Spanish seventeenth-century dramas.

14. Edited in Cabero Pueyo, *Der Villancico des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in Spanien*, 555–565.

The battle topic was not always just a spiritual symbol: it was often used to celebrate real military victories, or to boost morale in the midst of conflicts. The anonymous villancico *Noble clarín de la fama* (E-Bbc: M/772/35) states on the cover page that it was performed “for the profession of the sisters *Señoras* Sor Sagismunda and Sor Jacinta Perpinyà into the Convent of Santa Clara of Gerona, 1693.” The surname of these siblings (sisters by blood and now by vow) is the name of Perpignan, capital of the Catalan region of Rosselló, which had become the French Roussillon after the Peace of the Pyrennes in 1659. A long struggle over this border territory in the War of the Great Alliance climaxed in the year this villancico was performed, as the French general Catinat scored a major victory against the allied powers at Marsaglia. The villancico appears to align Catalan identity with the French cause, as it praises the “Catalan Amazons, who have the name of Perpignan,” who “seek today good protection for their defense in Francisco”—that is, they look for protection both to St. Francis, the probable patron of their order, and to France. In enlisting for spiritual battle with St. Francis, the estribillo suggests, the sisters themselves are becoming clarions of war.¹⁵

The clarín served as a symbol of music itself, much as birds did. Spanish painters could evoke the whole realm of heavenly music and call upon rich Biblical, especially apocalyptic, symbolism by representing angels holding valveless trumpets; likewise villancico poets used the clarín as a metonym for music-making generally. This may be another reason why the actual instrument was superfluous to many clarín pieces: there was more theological meaning in the voice imitating the clarín than there would be in the clarín by itself. In a chamber villancico by the influential Juan Hidalgo (1614–1685), the two voices sing that just as the birds of dawn are *clarines* celebrating the Blessed Virgin, so too will their own voices become *clarines*. Here the musical performance of a poetic metaphor turns it into a dramatic representation (poem 1.2 and example 1.5).

15. Excerpts from the estribillo: “Noble clarín de la fama que de vozes te alimentas, toca, toca, alarma, alarma, que dos niñas, hoy son aliento de tu voz excelsa, Catalanas amazonas, de Perpiñan nombre tienen, pues bella guardia en Francisco, buscan hoy por su defensa, cuidado serafines, resuenen los clarines.”

Poem 1.2

Venid querubines alados, poem set by Hidalgo (D-Mbs: Mus. ms. 2895), copla 5

5. Las aves que sobre el viento tejen plumado pensil, para hacer la salva al sol, cada pico es un clarín. <i>Escuchad, atended,</i> <i>que el clarín de su aurora,</i> <i>mi voz ha de ser.</i>	The birds who upon the wind trace their plumed quill, to sound the salvo to the sun, each beak is a clarion. <i>Listen, hark,</i> <i>for the clarion of his dawn</i> <i>my voice shall be.</i>
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The musical score consists of three staves. The top two staves, labeled 'Ti. 1' and 'Ti. 2', are in treble clef and 6/8 time. They sing the same melody, which includes lyrics such as 'Es - cu-chad, a - ten-ded,' and 'que el cla - rín de su auro - ra, cla -'. The bottom staff, labeled 'ACOMP. ARPA', is in bass clef and 6/8 time, providing harmonic support with sustained notes and chords. The vocal parts sing a response at the end of each copla, while the accompaniment provides harmonic support.

Example 1.5

Hidalgo, *Venid querubines alados*, duo response at end of each copla

Other Instruments: Onomatopoeia

To imitate percussion instruments, villancico composers paired onomatopoetic nonsense words with distinctive rhythmic patterns. Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla had the chorus of Puebla Cathedral represent the sound of the castanets and tabor with contrasting onomatopoetic rhythmic patterns on the words “al *chaz*, *chaz* de la castañuela, y el *tapalatán* de el tamboríl” (example 1.6). Such pieces about instrumental music both imitate the instrument itself while also playing with a stylistic topic associated with that instrument.

The same instrumental trope appears in a villancico poem performed at Toledo Cathedral in 1645 in a setting by Vicente García (according to the poetry imprint, E-Mn: VE/88/12, no. 6).¹⁶

Porque los instrumentos sonaban así,	Because the instruments sounded like this:
El Atabal, tan, tan ,tan,	the drum, tan, tan, tan,
El Almirez, tin, tin, tin,	the mortar, tin, tin, tin
la Esquila, dilín, dilín,	the chime, dilín, dilín,
y la Campana, dalán, dalán,	the bell, dalán, dalán,
Las Sonajas, chas, chas, chas,	the rattle, chas, chas, chas,
y el Pandero, tapalapatán.	and the tambourine, tapalapatán.

The instruments on this list are simple, rustic noisemakers from everyday peasant life. In García’s villancico these instruments, which are described further in the coplas, join together with the sounds of the mule and other animals, and the dances of the shepherds. This piece, like many villancicos, depicts a scene of common folk rejoicing after their own fashion in the humble setting of the Bethlehem stable.

Dance

Dance topics are another prevalent form of imitative musical reference in villancicos. Some pieces refer to dances like the *zarabanda*, *papalotillo*, or *danza de espadas*, while others actually proclaim

16. Note that the difference in spelling, “chas” instead of “chaz” in the Puebla source, reflects the difference in pronunciation between Castile and Padilla’s Andalusia and New Spain, since “chaz” would have ended with a TH sound in Toledo.

28

S. I
A. I

T. I

A. II
T. II

B. I
(instr.)

31

Al chaz, chaz con la cas - ta - ñue - la y al ta - pa - la -
-il.
Al chaz,
tán con el tam - bo - ril, con el tam - bo - ril, y al
tán con el tam - bo - ril, y al ta - pa - la - tán, y al
chaz con la cas - ta - ñue - la y al ta - pa - la - tán con el tam - bo - ril, #8:
#8:

Example 1.6

Padilla, *Alto zagal de todo el egido* (MEX-Pc: Leg. 2/1, Christmas 1653), estribillo, mm. 28–34:
Imitation of castanets and tabor (or tambourine?)

themselves to be dances, with the *jácaro* being perhaps the most common. In some cases, the stylistic referents can be identified by comparison with contemporary collections of dance music for keyboard or guitar, though there is always uncertainty regarding the relationship of the notated exemplars to the way the dances were actually played, and further doubt about what kinds of physical dances they may have accompanied.¹⁷ In the case of the *jácaro*, the distinctions between

17. For example, the labeled dances in Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz, y norte musical* are little more than schemata, mostly only a few measures long and lacking melodic contours and larger structures. The elaborate versions of these dances recorded by Andrew Lawrence-King and the Harp Consort, *Spanish Dances: Selections from Ruiz de Ribayaz's Luz y norte*, The Harp Consort ([Germany]: Deutsche Harmonia Mundi CD 05472-77340-2, 1995), can only claim the most

the poetic, theatrical, musical, and dance versions of this puzzling genre still need to be clarified.¹⁸ Though the details may be unclear, these pieces do appear to refer to some form of music outside themselves, which was probably familiar to listeners.¹⁹

1.3.3 Abstract References to Music: Singing about Singing, Solmization, Nonsense

In the second category of metamusical villancicos are pieces that refer to music more as an abstract concept, rather than to a specific, identifiable reference to another kind of music. When Pedro Rui Monte in *Gil, pues a cantar* sets the word “cantar” (sing) to a long melisma, or when Gaspar Fernández in *Sobre bro canto llano* illustrates the phrase canto llano (plainchant) with imitative counterpoint around a cantus-firmus-like Tenor part, the composer is using these characteristic emblems of vocal music to refer to the concept of singing in general.²⁰ In doing so they are asking their singers to sing about singing.

Many villancico poems use solmization syllables in the poetry as part of a reference to singing. References to Christ as *sol* (sun) are ubiquitous, and as shown in the opening example by Padilla, composers missed no opportunity to put this word on a pitch that could be solmized with that syllable (G, C, or D in the three Guidonian hexachords). The more obvious this technique was, the better: in composer Miguel de Aguilar’s *oposición* (audition) piece for a position at Zaragoza, *Mi sol nace y tiembla* (My sun is born and is trembling), it is not hard to guess the opening

fanciful of connections to the original notation.

18. This subgenre deserves a study in its own right, and will be the topic of a future investigation. The first work in this direction is Álvaro José Torrente, “¿Cómo se cantaba al ‘tono de jácara’?”, in *Literatura y música del hampa en los Siglos de Oro* (Madrid: Visor Libros, 2014).

19. The question of whether performers or listeners actually danced in church is another problem here, related to the question of whether or to what degree performers staged the dramatic villancicos in the sacred space. There certainly was ritual dance on Corpus Christi in Seville and Valencia Cathedrals, performed by the boy *seises*. Music for these dances in Valencia survives by Juan Bautista Comes, *Danzas del Santísimo Corpus Christi*, ed. Vicente García Julbe and Manuel Palau (Valencia: Instituto Valenciano de Musicología, Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, Diputación Provincial de Valencia, 1952). Understanding the function of the Comes pieces, and any other such sets that may survive, would shed light on the function of Corpus Christi villancicos as well. For now we may simply note that there are strong similarities between this Comes set and the first set of villancicos composed for Puebla Cathedral by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, for Corpus Christi 1628.

20. See note 2 above.

pitches.²¹ Solmization syllables were sometimes used for their own sake, without a symbolic meaning, somewhat like the “fa la la” refrains in contemporary English madrigals; in these cases the vocalists are “singing about singing” in the most simple sense. The voice in such cases bears no message except the musical voice itself.

These gestures, though seemingly without meaning, must be understood within a Neoplatonic system, which will be explained fully in the next chapters. In the prevailing Catholic understanding of the world, every created thing, simply by being itself, reflected the nature of God, its Creator. The human body was the microcosm, reflecting in turn both the whole Creation and the Creator who took on a human body in Christ. The voice emanated from the body and expressed the essence of the one speaking or singing to another who heard it. So the voice itself had quasi-sacramental meaning as an expression of Man the microcosm and a reflection of the Creator; and this meaning was independent of linguistic communication or even of music’s own non-linguistic structures, which were understood by analogy to rhetoric.²²

Passages of self-conscious solmization are not alluding to a particular kind of song; rather, their song is pointing to the abstract category of “singing” in general. In a piece like Aguilar’s *Mi sol nace*, the words have dual function: on one side they communicate linguistic meaning (“my sun”), but on the other side these musical syllables go beyond language, to both symbolize and

21. E-Zac: B-11/233, “Villancico de Oposición en Zaragoza,” edited in Antonio Ezquerro Estéban, ed., *Villancicos aragoneses del siglo XVII de una a ocho voces*, Monumentos de la música española 55 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998), 34–64.

22. The Victorian Catholic priest Gerard Manley Hopkins would later encapsulate this idea in a striking verse, drawing on the Neoplatonic ontology of Duns Scotus (Eriugena), “Each mortal thing does one thing and the same:/ Deals out that being indoors each one dwells; Selves—goes itself; *myself* it speaks and spells;/ Crying *What I do is me: for that I came.*” “As kingfishers catch fire,” in Gerard Manley Hopkins, *Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, ed. Robert Bridges and W. H. Gardner (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948), 95.

This theological view of the nature of the pure voice might be fruitfully contrasted with the “aesthetics of pure voice” that Mauro Calcagno has identified in Venetian productions of the Accademia degli Incogniti, “Signifying Nothing: On the Aesthetics of Pure Voice in Early Venetian Opera,” *Journal of Musicology* 20, no. 4 (2003): 461–497. These early modern perspectives should inform more recent discussions of philosophy of voice, particularly the idea of the “voice itself” as separate from meaning, from Roland Barthes, “The Grain of the Voice,” in *Image—Music—Text* (New York: Hill / Wang, 1977) through Mladen Dolar, *A Voice and Nothing More* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006) and Adriana Cavarero, *For More than One Voice: Toward a Philosophy of Vocal Expression*, trans. Paul A. Kottman (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005).

embody music-making. Aguilar made this obvious gesture at the beginning of a piece intended to demonstrate his own skill at composition; this strengthens the thesis developed throughout part II that metamusical villancicos as a subgenre served composers as “master pieces” to prove their craft. At the same time, the syllables could also take on deep symbolic meanings, as in the Christological “sign of A (*la, mi, re*)” discussed in chapter 3.

1.3.4 Mixed References in “Ethnic” Villancicos

Like solmization villancicos, the subgenres of “ethnic” villancicos play with the relationship between language and music. But instead of having singers “speak the language of music” with solmization syllables, these pieces have the performers speak distorted caricatures of the Spanish language, often turning speech into nonsense. Though these pieces are rife with metamusical references—depictions of dancing, playing instruments, and singing in other languages—their primary subject is not music, but cultural difference. These pieces parody the speech and culture of non-Castilian peoples by twisting Castilian Spanish to imitate their distinctive accents. For example, *gitano* (Roma or “gypsy”) characters put a Z on the end of everything, as in *Vamos al Portal Gitanilla*, a 1666 villancico from Zaragoza with poetry by Vicente Sánchez and music (lost?) by Joseph Ruiz Samaniego.²³ A “gypsy” woman responds to catechism-like questions from a “normal” speaker. When he asks, “who are these who have arrived [at the manger] with such grandeur?,” she responds, “Oyeme,/ que zerán imagino;/ puez los trez zon Magoz,/ hombrez de ezfera.” Performers in Zaragoza, speaking Castilian Spanish, would probably have pronounced all these Zs with a lisping TH sound. The misspelling in the poetry imprint serves as a visual marker

23. Imprint from Epiphany (*Reyes*) 1666 at the Iglesia del Pilar in Zaragoza, E-Mn: VE/1303/1. The printed title lists Ruíz Samaniego as the chapelmaster, which would usually mean he was the composer. A handwritten note on the page cross-references the imprint to the posthumous poetic works of Vicente Sánchez, *Lyra Poética de Vicente Sanchez, natrval de la Imperial Cividad de Zaragoza. Obras Posthvmas* (Zaragoza, 1688), 203–204. Other villancicos by this composer have been edited in Joseph Ruiz Samaniego, *Villancicos (de dos a dieciséis voces)*, ed. Luis Antonio González Marín, *Monumentos de la música española* 63 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas: Institución “Milà i Fontanals,” Dept. de Musicología, 2001).

of otherness, and points toward a probably fuller set of caricatured features like physical posture and perhaps even costume employed in the original dramatic performance.²⁴

Even more notoriously, in the subgenre of *negrillas* or “black villancicos,” black characters portrayed by white musicians speak in a stylized false dialect, the lexical meaning of which is often difficult to recover.²⁵ The ethnic villancicos do not stop with parodying the sound of minority groups’ speech in Spanish (itself a notable feature for this study of hearing and faith), but they extend further by actually having the characters sing foreign-sounding nonsense syllables like “gulumbé, gulumbá,” “tumbucatú, catú, catú,” or “turuturuyegá.”²⁶ This linguistic nonsense is paired (like the onomatopoetic “chaz, chaz de la castañuela”) with distinctively rhythmic musical motives. This produces the effect that the words seem to embody a form of speech perceived by Spaniards as closer to music than to language. At the same time, these phrases evoke the action of the black characters’ musical performance, such as African drumming and dance—as imagined by Spaniards.

These cultural Others, then, are represented as essentially musical. As Geoffrey Baker has noted, black characters in villancicos do nothing but sing and dance happy songs all day, reiterating an age-old Euro-American stereotype about people of African descent.²⁷

With regard to the nature of musical references in “ethnic” villancicos, then, these pieces encompass a mixture of literal imitation (as of percussion, and of the “musical” sound of foreign languages) and broader stylistic references (as, perhaps, to African musical styles, though no

24. This should be compared with the mock-catechism scenes with “deaf” men discussed in chapter 2.

25. Some have taken *negrillas* to provide transparent ethnolinguistic evidence for the historical dialect of black Spanish speakers, but the situation is more complex. As will be argued in chapter 7 with reference to the ethnic villancicos of Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, these pieces may offer glimpses of black language and music, but only through a glass heavily darkened by racial prejudice and deliberate caricature for the sake of humor, and further clouded by the cultural distance from which modern observers must approach these pieces.

26. These examples are from the most famous composer of *negrillas*, Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, because these works will be discussed in chapter 7, but it should be noted that the *negrilla* genre was widespread across the Hispanic world, with many surviving examples in mainland Spain, and that these Peninsular examples are highly similar to those from America.

27. Geoffrey Baker, “The ‘Ethnic Villancico’ and Racial Politics in 17th-Century Mexico,” in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*, ed. Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), 399–408.

one has yet proved this). They also include more abstract references to music through the use of nonsense words that, somewhat like solmization syllables, symbolize and enact music-making.

1.3.5 Villancicos about Villancicos

The conventions of the villancico genre itself become the subject of a special type of self-referential villancico *about* villancicos—a “metavillancico,” perhaps. These pieces stage performances of a villancico within the villancico itself.

In the surviving sets of villancico poems, one sees distinct recurring subgenres like angel pieces or dance pieces, and the conventions for these strengthen throughout the seventeenth century. By the second half of the century, the patrons and creators of villancicos seem to have developed well-reinforced expectations not only for different types of villancicos, but also possibly for the dramatic shape of the whole villancico cycle.²⁸ In the smaller number of surviving musical settings of complete cycles, such as those in Puebla by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla studied in chapter 7 and those in Segovia by Miguel de Irízar studied in chapter 5, we may observe corresponding conventions on the musical plane for each of these subgenres. A conjunction of markers in the poetic subject matter and in the poetic and musical style would have signaled to listeners, “This is one about angels,” or “This is one with those silly Catalans (or Galicians, or blacks).” Miguel de Irízar’s requests to his chapelmaster peers for more “villancicos de chanza”—comic villancicos—suggests the need to fill out each villancico cycle with certain types of pieces, mixing serious and comic subgenres.²⁹

In one sense, the many pieces beginning “Listen,” “Pay attention,” might be considered self-referential, since in these pieces the singers usually announce something about the piece, as in the setting of *Oigan, oigan la jacarilla* by José de Cáseda (MEX-Mcen: CSG.151), or the poem

28. At present we may note only anecdotal evidence suggesting that certain subgenres like the jácara tended to recur at the same positions in the Matins cycle, which may be linked to the texts of the underlying lessons and Responsories.

29. Matilde Olarte Martínez, “Miguel de Irízar y Domenzain (1635–1684?): Biografía, epistolario y estudio de sus Lamentaciones” (PhD diss., Universidad de Valladolid, 1992), 78.

performed in Montilla in 1689, *Oíganme cantar una tonadilla*—“hear me sing a tonadilla.”³⁰ But some villancico poems go further and overtly play with the conventions of the villancico genre itself.

This rhetorical posture seems to stem from two quite distinct sources: the liturgical psalms and Spanish minor theater. Similar self-referential or even recursive statements may be found throughout the psalms, as in “Sing to the Lord a new song” (Ps. 97), or “Come, let us worship and bow down” (Ps. 95), which was sung as the Invitatory hymn at every Matins liturgy (and thus before most villancico performances). The first Responsory of Christmas Matins describes and enacts the angels’ “Gloria,” and the third Responsory is devoted to the shepherds’ adoration.³¹ On the other side, Spanish minor theater developed as low-register plays (*entremeses*) in between acts of the more literary *comedias* by, for example, Lope de Vega and Calderón, much as eighteenth-century Italian *opera buffa* emerged from *intermezzi* during *opera seria* performances. Like the later Italian musical intermezzi, the Spanish entremeses were built out of stock characters and formulaic scenarios, and parodied the conventions of both the *comedia* and of the *entremés* itself.

Playing with Villancico Conventions: *Anton Llorente y Bartolo*

The anonymous villancico *Anton Llorente y Bartolo* (example 1.7) presents two characters from a well-known *entremés* with close links to Cervantes’ *Don Quijote*, who raise a complaint against the stock villancico shepherd characters, Gil and Bras.³²

30. Pliego no. 334 in Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Catálogo de villancicos de la Biblioteca Nacional, Siglo XVII* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1992), 116. No signature is listed.

31. Catholic Church, *Breviarium Romanum ex decreto Sacros. Conc. Trid. Restitutum Pii V. Pont. Max. iuss editum, & Clementis VIII Primum, nunc denuo Vrbani Pp. VIII auctoritate recognitum* ([Rome?], 1631), 172–173. See the discussion of the Matins text in chapter 3.

32. The villancico poem is found in a 1639 Christmas imprint from Toledo Cathedral (E-Mn: VE/88/6), and an anonymous musical setting survives from the Convento de la Santísima Trinidad in Puebla (MEX-Mcen: CSG.014). The title has been erroneously “corrected” in the forthcoming Sánchez Garza catalog to *Anton, Lorente y Bartolo* despite the clear double L in the manuscript (which was never used when a hard L sound was intended).

Antón Llorente y Bartolo
trazaron un memorial
de que con los villancicos
se han alzado Gil y Bras.

Antón Llorente and Bartolo
drew up a complaint
that with all the villancicos
Gil and Bras have gotten the spotlight.

These two characters, they assert, have held the stage for too long; but Anton Llorente and Bartolo, too, can make a good enough villancico of their own if given the chance.

Si ha de sonar el pandero,
solo Gil le ha de tocar,
y si ha de haber castañetas,
ha de repicarlas Bras.

If the tambourine is going to be played,
it is only Gil who ever plays it,
it if there have to be castanets,
Bras is the one to rattle them.

También acá somos gentes
y alcanzar podemos ya
de un villancico un bocado
y un pellizco de un cantar.

But here we are, we too are good fellows,
and we can even manage
a nibble of a villancico
and a pinch of a song.

In the succeeding *responsión*, the full eight-voice chorus joins in endorsing the new characters and denouncing the old:

No quiero que me Brasen
y que me Gilen,
sino que me Llorenten
y me Toribien.

I don't want them Bras-ing me
or Gil-ing me,
but only Llorente-ing me
y me Toribien.

The surviving musical setting for this embodies all the stereotypes of the villancico genre, first encountered here in Padilla's *En la gloria de un portalillo*.³³ The piece is in highly accented triple (CZ) meter with continual use of sesquialtera, and it opens with a declamatory section for full chorus, followed by a vocal solo that is then echoed in polychoral dialogue by the full ensemble (example 1.7). The text is both dramatized and symbolized by leaping gestures that leap from voice to voice in points of imitation on “salten y brinquen” (jumping and leaping). These features may

33. As will be discussed in chapter 3, the Seville chapelmaster Fray Francisco de Santiago wrote a setting of this text, which was cataloged as part of the now-lost library of King John IV of Portugal, and it is possible that the version in Puebla is Santiago's music. Paulo Craesbeck, ed., *Primeira parte do index da livraria de mvsica do myto alto, e poderoso rey Dom João o IV. nosso senhor* ([Lisbon?], 1649), caixão 26, no. 675.

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

T. I

B. I

6

12

B. I solo

16

RESPONSIÓN a 8

No quie-ro que me Bras-en ni que me Gil-en, no quie-ro que me Bras-en

ni que me Gil-en, si-no que me Llo-ren-ten y me To-ri-bien,

Example 1.7

Anonymous, *Anton Llorente y Bartolo* (MEX-Mcen: CSG.014), first stanza of introducción and beginning of responsión (Accompaniment omitted)

just constitute typical villancico style, or they may be taken to represent typical villancico style. The highly conventional music casts the anticonventional text into relief while also dramatizing the scene, since the piece is meant to portray Anton Llorente and Bartolo performing a villancico. This is a villancico, then, in the style of villancicos.

As though the 1639 Toledo text were not self-referential enough, the creative team at the cathedral followed up the next year with another villancico that specifically referred back to *Anton Llorente y Bartolo*.³⁴ The narrator says that the “Brases” and “Giles” were “frustrated by the sentence that Mayor Pasqual decreed against them last Christmas” (the “Mayor of Bethlehem” was another stock character in comic villancicos); and so “they appealed to another one who was more learned.” Each one states his case for why he is needed at the Nativity, and Bras’s conclusion wryly sends up the conventionality of villancico poetry:

Cuanto ha qué Belén lo es, y ha sido el portal portal, a peligros de poetas ha sido socorro Bras.	As long as Bethlehem has been what it is, and the stable has been a stable, where poets have been in danger, Bras is always there for aid.
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The new mayor, in the name of keeping traditions, undoes the sentence of the previous year, and the chorus rejoices, because without Bras and Gil it would not be Christmas:

<i>[Alcalde.]</i>	<i>Mayor.</i>
Que me Brasen, y Gilen quiero zagalas, porque no soy amigo de novedades. [...]	I wish them to “Bras” me and “Gil” me, boys because I am no friend of novelties.
<i>[Chorus.]</i>	<i>Chorus.</i>
Porque en saltando a esta fiesta el pesebre, y el portal, las pajas, Brases, y Giles, no es fiesta de Navidad.	For if you take from this feast the manger, the stable, the straw, Brases, and Giles, it is no festival of Christmas.

As the mayor says, one reason villancicos were so conventional may be because the feast they were most closely associated with was (and is) one where customs are carefully preserved. Novelty at Christmas is expected but only within certain traditional boundaries. Part of cultivating those customs meant naming them explicitly in song, as we have already seen in Cererols’s *Fuera*

34. “Quejosos de la sentencia que dio el alcalde Pasqual,” in imprint from Christmas 1640 at Toledo Cathedral, E-Mn: VE/88/7, no. 2.

que va de invención and several other pieces.³⁵

Comic villancicos like these should not be written off as less theologically motivated than the more cultivated pieces. Though the *Anton Llorente* pieces present no learned theological doctrines, they still serve a religious function in prompting hearers to laughter and enjoyment, and that function contributed to the effect of a set of villancicos within the liturgy. The comic pieces may even have been the most likely to provoke direct responses of laughter and surprise in many listeners, and therefore could be the most effective in actually moving those assembled toward sympathetic vibration and harmony together.

1.4 SIGN AND SIGNIFIED

The previous discussion has distinguished between ways of referring to music (imitative or abstract), and between distinct kinds of music referred to (dance styles, birdsong). These are semiotic distinctions, and they articulate different relationships between sign (the music performed) and signified (the other music to which the performed music refers). The relationships between sign and signified in villancicos about music may be distinguished by a loose application of C. S. Peirce's semiotic terms *icon*, *index*, and *symbol*.³⁶ To be an icon, the sign must "reflect qualitative features of the object," as in "portraits and paintings." An index utilizes "some existential or physical connection between it and its object," such as "natural and causal signs" (smoke as a sign of fire) and also "pointing fingers and proper names." As a symbol, the sign utilizes "some convention, habit, or social rule or law that connects it with its object," as in most speech acts.³⁷

35. In a North American setting, these self-preserving, self-referential customs might be compared with the phenomenon of Christmas-tree ornaments in the shape of a Christmas tree.

36. The terms are used here as Peirce defined them in 1903, according to the synthesis of Albert Atkin, as a trichotomy of ways that the object of a sign worked in the process of signification. Albert Atkin, "Peirce's Theory of Signs," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 2010), <http://plato.stanford.edu/>. Our primary goal is not to further Peircian semiotic theory, but to use Peirce's distinctions to clarify the function of musical signs in metamusical villancicos. See also Thomas R. Turino, "Signs of Imagination, Identity, and Experience: A Peircian Semiotic Theory for Music," *Ethnomusicology* 43, no. 2 (1999): 221–255.

37. Atkin, "Peirce's Theory of Signs," §3.2.

A bird-like trill gesture in vocal music functions as an icon, then, to the extent that the listener connects it with the actual sound of birdsong; likewise for imitations of the *clarín* or castanets. The same gesture always also functions as a symbol, especially the more stylized and conventional it is; in other words, the trill reminds the listener of birdsong because it sounds like similar gestures in other pieces of music that also imitate birdsong.

In the case of the *clarín* pieces, though, the piece refers not only to the sound of that instrument but to the type of music that instrument usually plays and thus would be an index. A clearer example is a piece that names a specific type of dance music and seems to quote or allude to that style of music. In the few cases when we can actually identify the stylistic referent in contemporary collections of dance music, we can verify that there is a “factual” correspondence between the sound of the villancico and the sound of the dance style mentioned in the villancico. This type of reference is closest to Peirce’s notion of index.

In the abstract type of metamusical villancico, these relationships become much harder to track. In a villancico that literally refers to itself, as in the many pieces that begin by inviting the audience to listen to the piece currently being performed, the piece itself is both sign and signified. In a villancico that refers to human music as an abstract category, as in the solmization example mentioned above, the music heard symbolizes the notion of music in the abstract.

1.4.1 Pointing to a Higher Music: Topics of Heavenly and Angelic Music

When a villancico refers to the music of the spheres or to angelic music, the music signified is impossible to hear with earthly ears, so the human music as a sign is only an icon or index to the extent that a listener believes it to correspond to what those higher forms of music might actually sound like. These pieces depend to a high degree on conventional—symbolic—ways of evoking heavenly music, which are developed over time within an interpretive tradition (as shown in part II).

One of these conventional ways of evoking heavenly music is to set up a contrast between

indexical references (stylistic allusions or quotations) pointing to types of human music with different value in a hierarchy of musical styles. Villancicos on topics of angelic and heavenly music provide an interesting case for a semiotic analysis, since they use references to elevated forms of human music in order to refer to an unheard higher music of heaven. Similar to the way German Lutherans used learned counterpoint to symbolize heavenly music (as David Yearsley has shown), Spanish Catholics used old-style contrapuntal music, particularly canons and fugues, to point to higher Neoplatonic levels of music.³⁸ Most typically, Hispanic composers use polyphonic techniques and styles reminiscent of Palestrina, Guerrero, and Morales to represent angelic music, as demonstrated in chapter 4.

In this way a form of earthly music is placed relatively higher on a Neoplatonic chain and used to symbolize an even higher level of music. Each style by itself functions as an index pointing to these styles of earthly music, such as (on the higher level) a fugue in duple meter, indexing typical Latin liturgical music in Spain; and (on the lower level) the homophonic declamation in triple meter typical of vernacular villancicos. The contrast between these two styles, however, functions symbolically, so that the relationship of higher and lower forms of earthly music is mapped onto the imagined relationship between heavenly music and all earthly music.³⁹

This is only a simplified description of how heavenly music is represented, however; the stylistic references do not usually form such a tidy dichotomy. The question of heavenly music is also complicated by the possibility of multiple kinds of “superterrestrial” music: the perpetual song of the angelic choirs in heaven, the song of the redeemed at the Last Day, the harmonies of the cosmic spheres, and so on. It is particularly important to distinguish between the “the heavens”

38. David Yearsley, “Towards an Allegorical Interpretation of Buxtehude’s Funerary Counterpoints,” *Music & Letters* 80, no. 2 (1999): 183–206; David Yearsley, “*Vor deinen Thron tret ich* and the Art of Dying,” in *Bach and the Meanings of Counterpoint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1–41.

This topic of heavenly music is one of the most potentially fruitful areas for interconfessional research, since the ideas Yearsley discusses may be found in similar form in Lutheran, Catholic, and Anglican sources. For example, Lutherans mapped the relationship of the boys’ choir to the congregation onto that between the angelic chorus and the church; see Andrew A. Cashner, “The Reception of Paul Gerhardt’s Hymns in the Seventeenth Century” (Master of Sacred Music thesis, University of Notre Dame, 2009) and cf. chapter 7.

39. See chapter 4 and 6 for detailed examples of this practice.

(*cielos* in Spanish), meaning the dome of the sky and the planetary spheres, and “Heaven” (*el cielo Empyreo*), meaning the spiritual realm outside of the material world where the Godhead dwells with the angels and saints.

1.4.2 The Angelic Trope: Salazar, *Angélicos coros*

A typical example of the angelic trope is *Angélicos coros con gozo cantad* (MEX-Mcen: CSG.256), a Christmas villancico by Antonio de Salazar (ca. 1650–1715), preserved in a collection from a Conceptionist convent in Puebla de los Ángeles (example 1.8).⁴⁰ The anonymous poem echoes the first Responsory of Christmas Matins (“Gaudet exercitus Angelorum”) as it invites the choirs of Christmas angels to sing their “Gloria” over the stable in Bethlehem on the night of Christ’s birth. Since *Bethlehem* in Hebrew means “House of Bread,” the villancico also celebrates the sacramental presence of Christ in the Eucharistic host on the Christmas of Salazar’s “present day.”

Though the words speak to the angels, the musicians who sing these words also play the part of the angels, so that hearers are invited to listen for the angelic voices *through* the voices of the church ensemble. The invocation to the angels is sung first by the Tiple I, in a gesture beginning with a rising fifth and then falling by step, as though looking up to the heavens and then following the angels’ descent. In the Puebla convent choir, this part was performed by “Madre Andrea,” whose name is written into her part. As though answering the call, the other two voice parts of Chorus I enter in m. 2, Tiple II in canonic imitation, and Alto I harmonizing with it homorhythmically. In mm. 4–5 the second chorus joins with a similar imitative pattern, until all join together in a lilting, dancelike cadence on “cantad.” Salazar uses contrapuntal imitation again on “celestes esquadras,” inverting the opening motive (mm. 14–22). For the command “bajad” (come down), Salazar switches from CZ triple meter to duple (C or *compasillo*), and creates a

40. See appendix B for the complete poem, and appendix C for the complete musical edition.

Salazar was probably born in Puebla and may have sung in the Puebla Cathedral chapel under Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla; he served as chapelmaster of Mexico City Cathedral from 1679: *Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Salazar, Antonio de,” by John Koegel. The Sánchez Garza collection features numerous pieces by Salazar, probably composed or arranged specifically for this convent.

Example 1.8

Salazar, *Angélicos coros con gozo cantad* (MEX-Mcen: CSG.256), mm. 1–9

cascading contrapuntal passage passed from voice to voice, moving from high F₅ down to C₃ (example 1.9). The general affect of the piece seems gentle and sweet, partly because of the largely static diatonic harmony and the lilting or dotted rhythms.

All of these musical characteristics are typical ways that villancico composers represented angelic music: especially contrapuntal imitation, in a reference to the ordered music of heaven, and symbolic patterns of ascent and descent. Salazar uses different styles of earthly music—particularly

22

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II, Ac.

26

jad, bajad,
jad, ba - jad.
y el cie-lo de la
y el cie-lo de la

jad, bajad,
jad, bajad, ba-jad, ba-jad, ba-jad, ba-jad, bajad, bajad, ba - jad,
y el cie-lo de la
ba - jad, ba-jad, ba - jad, ba - jad,

B., Ac.

Ac.

Example 1.9
Salazar, *Angélicos coros con gozo cantad*, mm. 22–31

the contrast between contrapuntal and homophonic styles—to point to the contrast between different levels of music on a cosmic scale, between human music, music of the spheres, and angelic song. Because the triple-meter style of the first section, which asks the angel choirs to sing, is more typical of villancico style, this part might be heard to represent the actual singing of the angels. The duple-meter section on “bajad” might be understood as a more literal portrayal of the angels themselves. There is not, though, any obvious one-to-one mapping of style to symbol. It would be difficult to fit such a piece into a Peircian model.

Understood in a more historical model of theological symbolism, the piece connects Boethian *musica instrumentalis* to the higher forms of human and cosmic music. “Heavenly” villancicos map a lower level of music onto a higher one within the Neoplatonic cosmos, in which the perceptible “world of change and decay” is an imperfect reflection of a higher world of ideal forms. Thus earthly music of any kind, metamusical or not, would always point beyond itself to higher forms of music and ultimately to God.

Metamusical pieces intensify this aspect of music by calling the listener’s direct attention to the artifice of the music itself. Such pieces give listeners the opportunity to rise in Neoplatonic contemplation from what is heard by the ears to the higher music (ultimately of the divine nature) that can only be discerned by the soul through faith.

1.5 MUSIC ITSELF AS A CONCEIT

Villancicos, we have seen, may refer to other kinds of music or even to themselves; a special subgenre of villancico makes music itself the governing conceit for the whole piece. Such pieces often play on technical musical terms to create a double discourse about both music and theology. The most renowned of villancico poets today, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651–1695), used the conceit of Mary as a heavenly chapelmaster to create such a piece for the feast of the Assumption

in Mexico City, 1676, though no musical setting survives.⁴¹ The estribillo exhorts congregants to listen for Mary's voice (poem 1.3). The coplas demonstrate how much theology could be drawn from musical terms, and how much knowledge of both domains is necessary to understand both sides of the concept.

As the succeeding chapters will show, when poetry like this was set to music, composers had the opportunity to match this intricate musical-theological discourse with another layer of symbols in the sounding music. It should be kept in mind that villancico poems were written specifically as lyrics for musical compositions, as Juan Díaz Rengifo stated in one of the first literary descriptions of the genre.⁴² Poems like Sor Juana's circulated independently of musical settings through the medium of the printed commemorative poetry leaflets, which composers circulated widely across the empire.⁴³ Composers had every reason to favor villancico poems that gave them with opportunities for clever musical craftsmanship, and musically knowledgable poets like Sor Juana were motivated to provide them.⁴⁴ It is also possible that in many cases the composers themselves wrote the poetic texts, in which case they likely already had ideas for the musical setting.

Sor Juana is writing within a Spanish literary tradition of *conceptismo*, in which poets, especially those under the spell of Luis de Góngora, developed poems from ingenious extended metaphors.⁴⁵ In the most finely wrought villancicos within this Gongoresque tradition, such as those studied in chapters 3 and 4, the whole poem can be read in two ways simultaneously, so that

41. Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Villancicos y letras sacras*, ed. Alfonso Méndez Plancarte, Obras completas de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz 2 (Mexico City: Instituto Mexiquense de Cultura, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952), no. 220, p. 7.

42. Juan Díaz Rengifo, *Arte métrica española* (Salamanca, 1592).

43. Chapter 5 demonstrates how Segovia chapelmastor Miguel de Irízar composed the poetic texts for his 1678 Christmas cycle from several poetry leaflets sent to him by colleagues.

44. On Sor Juana's musical knowledge, see Robert Murrell Stevenson, "Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz's Musical Rapports: A Tercentenary Remembrance," *Inter-American Music Review* 15, no. 1 (1996): 1–21.

45. On *conceptismo*, see Martha Lilia Tenorio, *El Gongorismo en Nueva España: Ensayo de restitución* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2013); Mary Malcolm Gaylord, "The Making of Baroque Poetry," in *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, ed. David Gies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 227–228; for the most important period source, see Baltasar Gracián, *Agudeza y arte de ingenio, en que se explican todos los modos y diferencias de concetos, con exemplares escogidos de todo lo mas bien dicho, assi sacro, como humano* (Antwerp, 1669).

Poem 1.3

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Silencio, atención, que canta Mariá*, excerpts

ESTRIBILLO

¡Silencio, atención,
que canta María!
Escuchen, atiendan,
que a su voz Divina,
los vientos se paran
y el Cielo se inclina.

Silence, attention,
for Mary is singing!
Listen, attend,
for at her divine voice
the winds cease
and Heaven inclines [to hear].

COPLAS

1. Hoy la Maestra Divina,
de la Capilla Suprema
hace ostentación lucida
de su sin igual destreza:

Today the divine mistress
of the Supreme Chapel
makes a brilliant demonstration
of her unequalled virtuosity:^a

2. Desde el *ut* del *Ecce ancilla*,
por ser el más *bajo* empieza,
y subiendo más que el *Sol*
al *la* de *Exaltata* llega.

From the *ut* of the *Ecce ancilla*,
since it is the lowest, she begins,
and rising more than the sun/*sol*
to the state/*la* of *Exaltata* she arrives.^b

[...]

4. *Be-fa-be-mí*, que juntando
diversas Naturalezas,
unió el *mi* de la Divina
al *bajo fa* de la nuestra.

B (*fa*)/B (*mi*), since, joining
distinct natures,
[God] united the “me” *mi* of the divine nature
to the “low *fa*” of our nature.^c

[...]

a. “Destreza”: Or “dexterity”; see the discussion of this term in chapter 3.

b. Musically, Mary ascends through the hexachord: she begins with the lowest note, *ut*, rises to *sol*, and is elevated to *la*. *Ecce ancilla*: Mary’s response to the Annunciation (Luke 1:46–55). *Exaltata*: The verse that recurs throughout the liturgies for the Assumption of Mary, “Exaltata est sancta Dei Genitrix/ Super choros Angelorum ad caelestia regna.”

c. Sor Juana uses the dual identity of B as either natural (*mi* in the hard hexachord) or flat (*fa* in the soft hexachord or in *ficta*) as symbol of Christ’s dual nature as both human and divine, united in Mary’s womb.

the poem says something meaningful about music while also using the musical terms to speak metaphorically about theology.⁴⁶ Many metamusical poetic texts, however, work at a simpler level, providing the composer with an excuse to play with musical techniques, but not necessarily making any profound theological statement.

1.5.1 Sounding Number: Hidalgo

One such piece is *Cuando el Alba aplaude alguno* (D-Mbs: Mus. ms. 2895), a villancico for three voices (probably soloists) and continuo by Juan Hidalgo (1614–1685), who was court harpist to Philip IV and the cocreator with Calderón of the first fully sung Spanish music dramas.⁴⁷ The style of this piece, with single voices imitating themselves in sequential patterns, recalls earlier Italian sacred concertos.

Though the piece bears the devotional designation “Santissmo y Nuestra Señora” (for the Eucharist and Our Lady), the text of the estribillo has little theological content (poem 1.4). The “dawn” here, as in many villancicos, is an epithet for the Virgin Mary, and the “sun,” for Christ (since the rising sun is “born” out of the dawn). Hidalgo, as expected, has the Tenor sing the word *sol* on the proper pitch; in fact he does it twice in a row, first in the hard hexachord with G (*sol, re, ut*), and then in the soft hexachord on C (*sol, fa, ut*) (example 1.10). In the poem, Christ is “uno” as Mary’s firstborn and God the Father’s only-begotten; Christ is “dos” because he is both divine and human; and the triune God is “tres.” But the main point of these theological symbols, it seems, is to justify a play on numbers in the musical setting.

Indeed, Hidalgo’s music is a rather elaborate musical game of numbers. On one level, the numbers determine how many voices are singing and what they sing. The Tenor delivers the

46. Stevenson ventures a theological and musical interpretation of this villancico in “Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz’s Musical Rapports: A Tercentenary Remembrance,” 16–17.

47. See Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993). This piece survives today in Munich, as part of a group of villancicos by composers associated with the royal musical institutions in Madrid and purchased by a German collector during the nineteenth-century Romantic vogue for Golden Age Spain. See Bernat Cabero-Pueyo’s study of this collection, *Der Villancico des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in Spanien*.

Poem 1.4

Cuando el Alba aplaude alguno, estribillo set by Juan Hidalgo (D-Mbs: Mus. ms. 2895)

Cuando el Alba aplaude alguno, qué será más oportuno cantar uno, y si oculta un sol que es Dios, cantar a dos, y si ese Dios trino es, cantar a tres. Pues cantémosle a dos a modo de uno, o a uno a modo de tres.	When the Dawn applauds someone, what could be more fitting than for one to sing, and if she hides a sun who is God, for two to sing, and if that God is triune, for three to sing. Let us sing to her, then, two in the mode of one, or one in the mode of three.
---	--

theological prompts for each number, and the other voices answer with the lines about singing, each time with the number of voices specified in the poem. The accompaniment part primarily functions as an independent continuo line, but on the phrase “cantar a tres” it shifts to function like a *basso seguente*, doubling the Tenor line, and reducing the effective texture to three real voices.⁴⁸ For “a dos a modo de uno” (mm. 22–24, example 1.10), only two singers sing these words, while the third continues singing “cantémosle”; and these two voices are in canon at the fourth—so that in a sense the two voices are singing the music of one voice. In the next line, “o a uno a modo de tres,” Hidalgo first has one voice sing this, then passes it through an imitative polyphonic texture for all three voices where only one voice of three ever sings these words at a time.

Hidalgo’s numbers game is most interesting at the level of rhythm, because the composer plays with the numeric possibilities of triple meter in every way conceivable. The manuscript partbooks are distinguished by a very high proportion of black (*coloratio*) notation.⁴⁹ Coloration already suggests a numbers game, where 2 : 3 is exchanged for 3 : 2, but Hidalgo goes beyond conventional sesquialtera by writing colored passages that extend through as many as five compases (Tenor,

48. While it was common in Hispanic villancicos for the bass line to shift in this way—apparently the resulting parallel octaves and unisons were not considered a violation of contrapuntal practice—in this particular case, the shift in function causes the listener to hear only three distinct voices on “cantar a tres.”

49. See the preface for the theory and transcription of *coloratio* notation.

20

Ti. 1 can - té - mos - le a dos

Ti. 2 can - té - mos - le a dos a

T. ⁸ pues can - te - mos, can - te - mos, *can - te - mos, can - té - mos - le, pues can -*

Ac.

23

a mo - do de u - no, a mo - do de u - no, a

mo - do de u - no, can - té - mos - le, *can -*

⁸ te - mos, o a u - no a mo - do de tres, pues can - te - mos, can -

27

mo - do de tres, pues can - te - mos, can - te - mos, can - te - mos, can -

té - mos - le a mo - do de u - no, a mo - do de tres,

⁸ te - mos, *can - te - mos, can - té - mos - le, can - té - mos - le, pues can -*

Example 1.10
Hidalgo, *Cuando el Alba aplaude alguno*, mm. 20–29

mm. 2–4; Acomp., mm. 41–43). The phrase “cantar a dos” in mm. 12–15 is sung from colored notation so that the two vocal lines singing these words, taken by themselves, sound like they are singing in duple meter, in a steady succession of imperfect semibreve stresses. For “cantar a tres,” by contrast (mm. 16–19), Hidalgo uses a short–long pattern (colored minim–semibreve) that was typical of triple meter.⁵⁰ Hidalgo uses a textbook example of sesquialtera on the Tenor’s phrase “a uno a modo de tres” (one in the mode of three) (mm. 24–25, example 1.10), and this is fitting, since the pattern here divides one breve into three imperfect semibreve stresses. Building to a climax at the end of the estribillo (example 1.11), Hidalgo creates overlapping sesquialtera groups in the voices as they imitate each other (mm. 35–37), like a “sesquialtera stretto.” He follows this with a long passage of coloration (mm. 38–39) which does not divide evenly; instead the stresses fall in irregular groups of two and three minims. All this settles down to a perfect breve on the word “uno” in the two Tiple voices and accompaniment.

There is much more musical subtlety here than this brief analysis conveys. The work might even be seen as a demonstration of rhythmic techniques in triple meter, and a deeper study would reveal much more than could be gleaned from the theory treatises alone. Hidalgo’s piece, then, is a musical discourse on music itself.

1.6 VILLANCICOS ABOUT MUSIC AS A KEY TO THEOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF MUSIC

Villancicos on the subject of music encapsulate theological understandings of music within musical performance. These pieces offer a modern interpreter more than just verbal explanations of music, such as may be found in music-theory treatises or doctrinal statements; rather, they provide the opportunity to hear how early modern musicians created a true *musical theology*—a form of music that embodies the beliefs it proclaims.

These villancicos flourished during a time in which understandings of faith, hearing, and

50. Lorente says that in CZ meter, the hand falls on the first minim and rises on the second (not the third); so this short-long rhythm is paradigmatic of the meter. *El porqué de la música*, 165–166.

Example 1.11

“Sesquialtera stretto” in Hidalgo, *Cuando el Alba aplaude alguno*, mm. 35–41

the power of music were rapidly changing. The Renaissance and Reformation had brought new attention to human perception and feeling, a new concern with rediscovering the power of music over the human body and over society about which the Greeks had written so much. Music was being employed not only as a beautifully ordered adornment, but as a means to moving the affects of listeners. And new methods of musical rhetoric were transforming musical meaning from being understood as primarily symbolic and objective (where the meaning was inherent in the musical structures) toward a more dynamic, experiential model based on associations of figures, gestures, and stylistic topics, and dependent on communication between musicians and listeners through

conventions.

The new discoveries in physiology and astronomy that were contributing to the nascent Scientific Revolution changed understandings of music as well.⁵¹ The new scientific empiricism did not support the traditional theory of music based on harmonies between celestial spheres, the four elements, and the four humors of the body. At the same time, though, Spanish Catholic poets and musicians continued to represent music according to the old system, even emphasizing the traditional cosmology more strongly.

In the Hispanic world, the contexts for hearing sacred music were changing, especially in the case of the villancico, as this courtly genre became part of church festivities, and developed from a form of intimate, aristocratic chamber music into a dramatic and expansive public genre.⁵² In Spain, musicians toiled to keep up appearances of Habsburg splendor in the midst of continual wars, economic depression, famine, and plague. In colonial America, the Spaniards' task shifted from evangelization and conquest toward civilization-building, in which the economic and social structures of music pedagogy, in cathedral schools and seminaries, played an important role.

Recent scholarship is increasingly demonstrating how central music was to Spain's imperial and colonial project. Bernardo Illari, Geoffrey Baker, and David Irving have all interpreted Spanish colonial music as both reflecting and enacting hierarchical, Catholic, colonial society.⁵³ As these scholars have shown, Hispanic Catholics ritually performed their changing identities as members of the Church and subjects of the Spanish crown. Through sacred villancicos, these subjects also gave sounding expression to their faith, using music as a way not only to form earthly identities but also to establish connections with the divine.

Charles Seeger theorized that music and language were two distinct forms of discourse

51. Penelope Gouk, "Music and the Sciences," in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 132–157.

52. Corresponding to this development was a parallel growth of sacred chamber songs (*tonos divinos*).

53. Bernardo Illari, "Polychoral Culture: Cathedral Music in La Plata (Bolivia), 1680–1730" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2001); 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, 2008).

and ways of knowing.⁵⁴ Just as one could speak about making music (that is, create verbal discourse that referred to a musical form of discourse), one might also make music about speaking. More intriguingly, if one could speak about speaking (which would constitute much of academic discourse), would it be possible to *music* about music? The villancicos studied in this dissertation do just that. They reflect on the nature of music through the medium of music. Musical experience can be shared across time more readily than religious experience; or to put it another way, it is easier to know through hearing how Spanish Catholics made music (from the testimony of the notated music) than it is to share in their religious experiences. So this form of religious music offers insights into the world of historical subjects that no other form of historical document or art form can provide.

If inquirers today wish to know what early modern Christians believed, then, we must listen carefully to how they made their faith heard. The sound of early modern sacred music—the way voices move in relationship to each other, the characteristic stylistic features of common chordal progressions, rhythmic gestures, the dramatic experience of musical forms unfolding in time—all of this provides a window for us to glimpse something of the religious experience of historical believers. Put the other way, if we wish to understand not only what music meant to early modern people but even the details of how music worked, we must contemplate what the makers and hearers of that music believed about its sacred power.

1.7 MUSICOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

This dissertation contributes to a growing musicological conversation about music's relation to power and faith, though for the most part this has dealt with other musics and other places. Regarding music's power, Margaret Murata has shown how “singing about singing” in certain Italian secular chamber cantatas of the mid-seventeenth century was a way for composers to

54. Charles Seeger, “Toward a Unitary Field Theory for Musicology,” in *Studies in Musicology, 1935–1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 102–138.

question or even mock the power and truth of musical representation.⁵⁵ These composers deliberately drew attention to musical representation in order to comment ironically on the *seconda prattica* and conventions of operatic music. The case studies in part II build on Murata's notion that "singing about singing" highlights the artifice of music and allows for commentary on music within musical performance.

This dissertation's concern with changing understandings of senses, affects, and cosmology intersects with a large literature on these topics in other fields. Penelope Gouk, Gary Tomlinson, Linda Austern, Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, Martha Feldman, and others have begun to bring these discourses—primarily from the history of science and philosophy but also from studies of magic and medicine—into historical musicology.⁵⁶ As pathbreaking as this work is, much more still needs to be done to connect the theoretical discourses around music to specific, historical musical practices. Grayson Wagstaff has modeled how this might be done, exploring the role of senses and ritual in music for a Mexican funeral procession.⁵⁷ Any attempt to hear with "period ears," limited as that enterprise must be, will have to be based on both how people made music in a particular historical moment and cultural orbit, and on how people, as far as can be determined, heard that music.⁵⁸ For example, in an important colloquy on historical listening practice in *Early Music*, Jeffrey Dean argued that the audience for much music before the eighteenth century

55. Margaret Murata, "Singing about Singing, or, The Power of Music Sixty Years After," in *In cantu et in sermone: For Nino Pirrotta on His 80th Birthday*, Italian Medieval and Renaissance Studies 2 (Firenze: Olschki, 1989), 363–384.

56. Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Penelope Gouk, "The Role of Harmonics in the Scientific Revolution," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 223–245; Gouk, "Music and the Sciences"; Penelope Gouk and Hellen Hills, *Representing Emotions: New Connections in the Histories of Art, Music, and Medicine* (Ashgate, 2005); Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Linda Phyllis Austern, "'Tis Nature's Voice': Music, Natural Philosophy and the Hidden World in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Music Theory and Natural Order from the Renaissance to the Early Twentieth Century*, ed. Suzannah Clark and Alexander Rehding (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 30–67; Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998); Martha Feldman, "Music and the Order of the Passions," in *Representing the Passions: Histories, Bodies, Visions*, ed. Richard Meyer (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2003), 37–67.

57. Grayson Wagstaff, "Processions for the Dead, the Senses, and Ritual Identity in Colonial Mexico," in *Music, Sensation, and Sensuality*, ed. Linda Phyllis Austern, Critical and Cultural Musicology 5 (New York: Routledge, 2002), 167–180.

58. Shai Burstyn, "In Quest of the Period Ear," *Early Music* 25, no. 4 (1997): 693–701.

should be considered to include the performers, and in many cases, the performers were the sole “listeners” to church music in particular.⁵⁹ Elisabeth Le Guin demonstrates how notated music may be read as a record of bodily experience, and Melanie Lowe and Richard Cullen Rath model different ways that we might begin to reconstruct historical hearing of music.⁶⁰

The relationship between music and faith has been central in recent research into Lutheran music in the early modern period. Researchers in that field have an advantage over scholars of Catholic music in that the Lutherans produced more writing about music in the form of vernacular hymns, hymnal prefaces, and polemical texts. The work of Christian Bunners and Joyce Irwin on Lutheran theology of music is notable for drawing on some of these sources, but does not make clear enough connections between the polemics and particular musical repertoires.⁶¹ Gregory Johnston, David Yearsley, and Eric Chafe have interpreted the music of Schütz, Buxtehude, and J. S. Bach, respectively, in the context of Lutheran theology and piety.⁶² Mary Frandsen’s current work is furthering this effort of theological interpretation in historical context.⁶³

Some scholars of Roman Catholic music, in contrast, have not taken early modern sacred music seriously as a source for theological understanding, or have simply not been interested in theology. Lorenzo Bianconi, for example, accepts the now questioned narratives of confessionalization and secularization, and portrays Catholic theology and liturgy in the period as rigid, conformist, and

59. Jeffrey Dean, “Listening to Sacred Polyphony c. 1500,” *Early Music* 25, no. 4 (1997): 611–636.

60. Elisabeth Le Guin, *Boccherini’s Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Melanie Lowe, *Pleasure and Meaning in the Classical Symphony* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); Richard Cullen Rath, *How Early America Sounded* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).

61. Christian Bunners, *Kirchenmusik und Seelenmusik: Studien zu Frommigkeit und Musik im Luthertum des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966); Christian Bunners, “Singende Frommigkeit: Johann Crugers Widmungsvorreden zur ‘Praxis Pietatis Melica,’” *Jahrbuch für Berlin-Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte* 52 (1980): 9–24; Joyce Irwin, *Neither Voice Nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque* (New York: P. Lang, 1993).

62. Gregory S. Johnston, “Rhetorical Personification of the Dead in 17th-Century German Funeral Music: Heinrich Schütz’s *Musikalische Exequien* (1636) and Three Works by Michael Wiedemann (1693),” *The Journal of Musicology* 9, no. 2 (1991): 186–213; Yearsley, “Towards an Allegorical Interpretation of Buxtehude’s Funerary Counterpoints”; Yearsley, “Vor deinen Thron tret ich and the Art of Dying”; Eric Chafe, *Tonal Allegory in the Vocal Music of J.S. Bach* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

63. Mary E. Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), and a monograph in progress on Christocentric devotion through music in seventeenth-century Lutheran piety.

unchanging.⁶⁴ Bianconi presents Monteverdi as covertly bringing the “secular” styles of opera into the church with little concern for theology or piety, when we might just as well view the sacred and secular production of Monteverdi and his contemporaries as integrated parts of a whole.

These two narratives of confessionalization and secularization have especially plagued scholarship on villancicos: scholars who have investigated the music at all tend to either consider villancicos as an incursion of “popular,” “secular” music into the liturgy, or if they do consider the pieces’ theology, they tend to see them as reiterations of preprogrammed Tridentine dogma. Scholars with this latter perspective have tended to see Catholic music and arts in terms of twentieth-century propaganda or mass marketing.⁶⁵

Patrick Rietbergen and Jack Sage have criticized the “propaganda” approach as anachronistic, and have instead sought to avoid reductionism and take historical insider beliefs seriously.⁶⁶ Historical musicologists are beginning to catch up to the work in this vein by ethnomusicologists like Glenn Hinson, Jeff Todd Titon, and Monique Ingalls, that has sought to take seriously the beliefs of religious insiders regarding music’s supernatural powers.⁶⁷ Gregory Barnett has argued that a form previously written off as “secular music in church”—the *sonata da chiesa*—was perceived by early modern Catholic worshippers as sacred on the basis of musical topics indexing other types of liturgical music such as choral Kyries and organ fugues.⁶⁸

The old narratives of secularization and confessionalization are slowly being overturned,

64. Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

65. An especially embittered example is Sophia Menache, *The Vox Dei: Communication in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

66. Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Jack W. Sage, “Music as an ‘Instrumentum Regni’ in Spanish Seventeenth-Century Drama,” *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 61, no. 3 (1994): 384–390.

67. Glenn Hinson, *Fire in My Bones: Transcendence and the Holy Spirit in African American Gospel* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Jeff Todd Titon, *Powerhouse for God: Speech, Chant, and Song in an Appalachian Baptist Church* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988); Monique Marie Ingalls, “Awesome in This Place: Sound, Space, and Identity in Contemporary North American Evangelical Worship” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2008). For perspectives from religious studies, see also the essays in Russell T. McCutcheon, ed., *The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion: A Reader* (London: Cassell, 1999).

68. Gregory Richard Barnett, *Bolognese Instrumental Music, 1660–1710: Spiritual Comfort, Courtly Delight, and Commercial Triumph* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008).

particularly because of increasing studies of Catholicism outside Europe.⁶⁹ Seventeenth-century Catholicism is increasingly being presented as a much more colorful, diverse, and dynamic entity than previously thought. Robert Kendrick's study of music for Holy Week in the early modern world demonstrates a comprehensive approach to music as a social activity with economic and political aspects as well as a religious expression with multivalent meanings to hearers of different stations.⁷⁰ Post-Tridentine Catholicism, while not the monolithic, quasi-totalitarian entity some once thought it was, nevertheless cannot be understood without considering the tensions between "top" and "bottom" strata of the Church, and positions in between.

1.7.1 Bringing Hispanic Music into the Conversation

Despite the value of all this scholarly work on questions of music, power, and faith, these discourses have not generally considered Spanish music. Music scholars continue to leave Spain entirely out of the grand narrative of early modern music, not to mention the Americas. Unfortunately, on the other end, scholars Spanish music have not generally considered these larger questions. Aside from what the many metamusical villancicos can teach us about early modern understandings of music, the villancico repertoire deserves further study in its own right. Numerically speaking it may well be the largest category of vernacular sacred music in the early modern world, and one of the first of any music to have a truly global spread—and yet it has received hardly any attention outside of Hispanic music studies.

Literary scholars and cultural historians have certainly contributed to our understanding of early modern worldviews. Francisco Rico documents the Neoplatonic notion of man as microcosm in Golden Age Spanish literature, and Frederick de Armas has shown how astrology was linked

69. For example, Gauvin A. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* (Toronto, 1999); Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cusco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Simon Ditchfield, "Of Dancing Cardinals and Mestizo Madonnas: Reconfiguring the History of Roman Catholicism in the Early Modern Period," *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, nos. 3–4 (2002): 386–408.

70. Robert L. Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2014).

to notions of political power in the plays of Calderón, for example.⁷¹ And anthropologists like William Christian and historians of religion like Gillian Ahlgren (among many others) have shed light on the devotional piety of Spanish Catholics in this era, in the lives of both common people and uncommon ones like Teresa of Ávila and other visionaries.⁷²

But most scholars of Spanish literature and culture have not seriously considered the villancico, despite its being one of the most common forms of religious devotion and of sacred lyric poetry disseminated throughout the Hispanic world. The one exception is the singular attention lavished on the prolific villancico poet Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, but even music scholars such as Geoffrey Baker have written about Sor Juana's villancico texts without discussing their extant musical settings.⁷³

Miguel Querol Gavaldá and José María Díez Borque have written about the meaning and function of music in the plays of Calderón, with the latter scholar raising important questions about the public's understanding of and involvement with these plays. These literary scholars, though, do not connect Calderón's words about music with the actual music that survives for these plays.⁷⁴ No one has yet done for music in the *auto sacramental* what Louise Stein has done for the Calderonian *comedia*.⁷⁵ These cultural forms demand interdisciplinary perspectives, and though individual scholars may attempt to integrate multiple approaches in a single project such as this one, the best way forward will be through real dialogue and collaboration across disciplines.

Part of the reason for this neglect of villancicos by musicological and literary scholars is that

71. Francisco Rico, *El pequeño mundo del hombre: Varia fortuna de una idea en la cultura española*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1986); Frederick A. De Armas, *The Return of Astraea: An Astral-Imperial Myth in Calderón* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1986).

72. William A. Christian Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); William A. Christian Jr., *Person and God in a Spanish Valley*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); Gillian T. W. Ahlgren, *Teresa of Ávila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996).

73. Martha Lilia Tenorio, *Los villancicos de Sor Juana* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1999); Tenorio, *El Gongorismo en Nueva España: Ensayo de restitución*; Baker, "The 'Ethnic Villancico' and Racial Politics in 17th-Century Mexico."

74. Miguel Querol Gavalda, *La musica en el teatro de Calderon* (Barcelona: Institut del Teatre, 1981); Kurt Levy, Jesus Ara, and Gethin Hughes, eds., *El auto sacramental calderoniano y su publico: Funciones del texto cantado* (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1985), 49–68.

75. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain*.

the relatively small amount of musicological research on villancicos has not generally broached themes of wider interest. Important research by Samuel Rubio, Paul Laird, Bernat Cabero Pueyo, and others focused primarily on tracing the structural evolution of the villancico as an abstract form from the fifteenth century through the seventeenth.⁷⁶ Other scholars have attempted taxonomies of villancico types, or studied particular subgenres of villancico such as the “ethnic villancico.” Álvaro Torrente and others pushed research in a more contextual direction by investigating the liturgical function of villancicos in particular places.⁷⁷ Dianne Goldmann situates the villancico’s sister genre, the Latin Responsory, in its ritual context in Mexico City Cathedral.⁷⁸

But there are still few studies that interpret villancico poetry and music and also connect it with broader discourses. Laird is to be commended as the first to suggest how such interpretation might proceed. Bernardo Illari’s thorough study of villancicos in eighteenth-century La Plata (Sucre, Bolivia) admirably combines both detailed local context and interpretive analysis of pieces of music.⁷⁹ Illari was the first to identify the category of metamusical villancicos, which he labels “singing about singing,” but because this is not his primary question, he does not pursue the implications of these pieces far beyond that. Illari was also one of the first to consider the theological dimension of villancicos, in distinction to other work that has focused more on political, social, or racial elements. Like this other scholarship, though, Illari’s ultimate focus is less on theological interpretation than on how the La Plata villancicos reflect and ritually enact structures of secular power. Illari’s thesis of “polychoral culture”—that music was a way of creating a harmoniously balanced, hierarchical society, a medium for ritually enforcing the

76. Samuel Rubio, *Forma del villancico polifónico desde el siglo XV hasta el XVIII* (Cuenca: Instituto de Música Religiosa de la Excm. Diputación Provincial de Cuenca, 1979); Paul R. Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1997); Cabero Pueyo, *Der Villancico des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in Spanien*.

77. Álvaro José Torrente, “The Sacred Villancico in Early Eighteenth-Century Spain: The Repertory of Salamanca Cathedral” (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1997) and the essays by Bégué, Bombi, Cabral, Hathaway, and Knighton in Knighton and Torrente, *Devotional Music in the Iberian World*.

78. Dianne Lehmann Goldmann, “The Matins Responsory at Mexico City Cathedral, 1575–1815” (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2014).

79. Illari, “Polychoral Culture”; 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.

ancien régime—is echoed in other recent work on Hispanic music by Baker (on Cuzco) and Irving (on Manila, who calls a similar idea “colonial counterpoint”).⁸⁰ Ricardo Miranda has begun to move in this direction by contextualizing Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla’s Latin-texted music with historical theology, though a deeper engagement with primary theological sources and musical manuscripts is needed.⁸¹ Miranda connects Padilla’s Latin music for the cathedral of Puebla with seventeenth-century theological notions of light. Extending the study to Padilla’s many villancicos based on tropes of light (such as pieces referring to the Virgin as the dawn and Christ as the sun) would yield even more fruitful results.

There is ample need, then, for an interpretive project that considers villancicos as sources of musical theology, focusing close analysis on music and poetry, and grounding interpretation in the intellectual context of specific times and places, but also with an eye to common global trends. We will begin by focusing on the theological problem at the center of this inquiry: what kind of power did early modern Catholics believe music exerted in the relationship between faith and hearing?

80. Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco*; Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*.

81. Ricardo Miranda, “...de Ángeles también el coro’: Estética y simbolismo en la misa *Ego flos campi* de Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla,” in *Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla y la época Palafoxiana*, ed. Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez (Puebla de los Ángeles, Mexico: Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, Secretaría de Cultura, 2010), 131–153.

CHAPTER 2

MUSIC'S POWER IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HEARING AND FAITH

"How are they to believe if they have not heard?" St. Paul asked, since "faith comes through hearing, and hearing, by the Word of Christ" (Rom. 10:16–17). In what way, then, were hearing and faith actually linked in early modern Catholic understanding? How could the auditory art form of music affect the relationship between them?

Catholics understood faith to be more than just assenting to the truth of certain propositions (that would be *fides informa* or unformed faith). Rather, fully formed faith (*fides formata*) was a virtue (*virtus*) or capacity that "worked through" the higher virtues of hope and love. True faith for Catholics meant a commitment of the whole person to live faithfully in communion with Christ through his body, the Church.

But how could a person acquire such faith? The problem is that while the truths of Catholic Christianity were understood to be unchanging and transcendent, a dynamic relationship somehow had to be formed between these objective truths and the experience of an individual Christian subject.

Sacred music, with its powers to move the bodily affections and stir the intellect, would seem an apt tool for making this connection between objective truth and subjective experience. But how exactly did Catholics understand music to work in this dynamic of faith and hearing? How did music work physiologically on the body through the senses? And what was the task of the listener to music supposed to be, in order to hear music in such a way as to acquire faith and

increase in faithful devotion and social life?

This chapter situates villancicos within the context of early modern Catholic discussions of faith and sensation. In the first section, it presents theological sources that can enhance our understanding of how music was believed to work spiritually to propagate faith. These sources reveal a certain anxiety about the role of individual sensory experience in faith, and uncertainty about whether all people really had the capacity for faith.

The next section interprets villancicos that explicitly address themes of faith and sensation as primary sources for understanding the state of this question in the seventeenth-century Hispanic world. These pieces including contests of the senses and representations of sensory confusion (including synesthesia) and impairment. Two villancicos that represent comic catechism scenes between a friar and a deaf man who cannot understand the teaching dramatize the problem of making faith appeal to hearing.

The last part of the chapter sketches a historically informed theological framework for understanding the role of music in villancicos, drawing on the Neoplatonic writings of Fray Luis de Granada and Athanasius Kircher. The chapter concludes by proposing three primary theological functions of villancicos—mnemonic, contemplative, and affective. Each function calls for a different type of listening practice.

2.1 THE CHALLENGE OF MAKING FAITH APPEAL TO HEARING

The three quotations in table 2.1 provide distinct perspectives on the fundamental question of how hearing was involved in acquiring faith. The first is from the preface to the official Roman Catechism, produced by command of the Council of Trent.¹ The catechism defends the Catholic Church's authority to preserve and teach “the faith.” God communicated his own nature to humanity by becoming incarnate in Christ, and therefore the true Word of God was not the

1. Catholic Church, *Catechismus ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini: iussu Pij V. pontif. max. editus* [. . .] (London, 1614).

Scripture or any body of doctrines, but rather Jesus Christ himself as the *λόγος* or *Verbum* (John 1:1). But while Truth ultimately would consist in knowing God in Christ, the catechism teaches that Christ founded the Church to be the means through which people would come to know him after his resurrection. Christ appointed apostles, chief among them St. Peter, to be the custodians of the true faith from his time up until the present.

Thus the Church as Christ's body was the community through which people came to faith in Christ and learned to live faithful lives after Christ's example. This is how the catechism interprets St. Paul's dictum that faith came through hearing, and hearing, by the Word of Christ. In order to make Christ known to the present age, "teachers and ministers of the faith" needed to make Christ the Word audible.

For faith to come through hearing, Catholic theologians taught that both the teacher and the listener had to be involved. In a vernacular explanation of the catechism intended for training priests, Fray Antonio de Azevedo argues that faith requires both wise teachers and attentive listeners.² Azevedo begins his book with an image from the pagan Classical world: Pliny's description of a Roman idol, "an elderly man sitting inside a temple, who had a harp in his hand, and who was teaching a boy who lay at his feet."³ The temple, Azevedo explains, represents that faith should be "firm and fixed, and also that there must be masters who teach it, and disciples who listen to it; and that the master needs to be old and mature in age and faithfulness. Because the teaching is serious, ancient, and of weight and substance." And he says, the teacher is shown

with a musical instrument which gives pleasure to the ear. So that we should understand that Faith enters through the ear [oído], as St. Paul says, and that the disciple should be like a child, simple, without malice or duplicity, without knowing even how to respond or argue, but only how to listen and learn. Thus this image depicts for us elegantly, what the hearer of the Faith [el oyente de la Fe] should be like.⁴

2. Fray Antonio de Azevedo, *Catecismo de los misterios de la fe, con la esposicion del Simbolo de los Santos Apostoles. A do se enseña, todo lo que vn fiel Cristian esta obligado a creer, y vn cura de almas a saber, para enseñar a sus ouejas* (Barcelona, 1589).

3. Ibid., f. 1a.

4. Ibid., f. 1b: "Para pintar los Romanos la Fe, lo primero que hizieron templo y altar [...]. Numa pomplio [...]

Table 2.1
Quotations on hearing, faith, and music

Since, therefore, faith is conceived by means of hearing, it is apparent, how necessary for achieving eternal life are the works of the legitimate teachers and ministers of the faith. [...]

Those who are called to this ministry should understand that in passing along the mysteries of faith and the precepts of life, *they must accommodate the teaching to the sense of hearing and intelligence*, so that by these [mysteries and precepts], *those who possess a well-trained sense* should be filled up by spiritual food.

—Catechism of the Council of Trent, 1614 edition^a

If a preacher should wish by the power of God to move a devout person to heavenly things, so that the listener is given over in meditation in otherworldly affects and raptured in his mind,

and if the preacher should take some notable theme expressed in words, which would recall to the hearer's memory the sweetness of heavenly things and their mildness, and then fittingly adapt that verbal theme through cadences and intervals in the Dorian mode,

then *the listener could experience that what was said is actually true*, since through harmonic sweetness he would be transported beyond himself by those heavenly things, carried away by joy to where those things are true.

—Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, 1650^b

For I doubt it now, even though I know it,
because I have listened to Faith without faith.

—“Judaism,” speaking to “Faith,” in Calderón, *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*, 1634^c

a. Catholic Church, *Catechismus ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini: iussu Pij V. pontif. max. editus* [...] (London, 1614), 2, 8–9 (emphasis added): “Cvm autem fides ex auditu concipiatur, perspicuum est, quām necessaria semper fuerit ad æternam vitam consequendam doctoris legitimi fidelis opera, ac ministerium [...] vt videlicet intelligerent, que ad hoc ministerium vocati sunt, ita in tradendis fidei mysteriis, ac vitæ præceptis, doctrinam ad audientium sensum, atque intelligentiam accomodari oportere, vt cùm eorum animos, qui exercitatos sensus habent, spirituali cibo expleuerint [...].”

b. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis, sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X. libros digesta* (Rome, 1650), bk. 7, 550 (emphasis added): “Si quis Deo deuotum hominum rerumque cœlestium, meditationi deditum in exoticos affectus raptusque mentis commouere vellet is supra insigne aliquod verborum thema, quod rerum cœlestium dulcedinum, & suavitatem auditori in memoriam reuocaret, modulo dorio per clausulas interuallaque aptè adaptet, & experietur quod dixi verum esse, statim extra se factos dulcedine harmonica eò, vbi vera sunt gaudi rapi.”

c. 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), ll. 1319–1320: “Que yo lo dudo ahora, aunque lo sé,/ porque a la Fe he escuchado sin la fe.”

The teacher's task according to Azevedo, then, is not only to make the faith heard, but to make it "appeal to the ear," just as he says music does; and the disciple's task is simply to listen and take heed.

But such teaching was limited by the sensory capacity of each listener, and therefore the Roman Catechism argues that the task of listening requires training. The catechism exhorts its teachers to accommodate the limitations of their listeners' senses (*sensus*) even as they train their hearers to listen profitably. The statement in table 2.1 contains two seemingly contradictory ideas: first, that a religious teacher must accommodate the limitations of the pupil's senses in order to teach effectively; and second, that the pupils who will receive the benefit of the teaching are those whose senses have been properly trained.

Extending these arguments to music, the theology of the catechism might suggest that music's value in propagating faith would come from its ability to make the faith appeal to the ears of listeners. In the effort to make the Word audible in a way that appealed to hearing and accommodate the limitations of hearers, it would seem natural to use the auditory media of vernacular poetry and music—just as Azevedo and other writers used vernacular language in their teaching.⁵ If teaching should appeal to the ear *like* music, as Azevedo says, then combining teaching with actual music would appeal all the more. At the same time, the challenge of training the sense of hearing would seem to be multiplied with music, since a listener must learn to perceive musical structures in order to gain benefit from the music.

puso vn idolo: de forma de vn viejo cano, que tenia vna harpa en la mano, i estava enseñando vn niño echado a sus pies. En esta figura o geroglifica esta encerrada mucha filosofia, i aun cristiana. En el templo i ara denota, que la fe a de ser firme i fixa, no movediza, ni flaca, que a cada ayre de novedad se mueva I tambien que a menester maestros que la enseñen, i dicipulos que la oygan. I, que el maestro a de ser anciano, i maduro en edad y bondad. Porque la doctrina es grave, antigua, i de tomo i sustancia. No nueua, ni de pocos años sino antigua dende los Apostoles, i con instrumento musical que da gusto al oido. Para que entendamos, que la Fe entra por el oido; como dice S. Pablo. I que el dicipulo sea como niño, sencillo, sin malicia ni doblez, sin saber ni replicar, ni arguir, mas de solo oir, y deprender. En lo qual nos dibuxa galanamente, qual a de ser el oriente de la Fe."

5. For example, Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *Practica del catecismo romano, y doctrina christiana, sacada principalmente de los catecismos de Pio V. y Clemente VIII. compuestos conforme al Decreto del santo Concilio Tridentino: Con las divisiones, y adiciones necesarias al cumplimiento de las obligaciones Christianas, para que se pueda leer cada Domingo, y dia de fiesta* (Madrid, 1640).

2.1.1 Experiencing Spiritual Truth through Music

This problem—that music has the ability both to make faith appeal to the ear, but that the ear must be trained to hear it—may be seen in Athanasius Kircher’s explanations of music’s power. The Jesuit writer is one of the few who attempted to articulate exactly how music worked to propagate faith. In the passage in table 2.1, Kircher presents music like a heightened form of rhetorical preaching. Music’s goal is the same as that of the preacher who wishes “by the power of God to move a devout person to heavenly things”; but music possesses its own powers to go beyond what can be “expressed in words,” and provoke “meditation in otherworldly affects.” Most importantly, Kircher argues that the right kind of music could cause the listener “to experience that what was said is actually true,” or “to experience the truth of what was said.”

Kircher’s depiction of music’s power goes well beyond the Jesuit formula of “teaching, pleasing, and persuading.” Music not only makes the teaching of doctrinal truth appealing and persuasive; it actually transforms the listener and transports the listener “by joy to where those things are true.”

For Kircher, music links the objective truth with subjective experience through the unique ways that music affects the human body. Affective content in Kircher’s theory is somehow written into the music through rhetorical tropes and intrinsic properties of music’s nature; and affect is embodied by the performers. Through principles of sympathetic vibration, the humoral/affective properties could be transferred from composer and performer to listeners.

But Kircher never fully resolves the problem of subjectivity in this process: namely, that each listener perceives music differently based on both cultural background and individual humoral temperament. Kircher acknowledges that music does not communicate the same things, or produce the same effects, for listeners of different cultures; and has no single answer to explain what (for example) music with a high melancholic component would do to a listener of a particular temperament. Would the melancholic listener overflow with black bile and experience a cathartic

balancing of his affections? Or would he receive a fatal dose of melancholy that would be detrimental to his health? When Kircher describes the “fitting” adaptation of preaching to “cadences and intervals in the Dorian mode,” he does not explain how one acquires the necessary knowledge and capacity to hear those musical structures and derive the intended benefit.

2.1.2 The Danger of Subjective Experience in Faith

The capacity to listen faithfully, and therefore music’s power over hearing faith, would then be limited by cultural conditioning as well as by personal subjectivity. On the individual level, there was a creeping anxiety within Spanish culture regarding the relationship of the senses to faith. This anxiety made the power of music potentially dangerous.

The question of what role individual subjective experience played in acquiring faith had vexed the Catholic Church since the start of the Reformation. In pre-Reformation theology, as formulated most influentially by St. Thomas Aquinas, faith (*fides*) was understood as a virtue and was defined in two primary ways: *fides informe* (unformed faith) and *fides formata* (faith “formed” by working through hope and charity).

The first type of *fides* is best translated “belief,” and was primarily a matter of the head or intellect; the second, as “faithfulness,” a matter of the hands or ethical behavior. In the early sixteenth century, the Catholic Humanists such as Erasmus, who was influenced by the *Devotio Moderna* in which he was raised, stressed the need for an affective spirituality of the heart that could unite head belief with the faithfulness of the hands. For Erasmians, this heartfelt faith was to be the source for reformation of the individual and society, the Christian path to achieving the educational goals of the Renaissance—namely, by following the Classical models of Plato and Cicero to produce men of virtue and therefore a just society.

At the same time, however, Martin Luther radically redefined *fides* as trust in the gospel of salvation through Christ alone, and separated *fides* from *virtus*, “faith” from “works.” For Thomas More and other Catholics who polemicized against Luther, Luther’s theology turned his followers

away from the external, trustworthy, institutional Church and its objectively operating sacraments and left them with nothing but a subjective internal experience as assurance of salvation.⁶ Further, as Catholics understood the Protestant position, faith was no longer connected to the cultivation of a just society, but was a purely individual matter.

Regardless of whether this critique was fair, the Catholic reaction to Luther produced widespread anxiety in Spain regarding the role of subjective sensory experience in faith. The religion of the heart that had been promoted by the Humanists as a path to sanctity came to be seen by some after Trent as the gateway to heresy. As a result the Spanish Inquisition put heavy pressure on groups emphasizing individual spiritual experience, such as the mystically inclined *alumbrados* and the Carmelite reformers Teresa of Ávila and John of the Cross. Teresa was one of many who claimed no authority for her teaching except her own visions of God, but unlike many others (such as the *beata* Francisca de los Apóstoles) she managed to deflect official suspicion and dodge Inquisitorial censorship.⁷ John of the Cross's *Ascent of Mount Carmel* uses "negative theology" (moving toward God by contemplating what God is not, since God is beyond anything the human mind can imagine) to distance contemplatives from their visions and sensations. By willingly depriving themselves of sensory experience they might come closer to union with the God who was beyond sensation. John defines that union not in sensual terms but in ethical ones, as the total surrender and conformity of one's will to God.⁸ Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* are dedicated entirely to the task of discerning whether one's religious sensory experiences are truly from God.

In such a climate, music's power over the senses and affects came under suspicion as well. While some Catholics such as the Jesuit missionaries (despite their founder's suspicion of music)

6. See Susan Elizabeth Schreiner, *Are You Alone Wise?: The Search for Certainty in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

7. Gillian T. W. Ahlgren, *Teresa of Ávila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996); Francisca de los Apóstoles, *The Inquisition of Francisca: A Sixteenth-Century Visionary on Trial*, ed. Gillian T. W. Ahlgren (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

8. This theology is discussed further in chapter 6.

were eager to use this power to advance the cause of the church, others saw the use of music as a potential distraction or distortion. In part this stemmed from the Spanish fascination with illusion (*engaño*) and the potential deception of the senses, as scholars of Spanish literature such as Calderón's *La vida es sueño* (Life Is a Dream) have long understood. Music's power over the senses and affects might be used for the purposes of cultivating faith, but this power had to be carefully controlled and submitted to reason to mitigate the dangers of individual subjectivity.

2.1.3 The Need for Cultural Conditioning in Hearing

On the cultural side, the age of exploration had shown European Catholics that there could be a distinction between the core of Christian religion—which was to be preserved without change in all cultural settings—and specific cultural expressions or incarnations of Christianity, which could be changed. The Chinese rites controversy with the Jesuits, in which the bishop of Puebla, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, played an active role, was only one example where that distinction proved difficult to delineate. Which part, one might ask, constituted “the Faith” that was supposed to come through hearing?

And if hearing was culturally conditioned, then how might one reliably use music to appeal to that sense? This question was vitally important in the Catholic missions overseas, and the different missionary orders and the authorities in Europe continually disagreed among each other about how much the church should accommodate its ritual and music to the local cultures.

The problem of acquiring the capacity to hear properly—of training the sense, as the Catechism puts it—is plainly stated in a 1590 dialogue that represents the impressions of four Japanese noble youths after the Jesuit missionaries took them on a grand tour of Spain and Italy between 1582 and 1590.⁹ Their trip from Nagasaki to Rome took them to most of the major Iberian musical centers discussed in this study (not to mention the most important cities in Italy): on the outgoing

9. Duarte de Sande, *De missione legatorvm Iaponensium ad Romanam curiam, rebusq; in Europa, ac toto itiner adimaduersis DIALOGVS ex ephemeride ipsorvm legatorvm colectvs, & in sermonem Latinvm versvs ab Eduardo de Sande Sacerdote Societatis IESV*. (Macao, 1590).

trip, to Lisbon, Évora, Toledo, Madrid, and Alcalá; and on the return, to Barcelona, Montserrat, Zaragoza, and Daroca. The leader of the Jesuit mission to Japan, Alessandro Valignano, hoped to persuade the authorities of his order and church that “European Jesuits must accommodate themselves to Japanese manners and customs.”¹⁰ At the same time, Valignano recognized that the missionaries were asking the Japanese to accommodate a new culture as well. Therefore the boys’ mission was both to represent Japan to Europe and on their return, to represent Europe to Japan. Valignano and his Jesuit collaborators documented the trip in the form of a dialogue between the boys who traveled and their friends who stayed home.¹¹ Though based on first-hand accounts of the Japanese “legates,” the book reflects how the European missionaries hoped the Japanese would see Europe.

The Japanese boys had received training in music, and practiced and performed throughout their trip and upon their return. In the dialogue, when their friends ask about European music, the boys tell them that it took them time to become accustomed to it, before they could recognize its superiority.¹² (In this excerpt the character Michael is one of the returned travellers—he corresponds to a real historical person—and Linus is one of his friends who stayed back in Japan.)

MICHAEL: You must remember, as we said earlier, how much we are swayed by longstanding custom, or on the other side, by unfamiliarity and inexperience, and the same is true of singing. *You are not yet used to European singing and harmony, so you do not yet appreciate how sweet and pleasant it is, whereas we, since we are now accustomed to listening to it, feel that there is nothing more agreeable to the ear.*¹³

But if we care to avert our minds from what is customary, and to consider the thing in itself, we find that European singing is in fact composed with remarkable

10. Derek Massarella, ed., *Japanese Travellers in Sixteenth-Century Europe: A Dialogue concerning the Mission of the Japanese Ambassadors to the Roman Curia* (1590), trans. J. F. Moran, annotated translation of *De missione legatorvm Iaponensium* (Macao, 1590) with introduction (London: The Hakluyt Society/Ashgate, 2012), 4.

11. Valignano and his Jesuit collaborators drafted the text in Spanish and Duarte de Sande adapted it into Latin. Valignano said the book was intended for teaching Latin to the Japanese and inform them about European customs.

12. Sande, *De missione legatorvm Iaponensium*, 109–110, translation from Massarella, *Japanese Travellers in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, 155–156, emphasis added. The available sources for the original text are too poorly reproduced to allow for a full transcription of the original Latin, but tentative transcriptions are offered for the two emphasized sentences.

13. “Vos enim, qui nondum Europeo cantui, & symphoniae estis assuefacti, nondum eius suauitatem, & dulcedimum experimini: nos autem, quorum aures iam sunt assuetae, nihil auditu iucundius esse credimus.”

skill; it does not always keep to the same note for all voices, as ours does, but some notes are higher, some lower, some intermediate, and when all of these are skillfully sung together, at the same time, they produce a certain remarkable harmony [...] all of which, [...] together with the sounds of the musical instruments, are wonderfully pleasing to the ear of the listener. [...]

With our singing, since there is no diversity in the notes, but one and the same way of producing the voice, we don't yet have any art or discipline in which the rules of harmony are contained; whereas the Europeans, with their great variety of sounds, their skillful construction of instruments, and their remarkable quantity of books on music and note shapes, have hugely enriched this art.

LINUS: I am sure all these things which you say are true; for the variety of the instruments and the books which you have brought back, as well as the singing and the modulation of harmony, testify to a remarkable artistic system. Nor do I doubt that *our normal expectations in listening to singing are an impediment when it comes to appreciating the beauties of European harmony*.¹⁴

From this perspective, then, music could be a way to make faith pleasing to the ear, as Kircher describes, but only if the ear was trained in order for it to find such music pleasing. This conclusion would apply on both individual and social levels; that is, both personal subjectivity and cultural conditioning were involved in the process of hearing music.

Using music to propagate faith meant appealing to the ear and training it at the same time. Since Catholics (as exemplified in the Tridentine Catechism) believed faith to have a social dimension—a faithful life as part of the community of the church—inculcating faith through music meant more than a one-on-one dialogue between “the music” and “the listener.” The musical ritual of the post-Tridentine Church involved a large number of community participants, for whom performing music with the body and hearing it were inextricably linked.

Moreover, the musical efforts of the colonizing church concretely built social relationships through musical training. Bringing a man to faith meant setting him on a path to becoming a whole, virtuous person in the image of Christ (*virum perfectum* in the words of the Catechism, the root of *virtus* being *vir*).¹⁵ At the same time, the virtue of man as Neoplatonic microcosm was reflected

14. “Nec dubito, quam [?] in nostri cantus adiendi consuetudo sit impedimento, quonimus [?] Europam concentus suavitatem sentimus.”

15. Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, 8.

in the broader society and in turn depended on it. So teaching faith meant trying to establish not just individual Christians, but also building a Christian society as the body of Christ. This is why the friars in Mexico not only started parishes, but they also trained choirs. Catholic music was not *about* society; it was a form of society. Forming choirs of boys and training ensembles of village musicians in colonial Mexico were practical means of establishing the Church. The economic aspect of paying for music and musicians, and the political aspect of creating social organizations and putting on public spectacles, though seemingly secular, were still an important part of the church's mission. In other words, the evangelizing mission could not be easily separated from a civilizing mission, any more than the Church in Europe after Trent could separate its duty to preserve purity of doctrine from the need to unify liturgical practice. In Boethian terms, well-tuned *musica instrumentalis* could harmonize the *musica humana*—the harmony of the individual in body and soul, reason and passion, but also the concord of human society—and all this could better reflect the *musica mundana*.

2.1.4 Obstacles to Faith and Mistrust of Hearing

The third quotation in table 2.1 points to a problem lurking in Catholic conceptions of propagating faith through hearing: what happens if a listener lacks the proper disposition to hear the Word with faith? In a Corpus Christi play (*auto sacramental*) by Spanish court poet Pedro Calderón de la Barca, performed in 1634 to celebrate Philip IV's new palace, the Buen Retiro, the allegorical character “Judaism” (*Judaísmo*) represents the unbelieving Jew, according to a long Spanish anti-Semitic tradition.¹⁶ “Judaism” is forcefully excluded from the festivities celebrated within the play, which culminate with the consecration of the Eucharist. Instead Judaism stands to the side and asks the character Faith to explain each event to him, and Faith answers him with elaborate allegories. When the Eucharistic host is consecrated and elevated, Judaism responds with a long

16. 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).

Poem 2.1

Calderón, *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*, ll. 1303–1304 and 1319–1337: *Judaísmo* confesses his unbelief to Faith

1303	¿Quién eres, que te miro y no lo sé, porque a la Fe he escuchado sin la Fe? [...]	Who are you, that I see you and I do not know it, because I have listened to Faith without faith.
1320	Que yo lo dudo ahora, aunque lo sé, porque a la Fe he escuchado sin la fe. Mas ya seas la flor de Jericó, ya seas de los valles el clavel, blanco maná que el Cielo nos llovió, blando rocío que mojó la piel,	For I doubt it now, even though I know it, because I have listened to Faith without faith. But surely you must be the flower of Jericho, surely you must be the lily of the valleys, white manna that rained from Heaven for us, pale dew that dampened the fleece,
1325	áspid pendiente, llama que alumbró, fruta vedada, derretida miel, yo no te alcanzo ni tu enigma sé, porque a la Fe he escuchado sin la fe. Y así, corra a tu blanco singular	dangling serpent, fire that showed the way, forbidden fruit, rejected honey, I cannot comprehend you nor know your enigma, because I have listened to Faith without faith. And so, let him run to your singular goal
1330	él que pueda su precio conseguir, que yo siempre tu ser he de dudar, que nunca he yo tu luz de percibir, porque la Hostia no eres de mi altar, porque no eres el sol de mi nadir,	who can appraise your value, for I will always doubt your being, for I will never perceive your light, because you are not the Host of my altar, because you are not the sun of my setting,
1335	porque tu oscura cifra no alcancé, porque a la Fe he escuchado sin la fe. <i>Tocan todos los instrumentos músicos, chirimías y atabalillas, cajas y trompetas, y salen coronados con hojas todos, y lanzas, como de ristre, al compás del clarín [...].</i>	because your dark cipher I did not comprehend, because I have listened to Faith without faith. <i>All the musical instruments play, shawms and snares, drums and trumpets, and everyone enters crowned with leaves, and with lances, as for battle, to the measure of the clarion.</i>

monologue (poem 2.1) in which he attempts to understand the mysterious wafer by connecting it with stories from Hebrew Scripture such as the manna in the desert and the dew on Gideon's fleece. But Judaism cannot accept any of these explanations. In fact he is unable to believe what Faith has explained to him, because, as he says in a refrain that becomes increasingly desperate, "I have listened to Faith without faith" ("a la Fe he escuchado sin la fe").

Recalling how the Roman Catechism urged pastors to accommodate "the sense of hearing and intelligence," the character Judaism's problem is neither with sensory ability nor even with his intellectual knowledge of doctrine: clearly he has listened carefully to Faith's explanations and

grasps their connections to Hebrew Scriptures. But something is lacking in this character that permanently prevents him from moving from “listening to [the] Faith” into actual saving faith.

It seems no accident that Judaism’s confession of unbelief is immediately drowned out by music. As a procession enters bringing the King, Queen, and Man, the fanfares “to the measure of the clarion” celebrate the King’s triumph over Judaism through the sense of hearing. For Calderón’s listeners, who had been taught to regard Jews as the embodiment of willful unbelief and worse, the entry of the musicians would clear away the acrid sound of Judaism’s doubts.

In the next scene, Calderón represents the sense of Hearing as the only one capable of grasping the mystery of the Eucharist. The allegorical characters of the five senses—Sight, Touch, Smell, Taste, and Hearing—all approach the Eucharistic host, but each one fails to understand. Sight sees only bread, Smell smells only bread, and so on. But Hearing, the last to come near, simply believes Christ’s statement “This is my body,” saying, “For I need no more than to hear it in order to believe it.”¹⁷

Calderón thus presents Hearing as the only sense favored by Faith, and the only one capable of grasping the mysteries of faith. But at the same time, hearing is not enough for Calderón’s Judaism, who listens to what the character Faith says but cannot believe it because he lacks faith to begin with. Calderón, then, presents a similar dilemma to that implicit in Kircher’s theory of music’s power over the affects: in order to receive faith through hearing one needs to be properly disposed, but what capacitates the listener for effective hearing?

Calderón’s drama complicates the matter further by casting doubt on the sense of hearing. Earlier in the play, Calderón stages an allegorical contest of the senses, in which each sense competes for a laurel prize from Faith. Each sense in turn boasts of his powers, but Faith rejects each one. She tells Taste, for example, “Do not speak, Taste, with Faith, for Faith does not believe Taste” (ll. 565–566). Hearing is the last sense to present himself, and in contrast to the other senses,

17. Calderón de la Barca, *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*, ll. 1427–1428: “que yo no he menester más/ de oírlo para creerlo.”

Poem 2.2

Calderón, *El nuevo palacio*, ll. 567–592: Hearing’s speech to Faith

567	Temblar su semblante es justo, y así, torpe, humilde y ciego, a ofrecerme a mí no llego,	It is right to tremble before you, thus, lame, humble, and blind, I can hardly present myself,
570	que a esa voz, que el labio mueve, soy una estatua de nieve, aunque con alma de fuego. El Oído soy, que dar noticia sólo he podido	for to that voice, that moves the lip, I am a statue of snow, although with a soul of fire. I am Hearing, and I have
575	de una voz, siendo Sentido el más fácil de engañar. Ve la Vista, sin dudar lo que ve; huele el Olfato lo que huele; toca el Tacto	only been able to give notice of a voice, being the Sense that is easiest to deceive. Sight sees, without doubting what she sees; Smell smells what he smells; Touch touches
580	lo que toca y gusta el Gusto lo que gusta, siendo justo el objeto con el trato, pero lo que oye el Oído sólo es un eco veloz	what he touches, and Taste tastes what he tastes, since the object is proximate to the action, but what Hearing hears
585	que nace de ajena voz sin objeto conocido. Luego bien estoy corrido, pues no tienen mis errores, como la Vista colores,	is only a fleeting echo, born of a distant voice without a known object. Thus I am quite hemmed in,
590	como el Tacto variedades, como el Gusto suavidades, ni como el Olfato olores.	for they do not have my errors, not as Sight has colors, as Touch has varieties, as Taste has mild delights, nor as Smell has aromas.

speaks of his weakness, and how easily he is deceived (poem 2.2). Since he cannot trust his own powers, he must rely on faith. In response (poem 2.3) Faith crowns Hearing precisely because of his “desconfianza”—lack of confidence, humility, or mistrust.

What would it mean for hearing to be the favored sense of faith not just because of its humility but because of its actual weakness, its defects compared to the other senses? Specifically, if indeed hearing is “the sense that is easiest to deceive,” how could it rightly be a medium for faith?¹⁸ This

18. ll. 575–576: “siendo sentido/ el más fácil de engañar.”

Poem 2.3

Calderón, *El nuevo palacio*, ll. 593–602: Faith’s response to Hearing

593	En esa desconfianza más hallado está el amor	In this mistrust Faith’s love is found all the more;
595	de la Fe; aqueste favor solo el Oído le alcanza.	this favor is earned by Hearing alone.
	<i>Dale el ramillete</i>	<i>She gives him the wreath</i>
	No se rinda la esperanza ni el temor se dé a partido; desde hoy, humano Sentido,	Do not give up hope, nor suddenly take afright; from today forward, human Sense
600	serviréisme vos, porque los favores de la Fe sólo son para el Oído.	you shall serve me, because the favors of Faith are only for Hearing.

problem affects music as well: if, as Kircher says, music enables a listener to experience the truth of faith affectively and bodily, rather than simply assenting to doctrines intellectually, how might that process actually work if the sense to which music appeals the most is handicapped by so much doubt and uncertainty? How could music such as villancicos, then, provide a medium for propagating the faith (or instituting social control) if hearing was so easily deceived?

Dominique Reyre reads Calderón’s *El nuevo palacio* as “the promulgation of dogma through metaphor.”¹⁹ The dogma in question for Reyre is Eucharistic transubstantiation, and she reads the play simply as an exposition of this doctrine. But Reyre’s only source for contextualizing the play theologically is a twentieth-century digest of Catholic theology; she draws on no early modern sources to support her arguments. And her reading of the play as being only about the Eucharist fails to account for the large portion of the play’s content that does not deal directly with this doctrine. More of the play represents the King’s audience with the non-Catholic nations, the King’s relationship with Man, the condemnation of Judaism, and the confusion of the senses. Most importantly Reyre overlooks the overt political dimension of the whole play, which should

19. Dominique Reyre, “Transmisión poética y dramatúrgica del dogma en el auto *El nuevo palacio del Retiro* de Calderón: La teología eucarística de las metáforas,” *Criticón* 102 (2008): 113–122.

be obvious given the circumstances of its performance and, among other elements, the fact that the character of the King is explicitly named Felipe.

Reyre also does not acknowledge that the doubt of the senses and of Judaism's capacity to believe as staged by Calderón might have caused any problems for seventeenth-century hearers. She views the work as an internally consistent reiteration of dogmas already determined by Tridentine decrees.

In a ritual reading of Calderón's *Nuevo palacio* Margaret Greer deals directly with the political aspects of the play, drawing on twentieth-century anthropological and political theory.²⁰ Greer interprets the play as a ritual enactment of Spain's hierarchical society, with the king, ruling by divine right and invested with divine power, at the top.

Her reading is similar to the studies of Corpus Christi celebrations in colonial Peru by Carolyn Dean (focusing on visual art) and Geoffrey Baker (focusing on music).²¹ Baker sees colonial music as a way of "imposing harmony" on society, particularly in urban settings.

Like Reyre's view, Greer's approach does not leave room for the play's ambiguities and doubts. Greer also does not sufficiently incorporate the role of listeners into a ritual model. Nor does she distinguish between a contemporary anthropological analysis of a historical event and historically grounded understandings.

Anthropologists did not invent the notion that the sacrament celebrated in the Corpus Christi festivities worked effectively through its performance to transform society. Rather, that concept was a fundamental Catholic belief.²² Certainly, the music and other religious arts presented in the festivity had a teaching function, and certainly, these expressive practices also embodied the beliefs they proclaimed; but perhaps it is not too simple to say with Jack Sage that people

20. Margaret Greer, "Los dos cuerpos del rey en Calderón: *El nuevo palacio del Retiro* y *El mayor encanto, amor*," in *El teatro clásico español a través de sus monarcas*, ed. Luciano García Lorenzo (Madrid: Fundamentos, 2006), 181–202.

21. Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cusco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

22. There are actually historical connections between Catholic theology and the development of modern ritual theory, exemplified most clearly in the case of Catholic convert Victor Turner.

celebrated the king's divine right to rule because they actually believed in it and even depended on it.²³ As Patrick Rietbergen has written, it may be easy for some scholars to underestimate how profoundly people's lives were shaped by religious belief and practice.²⁴ It is possible to affirm that historical subjects did believe in things that many now consider odious without making a judgment about the truth of those beliefs. It is more difficult to identify cases where the beliefs of historical subjects were not consistent, to consider a history of religious doubt rather than of faith.

If Corpus Christi plays, processions, liturgy, and the music of the villancicos that were performed in all of these, truly did function as ritual embodiments and enactments of the Catholic community, then Calderón's staged exclusion of Judaism from the circle of faith makes sense as a way of defining the community by delineating its boundaries. In other words, Calderón must construct a Jewish Other in order to define the Spanish Catholic Self. The unbelief of the Jew functions (perversely) to help non-Jewish listeners recognize true faith.

Nevertheless, Calderón puts on stage a Jew who not only refuses to believe, but lacks the capacity to believe even should he want to; the four personified senses Sight, Touch, Taste, and Smell, who cannot perceive Christ in the Eucharist and who are discounted completely by Faith; and the sense of Hearing as the one sense favored by Faith precisely on account of his incertitude and weakness. For a drama that scholars have supposed to be a celebration of Catholic unity and Spanish political power, in a genre that scholars have regarded as focused on teaching doctrine and modeling conversion, Calderón's *El nuevo palacio del Retiro* dedicates a remarkably large amount of stage time and dramatic force to representing doubt and distrust.

23. Jack W. Sage, "Music as an 'Instrumentum Regni' in Spanish Seventeenth-Century Drama," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 61, no. 3 (1994): 384–390.

24. Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

2.2 VILLANCICOS ON SENSATION AND FAITH

The Spanish cultural fascination with sensation, and concerns about the relationship of the senses to faith and to authority are manifested frequently in the villancico repertoire. This body of music demonstrates that the theological questions raised thus far were subjects of discourse for a broad range of Spanish subjects. The villancico repertoire makes it possible to see how these themes were explored in a setting where closer engagement with common people was possible. Compared with the royal pomp and verbal virtuosity of a Calderón *auto* performance, villancicos were often performed in relatively more intimate settings where there could be more proximity between social strata. And though villancico poems and music could be ingenious and raise their own questions of audibility and comprehensibility, a piece of music five to ten minutes in length might be easier to take in than a whole drama in verse.²⁵ These pieces represented complex theological concepts, but made these concepts accessible in a quite different way than a theological treatise, even one written in the vernacular.

This section discusses select examples of villancicos on themes of sensation and faith—especially ones that emphasize some aspect of doubt or uncertainty. The goal is to understand how these issues were presented to common people, and learn what these pieces can teach us about how people believed music to be involved in the relationship of hearing and faith.

2.2.1 Contests of the Senses and Early Modern Concepts of Sensation

The villancico poem *Si los sentidos queja forman del pan divino*, for which two musical settings survive, sets up a contest of the senses along similar lines to that of Calderón. This poem, dedicated for Eucharistic devotion was set to music by two successive chapelmasters of Segovia Cathedral, Miguel de Irízar (1634–1684) and Jerónimo de Carrión (1660–1721).²⁶ Irízar’s tenure at Segovia

25. Kurt Levy, Jesus Ara, and Gethin Hughes, eds., *El auto sacramental calderoniano y su publico: Funciones del texto cantado* (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1985), 49–68.

26. Irízar, E-SE: 5/32; Carrión, E-SE: 28/25. The music of these composers is the subject of chapter 5.

began in 1671 and Carrión's, in 1684 after Irízar's death. Both pieces are based on a poem attributed to Vicente Sánchez, published in his posthumous poetic works in Zaragoza in 1688.²⁷ The version of the poem in Sánchez's works most likely corresponds to a now-lost musical setting performed in Zaragoza, probably set by Diego de Cáseda (see chapter 6). We will see throughout part II that villancico texts moved along networks of musicians, and as chapter 5 will explore in detail, Segovia was linked to Zaragoza (along with Madrid, Toledo, and Seville) because of Miguel de Irízar's personal connections.

The estribillo (poem 2.4) sets the scene as a competition of the senses, where each sense will receive a “hearing” before Faith. Each of the coplas treats of a different sense. The three textual sources all arrange the coplas in different order, perhaps reflecting a slightly different understanding of the hierarchy of the senses by each compositor of the text. The poetry in table 2.4 gives the coplas in the order they appear in the Sánchez print, but also designates the distinct ordering of the Irízar and Carrión versions. In all the versions, regardless of the order of presentation, Hearing triumphs as the sense favored by Faith, and music is used as the primary example of hearing.

The estribillo restates the common trope of the Corpus Christi feast, and of the doctrine of transubstantiation that it celebrates—that the senses, just as in Calderón, cannot perceive the truth of “the divine bread” unless “what they sense” is “by faith consented” (“de fe consentido,” a play on “sentido”). Without faith, the senses “file a complaint” or “raise a contention” amongst themselves regarding the bread.

The last line of the estribillo punningly gives away the results of the contest. The phrase “hoy todos con la fe sean oídos” can mean “let them all today be heard with faith”—that is, let each have a hearing before Faith, who will judge them. But since “oído” means both “heard,” “hearing,” and “ear,” the phrase could also be translated, “let them all today with faith become ears” or “hearing.”

27. Vicente Sánchez, *Lyra Poética de Vicente Sanchez, natvral de la Imperial Cividad de Zaragoza. Obras Posthvmas* (Zaragoza, 1688), 171–172.

Poem 2.4

Sánchez, *Si los sentidos queja forman del pan divino*; labels indicate the order of each copla in the three extant sources (S: Sánchez, I: Irízar, C: Carrión)

ESTRIBILLO

Si los sentidos queja
forman del Pan Divino,
porque lo que ellos sienten
no es de fe consentido,
5 hoy todos con la fe sean oídos.^a
*no se den por sentidos
los sentidos.*

If the senses make
a complaint about the divine bread,
because what they sense
is not by faith consented,
today let them all with faith be heard.
*let the senses not
consider themselves senses.*

COPLAS

S1/I1/C1.
Si en ellos va el no ver bien
los ojos de que se admirán,
pues mal verán lo que miran
10 si no miran lo que ven,
si su ceguera es quien
los tiene impedidos,
*no se den por sentidos
los sentidos.*

[SIGHT 1]
If in them there is no good seeing
from the eyes that admire,
since they shall see poorly what they see
if they do not look at what they see,
if their blindness is the one
who keeps them impeded,
*let the senses not
consider themselves senses.*

S2/I_/_C_.
Entre velos transparentes,
15 no se ve Dios Encarnado,
que el color se le ha mudado,
y lo hacen sus accidentes,
si en nubes rayos lucientes,
están escondidos,
20 *no se den por sentidos
los sentidos.*

[SIGHT 2]
Within transparent veils,
God Incarnate is not seen,
for the color has been changed,
and it is its accidents that do it,
if in the clouds flashing rays
are hidden,
*let the senses not
consider themselves senses.*

a. C: "todos hoy con la fe."

Poem 2.4
Continued

	S3/I5/C2.	[TOUCH]
	Toca el tacto pero yerra ^b que si en que es pan se equivoca, ^c aunque todo un Cielo toca, no toca en Cielo ni en tierra,	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,
25	toca misterio y si encierra portentos no oídos, <i>no se den por sentidos</i> <i>los sentidos.</i>	it touches a mystery, and if it encloses unheard portents, <i>let the senses not</i> <i>consider themselves senses.</i>
	S4/I4/C3.	[TASTE 1]
	Que tenga voto no es justo, el gusto en este Manjar,	It is not fair that taste should have a vote on this Morsel,
30	que el gusto en él no ha de entrar aunque el Manjar entre en gusto: mas si les causa disgusto no ser admitidos, <i>no se den por sentidos</i> <i>los sentidos.</i>	for taste shall not enter in this food, although the food might enter in taste: but if it causes distaste that the senses are not admitted, <i>let the senses not</i> <i>consider themselves senses.</i>
	S5/I6/C_.	[TASTE 2]
35	Para que el Manjar alabe llevé el gusto con afán, ^d que al que sabe que no es pan ^e sabe a más de lo que sabe, ^f mas si en su esfera no cabe	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
40	y se hallan perdidos, <i>no se den por sentidos</i> <i>los sentidos.</i>	and the senses find themselves lost, <i>let the senses not</i> <i>consider themselves senses.</i>

b. I: “ierra”; C: “hierra.” The most reasonable reading is “yerra” as a variant of “erra” (errs, misses). See *The Oxford Spanish Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), s.v. “yerra.”

c. I, C: “pues en que es pan se equivoca” (since in what is bread it is mistaken).

d. I: “llegue el gusto con afán” (let taste arrive eagerly).

e. I: “que aunque sabe que no es pan” (for even though he knows that it is not bread).

f. I: “sabe más de lo que sabe.”

Poem 2.4
Continued

	S6/I3/C4.	[SMELL]
	Si el olfato se le humilla con Fe a entenderle la flor le maravilla su olor	If smell humbles himself, with Faith to make him understand the flower, its aroma makes him marvel
45	porque huele a maravilla ^h mas si para percibilla ⁱ no llegan rendidos, <i>no se den por sentidos</i> <i>los sentidos.</i>	because he smells a marvel but if in order to perceive it the sense do not come submitted, <i>let the senses not</i> <i>consider themselves senses.</i>
	S7/I2/C5.	[HEARING]
50	Porque a Dios puedan gustar, ^j en los puntos sus concertos, todos sus cinco instrumentos la Fe los ha de templar, sino los puede ajustar para ser oídos, <i>no se den por sentidos</i> <i>los sentidos.</i>	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; <i>let the senses not</i> <i>consider themselves senses.</i>

h. I: “por guele a maravilla”; C: “porque guele a maravilla.”

i. “Percibilla”: percibirla. I: “percebilla.”

j. I: This line of text appears to have been squeezed in between copla 1 and 3 after the other lyrics were underlaid.

The order of the coplas in the Sánchez edition nearly matches the presentation of the senses in Calderón’s *auto*: Sight comes first, followed by Touch; next are Taste and Smell (in reversed order from Calderón), and Hearing comes last (table 2.2). In theological and philosophical/physiological literature of the time, vision was always the first sense discussed in treating the five exterior senses, and it was always accorded the highest place in general. A typical example is the natural-philosophy textbook *Phisica, Speculatio* by the Augustinian Alphonsus a Veracruce (Mexico City, 1557), which is largely a digest of St. Thomas Aquinas’s Christian appropriation of Aristotle’s *De anima*. Veracruce’s presentation is typical of the treatises used in priestly education and preserved in the old seminary and convent libraries. It accords with the synthesis of Galenic physiology in

Table 2.2

The exterior senses: Order of presentation in versions of *Si los sentidos* correlated with Calderón and Veracruce

Veracruce ^a (Physiology)	Calderón ^b (Drama)	Sánchez (<i>Si los sentidos villancicos</i>)	Carrión	Irízar
Sight	Sight	Sight 1–2	Sight 1	Sight 1
<i>Hearing</i>	Touch	Touch	Touch	<i>Hearing</i>
Smell	Smell	Taste 1–2	Taste 1	Smell
Taste	Taste	Smell	Smell	Taste
Touch	<i>Hearing</i>	<i>Hearing</i>	<i>Hearing</i>	Touch Taste 2

a. Alphonsus a Veracruce, *Phisica, Specvlatio* (Mexico City, 1557), 283–301.

b. Calderón de la Barca, *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*, ll. 532–608.

Fray Luis de Granada's *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*.

The common physiological model of sensation and perception as articulated by Fray Luis was based on the concept of exterior and interior senses, which are also called faculties. Table 2.3 summarizes Fray Luis's breakdown of the senses and faculties, and shows the senses ranked hierarchically.

The five exterior senses mediated between the outside world and the interior senses by means of the *spiritus animales*. The *spiritus*, an ethereal substance like invisible beams of light, were engendered in the cerebral lobes and then moved through the nerves from the organs of sensation back to the cerebrum. Fray Luis calls them the source of all movement and all sensation.

In the cerebrum or brain were housed the internal faculties, which “made sense” of what the external senses told them. Starting from the front of the head, the first of these faculties was the “common” sense, a kind of reception area where the exterior senses met the deeper interior faculties. Moving further back, these faculties were successively the imagination, the “estimative” or cogitative faculty, and finally, deepest in the brain was the memory. Imagination retains the images brought to it by the senses; cognition conceives of abstract figures not drawn directly from

Table 2.3
The senses and faculties of the sensible soul (*anima sensitiva*)

Exterior Senses	Interior Senses	Passions: Affective faculty	
Sight	Memory	Love	Hate
Hearing	Affective	Desire	Fear
Smell	Cogitative	Joy	Sadness
Touch	Imaginative		
Taste	“Common” sense		
In organs of sensation	In cerebrum (brain)	Throughout body	
Gather impressions in responses to external world, transfer to cerebrum via <i>spiritus animales</i>	Retain, interpret, store impressions received from external senses, initiate response back to rest of body	Respond to external and internal senses based on movements of <i>humors</i> , motivate bodily response	

external sensation and performs logical reasoning. Memory preserves knowledge, it conserves experiences, it provides the person with a history or story that enables understanding by linking one thing with the next in chains of cause and effect.

All of these exterior and interior senses were part of the *anima sensitiva*, the sensate, sensible, or reasonable soul. In addition to these senses the *anima sensitiva* possessed an affective faculty, in which the balance of humors in the body interacted with the interior and exterior senses to produce different “passions,” “affects,” or simply feelings.²⁸ Based on a fundamental dichotomy (like magnetism, perhaps) between attraction and repulsion, this “concupiscent” part of the soul experiences three primary pairs of passions: love and hate, desire and fear, joy and sadness.

Expositors ranked the external senses in a hierarchy based on the degree of mediation between the object of sensation and the person sensing. The most base sense was taste, because the person actually had to physically consume the object of sensation in order to sense it. Likewise, touch required direct physical contact with the object. Smell depended on taking in fragrances emitted by the objects, and so its contact was more remote. Even more remote then was hearing,

28. Some scholars insist on a strict distinction between these terms, but there is no need here for more precision than the early modern sources have.

since hearing could only perceive the sounds that entered the ear, and not the things producing those sounds. Sight enabled a person to perceive objects a great distance away without making any direct contact (though theories differed about the exact mechanism of light).

For every sense but hearing, though, the object of perception was the same as the thing sensed. As Calderón's character Hearing says, "Sight sees, without doubting/ what she sees; Smell smells/ what he smells; Touch touches/ what he touches, and Taste tastes/ what he tastes, since the object is immediate [or proximate] to the action." Hearing is distinct from the other senses, then, in that the thing taken in by the ear is independent of the thing emitted the sound. In this conception, Hearing perceives a man's voice, not the man himself. As Calderón's Hearing continues, "But what Hearing hears/ is only a fleeting echo,/ born of a distant voice/ without a known object."²⁹

While this feature of hearing may have made it "easily deceived," it also gave this sense a unique capability in spiritual matters, where the object of perception was not immediately sensible at all. Thus in the theological contests of the senses in Calderón and in the Sánchez villancico *Si los sentidos queja forman*, hearing wins out over the other senses because it alone can perceive matters of faith. With regard to the Eucharist in particular, taste, touch, smell, and vision would all be deceptive, because they only perceive the accidents of bread and not the hidden spiritual substance of Christ's body. The other mysteries of faith, such as Christ's death on the cross, would be completely inaccessible to the exterior senses, except for vision's ability to see painted or sculpted images of the crucifixion. Hearing's weakness, its dependency on the medium of sound such as a voice, becomes a strength when the primary means of access to truth is through "the Word of Christ," as the Roman Catechism puts it, or rather the Word that is Christ.³⁰

Thus Calderón breaks the traditional ordering of the senses for dramatic purposes, in order to put Hearing—who will win the contest—at the end, as a dramatic climax. Of course, the character of Hearing in the drama is a model of humble faith, placing himself last in line, refusing to tout

29. Calderón de la Barca, *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*, ll. 577–587.

30. Catholic theological notions of the voice and Christ as Word will be developed further later in this chapter and are the primary focus of chapter 3, on Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla's *Voces, las de la capilla*.

his strengths but rather “boasting in his weakness” like St. Paul (2 Cor. 11:30), and relying on faith rather than on his own “sense.” As the Sánchez villancico proclaims, none of the senses are worth anything without this kind of faith, not even hearing.

Sánchez uses the same strategy, possibly even under Calderón’s influence: Sight is first and Hearing is presented last, but is accorded first place with regard to faith. In the Sánchez contest, the eyes “do not look at what they see,” and the Eucharist reduces Sight to “blindness” (copla 1). The “colors” and “rays of light” through which Sight normally operates are “hidden” “beneath transparent veils” and “transformed” so that “God Incarnate is not seen” (copla 2).

Touch may make direct, physical contact with the Eucharistic host, but it has no access to the “mystery” enclosed within the “accidents” of bread (copla 3). Taste is given no “vote” in this meal, even though normally food is the domain of taste (copla 4). In eating the transubstantiated bread, Taste “knows more than what he knows” (copla 5)—which is perhaps to say that Taste does savor the host which is Christ’s body, without knowing what it is savoring. The truth is more than can “fit in his domain” or sphere (a play on the round host, possibly).

Smell (copla 6) might perhaps smell the aroma of this “marvel,” if he were humble enough to perceive it. This copla suggests that Smell might be considered a sense more open to mystery: this recalls both liturgical incense and the descriptions of John of the Cross about receiving not only visions from God, but even smells and tastes.

Finally, Sánchez presents hearing in copla 7, through the conceit of music. Thus the Sánchez villancico says that the “five instruments” of the senses must, like musical instruments, be “tempered” by faith so that they can “be heard” by Faith. Without faith, according to the coplas, sight is actually blind, and touch, taste, and smell are fooled if they believe what their direct sensation tells them about “the divine bread.” But when properly attuned by Faith, the senses can be harmonized into a pleasing concord, into music that Faith delights in hearing.

The sense of hearing is not confined to the last copla, since the whole piece in this auditory genre of sung poetry is about hearing and appeals to hearing. Listeners could not touch, taste, or

smell the villancico performance, and in Segovia Cathedral—with its architectural choir surrounded by high stone walls—few lay people could see it, either. Unlike in Calderón’s public drama, only the sense of hearing gave access to this moral lesson about hearing.

Like the Calderón *auto*, though, this formulation presents something of a paradox: Faith only listens to what Hearing tells her, but Hearing must trust only in Faith and not in his own “sense.” So again, it requires faith to hear “the Faith” *with* faith. And as in the catechism, the powers of sensation must be attuned and tempered by faith in order to perceive spiritual truth.

Musical Settings by Irízar and Carrión

Miguel de Irízar arranges the coplas rather differently than Sánchez, whereas Jerónimo de Carrión in his later setting follows Sánchez’s ordering more closely. Carrión most likely wrote his setting after the poem was published in the posthumous 1688 edition of Sánchez’s collected works, though he would also have had access to Irízar’s setting in the Segovia archive. It is not known in what form Irízar received the poem through his network of correspondents, but since Carrión’s version follows Sánchez more closely, it is likely that the variations in Irízar’s version reflect a deliberate rearrangement of the original text.³¹

Rather than the dramatic ordering where hearing comes last, Irízar presents the senses in the traditional order from the scholastic philosophy textbooks (see table 2.2). While shifting the order of the lesser senses does not greatly change the poem, the hearing verse seems clearly intended to be the final copla. Sánchez’s copla 7 about hearing (Irízar’s copla 2) sums up the other coplas, particularly with the puns on “gustar” in the first line and on “oído” in the last line, which links back to the estribillo. The poetic and dramatic arrangement was apparently lost on Irízar, who was perhaps motivated by training in scholastic theology to “correct” the order of the coplas. Irízar’s ordering matches Veracruce’s schema exactly.

31. This process of adaptation by multiple affiliated composers will be explored in depth in part II, especially chapter 4.

His successor Jerónimo de Carrión, whose music shows more interest in creating dramatic effects than that of Irízar (see chapter 5), sticks more closely to Sánchez's ordering with hearing at the end. Carrión streamlines the coplas to one per sense.

The two arrangements may reflect a tension between two different types of pedagogy or instruction, since Hispanic choirmasters had a dual role of “preaching” to the congregation musically and instructing their choirboys in theology and music. The Carrión version might speak more to the congregation through its dramatic effect, while Irízar’s schoolmaster-like version would speak more to the boys and young clergy in training.³²

Irízar creates a musical contest by pitting his two four-voice choirs against each other in polychoral dialogue (example 2.1).³³ A good example is the exchange on “no, no” in mm. 13–14 and elsewhere. He also plays with stylistic topics to create a sense of acceleration and heightening excitement throughout the estribillo. Irízar begins with a tone of hushed awe: the voices sing low in their registers with repeated tones passing back and forth between choirs, punctuated by short rests (*respiraciones*) before each repetition of “si los sentidos” and before “del pan.” But then Irízar switches meters and evokes a common musical “battle” topic, a style one may find in *batallas* for organ as well as villancicos on battle themes.³⁴ The main stylistic features are repeated notes in dialogue, the reiteration of $\frac{5}{3}$ (“root-position”) chords with the bass moving by fourths and fifths, and the 3-3-2 syncopations (mm. 25–26, 31–32, and 43–46). Irízar uses increasingly short phrases and more rapid exchanges between choirs, depicting a more heated contest. The estribillo builds to a climactic *peroratio* with the voices breaking into imitative texture in descending melodic lines.

Jerónimo de Carrión’s setting of the same poem (example 2.2) represents a separate subgenre of villancico, the chamber villancico or *tono divino*. Tonos may have been performed during times of Eucharistic adoration, such as the Forty Hours’ Devotion or daily *siesta* services, and they may have been offered as an accompaniment to relatively private devotional practices (lighting candles,

32. See the discussion of the mnemonic function of villancicos below.

33. See appendices B for the poetic text and C for the full edition.

34. For example, Antonio de Salazar’s *Al campo, a la batalla* (MEX-Mc: A28).

22

Ti. I-1
Ti. I-2
-dos, hoy todos con la fe se - an o - í-dos, no se den por sen - ti-dos los _sen - ti-dos,

A. I
T. I
-dos, hoy todos con la fe se - an o - í-dos, no se den por sen - ti-dos los _sen - ti-dos,

Ti. II
A. II
-dos, hoy todos con la fe se - an o - í-dos, se - an o -

T. II
B. II
-

Ac.

27

se-an o - í-dos, no, no, no se den por senti-dos los _sen - ti-dos,

se-an o - í-dos, no, no no se den por senti-dos los _sen - ti-dos,

í-dos, no se den por sen - ti-dos los senti-dos, no, no, se-an o -

Ac.

Example 2.1

Si los sentidos queja forman del pan divino, Miguel de Irízar (E-SE: 5/32), batalla topic in estribillo mm. 22–32

praying and meditating before the Tabernacle containing the consecrated hosts). The contrast between this setting and Irízar's stems not only from the different genre and function, but from Carrión's use of a style closer to a more widely recognizable "High Baroque" aesthetic (commonly referred to as "Italianate" in Hispanic musicology). His harmonic language is no longer clearly distinguishable from a common-practice "A minor," and his running accompaniment part is a true "basso continuo."

Carrión's phrasing in the estribillo is not like the rhetorical, declamatory, phrase-by-phrase setting of Irízar, but moves more continuously in one affective manner from the beginning to the end. The interchange between voice and accompaniment, rather than between choirs in Irízar's setting, now illustrates the dialogue and rivalry presented in the poetic text. Carrión begins by dramatizing "queja" (m. 2) with a metrical disagreement between the two parts (normal CZ versus the voice's sesquialtera). The downward leaping motive of the opening (on "sentidos") contrasts with the upward leaps in the last line ("No se den," m. 16). The descending pattern of leaps for "porque lo que ellos sienten" perhaps suggests the confusion and tumult of the senses, and it creates a certain amount of rhythmic confusion as it moves between voices. At the same time, the two parts are intricately linked contrapuntally, as in, for example, the canon in mm. 18–20. This passage takes the melody to its highest point and forms the climax of the movement.

These two settings of *Si los sentidos* demonstrate, through their similarities, the persistence of concerns about the senses and a theology of hearing as the sense favored by faith. Meanwhile the differences between the two versions show the contrasts between different subgenres of villancico—Irízar's extroverted setting for eight-voice double choir with accompaniment versus Carrión's chamber setting for soloist with continuo—and between the styles of different generations. Changing style in this case may reflect changing functions of villancicos, moving away from the rhetorical and symbolic techniques of the polychoral villancico tradition, and toward more dramatic, affective approaches. The case studies in part II will trace that trajectory in more detail.

Example 2.2

Si los sentidos queja forma del pan divino, Jerónimo de Carrión (E-SE: 28/25), estribillo

The central emphasis of the *Si los sentidos* villancicos is to question the reliability of all the senses in matters of faith, and to stress the need for all to submit to faith. At the same time they represent hearing as the most favored sense for faith, as in Calderón, and like Azevedo use music as the paradigm of something that pleases the ear. They continue to demonstrate the tension between the need for faith to come through hearing, and the need for hearing to be “tempered” by faith in order to fulfill its proper function. But since these pieces are music about music, they also teach listeners how to hear music even as they are listening. Thus metamusical villancicos could function as ways to appeal to the sense of hearing while also training it, exactly as the catechism recommends.

2.2.2 Sensory Confusion

Faithful hearing went beyond simply sensory perception of acoustical events—it required the capacity to discern the supernatural reality behind what was heard. As shown in the contests of the senses, hearing or any other sense without faith did not give access to spiritual truth. Auditors had to listen while questioning their own sense of hearing; villancicos challenged them to listen for an unhearable higher music that was echoed if only imperfectly in the lowest Neoplatonic level of *musica instrumentalis*.

Therefore many villancicos that address sensation do more than say that the senses can be deceitful—they actually set out, by use of paradox, to deliberately confuse the senses. As discussed in chapter 1, numerous villancicos use auditory “special effects” like echoes, voices imitating instruments or one instrument imitating another like *chirimías* for *clarines*), and voices imitating birdsong. A parallel might be the rise of *trompe l’oeil* effects in visual art, which began to flourish in Spain after the decline of Velásquez-style realism in the later seventeenth century. But while these pieces might play with the idea of auditory confusion, like their visual analogues they only play with a single sense.

Villancicos with “synesthetic” topics mismatch the senses in the spirit of paradox and

Poem 2.5

Cristóbal Galán, *Oigan todos del ave* (ca. 1690), estribillo

Oigan todos del ave los luces y miren la voz que ellos hablan con lenguas de fuego y ellas con rayos del sol. Qué equivocación— pues voces y luces se miran se oyen con tanto primor que la luz se oye brillar, cuando pura se mira la voz.	Let everyone hear the bird's lights, and see the voice, for the lights speak with tongues of fire and the voices, with rays of the sun. What confusion!— so the voices and lights are seen, are heard with so much skill that the light is heard to shine, while the voice is seen in purity.
---	---

enigma.³⁵ For example, Cristóbal Galán (master of the Royal Chapel, 1680–1684, and previously chapelmaster at Segovia Cathedral) juxtaposes hearing and vision in a villancico for the Conception of Mary (D-Mbs: Mus. ms. 2893).³⁶ The initial conceit playes on “ave” (bird) and “Ave Maria” (poem 2.5).

In his musical setting for three choirs (eleven voices total, each choir with a separate continuo accompaniment), Galán has the three voices of Chorus I sing most of this text in triple meter with occasional sesquialtera, while the other two choirs interject between phrases, “¡Oigan!” “¡Miran!” in sesquialtera rhythm. The contrast of regular triple meter in the first choir and sesquialtera in the others means that the first choir’s music is mostly “white” notes, while the other voices have blackened notes, and this may be an analogue to the visual play in the poem. In fact, when each voice in Chorus I sings the synesthetic phrase “the light is heard to shine,” the notation suddenly turns ironically black, and then returns to white again for the following phrase, “while the voice

35. The term “synesthesia” here indicates only a poetic technique of mismatched references to the senses, not to “clinical” synesthesia. By contrast, Ursula Doetsch Kraus, *La sinestesia en la poesía española: Desde La Edad Media hasta mediados del siglo XIX; Un enfoque semántico* (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 1992) is primarily concerned with finding actual correspondences between poetic “synthesis of the senses” and the actual perceptual and neurological phenomenon of synesthesia.

36. Edition in Bernat Cabero Pueyo, *Der Villancico des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in Spanien* (Berlin: Dissertation.de, 2000), 567–586.

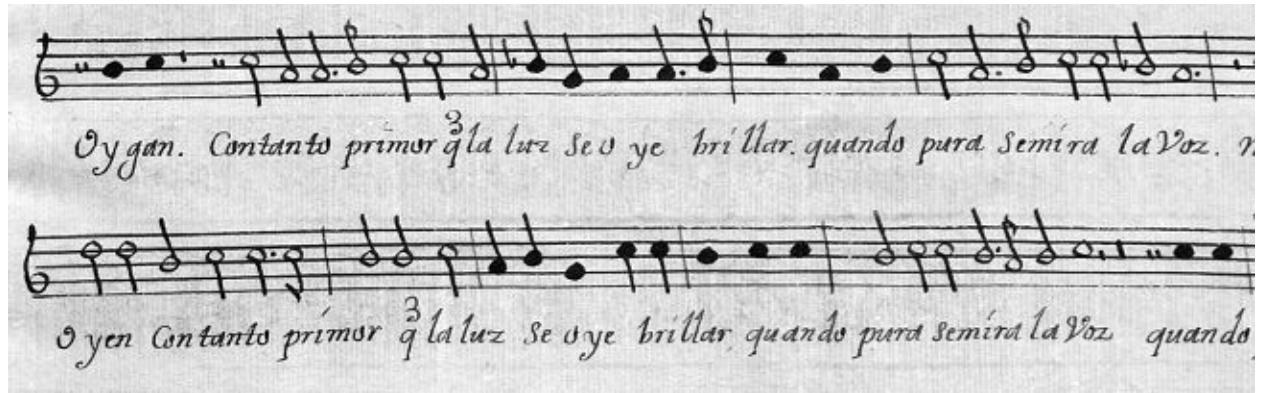


Figure 2.1
Galán, *Oigan todos del ave*, estribillo, ironic play of coloration

is seen in purity" (figure 2.1).

On “qué equivocación,” Galán writes a fugato on an ascending scalar figure, starting with the Tiple III’s stepwise ascent from A₄ to G₅. As all the voices imitate this motive they play on the idea of “equal voice” implied by “equivocación,” and the sudden outburst of polyphonic texture in the midst of primarily homophonic polychoral dialogue could create an effect of confusion also implied by that word. As the movement continues, Galán increasingly mixes up the music for “Oigan todos del ave,” the sesquialtera interjections, and the contrapuntal texture of “qué equivocación,” between the various choirs—increasing the effect of musical confusion.

Two other examples of “synesthetic” villancicos (surely among many more) are an anonymous fragment (E-Mn: M3881/44), *Porque cuando las voces puedan pintarla* (If voices could only paint her); and Matía Juan de Veana’s *Flor volante, ave fragrante*, from the Real Convento de la Encarnación in Madrid in 1702 (E-MO: AMM4131). Veana’s piece is notable for engaging not only with sight and hearing, but also with smell: the first line is “flying flower, fragrant bird.”

These pieces do more than demonstrate the inadequacy of the senses alone for understanding sacred matters. They describe and seek to incite a condition of sensory overload, an ecstasy in which all the senses blend together in the effort to grasp something that is beyond them.³⁷ They

37. The idea is similar to the concept of “dazzlement” of Olivier Messiaen, whose musical perception certainly

seem intended to provoke listeners to a higher form of sensation, to provoke a holy dismay and wonder that would lead to faithful listening.

2.2.3 Sensory Deprivation

From villancicos about too much sensation we may turn to villancicos that treat themes of sensory deprivation. The Calderón *auto* demonstrates that one common theme of the Corpus Christi feast was the inadequacy especially of sight, normally considered the highest of the senses, in grasping the mystery of the Eucharist. As such, many villancicos for the same feast sing of blindness. A 1688 villancico “al Santísimo Sacramento” by Francesc Soler (ca. 1625–1688, chapelmaster of Girona Cathedral, 1682–88, previously of Vich Cathedral) exemplifies the many pieces of this subtype. In *Atender sin mirar* (E-Bbc: M733/6, poem 2.6), the chorus delivers a moral warning and devotional challenge to each other and to those listening: adoring and believing the Eucharist requires one to “pay attention” (*atender*) “without seeing” (*sin mirar*).

The wordplay in this poem strains the language almost beyond what it can effectively communicate. “Atender” can mean “listen”; so the first line might be stating the primacy of hearing over sight in Eucharistic faith and devotion. But the more likely meaning here is “pay attention”: faithful adoration requires that one must take heed of the sacrament, one must inquire deeply into it; one must “see” beyond the accidents of bread to discern the substance of Christ hidden within. The second line, on the other hand, would at first seem to reverse this message if taken literally as simply exhorting listeners to look but not pay attention. But in the context of the whole poem, this paradoxical couplet, in chiastic structure like an epigram, might best be interpreted as a contrast between two different kinds of “looking.” Pay attention without looking superficially, materially, it admonishes, and thereby “look” deeply, spiritually, without paying attention to what one merely sees.

combined the visual and auditory, even if he denied having the clinical condition of synesthesia.

Poem 2.6

Francisco Soler, *Atender sin mirar* (1688), estribillo and selected coplas

Atender sin mirar,
mirar y no atender
es mucha fe,
es mucho adorar
y yo para creer
miraré para cegar.

To pay attention without looking,
to look and not pay attention,^a
is great faith,
is great worship,
and I, in order to believe,
will look in order to be blind.

COPLAS

3. Ya es desengaño a los ojos
la luz que lisonja fue
pues hoy se esconde por clara
y por obscura también.

3. Surely it is a deceit to the eyes,
the light that was a flattery,
since today it is hidden in the bright
and in the shadow as well.

5. Si a ver imposible aspiras
porque imposible lo ves,
ceda la curiosidad
al respecto alguna vez.

If you aspire to see the impossible,
because you see it impossibly,^b
sometime curiosity must give way
to respect.

a. “Atender” can also mean “listen.”

b. That is (perhaps), you see the impossible in an impossible manner.

In addition to the central importance of visually adoring the Eucharistic host, Spanish churches offered the eyes an inexhaustible surplus of objects to contemplate. The high-altar *retablo* of Seville Cathedral is one of the more overwhelming examples, crammed with twenty-eight separate scenes sculpted in three dimensions, gilded and painted in bright colors, each scene itself (such as the Last Supper) containing multiple individual figures, and with the whole adorned to the maximum with gilded Gothic filigree. There was indeed much to “attend to” in a Spanish church, and this meant not only seeing but also discerning the meaning behind the sacred symbols and stories represented all around, and the connection between these and the hidden mysteries of the Eucharistic sacrament consecrated in front of these images.

Soler’s villancico challenges listeners to “aspire to see the impossible,” or “to see impossibly”; to strain against the limits of the senses to a deeper kind of discernment. The resulting spiritual

perception is compared to “blindness”: it is something less than normal seeing and also something more, like Paul blinded on the road to Damascus because of the brilliance of light with which Christ revealed himself.

2.2.4 Impaired Hearers, Incompetent Teachers: “Villancicos of the Deaf”

This exalted form of sensory deprivation contrasts with the way villancicos represent people with actual physical impairments of the senses. Among the stock characters that recur in the various types of “villancicos de chanza” or comic villancicos are blind men (“ciegos”) and deaf men (“sordos”). In both cases the labels blind and deaf are more likely to indicate reduced sensory perception, perhaps due to old age, rather than the complete lack of sensation.

Among the villancicos about deafness, there is a first category of pieces that treat deafness in a metaphorical, spiritual way, and a second category of pieces that dramatically represent actual deaf people. But villancicos about deafness have a much more negative charge than pieces about muteness and blindness. Physical deafness is presented as a disability that makes deaf people the object of ridicule and makes the faith inaccessible to them.

Spiritual or metaphorical deafness was even worse. Sebastián de Covarrubias defined the *sordo* (deaf person) as “he who does not hear” (not “who cannot hear”), and then adds: “There is no worse kind of deaf man than he who is unwilling to hear.”³⁸ Likewise, villancicos about deafness and deaf people use deafness as a symbol of the inability and unwillingness to grasp faith, to believe and obey. In this view, if hearing is the paradigm of faith (including both “belief” and “faithfulness”), then deafness is its opposite. Calderón’s Judaism “hears Faith without faith,” but the deaf men in villancicos cannot even hear faith to begin with.

Both real and spiritual kinds of deafness are represented in two similar villancicos by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla and Matías Ruiz, both of which present mock catechism scenes with a friar

38. Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid, 1611), s.v. “sordo”: “SORDO, Lat. surdus, el que no oye. No ay peor sordo que le que no quiere oyr.”

and a deaf or hard-of-hearing man. These representations of deafness present images of impaired hearers and incompetent teachers, comically dramatizing and even gently satirizing the process of teaching the faith described by Azevedo.

Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla's *Óyeme, Toribio*, labeled *El sordo* in the manuscripts, was performed at Christmas 1651 as part of Padilla's first surviving Christmas cycle for the new cathedral of Puebla de los Ángeles. The piece is a "dúo con bajón" representing a dialogue between a friar and a hard-of-hearing man. The friar was played by the Altus I (probably accompanied by the bajón Bassus of Chorus I), and the deaf man was probably played by the Tenor I (accompanied by the bajón Bassus of Chorus II). But the partbooks for the Tenor and Bassus of Chorus I are missing, so the dialogue must be reconstructed from just the vocal part for the friar and the accompaniment part for the *sordo*. Most of the lyrics for the lost vocal Tenor I part are preserved, though, in the Bassus II part: the copyist underlaid most of the text of the Tenor "sordo" part in the bajón part, perhaps to help the player keep track of his place in the dialogue. The music is simple enough harmonically that it is possible to infer much of the piece's style and structure, even absent the missing parts.³⁹

Further, the full poetic text does survive, in one of the few imprints from Puebla that can be matched with surviving music (estribillo in poem 2.7).⁴⁰ The text proved popular: villancicos with the same incipits were set by Francisco Solana for the cathedral of Huesca, Christmas 1668; and by Alonso Xuárez at the cathedral of Seville, Christmas 1683.⁴¹

Padilla's introducción and coplas are both dramatic, comic dialogues between the friar and the deaf man, while in the estribillo the chorus (of five voice parts, probably SATB of Chorus I plus the bajón Bassus of Chorus II) comments on the scene and gives it theological meaning. It is

39. See the full score in appendix C.

40. The imprint is in a private collection in Puebla, courtesy of Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez.

41. Respectively, Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Catálogo de villancicos de la Biblioteca Nacional, Siglo XVII* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1992), 1685, cat. no. 424, and Álvaro Torrente and Miguel Ángel Marín, *Pliegos de villancicos en la British Library (Londres) y la University Library (Cambridge)* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2000), 46–47, cat. no. 45. Solana's authorship is specified in the pliego itself; that of Xuárez is inferred because he was chapelmaster at the time.

Poem 2.7

Óyeme, Toribio (El sordo), estribillo set by Padilla (MEX-Pc: 1/3)

[INTRODUCCIÓN] duo

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 1. | Óyeme, Toribio. | Listen to me, Toribio. |
| 2. | ¿Hablas me, chamorro? | Are you talking to me, baldy? |
| 1. | Gloria es todo el valle. | Glory is in all the valley. |
| 2. | ¿E? ¿E? que no te oigo. | Eh? Eh? I can't hear you. |
| 5 | 1. Ya es la tierra cielo,
y hasta él, llanto es gozo. | Behold, the earth has become heaven,
and in view of heaven, the cry is a joy. |
| | 2. No oigo de ese oído. | I can't hear from that ear. |
| | 1. Pondréme desotro. | I'll try the other one. |
| | 2. Desotro oigo menos. | From the other one I can hear even less. |
| 10 | 1. Tú eres lindo tonto,
yo más que te escucho... | You are a sheer idiot,
the more I listen to you... |
| | 2. ¿Si tengo bochorno?
¿Que es lo que me dices? | Am I embarrassed?
What are trying to say to me? |
| | 1. ... que me vuelves loco. | ... that you are driving me crazy. |
| 15 | 2. [text missing] | |

[ESTRIBILLO solo]

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 20 | De la aurora la risa
serán sollozos
si ven sus ojos,
al nacer la palabra,
los hombres sordos. | The laughter of the dawn
will be sobs
if her eyes see,
upon being born as the Word,
deaf people. |
|----|---|--|

RESPONSIÓN a 5

[same as estribillo]

apparent that the first speaker (Altus I) is a friar because the deaf man calls him “chamorro” or “baldy.” The dialogue stages a parody of catechism instruction. It may be compared to villancicos by Manuel de León Marchante that feature dialogues between a *docto* and a *simple*—a learned man and a simpleton.

Padilla uses harmonic and rhythmic techniques to dramatize the two characters’ unsuccessful attempts to communicate (example 2.3). Harmonically, each character sings in what seems like a different mode, and the two can never agree on where to cadence. Rhythmically, each singer is given a distinct “accent” in music, so that the friar’s musical speech is more fluent and sophisticated, while the deaf man’s speech is halting and clumsy. To create the deaf man’s rhythmic profile, Padilla uses ample black notation whenever the deaf man sings, a technique that throughout Padilla’s villancicos is associated with representing lowly people (see chapter 7). The friar sings in a repetitive, simplistic manner, staying in a narrow ambitus between E₄ and A₄, and his phrases mostly begin on A and return to it—as though trying to get across this first of musical rudiments. Given the flat *cantus mollis* signature and the cadence points articulated by the bass part, with the final on F, we may categorize the piece in mode 11 or 12 (since the ambitus of the missing tenor part is unknown). The friar, then, begins with a phrase that surely would have cadenced on F in the missing bass part; but the deaf man responds with a phrase that cadences on C, and while this is hardly unusual, it does serve well to mark Toribio’s response as a question.

Having gotten Toribio’s attention, the friar begins to expound the wonders of Christmas—“All the valley is glory/*Gloria*”—moving now toward a probable cadence on D. Toribio misses this harmonic shift and remains stuck where he left off, on C. Padilla sets his questions “¿E? ¿E?” with a musically “realistic” offbeat figure. This rhythmic pattern turns out to be a central theme of the estribillo (on “sollozos”). Toribio manages to get back to a cadence on F in m. 7, and the friar launches into extolling the paradoxes of Christmas: the earth has become heaven, and weeping has become joy. The cadence in m. 10 would probably be on A (a “phrygian” cadence with the bass moving in contrary motion through a B_b).

A. I

B. II
[Bajón]

5

10

15

20

Ó - ye-me, To-ri - bio.

Gloria es to-do el va -

Hablas me, cha - mo-rro?

lle.

Ya es la tie - rra cie - lo, y hasta él, llanto es

E?

E? que no te oi-go.

go - zo.

Pon-dré-me des-o - tro.

No oigo de e-se oí - do.

Des - o - tro oi-go me-nos.

Tú e-res lin - do ton - to, yo más que te es - cu-chcho-

¿Si ten - go bo-chorno? ¿Qué es lo

que me vuel-ves lo - co.

que me di - ces?

Example 2.3

Padilla, *Óyeme, Toribio (El sordo)*, introducción mm. 1–25, extant parts (missing Tenor I, Bassus I)

Toribio, responding that he can't hear out of that ear, cadences on D. The friar says he will try the other ear then, and so the friar also cadences on D, as if to accommodate himself to the deaf man's condition. But no sooner has the friar moved to D, than Toribio, saying "Out of that ear I hear even less!" moves back to a cadence on C. This last pushes the friar over the edge, and he bursts out, "You are a sheer idiot! The more I listen to you—" He sings this insult to Toribio on the deaf man's own final of D, and uses the deaf man's characteristic short-long rhythms, as though the friar is mocking the deaf man's halting speech. But when the friar turns to speak of himself ("Yo más [...]"), he abruptly returns to his "own" final of F. Toribio, of course, mishears the friar, and remains stuck on his final of D. At this the friar throws up his hands, we may imagine, and concludes, "You are driving me crazy!" on his own final of F.

The following phrase (mm. 22–25) lacks words, but it was probably sung like the other phrases (the words are omitted because the bajón player did not need further direction at this point). The bajón plays a confused-seeming rhythmic pattern in all black notation, of perfect semibreves displaced from the beginning of the compás ("off beat") by a minim.

Now the Altus I (the friar) turns away from the dramatic scenario, it would seem, and addresses the congregation as a preacher: "The laughter of the dawn will turn to sobs," he says, probably referring to the Virgin Mary as the dawn (as other villancicos in the same cycle do—Christ is the rising sun but Mary is the "aurora"). The mother's joy will turn to grief when, "after the Word is born, her eyes see deaf men." The descending-third motive at the beginning of the estribillo (m. 26) comes from the friar's opening address (m. 1), while the halting "sobs" on "sollozos" come from the deaf man's questions of "¿E?" Padilla sets the final phrase, "los hombres sordos" with ten notes in completely black notation, and with a melodic figure that makes a rhetorical *catabasis* as it descends in a leaping melodic sequence (figure 2.2). The repetitive nature of this figure may also be a way of painting deaf people as dull and stupid.

When the rest of Chorus I (possibly soloists) joins in for the responsión, their repeated dotted rhythm suggests vivacious laughter. As Padilla introduces more and more comic offbeat sobs on



Figure 2.2

Padilla, *Oyeme, Toribio (El sordo)*, Altus I manuscript partbook, introducción and estribillo

“sollozos,” the texture becomes increasingly confused. Padilla sets “los hombres sordos” again with much black notation (especially in the bajón Bassus II part). The catabasis figure is passed through all the voices in imitation, leading to a kind of harmonic catabasis (that is, shifting further into the realm of flats, farther from the “natural” and more toward the “weak” or *mollis*), when the Tiple I adds the E♭ in m. 55. The heavy syncopation in each voice creates rhythmic confusion that is not sorted out until the final cadential flourish on F.

Through a characteristically sophisticated musical technique, Padilla belittles deaf people and makes them objects of mockery. Padilla represents deaf people as deficient, undignified, and deserving of laughter.

But this portrayal of physical deafness is secondary to the piece’s theological emphasis on spiritual deafness. When the estribillo speaks of “los hombres sordos” it is not clear whether the meaning is “Mary will weep when she sees deaf people” or “when she sees that people (in general) are deaf.” It is possible that the estribillo extends the idea of deafness to all people, much as the Soler villancico did with blindness. Everyone starts out deaf, the estribillo might say; their ears are stopped by sin and they are unable to “hear faith with faith.” But that message is not explicit, and the humor in the piece depends on the fact that the listening audience can hear, and is therefore in a position to make fun of those who cannot.

The piece leaves open the question of whether naturally deaf people could ever acquire faith, since they cannot hear religious teaching.⁴² And that uncertainty means that the piece also raises the more general question, which is the same one we posed in response to Calderón’s depiction of “Judaísmo”: how can those who are spiritually deaf acquire faith? The catechist friar in this scenario tries to follow the Roman Catechism’s orders to accommodate reason to his pupil’s sense of hearing, but he fails at the second part of the prescription—to train the disciple’s sensation so

42. The first attempts to educate deaf and mute people were actually made by Spanish monks of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including an important 1620 treatise, *Reduction de las letras y Arte para enseñar a ablar los mudos* by Juan Pablo Bonet: Susan Plann, *A Silent Minority: Deaf Education in Spain, 1550–1835* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997).

that he can draw spiritual nourishment from what he hears.

“Villancico of the Deaf Men” by Matías Ruiz

Similar themes are presented in another villancico about deafness, the “Villancico de los sordos” (as the manuscript is inscribed) by Matías Ruiz (ca. 1645–1708), preserved in the library of the Escorial (E-E: Mús. 83-12). Ruiz was chapelmaster at the Real Convento de la Encarnación, and in fact the poetry imprint is preserved from what must have been the first performance of this piece at the convent at Christmas, 1671.⁴³

The piece centers on another comic dialogue between a catechist and a deaf man, but in this case the deaf man is given a more distinct character (poem 2.8). He is a “un sordo muy noticioso de letras de humanidad” (deaf man, very learned in humane letters). Thus this deaf character has more distinguishing features than just his hearing impairment, and is presented as a more sympathetic character than in the Padilla villancico. He is a learned man—of a sort—and so the piece contrasts his book learning with true faith.

The solo singer of the introducción sets up the scene and introduces these main characters. Then the chorus joins in, jubilantly and emphatically singing “vaya, vaya de sordo.” “Vaya, vaya” was a common expression in villancicos, functioning like a crowd crying to see more from a spectacle, and it is found most often in villancicos of specific subgenres, such as jácaras (“vaya, vaya de jácara, vaya”) or *juegos de cañas* (ceremonial jousting games). In this case, the cry might be translated something like “on with the deaf” or “on with the ‘deaf villancico.’”

It is unclear whether this should be taken as an inclusive gesture (“everybody be like the deaf”) or an exploitative one (“bring on the deaf man!”). The inclusive interpretation would be like Soler’s spiritualized take on blindness, to urge on some kind of holy deafness. But the exploitative case is more likely, as a purely theatrical gesture that sets up a mocking portrayal of deaf people.

43. Villancicos que se han de cantar en el Real Convento de la Encarnación, la Noche de Navidad, Este Año de 1671, 1671, E-Mn: R/34989/1, Madrid.

Poem 2.8

Pues la fiesta del niño es (Villancico de los sordos), poem set by Matías Ruiz, as performed by the Royal Chapel at Christmas 1671 (E-E: Mús. 83-12, E-Mn: R/34989/1)

INTRODUCCIÓN solo

Pues la Fiesta del Niño es,
y es el Día de tanto placer,
de todo ha de haber.
Un Sordo, muy noticioso
5 de Letras de Humanidad,
con otro que le pregunta,
viene a alegrar el Portal.

Since it is the festival of the Child,
and it is the day of so much enjoyment,
there must be a little of everything:
A deaf man, very learned
in humanist letters,
with another man who questions him,
comes to liven up the stable.

RESPONSIÓN a 8

Vaya de Sordo,
y háblenle todos recio
10 porque oiga a todos.

SORDO. Éntrome de hoz, y de coz.
PREG. Quién llama con tanto estruendo?^b

SORDO. Hablen alto, que no entiendo,
sino levantan la voz.

15 PREG. Bajad la voz,
que a Dios gracias no soy Sordo.

SORDO. Dice que está el Niño gordo?
pues de eso me alegro mucho.
Pues vaya de fiestas
20 al Niño que adoro,
que está como un Oro,
y el Coro sonoro
responde veloz,
que Sordos son los
25 que no escuchan
ni entienden el son.

Hurrah, bring on the deaf man
and let all speak loudly to him
so that he can hear all.

Here I come, like it or not.^a
Who calls out with such a ruckus?
Speak up, for I don't understand
unless you raise your voice.

Lower your voice,
for by God's grace I am not deaf.
Are you saying that the baby is fat?^c
well that sure makes me happy.
So on with the festivities
for the baby that I adore,
since he is like a gold coin,
and the resounding choir
responds quickly,
for the deaf are those
who do not listen
nor understand the sound.

a. "De hoz y coz": Something like reckless abandonment or "head over heels."

b. Imprint: "Quién entra."

c. The deaf mean mishears "sordo" (deaf) as "gordo" (fat).

Poem 2.8
Continued

		COPLAS en diálogo, y solo	
	PREG.	1. Di, Sordo, si Dios cumplió la Palabra al Rey Profeta?	Tell, Deaf Man, if God accomplished the Word to the Prophet King?
	SORDO	No ha venido la Estafeta, por el tiempo se tardó.	The mailman has not arrived; he was delayed because of the season. ^d
30	PREG.	2. Que llore el Omnipotente, nadie en el mundo lo ha oído?	That the Omnipotent should cry, has anyone in the world ever heard this?
	SORDO	Es la verdad: De este oído ^e estoy un poco teniente.	It's true: in this ear I am a little hard of hearing. ^f
	PREG.	3. A ver al Niño, pastores vienen hoy con gran decoro.	To see the Child, shepherds are coming today with great decorum.
35	SORDO	No hay cosa peor que ser Moro, di tú, Gil, lo que quisieras.	There is nothing worse than being a Moor, no matter what you say, Gil. ^g
	PREG.	4. No digo, sino que amor es quien traza tales medios.	I say nothing, except that love is the one who traces such means.
40	SORDO	Hanme dado mil remedios, y siempre me hallo peor.	They have given me a thousand remedies, and I always find myself worse off.
	PREG.	5. Entended lo que os pregunto, que no oyes hacia esta parte.	Understand what I am asking you, since you haven't heard up till now.
	SORDO	Ya lo entiendo: que el Dios Marte 45 tiene cara de Difunto.	I understand just fine: the God Mars has a face like the Dead. ^h
	PREG.	6. Lleno de Danzas, y bailes, el Portal es nuestro Alivio.	Full of dances, the stable is our recreation.
	SORDO	Yo he leído a Tito Libio pero no trata de Frailes.	I have read Titus Livy but he doesn't discuss friars. ⁱ

d. The deaf man mishears “profeta” (prophet) as “estafeta” (mail courier).

e. Imprint: “Deste oído.”

f. The deaf man mishears “Omnipotente” as “teniente” (hard of hearing).

g. The deaf man mistakes “decoro” for “Moro,” and thus rebukes “Gil,” one of the stereotypical names for shepherds in villancicos.

h. The deaf man (“learned in humanist letters”) mistakes “parte” (part) for “Marte” (Mars), and “pregunto” for “Difunto.”

i. The deaf scholar hears “bailes” (dances) as “frailes” (friars) and “alivio” (literally, relief) as “libio” (Livy).

Poem 2.8
Continued

50	PREG.	7. Cuando el Niño nace, apenas, duro el frío le combate.	When the Child has barely been born, the cold fights against him hard.
	SORDO	Si él tomara Chocolate, sintiera menos las penas.	If he drank some chocolate, he wouldn't feel the hardships so much. ^j
55	PREG.	8. La Reina, al Rey de las vidas abriga, que tiembla, y arde.	The Queen bundles up the King of life, for he trembles and burns.
	SORDO	Ésta es, por la mañana, y tarde la Reina de las bebidas.	She is, in the morning, and evening, the Queen of the beverages. ^k
	PREG.	9. Mira en un Pobre Portal la Majestad reducida.	See, in a poor stable The Majesty, reduced.
60	SORDO	La Virgen fue Concebida sin pecado Original.	The Virgin was conceived without original sin. ^l
	PREG.	10. De nueve Coros, aquí hacen Cielo, y Tierra aprecio.	In nine choirs, here heaven and earth render worship. ^m
65	SORDO	No los oigo, canten recio, sino dicen mal de mí.	I don't hear them, let them sing loud, unless they are speaking ill of me.

[Responsión rep.?]

j. He mishears “chocolate” for “combate” (combats or fights), and “a penas” (in hardship) for “apenas” (hardly or barely). He may also take “duro el frío” to be “refrigerio” (drink, refreshment).

k. The deaf man’s whole sentence is a garbled version of the first; in place of mystical Marian imagery, he (blasphemously?) hails chocolate as Queen of drinks.

l. The deaf man now makes up, perhaps, for having confused the Blessed Virgin with a dessert, by reciting the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

m. Literally, “make appreciation,” which is quite close to the etymological roots of the English word “worship.”

In that vein, the chorus continues, “Everyone speak up loud so that the deaf man can hear you.”⁴⁴

But the final couplet of the estribillo could have a more general theological application: “que sordos son los que no escuchan ni entienden el son” (for those are deaf, who neither listen, nor understand the sound). This formula echoes Covarrubias’s statement that the worst kind of deaf person is the one who does not want to hear; and it implies that many people could be considered spiritually deaf not because of disability, but disinclination to listen and understand. But the statement is ambiguous, like Covarrubias’s definition of the deaf person as one who does not hear. It does not explain whether the deafness is born or in some way chosen, and it does not suggest that deafness could be overcome in any way.

Ruiz’s mock-catechetical dialogue, which occurs in the middle of the estribillo, is similar to that of Padilla’s villancico: the two characters have melodically, harmonically, and rhythmically contrasting phrases that illustrate their inability to understand each other. The deaf man’s musical speech is abrupt, uncouth, and loud. After the big setup by the full chorus, the deaf man bursts on the scene with a scale from the top of his register to the bottom (F₄ to G₃) (example 2.4). Most of the deaf man’s lines feature descending melodic gestures: in his second phrase (m. 44) he begins with a leap upward (asking the catechist to speak louder, literally “higher” in Spanish), but then the general motion is always descent. In mm. 56–57 and again in mm. 57–59, the deaf character sings scales down through the interval of a twelfth (F₄ down to C₃). The descent across vocal *passaggi* would have made it hard to sing these passages beautifully, and instead encourages the singer to bawl them in a course tone of voice. These gestures seem intended to mimic the way deaf people were perceived to speak.

The catechist responds to each outburst by commenting on the man’s loud voice: “Who is calling out with such a racket? Lower your voice, for—thank God—I am not deaf.” But the hard-of-hearing man mishears “sordo” as “gordo” and thinks the catechist said the baby Jesus was “fat.” Here the difference with Padilla’s villancico becomes apparent. For Ruiz’s deaf man knows

44. “Y háblenle todos recio proque oiga a todos.”

41

TIPLE I-2

BAJETE I

ACOMP.

45

50

solo ¿Quién lla - ma con tan - to es - truen - do?

solo Én - tro - me de hoz y de coz. Hab-

Ba - jad la voz, que a Dios

- len al - to, que no en - tien - do si no le - van - tan la voz.

gra - cias no soy sor - do.

¿Di - ce que está el ni - ño gor - do? pues de e - so me a - le - gro mu - cho.

Example 2.4
Ruiz, *Pues la fiesta del niño es (Villancico de los sordos)*, estribillo mm. 41–55

who the Christ child is and wants to worship “al niño que adoro” (the child that I adore). All the better, then, if the baby is well fed. Thus the “sordo” is certainly portrayed as a kind of holy fool, certainly as an object of fun, but his deafness does not prevent him from worshiping Christ.

When the dialogue continues in the coplas, the deaf man is not the only butt of the jokes. Musically each pair of coplas is a variation on the same harmonic and melodic formulas; Ruiz contrast the two characters in vocal register and melodic direction. The catechist often asks his questions with ascending gestures, and the deaf man answers with descending ones. The catechist

asks the other man questions on key doctrines and themes related to Christmas: How did God fulfill his word to the prophet-king (that is, King David)? How can the omnipotent God be said to cry? How did the shepherds come to the manger? What motivated Christ to become incarnate? Chapter 3 demonstrates that these are among the most common “tropes of Christmas,” discussed in theological literature and celebrated in villancicos. But of course, the deaf man mishears every statement.

In Padilla’s villancico, the man simply blurted out his inability to hear well, but in this scenario, he actively tries to make sense of what he thinks he hears, drawing on his supposed learning in the humanities. In one verse he thinks the catechist is asking him about the God Mars. In another, when the catechist speaks of the “danzas y bailes” of Christmas, and says “el portal es nuestro alivio” (the stable is our remedy), the deaf man thinks he is citing “Tito Libio.” The humanist is puzzled: he says he has read the Classical historian Livy, but Livy “doesn’t say anything about friars.”⁴⁵ Hearing that the child Jesus is shivering with cold, the deaf man suggests he drink hot chocolate. After the friar speaks of the Virgin mother as “Queen,” in a parody of conventional villancico diction, the deaf man seems to feel that at last he has figured out what they are talking about. He sums up with satisfaction, “This is, morning and evening, the queen of beverages.”

In short, Ruiz’s deaf man is a sympathetic character: the audience can hear that he has tender feelings toward the Christ-child; and he is an earthy, common character, focused on material comforts instead of on the abstract theology and clichéd poetic language of the catechist. The deaf man says he cannot hear the nine choirs of Christmas angels (copla 10), and asks them to sing out loudly—as long as they don’t say anything bad about him.⁴⁶ The coplas end with this reminder that the hard-of-hearing person does not wish to be mocked, and worries that even the angels might be ridiculing him. The catechist comes off looking a bit foolish himself, as he consistently

45. “Tito Libio no trata de frailes.”

46. “No los oigo, canten recio, si no dicen mal de mi.”

fails to get his point across.

Ruiz's characters present a contrast of types of learning: the churchman who repeats the same teaching points in every catechism class, versus an ersatz humanist scholar who has read Livy and perhaps Ovid but may not understand them at all. It was a commonplace in post-Reformation Catholic theological books to begin the discussion of Christian faith by reference to Classical, pagan antiquity. Azevedo begins his catechism with a reference to ancient Rome; and Fray Luis spends the first part of his *Introduction to the Creed* arguing that despite the marvels of Classical learning, pagan philosophy was insufficient for achieving true faith in the revealed truths of Christianity. All the same, Fray Luis cites Cicero almost as often as he cites Augustine, and this is fitting since he and his Catholic Humanist contemporaries deliberately followed the model of Augustine in the *City of God, against the Pagans* (reviewing Classical philosophy and showing its failures), and *De doctrina Christiana* (applying elements of Classical rhetoric to Christian teaching). So Ruiz's deaf humanities scholar demonstrates that Classical learning alone is not enough to understand Christianity (and perhaps also parodies the poor state of Classical learning in many cases).

The penultimate exchange (copla 9) is the most intriguing for the question of which character has the upper hand. The catechist says, "Look, in a poor stable, the [divine] majesty is reduced [reducida]."⁴⁷ Mishearing "reducida" as "concebida"—perhaps—the deaf man responds, "La Virgen fue concebida sin pecado original" (The Virgin was conceived without original sin). Unlike his statements about Mars or chocolate, this one is an uncorrupted declaration of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception according to a typical theological formula. The problem is, of course, that this is not what the friar was trying to teach. Moreover, this was not official church doctrine, even though the Spanish church and state authorities promulgated the teaching vigorously throughout the empire. It is striking, then, that the one doctrine the deaf man gets right is one that he was not required to believe. That he blurts it out the praises of the Virgin in almost the same breath

47. "Mira en un pobre portal la majestad reducida."

as hailing chocolate as queen of the beverages seems to cheapen the statement, as though the deaf man had learned it by rote and did not really understand it. His devotion to the Immaculate Conception is on the same level as his love of chocolate and his wish for the baby Jesus to be good and fat—all operate on a gut level, as emotional, reflexive responses. It seems possible that the line is a veiled criticism of Spaniards’ “blind” adherence to this doctrine, the Spanish tendency to exalt this doctrine above all others and to defend it less out of theological conviction than out of an instinctive pride and affection. The deaf man in Ruiz’s villancico may present a challenge to the church to communicate its message more clearly and to go beyond rote learning to pursue true understanding.

Through a pun on the word “son” this piece emphasizes not only understanding religious teaching, but also appreciating music. The chorus sings that “deaf people are those who do not hear or understand *el son*"; *son* can mean “sound” and it could also be a term for a type of dance or song. In modern Mexico the term is used for a range of rural music genres. When the chorus sings “los que no escuchan ni entienden el son” (mm. 78–83, for example), its regular alternation of rhythmic groupings—two normal compases and then two in sesquialtera—is the same pattern found in certain types of *son* today (example 2.5). One of them, the *huarache*, was made more widely known by Leonard Bernstein’s song “America.”⁴⁸

Covarrubias defines “son” as “whatever noise that we perceive with the sense of hearing, [...] and ‘son’ indicates a certain correspondence to musical consonance, and thus the [popular] song [cantarcillo] says, ‘play me a *son* with the beat of the hook, and let’s have a good time.’” One can “dance to the ‘sound’ of instruments, and to the *son* that they play for you.”⁴⁹ Covarrubias seems to be using the term not just to mean “sound” but also as a technical term for a kind of song one dances to. The term probably did not have the specific meanings that musicians and

48. *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), s.v. “son.”

49. Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, s.v. “son”: “SON, Latinē sonus, qualquiera ruido que percebimos con el sentido del oyr, largo modo se llama son, y propriamente sonido : y el son dize cierta correspondencia a la consonancia musica, y assi dize el otro cantarcillo. Hazme el son con el cuento de gancho, y holguemonos he. Vaylar al son de instrumentos, y al son que os hizieren.”

76

Ti. I-1 Ti. I-2

A. I
B. I

Ti. II
A. II

T. II
B. II

Ac.

80

- den el son, los que no es - cu - chan ni en - tien - den el son.
 el son, los que no es - cu - chan ni en - tien - den el son.
 el son, los que no es - cu - chan ni en - tien - den el son.
 el son, los que no es - cu - chan ni en - tien - den el son.

Example 2.5

Ruiz, *Villancico de los sordos*, conclusion of estribillo, mm. 76–83: Possible evocation of *son* song/dance style

ethnomusicologists have given it today in describing popular traditions in Mexico, but the term's use in Ruiz's villancico in coordination with a *huarache*-like style does seem to indicate that the word referred to a general type of music at least. Thus the "Villancico de sordos" is a metamusical villancico: it is about the perception and misperception of "sound," while it also may be a "son."

The Inability to Hear and the Failure to Teach

These "deaf" villancicos set by Padilla and Ruiz make fun not only of impaired hearers but also of their incompetent teachers. Critiquing both the poor level of theological knowledge among the lay people, and the low quality of teaching among the clergy were both characteristic Tridentine postures. Antonio de Azevedo, himself an Augustinian friar and catechist, describes real-life scenes of failed catechesis:

Some will say that the doctrine of the gospel has already been taught everywhere or almost everywhere (I am speaking of our Spain), and we concede; but there are so many parts that so badly lack anyone who could teach matters of faith, that indeed it is a shame to see it happen in many parts of Spain, and particularly in the mountains, where there are many so unlettered [bozales] in the matters of faith, that if you would ask them, how many are the persons of the Holy Trinity, some say that they are seven, and others, fifteen; and others say about twenty—of this I am a good witness.

And a principal friar of my order, I've heard that once he was asking a woman how many [persons in the Trinity] there were, and she said, "Fifteen." And he said, "Ay, is that really your answer?" And then she wanted to correct herself, and she said, "Ay Señor, I think I was wrong—I'll say there are five hundred."⁵⁰

Azevedo sees no humor in this lack of religious knowledge; and he faults not the illiterate laypeople but the religious orders and clerics who have failed to teach the basics of faith in a plain way, as Azevedo himself endeavors to do in his *Catecismo*:

50. Azevedo, *Catecismo*, 26: "Diran, o que ya ay doctrina del Euangilio en todas partes, o casi todas (hablo de nuestra España) concedamoslo: Pero ay tanta falta en muchas, de quien enseñe las cosas de la fe; que cierto que es lastima, verlo que en muchas partes de España, y particularmente en montañas passa: a do estan muchos tan bocales en las cosas de la fe, que si les preguntays, quantas son las personas de la Santissima Trinidad, vnos dizen que son siete otros que quinze; y otros veinte desatinos, de los quales yo soy buen testigo. Y a un frayle principal de mi orden le oy, que preguntando el a vna muger, quantas eran, que dixo ella que quinze, y diciendole el ay, y esso aueys de dezir? y ella se quiso emendar, y dixo ay Señor, digo mi culpa, digo que son quinientas."

It is a shame to see the ignorance that there is in many, in things of such importance. And after asking some people which of the three persons became incarnate, the one says the Father, others the Holy Spirit, and I myself have heard this in very good towns, too many times with my own ears; because even though the religious orders and those who preach do declare the gospel, they do not explain the ABCs [*b,a ba*] of Christianity; they do not want to deal with giving milk because this is the task of mothers, those lordly Curates, or Orators, who are responsible for this task, and what I have described is their fault.⁵¹

The friars of Padilla's and Ruiz's "deaf" villancicos seem to fit with Azevedo's description of "lordly orators" who delight in lofty language, rather than motherly teachers who spell out the fundamentals of Christian faith. Azevedo's critique, though, is motivated by the late-sixteenth-century Tridentine agenda of reform and education; by the mid-seventeenth century, the function of Catholic religious art under developing "Baroque" aesthetics shifted away from the kind of "plain" instruction Azevedo models, toward more ornate, learned, and often arcane forms of expression. Very few villancicos of the seventeenth century would satisfy Azevedo's call to teach the "*b, a ba* of Christianity." Even the comic villancicos depend on learned plays of language and music, like the Classical references in Ruiz's poetic text, or the play on modal cadences and black notation of Padilla's music. This means that the depictions of imperfect hearing in the "deaf" villancicos themselves depended on the attention of listeners with well-trained ears.

2.3 LISTENING FOR UNHEARABLE MUSIC: THE POWER OF MUSIC IN THE NEOPLATONIC TRADITION

The villancicos on sensation and faith elevate hearing above the other senses, and use listening to music as the paradigm of faithful listening. But these pieces, like Calderón's *Nuevo palacio*, also cast doubt on the ability of any sense to perceive spiritual matters unless tempered by faith. These pieces, then, model a practice of listening to music in which the immediate object of hearing is

51. Azevedo, *Catecismo*, 27: "Es lastima ver la ignorancia que ay en muchos, en cosas de tanta importancia: Y preguntados algunos qual de las tres personas encarno, el vno dice, que el Padre otros que el Espiritu Santo: y en muy buenos pueblos lo he oydo yo, hartas veces con mis oydos; porque dado los religiosos y los que predican declaran el Euangilio, no tratan del *b,a ba* de cristiandad, no tratan de dar leche porque esse es officio de madres, de los señores Curas, o Retores, a cuyo cargo esta esso; y cuya culpa es lo dicho."

not the primary goal of perception. By explicitly drawing attention to the imperfections of music and its listeners, these villancicos challenge hearers to go beyond mere sound and listen for a higher, unhearable music of faith.

This gesture toward a higher, more perfect form of music is rooted in Christian Neoplatonism. Villancicos on the subject of music, particularly those that will be discussed in part II, consistently manifest a Neoplatonic theological worldview. The treatises used to teach musical composition in seventeenth-century Spain, most notably Pedro Cerone's *El melopeo y maestro* (1613) and Andrés Lorente's *El porqué de la música* (1672), present music within a Boethian cosmology of music, which has its roots in a Neoplatonic-Augustinian tradition. Augustine was by far the most influential theologian for early modern Catholics, not only in Spain: his works were directly available in printed editions starting early in the sixteenth century and reissued and re-edited many times after, and through many compendia and digests of patristic theology; and his ideas infused every genre of theological writing.⁵²

One of the foremost proponents of Christian Neoplatonism in the Augustinian tradition was the Dominican Fray Luis de Granada, especially in his *Introducción del Símbolo de la Fe* (Introduction to the Creed) of 1589. Fray Luis's writings were widely read across the Hispanic world through the eighteenth century. Because his work is a self-acknowledged synthesis of patristic and Classical sources, his writings may be taken as both representative of widely held beliefs of his own time and after, as well as a guide to how earlier sources were read and understood by early modern Catholics.

Fray Luis's introduction to the first article of the Apostle's Creed, "I believe in God, the Father almighty, Creator of heaven and earth," is really a fulsome exposition of a theology of the created world. In the Neoplatonic tradition, Fray Luis teaches that the natural world is a reflection of a higher truth—God's own nature—and that the creation was given so that by reflecting on it people

52. Chapter 3 includes a more detailed discussion of the kinds of theological literature that were most influential for poets and composers of villancicos.

would come to know its Creator. Fray Luis frequently uses musical metaphors to describe the harmonious workings of the created world, and he includes a discussion of the physiology and theology of the human voice that applies directly to a historical understanding of music.

A second key source for Neoplatonic theology, in this case specific to music, is the encyclopedic *Musurgia universalis* by another great synthesist of received wisdom, Athanasius Kircher. The Jesuit polymath's 1650 work was disseminated through Jesuit networks across the globe: a copy was sent as far as Manila, and two copies are preserved today in Puebla. Kircher describes in detail the latest scientific knowledge about the anatomy of hearing and vocal production and the physiology of bodily humors and affects; and lays out specific examples of how particular musical structures work through these bodily systems. Kircher presents a cosmic view of music according to Neoplatonic traditions of theology and music theory, in which the whole universe is encompassed in the "working of music"—a rough translation of his inventive Greek-and-Latin title.

The writings of Fray Luis de Granada and Athanasius Kircher provide the basis for a provisional historical theology of music within the Neoplatonic tradition. The fundamental concepts of this theology of music are the Neoplatonic chain of being and the Boethian three-fold division of music. In brief, Christian Neoplatonists followed Augustine in viewing the material world as a reflection of a higher spiritual reality which ultimately had its source in the Supreme Good which was the Godhead.⁵³ The material world reflected higher truths only imperfectly, but nevertheless this world was also the only means through which those truths could be reached. In connection with Catholic sacramental theology, material objects and physical actions became means through which humans could encounter divine grace. Neoplatonic contemplation could be understood as a dialectical process of discerning the degree both of similarity and of dissimilarity between earthly objects and heavenly truth.

Augustine's writings on music in the *Confessions* (10:23) are sometimes interpreted today

53. An important later source for this concept is the *Spiritual Hierarchy* attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite.

in an excessively negative way, as though Augustine only accepted music's value when it could serve as a neutral medium for sacred words. When Augustine chastizes himself for being seduced by the song, rather than "that which is sung," he is not condemning music or the voice as unsacred. Instead it is probably more accurate to interpret this statement as a confession—like those throughout the book—that he failed at the task of distinguishing the created thing from its Creator. He was captivated by the song as an object, that is, as an idol, rather than by the "holy thoughts" or "sentiments" that the song was meant to communicate to him and move him towards. He failed at the task of Neoplatonic-Christian listening by getting stuck at the lowest level of sensory experience, by letting carnal pleasure lead his mind rather than the reverse.

In short, he failed to rise from what he was hearing to contemplate the higher truths to which the singing was meant to move him. He is not questioning music's Platonic value as a reflection of the divine. Augustine values music's power over the affections, and acknowledges that it was his own weakness that made this a problem.

While Augustine as a Neoplatonist does emphasize ideas over material forms, he certainly does not negate or reject the material world. This would have been Manichaeism, which Augustine left behind for Christianity and spent much of his career refuting. Christian Neoplatonists after Augustine, then, would see material forms as imperfect reflections of higher realities, but as necessary ones, for a person could only rise to contemplate higher things through the lower things. Music reflects the structure of the universe and thereby points to God; this is why it is one of the higher liberal arts, leading on to philosophy and theology. Music for Neoplatonists was not a neutral medium, but was sacred in and of itself because it embodied number and therefore truth.

The definition of music in Boethius's *De musica* provided the classic formulation of how music fit into the Neoplatonic chain of being. The three Boethian types of music are arranged hierarchically and each one points beyond itself to a higher level. At the lowest level is *musica instrumentalis*—music played and sounded, music that humans can hear. Higher up is *musica humana*—the harmony of body and soul, and of one human being with another in society. Still

Table 2.4
Neoplatonic hierarchy of music

	Harmony of Trinity	
Heavenly Music	Chorus of angels, saints	
	<i>Musica mundana</i>	Spheres
	<i>Musica humana</i>	Bodies
Worldly Music	<i>Musica instrumentalis</i>	Sounding music

higher is *musica mundana*—the harmonies created by the perpetual movement of the planetary spheres.

Villancicos on the subject of music embody the notion that even these three levels of music are subordinate to the supernatural forms of music in Heaven—the chorus of angels and saints, and above them, the mysterious harmonies of three in one in the Trinity and two in one in the divine-and-human nature of Christ. The three Boethian musics in this system would all be “worldly” music, and it is important to clarify the distinction between the music of the *cielos* or heavens—that is, the planetary spheres—and the “heavenly” music of the *cielo Empyreo* or Heaven, the supernatural realm beyond the material world. Table 2.4 presents a synthesis of the Neoplatonic hierarchy of music.

Musica instrumentalis, then, though the lowest form of music in the chain of being, was the only form of music to which humans had direct access through the sense of hearing. Metamusical villancicos explicitly emphasize the challenge that was central to all music-making in the Christian Neoplatonic tradition, to use the imperfect medium of sounding music to evoke all the higher forms of music, to lead listeners in contemplation up the chain of being beyond simply what was heard.

Vocal music played a special role in this system because for Neoplatonists, the human body was the microcosm of the whole created world. The voice, then, is the physical expression of the microcosm, and vocal music thus doubly reflects the order of nature: in its musical ratios and

proportions, which reflect those of the spheres, and as an expression of the human body as the microcosm. *Musica instrumentalis* is the finite expression of *musica humana* and reflects and leads to the contemplation of the *musica mundana*, and to the higher Music of the Triune God who created all these lower forms of music.

2.3.1 Hearing the Book of Nature Read Aloud

This Neoplatonic worldview was disseminated through the post-Tridentine Hispanic world through books like Fray Luis de Granada's *Introduction to the Creed*. Fray Luis begins his exposition of the Creed in the traditional manner of catechists (as modeled by the Roman Catechism), by using the first article to teach the theology of creation, through which, according to St. Paul and Thomas Aquinas people can come to the natural knowledge of God.

"The ultimate and highest good of man," Fray Luis states at the outset, "consists in the exercise and use of the most excellent work of man, which is the knowledge and contemplation of God."⁵⁴ Fray Luis teaches that the created world is a "book of nature" in which is written the grandeur, love, wisdom, and faithfulness of its Creator. The first goal of humankind, then, is to learn to read this "book of nature" in order to come through it to the knowledge of God. The goal of contemplating creation is "ascending by the staircase of the creatures to the contemplation of the wisdom and beauty of the Maker."⁵⁵

The reason one can "read" God through nature, Fray Luis teaches, is that the created world is a reflection of God's perfect order—a concept the friar repeatedly expresses using musical metaphors. Fray Luis compares the perfect order of nature to a harmonious musical composition in which everything fits together "con sumo concierto" (with the most perfect concord).⁵⁶ All the

54. Fray Luis de Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, Biblioteca de autores españoles 6 (1583; Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1871), 182: "El último y summo bien del hombre consistia en el ejercicio y uso de la mas exelent obra del hombre, qu es el conocimiento y contemplación de Dios."

55. Ibid., 184: "subiendo por la escalera de las criaturas á la contemplación de la sabiduría y hermosura del Hacedor."

56. Or harmony, agreement; the same word is used for a musical "concerto" or "concerted" music. This seems to be Fray Luis's Castilian equivalent for the Latin *concordia*, the word most frequently used in this context by Augustine

created things in this world, Fray Luis writes, “like concerted music for diverse voices, harmonize together [concuerdan] in the service of man, for whom they were created.”⁵⁷ The movement of the heavenly spheres, and their effects on the earth, are like a great “chain, or, it can be said, this dance, so well ordered, of the creatures, and like music for diverse voices [...]. Because things so diverse could not be reduced to a single end with a single order, if there were not one who was like a chapelmaster [maestro de capilla], who reduces them to this unity and consonance.”⁵⁸

In the Neoplatonic tradition, these references to music are more than just metaphors. The universe is not only like music, it actually is in some sense musical.⁵⁹ While some might think of Neoplatonists as ignoring actual sounding music for the sake of abstracted “higher music,” it is not possible to compare something to music without having some kind of earthly music in mind. When Fray Luis compares the world to music “in diverse voices” he obviously has in his “mind’s ear” polyphonic music of his own time, such as he would have heard at the Portuguese Royal Chapel as confessor to the queen. Likewise, when he compares God to a “maestro de capilla,” that has all the implications of that office in the Hispanic context, which included composition, teaching, and leading the choir in some form of conducting.⁶⁰ Thus God for Fray Luis is creator, prime mover, and sovereign ruler over creation, actively and intimately involved in its ongoing progress.

For Fray Luis, not only does creation reflect God’s order; it actively proclaims that fact. It speaks or sings with its own voice to communicate God’s glory to the human who knows how

(as in the *City of God*).

57. Luis de Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, 191: “Mas entre todas ellas es mucho para considerar, de la manera que todas (como una música concertada de diversas voces) concuerdan en el servicio del hombre, para quien fuéreron criadas [...].”

58. Ibid.: “Asimismo los otros planetas y estrellas, segun los diversos aspectos que tienen entre sí y con el sol, son causa de diversos efectos acá en la tierra, como son lluvias, serenidad, vientos, frio, y calor y cosas semejantes. Esta cadena, ó, si se puede decir, esta danza tan ordenada de las criaturas, y como música de diversas voces, convenció á Averrois para creer que no habia mas que un solo Dios. Porque no se pueden reducir á un fin con una orden cosas tan diversas, si no hubiere uno que sea como maestro de capilla, que las reduzga á esta unidad y consonancia.”

59. It should be said, though, that the tradition is not always clear on whether the music of the spheres is actual music that someone could hear or is only “music” in the sense of movement in perfect proportions.

60. The trope of Christ as a chapelmaster is discussed in chapter 3.

to listen. Fray Luis glosses Augustine's commentary on Psalm 26 to say, "Look around at all these many things from the heaven to the earth, and you will see that they all sing and preach their Creator; because all types of creatures are voices [or perhaps, utterances] that sing his praises."⁶¹ While the full knowledge of God can only come with the aid of divine revelation through the Scriptures and the Church, Fray Luis praises God that humans can study his nature in "the university of created things, which declare to us [literally, 'give us voices'] that you love us, and teach us why we should love you."⁶²

Fray Luis acknowledges, however, that apart from angels and birds, most of creation is mute and does not literally have its own voice with which to communicate its message of divine glory. This "message" is not a linguistic one, but rather, their message is simply themselves: in the created world, the medium is the message. "Now these admirable works do not speak or testify this with human voices [...]," Fray Luis writes, "rather their speech and testimony is their invariable order and their beauty, and the artifice with which they are so perfectly made, as though they were made with a ruler and plumb line."⁶³

In this theological system, music has unique value because it actually provides a voice through which creation can make audible its message-of-being. As Margit Frenk has documented, books in this period were not read silently, but required someone to give them voice, and were written with that intention.⁶⁴

To read the "book of nature," therefore, someone must perform it vocally—and this is what

61. Luis de Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, 185: "Rodea cuantas cosas hay dende el cielo hasta la tierra, y verás que todas canta y predican á su criador; proque todas las especies de las criaturas voces son que cantan sus alabanzas."

62. Ibid., 186: "Ayúdanos tambien la universidad de las criaturas, las cuales nos dan voces que os amemos, y nos enseñan por que os habemos de amar."

63. Ibid., 192: "Mas estas obras admirables no hablan ni testifican esto con voces humanas (las cuales no pudieran llegar al cabo del mundo); mas su habla y testimonio es la órden invariable, y la hermosura dellas, y el artificio con que están hechas tan perfectamente, como si se hicieran con regla y plomada."

64. Margit Frenk, *Entre la voz y el silencio: La lectura en tiempos de Cervantes* (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005). One edition of Fray Luis's own book *Doctrina Cristiana* bore at the beginning a notice from the Archbishop of Toledo granting a certain number of days of indulgence for each paragraph that anyone "read or heard read" (that is, had read to them).

music could do. In the Christian Neoplatonic tradition, human music unlocks the musical voice contained within the substance of created things. Through metal pipes, horns, and bells; through wood viol cases, gut strings, and skin drums; even through reverberant stone church walls, the very matter of creation is made to resound with the perfectly ordered mathematical-harmonic proportions placed within it by the Creator—proportions which themselves reflect God's own perfect order.⁶⁵

If pipes and strings testify to the order of creation, then the human body as the microcosm of creation is the ultimate instrument through which nature is given voice. Fray Luis concludes his exposition of the six days of creation (based largely on the *Hexameron* of St. Basil) by saying that God's creation of man on the sixth day was like the conclusion of an oration, when the speaker draws together all his themes into a final epitome. Thus man is the summation of all that God had created in the previous five days and encompasses them all within himself.⁶⁶

2.3.2 Voice as Expression of Man, the Microcosm

When Athanasius Kircher (in the tenth book of the *Musurgia*) continues this hexameral tradition with his own treatment of the six days of creation, he replaces the rhetorical metaphor with a musical one. Instead of creation being God's oration, Kircher presents it as a musical improvisation (a "Praeludium") on God's cosmic organ.⁶⁷ On the sixth day, Kircher says, God recapitulates all his themes and pulls out all the stops by creating man. Here again, the comparison to music must be based on some actual music known to Kircher; his description closely resembles the structure of a Praeludium by the likes of Dieterich Buxtehude, which develops a motivic kernel through various sections and culminates in a fugue for the full organ. In Kircher's worldview, all the systems and

65. This idea recalls Luke 19:40: "If these [Christ's disciples] were silent, the stones would shout out" (dico vobis quia si hii tacuerint lapides clamabunt).

66. Luis de Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, 243

67. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis, sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X. libros digesta* (Rome, 1650), Vol. 2, 366–367. Kircher's illustration of this is used as an interpretive key in chapter 4.

elements of creation (stars, planets, humors, rocks, animals, and so on) intersect in the individual human body.⁶⁸

For Kircher, the human voice is the unique expression of the individual, reflecting each person's unique temperament and blend of the four humors.⁶⁹ Kircher defines the voice thus: "The voice is a living sound [or, sound of the soul], produced by the glottis through the percussion of respired breaths that serve to express the affects of the soul."⁷⁰ Since each voice is unique, only in concert do voices fully reflect nature and nature's God. Cantus, Altus, Tenor, and Bass parts provide a place for all types of human voices, Kircher explains, and correspond respectively to fire, air, water, and earth. Thus they form a choral microcosm both of humanity and of all creation.⁷¹

Fray Luis says that most of creation does not proclaim its message "with human voices," but he also presents the human being as the "mundo menor" or microcosm;⁷² he exalts the voice as the audible expression of the human body and vocal music as the most perfect kind of music. If man is the microcosm and human voices in concert are even more so, than polyphonic choral music could actually give voice to the spheres and all below them. Fray Luis praises the human voice as the highest of all musical instruments (indeed, as the paradigm for them), as a means of forming social relationships between people, and as a form of communication between human and divine:

The lungs also serve to create the voice, because, when the air that they exhale leaves them with a great impetus, and touches the voicebox or "little bell" that we have at the entrance of the lungs, the voice is formed. [...] But here it is to be noted that the mouth of the pipe coming out of the lungs is neither large nor round, but is drawn tight [hendida] just like the slot of an alms box. Which opening serves to form the voice; this is why the mouths of flutes and dulcians are constructed in this fashion, because in this manner, the compressed air entering through them, the voice is caused.⁷³

68. See the illustration in Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, vol. 2, 402.

69. In Ibid., vol. 1, 23–24, among other places, Kircher discusses why different voices have unique qualities.

70. Ibid., vol. 1, 20: "Vox est sonus animalis à glottide ex percussione respirati aeris ad affectus animi explicandos productus."

71. Ibid., vol. 1, 217–219.

72. Luis de Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, 243: El "mundo menor, que es el hombre."

73. Ibid., 252: "Sirve también el pulmon para la voz, porque saliendo el aire que él despedie de sí con algun impteu,

We may note again that the friar's reference to music corresponds to contemporary practice: flutes and dulcians were played in Iberian church music, both as independent instruments and in the form of organ pipes of those names (and we may also observe that as in Kircher, the organ seems to represent the highest of musical instruments and the closest analogue to the voice). Fray Luis praises the flexibility of the voice, which unlike a wooden flute can take on any shape needed, and which is unique because each person's body is unique. The voice therefore expresses human individuality, and voices of different types in concert enact harmony between people:

Moreover, here is a thing worthy of much consideration, to see the omnipotence and wisdom of the Creator, who was able to form something like a flute from flesh, which serves for singing. For to make a flute or trumpet from a solid material such as wood or some metal, is not much; for the hardness of the material serves for the resonance of the voice. But to make this out of flesh (such as is the windpipe of the lungs), and such that through it some voices are formed of women and of men, so sweet that they seem more like those of angels than of humans, and these with such variety of notes [punctos], without having the finger holes of flutes that provide this variety, this is something that declares the power and the wisdom of that sovereign artisan, who in such a manner forged the flesh of this windpipe so that in it could be formed a voice sweeter and milder than that of all the flutes and instruments that human industry has invented.

And there is no end of admiration for the variety that there is in this for the service of harmonious music [música acordada]. For some throats are narrow, in which are formed the trebles [tiples], and others in which are formed voices so full and resonant that they seem to thunder through an entire church, without which there could not be perfect music.

All of which that divine presider [presidente] traced and ordained, so that with this mildness and melody the divine offices and their praises should be celebrated, with which to awaken the devotion of the faithful.⁷⁴

y tocando en el calillo ó campanilla que tenemos á la entrada dél, se forma la voz. [...] Mas aquí es de notar que la boca de la caña deste pulmon, ni es grande ni redonda, ántes es hendida, así como la abertura de una alcancía. Lo cual sirve para formar la voz; porque deste modo están fabricadas las bocas de las flautas y dulzainas; porque desta manera entrando por ellas el aire colado se causa la voz."

74. Luis de Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, 252: "Mas aquí es cosa digna de mucha consideración, ver la omnipotencia y sabiduría del Criador, que pudo formar una como flauta de carne, la cual sirve para cantar. Porque hacer una flauta ó trompeta de materia sólida, como es de madera ó de algun metal, no es mucho; porque la dureza de la materia sirve para la resonancia de la voz. Mas hacer esto de carne (cual es la caña del pulmon), y que en ella se formen algunas voces de mujeres y de hombres, tan suaves, que mas parecen de ángeles que de hombres, y estas con tanta variedad de punctos, sin tener los agujeros de las flautas que sirven para esta variedad, esto es cosa que declara el poder y la sabiduría de aquel artifice soberano, que de tal manera fraguó la carne desta caña que se

Fray Luis wants his readers to hear God's glory reflected most fully in the concerted harmony of diverse human voices, which he says were created for the purpose of singing or singing in divine worship. The voice in church is the definitive example of vocal music for Fray Luis. Sacred polyphony glorifies God, then, simply by realizing the potential for which the voice (and the body) was made. In the above passage, the sound of the voice alone proclaims God's power and wisdom just in itself, apart from whatever words or musical figures it might articulate.

Fray Luis sees speech as something "added" to the voice, which makes it possible for the voice to communicate and form social relationships:

Now here it is to be noted that when to the voice which proceeds from this place is added the instrument of the tongue, we come to articulate and make distinctions with this voice, and thus is formed speech, serving us by this instrument and punctuating [hiriendo] with it sometimes in the teeth and other times in the interior of the mouth. And just as the flute produces different sounds by touching on different holes, likewise the tongue, touching in different parts of the mouth, forms different words. By this manner the Creator gave us the faculty to speak and communicate our thoughts and concepts to other men.⁷⁵

Fray Luis might see music—with its own system of articulations and distinctions—as another way to "communicate our thoughts and concepts" just as well as spoken language, but he also presents music as a product of the voice before any articulation is added. This definition of voice would mean that in vocal music there are always two layers—the articulated "speech" aspects, and behind these the wordless sustained voice. In a polyphonic vocal piece like a villancico, the bulk of musical structure is borne by the sustained tones of the voice, singing vowels. Apart from

pudiese en ella formar una voz mas dulce y mas suave que la de todas las flautas y instrumentos que la industria humana ha inventado. Y aun no carece de admiracion la variedad que en esto hay para servicio de la música acordada. Porque unas cañales hay delgadas, en las cuales se forman los triples, y otras en que se forman voces tan llenas y tan resonantes, que parecen atronar toda una iglesia, sin las cuales no podia haber música perfecta. Lo cual todo trazó y ordenó asi aquel divino presidente, para que con esta suavidad y melodía se celebrasen los divinos oficios y sus alabanzas, con que se despertare la devoción de los fieles."

75. Luis de Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, 252: "Mas aquí es de notar que cuando á la voz, que por aquí sale, se añade el instrumento de la lengua, venimas á articular y distinguir esa voz, y así se forma la habla, sirviéndonos deste instrumento, y hiriendo con él unas veces en los dientes y otras en lo interior de nuestra boca. [...] Y así como la flauta hace diversos sonidos tocando en diversos agujeros, así la lengua, tocando en diversas partes de nuestra boca, forma diversas palabras. Desta manera nos dió el Criador facultad para hablar y comunicar nuestros pensamientos y conceptos á otros hombres."

the words being sung, musical elements like mode, meter, motivic development, and stylistic or topical allusions are all communicated by these musical voices, and not simply by the voice as the bearer of words. Music could thus reflect the divine through its sonic structure, apart from any sacred linguistic meaning that may be attached as well.

This would mean that the hearer of music could and should seek out this level of musical structure while listening. If music's value and sacredness are not comprised solely in the words being sung, then one must know how to hear the musical structure in order to receive the full benefit. Citing Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* (the classic exposition of Christian preaching and teaching), Fray Luis—who was himself the author of six volumes about *Rhetorica ecclesiastica*—says that the main task of the student of rhetoric is to hear and identify the rhetorical tropes and techniques used by another orator. In the same way, he says, the first task of humankind is to be a student of the natural world, and to learn to recognize in creation the signs of God's artifice as the Creator, which manifest his glory.

2.4 THREE THEOLOGICAL FUNCTIONS OF VILLANCICOS

The basic Neoplatonic logic traced above may be summarized as follows:

1. Music is a reflection of the natural order.
2. The natural order is itself a reflection of God.
3. By paying attention to nature one can come to know and believe in its Maker.
4. Therefore listening to music may be a primary way of “reading the book of nature” and coming to faith in nature’s Creator.

In light of these theological sources we may point towards a tentative answer for the central question, How did Catholics understand music's role in the relationship between faith and hearing? First, the Faith of the Church, according to the Roman Catechism and traditional teachings, was not only a collection of precepts but a dynamic encounter with the Word of God, which was

the Incarnate Christ himself revealing himself through his body, the Church. So if faith came through hearing, and hearing, by the Word of Christ, then it was the church that made Christ the Word audible through preaching, liturgy, community life—and music. And though the Church by necessity attempted to accommodate the Faith to peoples' sensory and intellectual capacities, the Church also worked to train those capacities for faithful listening, which included understanding, belief, and obedience. To put it simply if obscurely, one needed faith to hear the Faith with faith, and thereby to grow in faithfulness. The ultimate origin of faith in Catholic theology was the grace of God, bestowed in the sacrament of Baptism and renewed in the other sacraments of the Church—and therefore denied to those like Calderón's "Judaísmo" who rejected the Church and were in turn rejected. For those given the grace of faith and welcomed into the Church, however, music contributed to the ongoing proclamation and celebration of the Faith, and learning to participate in music through listening or performance (which should include listening) could be a way to grow in faith and come closer to the object of faith, the Word that was Christ.

We may distinguish at least three theological functions of villancicos as part of this theological agenda of linking faith and hearing: mnemonic, contemplative, and affective. The three functions in this model are outlined in table 2.5. Each of the three categories overlaps with and includes the others; all are present to some degree in any villancico, though we may distinguish certain pieces and subgenres in which one function predominates, and we may observe shifts in the emphasis on the different functions across time. These functions include both a definition of the role of music and a task for listeners (the latter shown in italics in the table).

2.4.1 The Mnemonic Function

At a simple level, vocal music could make faith appeal to hearing simply by pairing words about Christ with music that pleased the ears of hearers. Whether the music pleased, however, would depend on the individual temperaments and cultural conditioning of the listeners. This may be considered a *mnemonic function* of music, in which the music serves primarily as an aid (in

Table 2.5

Three theological funtions of villancicos: The role of music and the task of listeners

Mnemonic (<i>mnemotecnia</i>)	
Music	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tool for remembering religious texts and concepts • Neutral medium for words and ideas
Listeners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remember and internalize primarily melodies for the sake of their words
Contemplative	
Music	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gateway to Neoplatonic-Augustinian contemplation of God • Form of nonlinguistic rhetoric whose artifice reflects the order of nature and therefore the divine
Listeners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discern musical structures and rhetorical devices • By marvelling at the musical artifice, move upward to wonder at nature and then God
Affective	
Music	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Way of directly expressing and inciting an affective response to God, leading to the ethical “harmonization” of both individual and society by means of sympathetic vibration and the humors • Means of direct physical power over the bodies of hearers (though this power depends on culture and context), and therefore allowing for affective pedagogy and possibly social control
Listeners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allow oneself to be moved in sympathy with the performers and with the subject of the song, to holy affects (contrition, sorrow for Christ in his passion, joy for Christ in his grace and glory, love for God and neighbor) • Be changed by this experience and formed into a community with other listeners • Move from sensory experience to ethical action

Spanish, *mnemotecnia*, a tool for memory) for remembering a verbal text. Villancicos could serve a mnemonic function when they were based on set memory texts, such as *Señor mío Jesucristo*, an official Act of Contrition text set by Joan Cererols and likely used to teach the choirboys at the Abbey of Montserrat this important prayer.⁷⁶ The strophic coplas of villancicos, which may be related to oral traditions of reciting *romances*, also contribute to the genre's mnemonic power by associating the words with a simple, memorable, and frequently repeated melody.

2.4.2 The Contemplative Function

In the contemplative function, the structure of music itself worked within a Neoplatonic framework to reflect and proclaim the nature of God, as discussed in the previous section. Since music was conceived of in rhetorical terms in this period (one classic source for that being Kircher), the listener was challenged to learn to recognize the rhetorical structure of the music. The properly disposed listener could learn to perceive the artifice of the composer within a piece of music, and thereby hear how the piece reflects the artifice of God who created the numerical ratios and physical objects through which the music can be produced. In this function the music works somewhat independently of accompanying verbal texts as an object for Neoplatonic contemplation, to point beyond itself to higher truths. It is contingent on the listeners' intellectual capacity to perceive musical artifice, as well as their disposition toward "spiritual listening."

The contemplative function is primary in most of the metamusical villancicos in chapter 1 and the pieces about heavenly music studied in part II. Enigma pieces and game pieces could also function as objects of intellectual contemplation. For instance, in Mateo de Villavieja's *Jácaras en anagramas*, not only are the poetic lines combinatorial, but so are the musical phrases and even the individual voice parts, in an example of algorithmic composition.⁷⁷

76. Edition in Joan Cererols, *Joan Cererols III*, ed. David Pujols, Mestres de l'Escolania de Montserrat 3 (Monestir de Montserrat, 1932).

77. E-MO: AMM.4261, from the Convento de la Encarnación in Madrid, preserved at the Abbey of Montserrat.

If the mnemonic function was emphasized in educating choirboys, then the contemplative function was favored among the lettered elite. One venue for this would be in meetings or sponsored services of religious confraternities. Don Antonio de Salazar (late-seventeenth-century chapelmaster of Mexico City Cathedral, composer of *Angélicos coros*, discussed in chapter 1) belonged to the Confraternity of St. Michael the Archangel. A collection of printed sermons by the Carmelite preacher Fray Andrés de San Miguel of Puebla includes a sermon Fray Andrés was invited to preach at a gathering of Salazar's confraternity. The title of the sermon explicitly mentions Salazar as having commissioned the sermon, and this suggests that Salazar may have been head of the confraternity as well. In the opening of the sermon, the preacher mentions that they are gathered in the "church of the Encarnación." Both Salazar and Fray Andrés were from Puebla, and the devotion to the angels and St. Michael particularly were characteristic of that city. As such, this church may be that of the Augustinian monastery in Puebla, which had that dedication. The monk's self-deprecating introduction makes it clear that he is addressing an elite congregation of highly learned and accomplished men. The cleric expresses his concern that he does not really know enough music to be addressing such a group, which suggests these were men specifically educated in music. The preacher's praise for Salazar (though expected if Salazar was responsible for the paid commission) indicates a high level of respect and appreciation for this chapelmaster. He goes on to imply that there will be a musical performance at the same liturgy, in which the audience will be able to hear this for themselves. In fact, Fray Andrés says that Don Salazar could compose a better sermon in music than he himself could preach in words.

The sermon that follows is an exposition of the identity and deeds of St. Michael the Archangel. The friar structures this discussion not according to the verses or portions of a Scriptural citation (as was more common), but according to each syllable of the Guidonian hexachord. Since Michael's name in Hebrew means "he who is like God," or "Quis ut Deus" in Latin, the friar uses UT to discuss Michael's name. Since Michael is the chief of all the angels, he is their "king" or RE; and so on. As the preacher had warned, his musical knowledge does seem to have been rather thin,

since he does not use any other musical terminology or musical metaphors in the sermon. The sermon is about angels, not about music; but it uses the terminology of music as a framework to discuss the angels.

We do not know what music may have been performed at this service (or even what kind of liturgy it was), but Salazar's *Angélicos coros* would seem to be the type of music that might have been chosen. The version surviving in the Colección Jesús Sánchez Garza is arranged for the sisters of the Convento de la Santísima Trinidad in Puebla—another semi-private music venue with elite, high-level musical performance. This is not Salazar's most learned composition, or even his most metamusical, but it does allow us to imagine how themes of music were treated in villancicos performed in closed and private spaces for circles of musical and theological connoisseurs. Villancicos about angels have a strong Neoplatonic charge to them: the singers turn their attention heavenwards to address the angels directly (since angels were believed to be present at every liturgy, 1 Cor. 11:10), while they also stand in for, or sing along with, their heavenly counterparts. Angel pieces exhort the audience to lift their ears upwards as well, and ascend in the chain of contemplation beyond even *musica mundana* to the music of the *cielo Empyreo* in the highest Heaven.

Salazar's confraternity is similar to the private societies that sponsored the culturally important poetry competitions of imperial Spain. Martha Tenorio sees these competitions as the defining venue for poetry in New Spain, and demonstrates that for most of the seventeenth century, these events (memorialized and disseminated in special imprints) were centers for highly cultivated poetic virtuosity after the model of Góngora.⁷⁸ A musical counterpart to these competitions could be the *oposiciones* that religious institutions held to select new chapelmasters and organists. Composers had every incentive to use these pieces to demonstrate their virtuosity. Though the metamusical pieces in part II were probably not used as official *oposición* pieces, they serve a

78. Martha Lilia Tenorio, ed., *Poesía novohispana: Antología* (Mexico City: Colegio de México: Fundación para las Letras Mexicanas, 2010).

similar function, allowing a composer to demonstrate a particular kind of skill in music and theology, and to establish a place in a tradition of such pieces.

2.4.3 The Affective Function

A third way for music to work in the relationship between hearing and faith would be through the affects. Music with a primarily affective function would go beyond simply projecting the verbal text (the mnemonic function), and do more than serve as a passive object of contemplation; music in its affective function would exercise direct physical power over hearers by means of sympathetic vibration and the humoral system. The affective function may have been the closest to the body (and therefore in a sense universal), but it was also the most conditioned by culture and even by individual personality. Music moved the affects through a developing set of associative, inter-musical relationships—that is, through musical topics and tropes.

The affect of joy is predominant in Christmas villancicos, affects of wonder and awe are emphasized in Corpus Christi villancicos, and affects of love are cultivated in more intimate villancicos for Eucharistic devotion. Less common are the affects of grief and pain in villancicos intended for Passion contemplation (such as *Ay, que dolor* by Joan Cererols), or pieces dedicated to the Virgin of Solitude.⁷⁹

The affective function of villancicos had a pedagogical and formative component. The setting of the Act of Contrition *Señor mío Jesucristo* by Cererols mentioned above under the mnemonic function would serve not only to teach the boys the words of the prayer, but also to model for the boys how to feel and express contrition, which was necessary according to canon law for a valid confession in the sacrament of Penance. Affective pedagogy could also mean training the body internally and externally to move in certain ways: this could include the movements of weeping lament, quiet reverence, or vigorous dancing. In each case, these are actions that the whole

79. Cererols, *Joan Cererols III*.

assembly must do together, in harmony, with dance as the best example (even if the “dancing” happened mostly in the interplay between musicians or was only spiritual or conceptual).

The task for the listener in the affective function of villancicos would be to let oneself be moved in sympathy with the performers and with the subject of the song to holy affections—contrition, sorrow for Christ in his passion, joy for Christ in his grace and glory, and above all, love for God and neighbor. The goal was to be changed by this experience and formed into a community with other listeners, all attuned in sympathetic vibration (which was understood as a real physical action uniting people bodily in their affections).

Affective villancicos suggested a way that a person might be moved through the sense of hearing to believe, not just through rational proofs, but through the affective faculty, by principles of sympathetic vibration. The affective function united “sensation” (the external sense of hearing) and “feeling” (the internal affects in response to what was heard), and could produce a physical response—a bodily reaction to the feeling, such as provoked weeping, or more commonly for villancicos, provoked laughter, gladness, and even dancing—and not alone, but together with the whole listening church.

2.5 CONCLUSIONS

Vernacular villancicos could evoke a response in their hearers in a way that the rest of the liturgy did not. Villancicos offered listeners an opportunity to think about (and “feel about”) the content of the faith in their own language (or at least in one they understood better than Latin), an opening otherwise only offered in the sermon, when one was preached. As Azevedo, following the Roman Catechism, taught, the faith had to be made “pleasing to the ear,” and villancicos did just that. Further, Azevedo taught that the “hearer of the faith” must remain completely silent and be fully attentive to the master’s teaching; so likewise the many villancicos beginning “Listen!” demand just that. And being quiet was not only a prerequisite for receiving religious teaching; it was also

the expected response to the miracles and mysteries of the faith. Thus a villancico by Joan Cererols celebrates the logic-defying doctrine of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and concludes with the reiterated phrase, “Callar y creer”—hush, and believe.⁸⁰

Villancicos invite listeners not simply to hear, but to “take heed,” to both discern deeper meanings in what they hear and to put what they hear into practice. Moreover, while many villancicos do begin with an exhortation to listen, most pieces also include imperatives to actively respond to what is heard. The command is often affective and devotional—“llorad,” “sentid,” “arde” (weep, feel, burn), or (more commonly with Christmas pieces) “Cantad,” “Alegren,” “Repican” (sing, be joyful, repeat the angels’ song). Other pieces call on listeners to dance and play instruments. In other words, villancicos ask listeners to both contemplate and obey—in short, to hear the Faith with faith and to respond in faithfulness.

From this perspective we may cautiously accept some aspects of the conventional wisdom about the function of villancicos. The current exotic stereotype of villancicos is as a popular form of devotion that was “allowed” in the liturgy by the church authorities because they hoped it would attract the common people to Church and to faith—and that it retained some element of impious subversion from its popular roots. But villancicos were not just passively “permitted”; they were actively cultivated by cathedral chapters and paid for with generous sums. The poetry imprints celebrating the performances at a particular church must have been a point of pride for those who endowed the festival, and for this reason were eagerly disseminated far and wide (such as the many Seville imprints in Puebla). And villancicos may have had a lower social register, and may have been influenced by oral traditions now lost, but the surviving written repertoire was largely composed and performed by highly educated professionals in elite settings.

Nevertheless—we can affirm that villancicos did “appeal to the people” in an active sense, imploring them to be quiet, to listen, to take heed; even as they appealed in the “entertainment” sense as well, allowing people to find humor, delight, and wonder in religious mysteries that

80. Cererols, *Serrana, tú que en los valles*, edition in Cererols, *Joan Cererols III*.

might otherwise have remained inaccessible and uninteresting to them. Not only because of the words, but because of the lively, diverse musical styles used, which probably were associated with a lower social register, villancicos “appealed to the ear” both in the sense of being “pleasing” and in the sense of “reaching out to” or “making a claim upon.”

There are so many “Listen!” openings that this gesture deserves deeper reflection than dismissing it as simply a practical way of getting attention, or as a generic convention. The recurrence of this kind of exordium in villancicos may indicate that the genre itself was fundamentally about getting people to listen. The rest of the liturgy may have passed through the lay people’s ears like the incense wafted by their noses, creating a general atmosphere of devotion but not evoking any specific sentiments (thoughts, ideas, images) in the mind and not provoking any direct response. But the vernacular villancicos demanded attention. Many of them presented hearers with bold, striking images at their openings, projecting an intriguing poetic conceit or scenario through musical structures and styles that made people take notice. In other words, villancicos made faith appeal to hearing.

But did this effort really work? Did people understood the riddles or get the jokes, and if so, which people were they? Did the musical rhetoric and symbolism that is unpacked in such detail in this study really serve as objects of contemplation to anyone at the time, including the performers?

It is not possible to answer these questions fully without more documentation about how Spanish subjects at different levels of society heard and thought about music. But from the poetic and musical texts themselves, it is possible to affirm that church leaders made a hearty effort to reach out to a wide public, both cultivated and common, and to get them to listen to the faith in a new way.

It is certainly possible that the whole culture of producing and consuming villancicos was the domain of a cultivated elite and did little actually to propagate faith among a broader range of hearers. In the late sixteenth century Antonio de Azevedo lamented that the church continued

celebrating its doctrines through festive ceremonies, even while lay people had hardly any idea what they were about: “For this [teaching] is such an important business, especially given that it is a mortal sin that they should not know what day it is, what it means that our Lord was born, what it means that he died and rose to the heavens: and all this which the Church celebrates with such great festivities.”⁸¹ The added difficulties of teaching in the colonial context and the increasing aesthetic of complexity in learned Spanish poetry and music of the seventeenth century would suggest that many commoners remained unformed in such basic matters of faith. As Azevedo suggests, the church’s ceremonies, including the dozens of poetic verses and musical figures of villancicos in festival Matins, did actively celebrate the Church’s faith—but just because cathedrals echoed with these words and music does not mean that everyone understood them on the same level.

And even for literate listeners, the complexity of music across a whole cycle of eight or more villancicos would present a challenge for any listener seeking “to hear Faith with faith” through music. This would be especially true in metamusical pieces, which required a sophisticated knowledge of music to even make sense of the text. As Padre Daniel Codina, monk at the present-day Abbey of Montserrat, said of a villancico by Montserrat’s seventeenth-century chapelmaster Joan Cererols (*Suspended, cielos*, the subject of chapter 4), such a piece is an explanation which itself needs to be explained.⁸²

A similar uncertainty about “what to listen for in music” (to use Aaron Copland’s phrase) is reflected in a chronicle from a 1724 festival in Zaragoza:

During the whole event, the senses were enchanted with an imponderable spell by the sweet, solemn, and sonorous [sonora] harmony, with which the two chapels [of El Pilar and La Seo], united to this end by the chapter, officiated the Mass, and since in the short time that was given to their Masters for composition, it was necessary that they employed, in competition, the most exquisite skill [primor] of the art, which should

81. Azevedo, *Catecismo*, 27: “Pues es negocio tan importante, tanto que es pecado mortal, que no sepan el dia de oy, que cosa es nacer nuestro Señor, ni que cosa es morir, y subir a los cielos: y esto que la Iglesia celebra, con tan grandes festiuidades, como lo vemos.”

82. Personal conversation, November 2012.

be credited mutually to the virtuosity [destreza] of the voices and the well-adjusted management of the instruments. Each Master set to music one of the following villancicos [the poems follow], which were part of the design of the chapter's order; the two were sung nobly, and were heard with pleasure, but it would have been even better, if all the ears had been intelligent in points of consonance.⁸³

Thus villancicos embody the central paradox of this chapter: as the catechism says, they attempt to accommodate faith to the sense of hearing, but at the same time they seek to train the sense of hearing to make sense of faith. Without the kind of spiritual ear training that villancicos on the subject of hearing and faith describe, the Church's musical proclamation of faith would fall on “deaf ears.”

83. *Relacion historica, y panegyrica de las fiestas, que la ciudad de Zaragoza dispuso, con motivo del decreto, en que la Santidad de Inocencio XIII. concedió para todo este Arzobispado, el OFICIO proprio de la APARICION de Nuestra Señora del PILAR, en el de la Dedicacion de los dos Santos Templos del Salvador, y del Pilar [...],* facsimile edition (1724; Zaragoza: Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, 1990), 97: “Todo el rato que duró la Funcion, tuvo en imponentable embeleso à los sentidos, la dulce, grave, y sonora harmonía, con que oficiaron la Missa las dos Capillas, unidas à este fin por el Cabildo, y prevenidas de que en el corto plazo que se dió à sus Maestros para la composicion, havia de emplearse, à competencia, el primor mas exquisito del Arte, que acreditasse mutuamente la destreza de las voces, con el ajustado manejo de los instrumentos. Cada Maestro puso en musica uno de los Villancicos siguientes, que fueron parte del desempeño de la orden del Cabildo: los dos se cantaron con gala, y se oyeron con gusto; pero aun huviera sido mayor, si todos los oídos fuessen inteligentes, en puntos de consonancia.”

Note that the language used to describe music reflects a set of key vocabulary that recurs in most of the metamusical villancico texts studied in the chapters that follow—“dulce, grave, y sonora armonía,” “primor,” “destreza,” “puntos de consonancia.”

PART II

SINGING ABOUT SINGING: MUSIC AS A REFLECTION OF HEAVEN AND AN EXPRESSION OF
HUMANITY

CHAPTER 3

VOICE AND INCARNATION IN PADILLA, *VOCES, LAS DE LA CAPILLA* (PUEBLA, 1657)

This chapter begins a series of case studies of particular traditions of metamusical pieces in which music itself is the central conceit of the villancico. The poetry of such pieces explores the theological meanings and spiritual power of music, through the Spanish literary technique of *conceptismo*, in which, under a single governing conceit, a poem may be read in two or more ways simultaneously. In this case the poets create a parallel discourse on music and theology by playing on musical terms with double meanings, drawing on a rich heritage of symbolism inherited from medieval theology and speculative music theory.

In setting such poems to music, villancico composers turn this verbal discourse into sounding music, adding yet another layer of musical conceits to those already in the poem. As argued in chapter 1, these “metamusical” villancicos may be considered as a distinct subgenre of villancico, characterized by a common set of poetic and musical tropes. Chief among these tropes is the invocation of “heavenly music”—a concept that, in a Neoplatonic theological system inherited through Augustine, Boethius, and early modern music theorists, included the music of the spheres, the music of the angels, and even the divine nature itself. Another common trope is the invocation of singing, whether of human, animal, angelic, or divine voices. Through the overt artifice of “singing about singing,” villancico composers offered performers and listeners an opportunity for ascending in Neoplatonic contemplation from the actual sounds heard to higher levels of music. Many of these villancicos present Christ himself—in his Incarnation, Passion and Resurrection,

and Eucharistic presence—as the highest form of Music.¹

Part II traces the development of this subgenre—metamusical villancicos featuring the theme of heavenly music and emphasizing singing—across the seventeenth century. The four chapters will present case studies in which multiple composers wrote villancicos of this type in homage or competition with each other, setting the same or similar texts and developing a particular set of musical conventions.

This chapter will focus on the villancico *Voces, las de la capilla* (Voices, those of the chapel choir), set to music by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla for the cathedral of Puebla de los Ángeles in colonial Mexico in 1657. This villancico demonstrates the fundamental theological concepts of this subgenre, and the sophisticated poetic and musical techniques used to communicate those concepts to listeners. The metamusical tropes of this villancico will recur throughout the subsequent case studies. The chapter will analyze the poetry and music in the context of contemporary liturgy and theological literature.

Voces, las de la capilla is also part of a family of related sources. The chapter will trace the possible relationships between this piece and the villancico *Cantores de la capilla*, which is derived from the same poetic tradition. Only the poetic text of *Cantores* survives, in a 1647 imprint from Seville Cathedral, preserved in Puebla. Seville's chapelmastor in 1647 was Luis Bernardo Jalón, and he probably composed the music for *Cantores*, but the musical sources are apparently not extant. The chapter will conclude by speculating on the links between both of these sources and a third villancico, a lost setting by Fray Francisco de Santiago, who died in 1644. This third piece is known only from a 1649 catalog entry that lists the same text incipits as Padilla's *Voces*. Santiago was Jalón's predecessor at Seville Cathedral, and may have been connected in some way to Padilla as well, so that both Padilla and Jalon's versions of this villancico tradition may have been responses to the earlier setting by Santiago. Of the case studies in part II, this group of sources is the earliest and thus provides a good place to begin charting a trajectory of the

1. Music in this theological sense will be indicated here with a capital M.

metamusical villancico tradition.

These case studies will show that the metamusical subgenre of villancico had a special role for Spanish composers as a kind of self-imposed *oposición* or proof piece. This type of piece offered them the opportunity to showcase their compositional craft and theological insight. By adapting poetry or music previously used by a teacher, predecessor, or rival, a composer could stake out his place in a tradition that was both artistic and theological. As part of an artistic tradition, each piece of this type demarcates a particular relationship to music of the past. This tradition includes the genre conventions of metamusical villancicos as well as the various types of existing music used to represent music within the villancico, such as old-style polyphony to depict angelic counterpoint. As part of a theological tradition, these pieces manifest changing ways of thinking about the relationship of earthly music to heavenly music, in the midst of shifting early modern understandings of the cosmos.

John Hollander, in a study of similar English poems through the early modern period, identified a trend he called “the untuning of the sky.”² Over the course of the seventeenth century, he argues, English poets move from reflecting a sincere faith in the Ptolemaic and Boethian cosmology, toward a more secularized attitude. By the end of the century, the theme had become merely a conventionalized trope, separated from any real belief in heavenly music and symptomatic of a general “disenchantment of the world.” In place of cosmological allegory, Hollander argues, English poets lost interest in celestial music and concerned themselves more with the details of real contemporary music-making.

This study asks similar questions of Spanish villancicos on the subject of music to those of Hollander, but it finds quite different answers. The tradition of metamusical villancicos was indeed unfolding just as astronomical science was destroying the Classical notion of heavenly spheres in harmonic motion, which had since Cicero, Augustine, and Boethius had been understood as the

2. John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500–1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

foundation for earthly music. But in the Spanish Catholic context, the disenchantment hypothesis does not match the musical evidence. While metamusical villancicos do, in fact, become more conventionalized over the century, this trend is more a product of the composerly one-upsmanship that shaped the genre, and is characteristic of all types of villancico. The shift is also due to the waning of interest in Góngora-style *conceptismo*. And though villancicos about heavenly music do draw less and less on Ptolemaic cosmology, they reflect not an abandonment of traditional theologies of music, but different attempts to modify the old cosmology to fit the new. Pious Spanish composers were forced to invent new musical means either to reinforce the old belief system or to reconceive the relationship between earthly and heavenly music.

There does seem to have been a growing realization that the heavens were “out of tune,” but this did not lead people to reject the old systems, either of theology or of musical technique. The old theological concepts of heavenly harmony still gave meaning to early modern Spaniards, even if they were losing their connection to astronomical reality. While English poetry is outside this study’s scope, it is important to note that the source for Hollander’s title actually projects a conservative theology of music quite similar that seen in the villancicos presented here. In fact, in his title Hollander employs the phrase from John Dryden’s *A Song for St. Cecilia’s Day* (1687) in direct contradiction to its meaning in the original context.³ Dryden is describing the “last and dreadful Hour” when this world will be destroyed and remade. Thus he contrasts the music of the spheres, set in motion by divine music, with the sound of the last trumpet signaling the resurrection. At that sound, Dryden writes, “MUSICK shall untune the Sky.” In other words, the music inherent in this world will be replaced by something higher and better. “Untuning” here more likely means that the music of the spheres will be shown to be out of tune in comparison to the arrival of ultimate truth in the return of Christ. This notion is very close to the fundamental

3. The poem is included by Hollander as the epigraph to his book: “As from the Pow’r of Sacred Lays/ The Spheres began to move,/ And sung the great Creator’s Praise/ To all the bless’d above;/ So, when the last and dreadful Hour/ This crumbling Pageant shall devour,/ The TRUMPET shall be heard on high,/ The dead shall live, the living die,/ And MUSICK shall untune the Sky.”

conceit of the villancico *Suspended, cielos* by Joan Cererols, the subject of chapter 4.

Certainly, theological understandings of music were changing in this period, but these chapters will trace a different trajectory from Hollander's. In these case studies, music's theological role begins as a reflection of heavenly perfection, though an imperfect one; but it moves gradually toward being an expression of human affects. Earlier composers emphasize earthly music's similarity to higher forms of music, whereas later composers emphasize the difference between them.

3.1 PADILLA'S *VOCES, LAS DE LA CAPILLA*: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The first case study is a remarkably sophisticated villancico, *Voces, las de la capilla*, set to music by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla for Christmas at the cathedral of Puebla de los Ángeles in 1657.⁴ The central conceit of the poem is that “God is a musician,” and that in Christ’s Incarnation, God has made a master-piece, “a composition in which to prove the consonances of a Man and God” (ll. 40–41, poem 3.1). Padilla composed this piece at the end of a long and fruitful musical career, for perhaps the largest and most highly skilled musical ensemble in the New World. His music and its context in colonial Puebla will be explored in more depth in part III, but a brief sketch may be given here.⁵

Padilla was born around 1590 and baptized in Málaga, in southern Spain, and worked his way up through musical posts in Málaga, Ronda, and Jerez de la Frontera, before achieving the position of chapelmaster at the cathedral of the port city of Cádiz in 1616. By that time Padilla had

4. Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Navidad del año de 1657* (MEX-Pc: Leg. 3/1); microfilm in Lincoln B. Spiess and Thoms Stanford, eds., *Archivo de música sacra de la catedral de Puebla* (Mexico City, 1967), Puebla 1, Rollo 1.

5. Based on María Gembero-Ustároz, “Muy amigo de música: El obispo Juan de Palafox (1600–1659) y su entorno musical en el Virreinato de Nueva España,” in *Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla y la época Palafoxiana*, ed. Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez (Puebla de los Ángeles, Mexico: Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, Secretaría de Cultura, 2010), 55–130; 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.

become a priest and *licenciado*, or baccalaureate graduate. In about 1622, Padilla emigrated to the New World and was immediately hired as cantor and assistant chapelmaster to Gaspar Fernández at Puebla Cathedral, as the elder composer's health was declining. After Fernández died in 1628, Padilla was promoted to be his successor, and he served in this position until his death in 1664. In a legal document from the end of his life, Padilla identified himself as a member of the Oratorio of San Felipe Neri.⁶

When Padilla first came to Puebla, services were held in the city's original cathedral, which was becoming increasingly dilapidated. A project to build a new cathedral starting in the 1570s had by this point stalled and been put on indefinite hiatus.⁷ But when Juan de Palafox y Mendoza took over as bishop of Puebla in 1640, he made it his first priority to resume construction on the cathedral. Palafox made sure the resplendent high altar was completed so that he could consecrate the cathedral in 1649 before returning to Spain.⁸ The altar paintings by Pedro García Ferrer depict the Immaculate Virgin being assumed into heaven amidst choirs of angels who are playing musical instruments and dancing (see chapter 7).⁹ Dating from only two years later is the first of eight surviving cycles of Christmas villancicos composed for the new cathedral by Padilla. As we will explore in part III, building the cathedral meant not only an architectural project, but a coordinated plan of visual art and also music, as part of Palafox's broader theological agenda as a post-Tridentine reformer.

Padilla's villancico cycles from the 1650s bear out the evidence from cathedral records that the chapelmaster had greatly expanded his musical ensemble in size and skill since the beginning of his tenure.¹⁰ As many as forty singers, boys and men, and a varied instrumental ensemble filled

6. 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.

7. Eduardo Merlo Juárez, José Antonio Quintana Fernández, and Miguel Pavón Rivero, *La Catedral Basílica de la Puebla de los Ángeles* (Puebla de los Ángeles: Universidad Popular Autónoma del Estado de Puebla, 2006).

8. Gembero-Ustároz, "Muy amigo de música."

9. Montserrat Galí, *Pedro García Ferrer: Un artista aragonés del siglo XVII en la Nueva España* (Teruel: Ayuntamiento de Alcorisa: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, Excma. Diputación Provincial de Teruel, 1996).

10. See Ricardo Miranda, "...de Ángeles también el coro": Estética y simbolismo en la misa *Ego flos campi* de Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla," in Mauleón Rodríguez, *Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla y la época Palafoxiana*, 131–153.

the ample space between the high Renaissance arches of the architectural choir, as a large crowd of parishioners gathered between the gates of the choir and the high altar.

The Christmas Matins service in Puebla, as in most Hispanic cities, was a highlight of the ritual year for clerics and laypeople alike. By order of the cathedral chapter, the church bells began to ring at 10 p.m. to call worshippers to the church, so that the service could start promptly at 11. The Matins liturgy thus began in darkness, unlike most other Catholic Matins liturgies of the period, which were usually pushed back to the late afternoon.¹¹ Based on the villancico's position in the musical manuscripts, it was most likely sung as the fourth villancico in the Matins cycle, following the first reading of the second Nocturne.¹² According to a 1633 decree by the cathedral chapter—five years into Padilla's tenure—the villancicos in Puebla were sung by the musical chapel *while* the words of the Responsory chants were “prayed speaking” by one of the cathedral canons.¹³ Liturgically and according to canon law, the Responsory was still part of the liturgy, since its words were spoken; but musically, the villancico “served as the Responsory,” functioning to *replace* the performance of the traditional Responsory chants.

Voces, las de la capilla demonstrates the virtuosity of the Puebla musical chapel—which Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz later compared to a choir of angels—and suggests the musical and

11. Puebla Cathedral chapter acts (AC, *actas del cabildo*), MEX-Pc: AC 20 Dec. 1633; see note 13. On the time of Matins, see Robert L. Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2014), 1–2, 26–27.

12. It is difficult to determine the placement of a villancico from the musical performance parts alone, without a corroborating poetry imprint. Some voice parts did not sing in every piece, and sometimes the order differs from one partbook to another. For the 1657 cycle, the partbook of the Altus of Chorus I contains music for every villancico, and this villancico appears third. The copyist placed the villancicos *de Calenda* and *de Reyes* at the end of the set, followed by the invitatory verse *Christus natus est nobis*. But the invitatory verse was sung at the very beginning of the Matins liturgy, and then the first villancico was either the Calenda at Christmas or the Reyes villancico at Epiphany; the rest of the cycle remained the same for both Christmas and Epiphany services. That the pieces in the manuscripts should be ordered in this way is confirmed by the one surviving pliego of villancico texts that correspond with Padilla's music manuscripts, from the 1651 Christmas cycle (in a private collection in Puebla, courtesy of Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez). This means that at Christmas 1657, the three villancicos copied at the front of the partbook were actually preceded by the Calenda. That puts *Voces* in the fourth position.

13. MEX-Pc: AC 1633-12-30, full text in appendix A: “At Matins of Christmas of this year and those following there shall be a [bell ringing] from ten to eleven at night, ringing at the half hour, and the bell absolutely must be rung so that punctually at eleven the aforesaid Matins shall begin, and in [that service] all the Lessons shall be sung in their entirety without leaving out any part of them, and that the chanzoneta [villancico] shall serve for the Responsory which shall be prayed speaking while while the singing is going on.”

theological sophistication of the Puebla elite who could appreciate this complex exposition of musical theology.¹⁴

3.2 THE POEM AND ITS THEOLOGY

This anonymous poem in the tradition of *conceptismo* centers around one governing conceit, which makes a sustained analogy between at least two different things. Nearly the entire poem can be read as being about one side of the analogy or the other. In other words, the poet creates parallel discourses, which stand independently of each other while mutually informing each other. The reader's challenge is to seek the poem's meaning in the tension or interplay between both sides. This villancico demands a high level of intellectual engagement to tease out the intricate conceit, and may thus be compared with what Bernardo Illari describes as "enigma" villancicos.¹⁵ Part of its difficulty comes from the widespread influence of the poetry of Luis de Góngora, who played a similar role for Spanish literature on both sides of the Atlantic to that of Giambattista Marino in Italian letters. Gongoresque poets reveled in arcane plays on words, contorted Latinate syntax, and multiple levels of meaning.¹⁶

The poem *Voces, las de la capilla* presents the reader or listener with a series of puzzles, each of which serves as a key to the others. Each cryptic phrase can serve as a mnemonic device for the

14. Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Villancicos y letras sacras*, ed. Alfonso Méndez Plancarte, Obras completas de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz 2 (Mexico City: Instituto Mexiquense de Cultura, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952), 107: "Siendo de Ángeles la Puebla/ en el título y el todo,/ no pudo menos que ser/ de Ángeles también el coro" (Since the city is of the angels in its title and its wholeness, the choir could be none other than of the angels as well). The term "coro," often spelled "choro," is regularly used in music manuscripts and poetry to refer not only to the architectural space of the cathedral choir, but to the ensemble that performed there. The ensemble could also be called a "capilla," as in Padilla's villancico. The ornamentation of Puebla Cathedral's architectural choir was not completed until the eighteenth century, long after Sor Juana's poem; and thus her praise is most likely directed at the ensemble. In her time the Puebla chorus was directed by Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana, but Padilla likely deserves much of the credit for developing the ensemble, and Padilla's music reflects how skillful the musicians must have been.

15. Bernardo Illari, "Polychoral Culture: Cathedral Music in La Plata (Bolivia), 1680–1730" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2001), vol. 2, 304–308.

16. 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; Martha Lilia Tenorio, *El Gongorismo en Nueva España: Ensayo de restitución* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2013); Ángel Valbuena Prat, *Historia de la literatura española*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1946), vol. 1, 1014–1061.

one who can understand its hidden meanings. The poem as a whole works the same way, encoding Catholic doctrines and proof-texts from Scripture and the liturgy within its poetic conceits.

The process of perceiving and understanding this villancico is somewhat like the process of “reading” the images of the Puebla Cathedral high-altar paintings. The complex of images centers on the Assumption of Mary, while around the center there is a ring of Marian and Christological symbols (see chapter 7). One may first gain an overall, overwhelming impression of the altar, recognizing its Marian theme in general; but then the eyes are likely drawn to the specific details of the content of the symbols, their arrangement, what instruments the musician angels are playing, and so on. In a similar way this villancico may most easily be perceived first at the general level of overall musical and theological themes, after which the intricate details may be explored.

3.2.1 Formal and Metrical Structure

To begin, then, with the overall shape of the poem (see poem 3.1), this villancico’s structure is typical of early- to mid-seventeenth-century sacred villancicos.¹⁷ The poem begins with an introductory section in *romance*—that is, eight-syllable lines with assonant rhyme in the even-numbered verses. Here the assonance is in the last two “-a” vowels—thus it is called *romance* in -a -a.¹⁸ The poet also maintains assonant vowel endings in the even-numbered lines, except in the penultimate lines of each stanza, where a contrasting ending signals the conclusion of the stanza. To apply a label used in pliegos of Padilla’s time, this first section, which is untitled in the manuscripts, may be diplomatically termed the *introducción*. There are two stanzas in the introducción, and between them there is a *respuesta* (response, answer) section, which is a single quatrain of romance. As far as can be determined from Padilla’s partbooks, this respuesta section was sung twice—once after each introducción verse. Thus far there are sixteen unique lines of

17. The manner and form of this genre in the seventeenth century had lost most of its connections to the more commonly-known structures of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century courtly villancicos.

18. Tomás Navarro Tomás, *Métrica española: Reseña histórica y descriptiva* (1956; New York: Las Americas Pub. Co., 1966).

poetry, not counting the repetition of the respuesta.

These are followed by the *estribillo*, which is also sixteen lines, since ll. 22 and 29 count as the first and second halves of one metric line. The first line of the estribillo (l. 17) is a *linea de vuelta* (hinge verse), paired both with the last line of the introducción, making assonant rhyme with l. 10, and a full rhyme with the last line of copla 2 (l. 41), which immediately links to it when the estribillo is repeated. After this first line of the estribillo, starting in l. 18, the poet continues to use eight-syllable lines, but now pairs them in full-rhyming couplets rather than romance. The two half-lines (ll. 22 and 29) form structural brackets around the central section of the estribillo, and set all this apart from the final four lines. Those lines (ll. 30–34) are in the form of a *redondilla abrazada*—four octosyllabic lines with an ABBA rhyme pattern. This *redondilla* serves a similar function to the couplets at the end of Shakespeare sonnets, to close off the piece and epitomize its central idea. The coplas are also *redondillas abrazadas*.

3.2.2 Musical and Theological Conceits: Christ as Music and Musician

Within this elegant structure, the poet of *Voces, las de la capilla* presents many traditional tropes of Christmas theology through the conceit of Christ as music and musician. There is a deep background behind these tropes, which we will explore in detail in section 3.4 below. But before exploring the full context of the villancico, we may begin by reading it closely on its own terms. From this analysis we may suggest a range of possible meanings from the poem by itself; the musical analysis that follows (section 3.3) will both narrow and expand that range of meanings based on how Padilla “reads” the text through his musical setting. Padilla “reads” the text both in the sense of “interpreting” and in the more literal, early modern sense of “making the text audible”—which amounts to presenting the text for the hearers themselves to “read” (interpret) in their own way. This section, however, will focus primarily on the poem itself, independent of the music, even though the only version of the poem we have is that in the manuscript partbooks of Padilla’s setting. Though aspects of the poetic and musical analysis may initially seem far-

Poem 3.1

Voces, las de la capilla: Poem as set by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (Puebla, Christmas 1657; MEX-Pc: Leg. 3/3)

[INTRODUCCIÓN] a 6

1. (i.) Voces, las de la capilla,
cuenta con lo que se canta,
que es músico el Rey, y nota
las más leves disonancias
5 a lo de Jesús infante
y a lo de David monarca.
1. Voices, those of the chapel:^a
keep count with what is sung,^b
for the King is a musician, and notes
even the least dissonances
in the manner of Jesus, the infant [prince]^c
and in that of David, the monarch.

RESPUESTA a 3 (ii.)

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

They put notes to his lyrics,
the centuries of his heroic exploits,
the key/clef that upon his shoulder
is preserved for the thirty-three.

[INTRODUCCIÓN cont.]

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

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

[Respuesta rep.] (ii.)

a. As in the “Capilla Real,” the Royal Chapel.

b. “Cuenta [...] nota”: Or, “he keeps count.” The subject could either be “el Rey” (as translated here), or “la capilla” (admonishing the chorus, “keep count ... take note of ...”).

c. “Infante” has both meanings. “A lo de”: In the style of, in that which concerns. King David was a musician and founded the first “chapel” in the Hebrew temple; his descendant, the “infante” Christ will be no less a musical taskmaster.

d. “Destreza”: literally, dexterity; in Golden Age literature the word connotes heroic dexterity in combat, particularly “esgrima” or swordsmanship. Musically, the term suggests “virtuosity.”

e. “A medio compás la noche”: That is, at midnight.

Poem 3.1
Continued

[ESTRIBILLO a 6]

Y a trechos las distancias
en uno y otro coro,
grave, suave y sonoro,
20 hombres y brutos y Dios,
tres a tres y dos a dos,
uno a uno,
y aguardan tiempo oportuno
quien antes del tiempo fue.
25 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!
30 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 a 3

1. (i.) Daba un niño peregrino
35 tono al hombre y subió tanto
que en sustenidos de llanto
dió octava arriba en un trino.
2. (ii.) Hizo alto en lo divino
y de la máxima y breve
40 composición en que pruebe
de un hombre y Dios consonancias.

[Estrillo rep.]

And from afar, the intervals ^f
in one choir and then the other,
serious, mild, and resonant,
men, animals, and God,
three by three and two by two,
one by one,
they all await the opportune time,
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^g
to the Man, and ascended so high
that in sustained weeping^h
he went up the eighth [day] into the triune.ⁱ

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

f. “Distancias”: Both musical intervals and astronomical distances between planetary spheres.

g. Or “pilgrim song,” “wandering song,” or *tonus peregrinus*.

h. Musically, “in sharps of weeping.”

i. Musically, “he went up the octave in a trill.”

j. “Alto” also denotes the musical voice part.

k. Musically, “of the *maxima* and the *breve*.”

l. “Pruebe”: Or, test.

fetched, the readings here are firmly grounded in contemporary theological literature, as will be demonstrated in section 3.4.

The musical conceit of the poem centers on the first word—“voices.” In various places the poem invokes voices of human singers, angelic choirs, ancient prophets, and even the crying voice of the newborn Christ. This conceit is most clearly stated in the second copla (ll. 38–42). This is a common practice in villancicos: a puzzling idea presented at the beginning of the piece is not fully explained until the end of the coplas, so that when the estribillo is then repeated, the listener can hear it with new understanding. The last copla comes before the repetition of the estribillo, and as such serves as a central axis around which the rest of the piece turns: indeed, the final line is the *verso de vuelta* that links back to the beginning of the estribillo. In a piece with an introducción, this moment falls not in the center but at someplace closer to the Golden Mean. This copla is the epitome of the villancico’s conceit: the Incarnation as a form of Music.

Thus, as the introducción states, “the King” (that is, God) “is a musician,” and the Incarnate Christ (his royal “infante”) is this divine chapelmaster’s *oposición* or proof-piece, in which he demonstrates his mastery by creating concord between opposed elements. The maxima and the breve stand for the longest and shortest note values, representing the infinite and finite, which Christ brings together in harmony.¹⁹ Musical dissonance symbolizes the alienation of Man from God through sin. Christ brings the discordant relationship between sinful Man and the holy God into consonance by reconciling both in his own body.

3.2.3 Musical-Theological Conceits in Detail

The poet thus uses music as a metaphor for theological doctrines and tropes that were central to the feast of Christmas. We will concentrate first on the musical terms and concepts in each section, and then on what these might signify theologically.

19. In actual practice, of course, many shorter note values were used in Padilla’s day, and the maxima was rarely used. The musical analysis will show how in setting this passage, Padilla deftly bridges this gap between theory and practice.

Introducción and Respuesta

The first stanza of the introducción addresses the voices of the “chapel.”²⁰ That this ensemble is performing for “the King” who is a musician is confirmed by the royal language in ll. 3, 5, and 6: “Rey,” “infante” (prince), and “monarca.” Thus this “capilla” is like the Spanish monarch’s “Capilla Real,” the “Chapel Royal.” The second line is grammatically ambiguous because the verb “cuenta” is singular, while the apparent subject of the first line is the plural “voces.” This could be a declarative statement that “he [that is, the musician-King] keeps count with what is sung [by the chapel choir]” or it could be an imperative addressed to the “capilla” as a whole, admonishing them, “keep count with what is sung” since the King is listening. Likewise in l. 3, “nota” could either mean “he notes” the dissonances or, speaking to the chapel choir, “take note of” the dissonances. Like the English word “marks,” “nota” has a double meaning of “takes notice of” and “notates” as in musical notation.

Despite the ambiguities (which may be intentional), the basic musical conceit is that a King is listening to his royal musical ensemble, and that the voices should sing carefully in his attentive presence. On a musical level, “cuenta con lo que se canta” could mean singing carefully by counting along with what the rest of the choir is singing—singing in tune, and with good rhythm (since dissonance could result from a fault of either aspect). The musical meaning of “leves disonancias” (l. 4) is obvious, but the theological double meaning of “leves” as “venial” strengthens the conceit of sin as dissonance.

On the theological side, then, who is this musical King? The poem actually identifies two—King David and the baby Jesus, playing on the double meaning of “infante.” King David was the classic musician-King in the Hebrew Scriptures, as a wonder-working lyre-player, psalmist, and founder of the first “Chapel Royal” in the ancient Hebrew temple (1 Chr. 6:31–48; 15:16–34). The

20. The first line of the poem could also simply be an interjection, calling the listener’s attention to the voices rather than addressing the voices themselves; but it is common for villancicos to begin with a vocative second-person exhortation (compare *Suspended, cielos* in the next chapter), so that interpretation seems more likely.

image of David with his lyre (or “cithara,” as will be discussed in chapter 6) adorns countless Spanish churches and early modern music books. The newborn infant Jesus was, in Christian belief, the heir to David’s throne and to God’s covenant with David regarding that throne.²¹ This is the fundamental meaning of the title Χριστός (Christ, Anointed One) applied to Jesus in the New Testament, translating the Hebrew *Messiah* for the promised heir of David who would save Israel. Of course, for Christians Jesus is not only “Son of David” but also “Son of God.” Thus in the villancico l. 5 he is doubly a prince and heir, and “the King” of the poem could also refer to a third person—God the Father.

The idiom “a lo de” in ll. 5–6 is difficult to translate theologically; musically it could mean “in the style of.” The basic theological idea seems to be that what was true of King David is also true of his heir, Christ. David had his music and Jesus at Christmas has his own as well; just as David founded the first temple “chapel,” so Christ will be no less a musical taskmaster than his ancestor.

While the theological connections between David and Christ will be discussed further later in this chapter, the musical side of the conceit may be read as relating directly to seventeenth-century Hispanic musical practice. David was a central figure in the Matins liturgy because the service was dominated by the psalms, which were traditionally ascribed to him. In a Hispanic Christmas service, this music “in the manner of David” was supplemented by villancicos with non-biblical texts that amplified the liturgy’s thematic focus on the Incarnation of Christ. The psalms were normally sung in chant, a sober style of music compared to the typically exuberant and even raucous villancicos. Perhaps these two lines, read with reference to the lowest level of *musica instrumentalis*, are a suggestion that the choirs should take as much care in singing this vernacular music “in the manner of baby Jesus” as it does in singing the psalms.

There is one further layer of meaning that must be brought out here, and that is the conceit of Christ not only as the discerning audience of the choir’s performance, but of Jesus himself as a

21. See the genealogies in the gospels of Matthew and Luke, and the Messianic prophecies in the lessons of the first Nocturne of Christmas Matins.

musical performer. “Infante” comes from the Latin *infans*, which means “one unable to speak”—so the wordless cries of the newly born “Word made flesh” (John 1) could be considered more like song than speech. Other lines of this villancico present the crying voice of the infant Christ as a kind of song (see ll. 28–29 and 34–37). The ambiguous phrase “lo que se canta” in l. 2 could refer to this “music” as well; in such a reading the point would be to admonish the human chorus to pay attention to what Christ is “singing” and make sure that their own music makes no dissonance against Christ’s voice. This trope of the baby’s cries as music is highly similar to the central conceit of *Suspended, cielos*, where the heavenly spheres are to base their song on the *cantus firmus* of Christ’s voice.

In the respuesta and second stanza of introducción, the poet plays on more musical terms. “Letras” (l. 7) can be letters, words, or lyrics, so “puntos ponen a sus letras” can mean “they are putting notes to his lyrics.” “Clave” means both musical clef and (nonmusical) key, a theological symbol of authority again referring to Christ’s royal heritage. The word “divisa” (sign) in l. 11 could refer to a musical sign, especially a meter signature. “Destreza” means dexterity or skill, particularly in combat; but is also used in musical contexts to describe technical virtuosity.²² In the next two lines (ll. 11–12), of course, “sol” and “mi” are solmization syllables. “Una gloria” could refer to the *Gloria in excelsis* of the angelic choir at Christ’s birth (Luke 2:14), and the many *Gloria* chants in the liturgy. “Una gracia” could, then, refer to the second section of the liturgical *Gloria*, the “*Gratias agimus tibi*.²³ “A medio compás” (l. 15) musically means “in the middle of the

22. Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid, 1611), s.v. “destreza”: “la agilidad con que se haze alguna cosa, atribuyendolo a la mano diestra” (the agility with which something is done, attributing it to the right hand). The musical sense of the “destreza” may be seen in the title of the guitar manual by Gaspar Sanz, *Instrucción de musica sobre la guitarra española y metodo de sus primeros rudimentos hasta tañerla con destreza: con dos laberintos ingeniosos, variedad de sones [. . .] con vn breve tratado para acompañar con perfeccion sobre la parte muy essencial para la guitarra, arpa y organo [. . .]* (Zaragoza, 1674).

Padilla used “destreza” and “hazañas” together to characterize the baby Jesus as a heroic rogue in two other villancicos in the jácara subgenre, in the cycles for Christmas 1651 (MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/2) and 1659 (pliego only, US-BL: PQ7296.A1V8).

23. Many *Gloria in excelsis* chants do in fact begin on the note *sol*. Of the fifteen *Gloria in excelsis* chants in the *Liber usualis*, seven begin on either G or C (both of which could be *sol* in the Guidonian system. These are in the *Liber*’s masses III, IV, V, VIII, IX, X, and XIV. Catholic Church, *The Liber Usualis: With Introduction and Rubrics in English* (Tournai: Desclée & Cie., 1956)

measure” or *tactus*. And the next line (“quiebros del alba”) describes two kinds of sounding music: the trills of morning birdsong, and the vocal ornaments of human music in the “morning” service of Matins, which preceded and competed with the music of the actual dawn.

Theologically, the respuesta and introducción second stanza fill in the historical space between King David and the birth of Christ, and to point to the goal and end of Christ’s earthly life—the Passion and Resurrection. In the respuesta l. 7, the plural subject of “ponen”—that is, who is putting notes to the lyrics—could either be the “voces” of l. 1 or the “siglos” of l. 8, perhaps together with the “clave” of l. 9. The referents of the possessive pronouns in “sus letras” and “sus hazañas” are also ambiguous: they could be “his” or “their,” and they may not have the same referent.

The most likely explanation would be that “sus” refers to King David, just mentioned in the previous line, since David was the “lyricist” of many of the psalms, which would then be his “letras.” Many of David’s psalms were understood by Christians to be prophetic of the coming Messiah. Chief among those Messianic psalms both in the exegetical tradition and in the liturgy for Christmas Matins was Ps. 2. The first Nocturne of the Matins liturgy began with this psalm and its antiphon from Ps. 2:7, “Dominus dixit ad me: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te” (The Lord said unto me: You are my son, today I have begotten you).²⁴ As early as the New Testament (Heb. 1:5), Christians were interpreting this and other psalms as Messianic prophecies regarding an “anointed” descendent of David. The prophet Nathan delivered to David the promise from God, “When your days have been completed and you are sleeping with your fathers, I will raise up your seed after you, which shall come from your womb, and I will strengthen his reign: upon it I will build the dwelling of my name, and I will establish the throne of his reign continually forever” (2 Sam. 6:9–17).²⁵

In a similar way, the villancico presents Christ as the fulfillment of the written “letters” of

24. Catholic Church, *Breviarium Romanum ex decreto Sacros. Conc. Trid. Restitutum Pii V. Pont. Max. iuss editum, & Clementis VIII Primum, nunc denovo Vrbani Pp. VIII auctoritate recognitum* ([Rome?], 1631), 170.

25. “cumque completi fuerint dies tui et dormieris cum patribus tuis/ suscitabo semen tuum post te quod egredietur de utero tuo/ et firmabo regnum eius/ ipse aedificabit domum nomini meo/ et stabiliam thronum regni eius usque in sempiternum”

Scriptural prophecies. The Messianic psalms would be the “lyrics” that David composed, but until the coming of Christ they were only words. Christ, it would seem, whom the gospel of John (1:14) calls the “Word made flesh,” was the melody that turned the prophecies into sounding reality. Christ’s voice and all the other voices of Christmas—angels, animals, human singers—“put notes to his lyrics.”

The phrase “siglos de sus hazañas” in l. 8 could be God’s mighty deeds over the ages to keep his covenant with David (and ultimately with Abraham, Noah, and Adam).²⁶ That same line and the next one allude to prophecies of Isaiah made centuries later that confirmed the covenant made to David and were incorporated in the Christmas liturgy as referring to Jesus. The “key upon his shoulder” alludes directly to Isa. 22:22, “et dabo clavem domus David super umerum eius” (And I will give the key to the house of David upon his shoulder). This verse is the source for the fourth of the “O” antiphons for the Magnificat, sung in the days preceding Christmas, “O Clavis David” (O key of David).²⁷

The phrase also alludes to Isa. 9, the source for the three lessons of the first Nocturne of Christmas Matins: “For unto us a child is born, and unto us a son is given, and the government has been placed upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called Admirable, Councilor, God, the Strong One, the Father of Future Ages, the Prince of Peace.”²⁸ These verses would have been read and heard earlier in the 1657 Puebla service, before the performance of Padilla’s setting in the second Nocturne. In the Isaiah passage Christ is called both “parvulus” and “princeps”—both words whose meanings are captured in the villancico’s term “infante” for Christ. The “siglos” in l. 8 could likewise be a reference to the “futuri saeculi” of Isaiah’s prophecy. And Isaiah’s term “Admirabilis” is echoed in the “admirar” of the villancico’s ll. 30–31.

26. This depends on reading “sus” as referring now to God in ll. 7 and 8.

27. Catholic Church, *Breviarium Romanum*, 151: “O clavis Dauid, & sceptrum domus Israel; qui áperis, & nemo claudit; claudis, & nemo áperit: veni, & educ vincatum de domo carceris, sedentem in ténebris, & umbra mortis.”

28. Isa. 9:6–7, from *ibid.*, 172 Paruulus enim natus est nobis, & filius datus est nobis, & factus est principatus super humerum eius: & vocabitur nomen eius, Admirabilis, conciliarius, Deus, fortis, pater futuri saeculi, princeps pacis.

The respuesta, then, reaches back to the prophecies made through and to David, and to the further prophecy of Isaiah, and connects them to the moment of Christ's birth, at which time those promises were fulfilled. Line 10 links the past, present, and future of the Christmas moment using the numerological symbol "thirty-three." The complete accomplishment of God's "hazañas," when David's ancestor would be given the keys of authority for an everlasting government, "are preserved for" or "await" this mystical number. Padilla had previously set another villancico poem that used "thirty-three" as a numerological symbol, in a villancico from the 1628 *Corpus Christi* cycle, which represents Christ playing cards against the devil and "betting thirty-three."²⁹ In both cases, the number symbolizes the fullness of Christ's life and particularly his passion, since according to tradition Christ's age at the crucifixion was thirty-three.³⁰ Padilla likely had access in Puebla to two important numerological and symbolical treatises: the Jesuit Colegio del Espíritu Santo owned a 1618 Paris print of Pietro Bongo's *De Numerorum Mysteria*, and the 1591 Venice print of Antonio Ricciardo's *Commentaria Symbolica* was in the libraries of the Colegio de San Juan and the Colegio de San Ildephonso.³¹

After long "ages" ("siglos") of waiting for the Messiah, Christ's earthly mission is only beginning at his birth: his true battle with the devil ("la destreza en la esperanza," l. 12, a phrase connoting swordsmanship) is yet to come, at "the thirty-three"—his crucifixion and resurrection. The "key" of authority (l. 9) promised in Isaiah is only given to Christ after his resurrection. Only then, when Christ is about to ascend to heaven, does he say, "all power on heaven and on earth

29. 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.

30. Cornelius a Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, in *Commentaria in scripturam sacram* (London: J. P. Pelagaud, ca. 1868), 17, "Chronotaxis gestorum Christi": "Christus enim vixit 33 annos et tres meses, qui a natali ejus exurunt usque ad Pascha."

31. Antonio Ricciardo [Antonius Ricciardus], *Commentaria Symbolica* (Venice, 1591), s.v. "Numerus 33"; Pietro Bongo [Petrus Bungus], *Petri Bvngi Bergomatis Nvmerorvm Mysteria* (Paris, 1643), s.v. "XXXIII." The books bear the *ex libris* markings and firemarks of these institutions. Today they are preserved in the Biblioteca Palafoxiana and Biblioteca LaFragua, as follows: Bongo (Paris 1618), *ex libris* Colegio del Espíritu Santo (MEX-Ppx: B105.U5 B8); Ricciardo (Venice 1591), vol. 2 *ex libris* Colegio de San Juan (MEX-Plf: 5935-31080203); Ricciardo (Venice 1591), vol. 2 *ex libris* Colegio de San Ildephonso (MEX-Ppx: BV150 A5); This last book was sold to R. P. Thomas de Altamirano in 1664, the year of Padilla's death. The Palafoxiana's copy of Ricciardo vol. 1 (BV5021 B7) lacks the front pages but is probably of the same provenance.

has been given to me” (Matt. 28:18), and when Christ appears to St. John of the Apocalypse, he says, “I have the keys [claves] to death and hell” (Rev. 1:18). The “divisa” or sign in l. 11, then, could be the sign of the cross; this would be Christ’s royal seal or banner (another meaning of “divisa”) as the heir of David, and like “the thirty-three” could be a metonym for Christ’s passion. Sebastián de Covarrubias, in his 1611 dictionary of Spanish, defined “divisa” as “the signal [señal] that the knight carries to be recognized [...]. And *divisa* can extend to mean the inheritance that comes to a man on behalf of his father, or of his mother, or of his grandparents.”³² This definition supports the interpretation of the “divisa” in the villancico as the cross, and also connects this idea to the prophetic heritage of Christ’s ancestry. The moment of Christmas is about “la esperanza,” hope and expectation of what Christ’s life will fulfill; only at the end of his life will Christ “come into his kingdom” (Luke 23:42) and receive the full inheritance of his ancestor David.

The phrase “la destreza en la esperanza” (l. 12) seems to be an appositive, modifying “divisa.” The words “destreza,” “hazañas,” and (according to Covarrubias’s definition) “divisa” were all associated with knighthood and swordsmanship. This connotation fits with the idea of Christ the “infante” as royal heir. Christ’s “destreza en la esperanza,” then, would perhaps refer to his noble battle against the devil, for the sake of “hope.” One translation of “divisa” is as heraldic “device,” and this phrase sounds like it is meant to be Christ’s personal motto. It may be derived from the Latin motto *spes in virtute*, taken from Tacitus, where it described Caesar’s philosophy about military victory.³³ This interpretation is supported by similar imagery in the sermon of Pope St. Leo the Great that was read as the Matins lesson immediately preceding Padilla’s villancico, to be discussed in section 3.4. The catechist Antonio de Azevedo used all these terms together to describe Charles I as a hero of the Church battling against Protestant heresy under the “standard”

32. Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, s.v. “divisa”: “la señal que el cauallero trae para ser conocido [...]. Y deuisa tanto quiere dezir como heredad q[ue] viene al hombre de parte de su padre, o de su madre, o de sus abuelos, &c.”

33. Tacitus, *Annales* 2:20: “Primus Caesar cum praetoriis cohortibus capto vallo dedit impetum in silvas; conlato illic gradu certatum. Hostem a tergo palus, Romanos flumen aut montes cladebant: utrisque necessitas in loco, spes in virtute, salus ex victoria.”

of the Creed.³⁴

Scriptural allusions deepen the possible meanings of “divisa,” since the Latin word of the same meaning, “signum,” is used in two key passages related to Christ’s birth and death. In Luke’s Gospel (2:10–13), the angel who appears to the shepherds—one of the “voices” of Christmas—speaks of the infant Jesus himself as a “signum” (while also connecting Christ to David): “for to you is born this day in the city of David a savior who is Christ the Lord; and this shall be a sign [signum] to you: you will find an infant [infantem] wrapped in cloths and laid down in a manger.”³⁵

Another reference to Christ as a “signum” comes exactly thirty-three days after Christmas night, when in accordance with Mosaic law (Lev. 12:4) Mary and Joseph come to the temple for Jesus’s dedication and Mary’s purification.³⁶ When St. Simeon sees the child, he sings his “Nunc dimittis”—another “voice” of Christmas—and then prophesies to Mary (Luke 2:34–35) that Jesus “has been set up [...] to be a sign [signum] that is spoken against [or, opposed], and a sword will pierce your own soul as well.”³⁷ At both Christ’s birth and his presentation, then,

34. Fray Antonio de Azevedo, *Catecismo de los misterios de la fe, con la esposicion del Simbolo de los Santos Apostoles. A do se enseña, todo lo que vn fiel Cristian esta obligado a creer, y vn cura de almas a saber, para enseñar a sus ouejas* (Barcelona, 1589), preface. Note also the references to King David as the archetypal warrior-king, and to the Scripture as a sword (emphasis added):

“En nuestros tiempos en tiempo del grande Emperador Carlos quinto, de buena memoria (y *en hazañas otro Dauid*) quantas flotas, y exercitos de hereges aya auido, y aya oy, en dias del Rey don Felipe, y cuantas diuersidades de heregias [...]. Pero vemos, que Dios por su misericordia, no ha dexado de leuantar ilustres varones, que defiendan el partido de la Fe: [...] [h]an hecho mayor guerra a los hereges, que pudieran auer hecho con armas de hierro: *por que la diuina Escritura es espada de dos filos*. Y no será razon que los que pudieren salir al campo, en defensa de tan justa causa, lo dexen. Esto mea mouido para que ya que no salga *como vn fuerte Dauid contra Golias*, que con solo vna hondada, y vn rodear de braço le derroco [...]. Y mirando a este fin, he trabajado en confirmar con doctrina, y exemplos, las prueyas de nuestra fe [...]. Y particularmente en la declaracion del Simbolo, que la Iglesia nos manda creer, *que es la señal y diuisa, que los que somos del Señor, y vassallos de la Fe, emos de traer. Esta es la diuisa, y el almagre con que estamos señalados, y nos diferenciamos de los q[ue] estan fuera desta vandera, y estandarte de Dios, y Simbolo esso mismo quiere dezir, en buen castellano.*”

35. “quia natus est vobis hodie salvator qui est Christus Dominus in civitate David/ et hoc vobis signum/ invenietis infantem pannis involutum et positum en praesepio”

36. The Leviticus law required a woman to wait thirty-three days after bearing a male child to present the child in the temple with an offering for her purification in the temple, or sixty-six days for a female child. Therefore both Bongo and Ricciardo (who cites Bongo) present the number thirty-three as symbolic of the “double life” of Man—that is, the rebirth to eternal life (see John 3). Further, both cite the commentary of Hieronymus Stridonensis on Ezekiel’s vision of the temple (Ezek. 41:6). In the Vulgate, one of the walls of the temple measures “bis triginta tres cubitos” (twice thirty-three cubits). Because of the numerological similarity to the Leviticus passage, Hieronymus interprets the number in Ezekiel to mean that Man must be reborn in order to enter the heavenly temple.

37. “ecce positus est hic in ruinam et resurrectionem multorum in Israhel/ et in signum cui contradicetur/ et

his whole life is called a “sign”; and Simeon’s prophecy points ahead to Christ’s crucifixion and resurrection.³⁸ St. Bernard of Clairvaux explicitly links these two passages in a Christmas sermon.³⁹ The seventeenth-century exegete Cornelius a Lapide says that St. Basil, Bede, and Theophylactus all understand the “signum” of Luke 2:34 to be the “sign of the cross.”⁴⁰

The last four lines of the introducción, stanza 2 (ll. 13–16), bring the preceding references to Christ’s past and future into the “now” of the first Christmas. The angels “begin a Gloria” at Christ’s birth (l. 13), just as Gabriel had sung “gratia plena” (full of grace) in announcing that birth to Mary. Of course Christ’s birth would also be the beginning of God’s glory being fully revealed to the world, through the grace of Christ. A source text could be John 1:14, which was the Gospel reading for the Mass of Christmas day: “And the Word was made flesh and dwelled among us, and we saw his glory, glory as of an only-begotten Son of the Father, full of grace and truth.”⁴¹

In the imagery of the villancico, this glory and grace enters the world when Christ is born like the sun rising at midnight. According to tradition, Christ was born at midnight, “a medio compás [de] la noche” (hence the late-night celebrations of his birth in Matins and the midnight Mass). The musical terminology of “the middle of the measure” alludes to the sole scriptural source for this tradition, a verse from Wisd. 18:14 interpreted “mystically,” as Cornelius a Lapide puts it: “For when all things were enveloped in silent calm, and night had run half its course, your all-powerful word [or speech] leapt down from heaven, from the royal throne.”⁴² This interpretation may be

tuam ipsius animam pertransiet gladius”

38. The reference to the sword in this prophecy could underly the swordsman-like term “destreza” that immediately follows “la divisa” in l. 12.

39. St. Bernard of Clairvaux [Bernardus Claraevallensis], *In nativitate Domini*, ed. J. P. Migne, Patrologia latina 183 (Paris: Migne, 1854), “Sermo IV,” 126C: “Hoc, inquit, vobis signum: invenietis infantem pannis involutum (Luc. II, 12). In signum positi sunt panni tui, Domine Jesu; sed in signum, cui a multis usque hodie contradicitur.”

40. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 685–686, on Luke 2:34. Further, Lapide connects Simeon’s reference to a “sword” to Heb. 4:12, which says the Word of God is sharper than any sword and able to penetrate “even to the division [divisione] of soul and spirit.”

41. “Et Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis/ et vidimus gloriam eius/ gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre plenum gratiae et veritatis”

42. “cum enim quietum silentium contineret omnia/ et nox in suo cursu medium iter haberet/ omnipotens sermo tuus de caelo a regalibus sedibus/ [...] prosilivit”

seen in a Christmas sermon of Fray Luis de Granada to be discussed further below.⁴³ In addition to the lexical similarity between “a medio compás la noche” and “nox in suo cursu medium iter,” note the importance in the verse of God’s word (“sermo”) coming out of silence.

The use of the sun (“sol” in both Latin and Spanish) as a symbol for Christ is ubiquitous and as ancient as the beginning of John’s Gospel; likewise for the trope of Christ’s birth as a sunrise, especially in the nocturnal service of Christmas Matins.⁴⁴ These images occur throughout the liturgies of Christmas Eve, starting with the hymn at Vespers (“Iesu Redemptor omnium [...] Tu lumen, & splendor Patris”), and expressed clearly in the Magnificat antiphon, which draws on Ps. 18, the second psalm in Matins, while also alluding to the Song of Songs: “Like the sun rising in the sky [sol de cælo], you will see the king of kings proceeding from the Father, like a bridegroom from his wedding tent.”⁴⁵ The first reading of Matins, from Isa. 9, says that “The people who were walking in darkness saw a great light, those who were dwelling in the land of the shadow of death, upon them light has arisen.”⁴⁶ Lapide, citing these verses, says that Christ was born at midnight “so that Christ as the sun of truth and justice could shine forth on those who have sat in darkness.” “For this reason,” he says, “the church celebrates masses after midnight on the feast of Christ’s Nativity.”⁴⁷

Here the villancico poet ties together these symbols with the musical conceit by comparing the song of the angels to that of birds: the singing for the newborn “sun” at midnight rivals the

43. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 674; Fray Luis de Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, Biblioteca de autores españoles 11 (1595; Madrid, 1945), 36–41.

44. On solar symbolism in the liturgical calendar, see Michael Alan Anderson, “The One Who Comes after Me: John the Baptist, Christian Time, and Symbolic Musical Techniques,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, no. 3 (2013): 644.

45. Catholic Church, *Breviarium Romanum*, 169: “Cum ortus fuerit sol de cælo, videbitis Regem regum precedenter à Patre, tamquam sponsum de thálamo suo.”

46. Ibid., 171: “Populus qui ambulabat in tenebris, vidit lucem magnam: habitantibus in regione vmbrae mortis, lux orta est eis.”

47. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 674, on Luke 2: “Christum natum esse nocte, puta post medianum noctem cum jam inciperet dies 24. Decembris. idque mystice (nam alias litteralis ejus loci est sensus) significatur Sapient. 18. 14. *Cum nox in suo cursu*” (etc.), “idque ad hoc ut significaretur, quod Christus quasi sol veritatis et justitiae illucesceret his qui in tenebris et umbra mortis sedebant, ait S. Augustin. q. 53 inter quæst. veteris et nove Testamenti. Hac de causa Ecclesia in festo Nativitatis Christi, post medianum noctem Missas celebrat.”

birds’ songs at dawn.⁴⁸ As with the whole poem, this passage also refers to the present-tense singing of the “chapel choir,” currently singing Christ’s praises in the late night.⁴⁹

Estríbillo

In the estríbillo the poet brings the listener or reader into the manger at Bethlehem with the shepherds to hear the “voices” of Christmas that sound in that lowly “chapel.” That the shepherds themselves were musicians (“singing and playing pipes in the field,” according to Lapide) was a common trope of Christmas preaching and visual art.⁵⁰ At times the poet describes actual singing (“en uno y otro coro”), and other places the musical terms are used more metaphorically. The word “distancias” (l. 18) means intervals in music, but is also a technical term for the distance between planetary spheres (“distantias” in Latin), which were mapped to musical intervals in the system of Ptolemy and Boethius. Singing “en uno y otro coro” (l. 19) fits the polychoral texture typical of Hispanic villancicos and of Padilla’s setting. The adjectives “grave, suave y sonoro” (l. 20) seem to have been commonly used for sacred music: they recur in other villancico texts (such as José de Cáseda’s *Qué música divina*), and in written descriptions of sacred music (see the discussion of this in 6). The phrase “tres a tres y dos a dos, uno a uno” (ll. 21–22) could refer to numbers of singers, but it could also refer to musical intervals or metrical proportions. “Tiempo” (l. 23) is of course a rhythmic or metrical term.

48. For more on the trope of birdsong in villancicos, see chapter 6.

49. If this were not a dense enough combination of symbols, the poet also appears to be making even another plural meaning from the phrase “por sol comienza una gloria,” because “solis” in Latin and “solio” in Spanish mean “throne.” In Isa. 9, the verse that follows the pericope read in Matins as the first lesson says of the Messiah, “multiplicabitur eius imperium et pacis non erit finis/ *super solium David et super regnum eius*” (I will multiply his dominion and peace shall have no end, upon the throne of David and upon his reign; emphasis added). By referencing this verse, the phrase “por sol” would connect the Messianic prophecies made to David, those made by David, those made to Mary, and their fulfillment. It also represents Christ as the sun, and makes a musical pun such that Christ’s “midnight sunrise” is an occasion for a new music worthy of David’s descendent.

50. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 674, on Luke 2: On the word “vigilantes” (the shepherds “watching” their flocks), Lapide notes that the Greek word here might be interpreted “singing in the field,” that is, “in the field singing with pipes or reeds, as shepherds typically did, to pass the time, for recreation, to calm the sheep, and to incite themselves by their song to the strenuous work of shepherding”: “[...] interpretatur *in agro canentes*; [...] *in agro canere tibia vel fistula, uti pastores facere solent, tum ut fallant tempus, tum ut se recreent, tum ut oves demulcent, et ad strenue pascendum hoc suo cantu incident.*”

In l. 25, “a la mi re” (or “alamirré”), is the pitch A (*la, mi, re*) as denoted on the Guidonian hand (A₃ or A₄ in the classical gamut).⁵¹ “El signo a la mi re” could, on the purely musical side of the conceit, simply mean the notation of the pitch A. This pitch may have been used as a tuning pitch as it is now, and it would have been indicated to the choir by pointing to the proper spot on the raised palm of the choirmaster. “Mi” in the next line (l. 26) is another solmization syllable. This “mi” in the middle of the estribillo seems to link structurally with the “mi” of the introducción, second verse.

The remainder of the estribillo clearly describes actual singing and listening to singing: “I heard the voice of the Father singing in tones of weeping.” Putting aside for the moment the theological meaning of this, on the level of *musica instrumentalis* in the “Christmas present” of Puebla Cathedral in 1657, “la voz del padre” could refer to the voice of the choirmaster, who as in Padilla’s case was almost always a priest, and who may have audibly given the “signo a la mi re” as a tuning note with his own voice or hand. It could also refer to any of the ordained cantors in the cathedral choir who would have sung solo the incipits of the Gregorian chants before the rest of the choir came in. In the final sentence (“Todo en el hombre [...]”), there is a musical sense as well to “subir” and “bajar,” indicating melodic direction or the rhythmic rise and fall of the hand indicating the *compás* (tactus).⁵²

Theologically, the estribillo comes as the “expected” (“la esperanza”) or “awaited” (“se aguarda”) fulfillment of the Messianic prophecies underlying the introducción and respuesta. Having traced the historical link between the musician-king David and his divine heir, Christ, the estribillo depicts the moment of Christ’s birth. Now, the whole universe joins with the angels in making music together at the nativity scene. Just like the retablo of Puebla Cathedral’s high altar, the poem pans down from the angels in *el cielo Empyreo*—that is, outside the material world,

51. Pedro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples, 1613), 399.

52. For the *compás* as determined by the hand, see Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 537–538, 750; 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), bk. 2, 219, “Compás en canto de órgano: Que sea?”

beyond the farthest planetary sphere—then to the heavenly bodies making music in their harmonic intervals (“distancias”), and then down to the stable in Bethlehem, where the “hombres”—the shepherds, Mary and Joseph, later the Three Kings—offer their praises among the noises of the animals that nestle around the feedtrough-bed. At the center of this whole scene, then, is the newborn Christ himself, who although an infant and unable to speak, “sings” by crying out, as all babies do.

The next line (“tres a tres y dos a dos, uno a uno”) could simply refer to this concerted music-making “in one choir and then the other”; but it could also have numerological significance, referring to the different groups of musicians at the first Christmas. The three numeric groups (threes, twos, and ones) are structurally parallel to the three groups in the previous line, “men and animals and God.” If the parallelism is chiastic—that is, if there is a mirror or ring structure to the two verses—then God is triune, the animals entered Noah’s ark “two by two,” and humans enter heaven “one by one.” Of course, God is also one; and “three by three” (that is, nine), could also be a reference to the ubiquitous image of the ninefold hierarchy of angels.⁵³ In the New Testament (1 Pet. 3:18–22) and in Augustine’s *City of God* (15:26), Noah’s Ark was interpreted as a symbol of the Christian church, and so “two by two” could also include humanity.⁵⁴ “One by one” could also refer to Christ, who has no equal but himself, and who combines two whole natures (divine and human) without making them into two.⁵⁵ Obviously, the numerological literature allows for so many meanings of these first three numbers that it is impossible to pin down the meaning precisely. But this multivalence makes sense since the poem seems deliberately intended to make the reader or hearer ponder symbolic possibilities rather than to communicate a single clear meaning.

53. See Bongo, *Numerorum Mysteria*, s.v. “IX,” and the angelic canon for nine choirs of angels on the frontispiece of Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis, sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X. libros digesta* (Rome, 1650).

54. Taken as a mathematical figure—two times two—the expression would stand for the whole created world, defined by the number four; see Bongo, *Numerorum Mysteria*, s.v. “IV.”

55. For this fundamental Christological doctrine, see the commentary on John 1 in Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 882–883.

However they may be numbered, the whole chorus of heavenly and mortal beings has been awaiting the “appointed time” (l. 23). Christ is “the one who was before all time,” as the Nicene Creed declares that Christ was “begotten of the father before all worlds/ages,” drawing on the opening of Hebrews.⁵⁶ Indeed, in the Revelation to John (1:8) Christ says of himself, “ego sum α et ω principium et finis/ dicit Dominus Deus qui est et qui erat et qui venturus est Omnipotens” (I am *alpha* and *omega*, the beginning and the end, says the Lord God, who is and who was and who is to come, the Almighty).⁵⁷

Thus the “sign of A” would be Christ himself (connecting back to the “divisa” of the introducción). The moment when the baby Jesus’s voice was first heard was the moment when the theological Music of God and Man united in a single body is turned into actual sound. Through this sound is heard “the voice of [God] the Father.”⁵⁸

The opening of John’s Gospel calls Jesus “the word” (*λόγος* in Greek, *verbum* in Latin), which “makes God known” (“ipse enarrans”). According to the author of Hebrews (1:1), “in many and various ways God spoke of old to our fathers through the prophets” (that is, through the written words—“letras”—of Scripture), but “now God has spoken to us in a Son.”⁵⁹ Based on these passages, the Roman catechism explains *logos* to mean that Christ was God’s way of expressing himself, or literally, “making himself intelligible” to the world.⁶⁰

Christ at the moment of his birth, then, is the Incarnate Word of God, but as an “infante” is unable to articulate any words. Instead, he makes himself known through the wordless cry of his

56. “ex patre natum ante omnia secula”; as explained in Catholic Church, *Catechismus ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini: iussu Pij V. pontif. max. editus* [. . .] (London, 1614), 42.

57. Note that the Vulgate text preserves the original Greek letters without translation or transliteration.

58. In the phrase “a la mi re,” “mi re” also means “my king,” allowing a further theological reading of the solmization syllables, much as with “por sol” in the introducción.

59. “Multifariam et multis modis olim Deus loquens patribus in prophetis/ novissime diebus istis locutus est nobis in Filio”

60. Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, 42: “Vt enim mens nostra seipsam quodam modo intelligens, sui effingit imaginem, quam Verbum Theologi dixerunt, ita Deus, quantūm tamen diuinis humana conferri possunt, seipsum intelligens, Verbum aeternum generat, & si praestat contemplari, quod fides proponit, & sinceramente Iesum Christum verum Deum, & verum hominem credere, & confiteri, genitum quidem, vt Deum, ante omnium saeculorum aetates, ex Patre: vt hominem verò natum in tempore, ex Matre virgine.”

voice, presented here as a kind of music, which the poets describes as “O, qué canto”—possibly a deliberate reference to *omega* and the end of Christ’s life to balance out the reference to *alpha* earlier.

Unlike Anglo-American Christmas traditions of a silent baby Jesus (“the little lord Jesus, no crying he makes”), this and many other Hispanic villancicos celebrate the tears of the newborn Christ. Not only does his crying prove his humanity, it also prophesies the suffering destined to come at the end of his life. The phrase “his eyes set on me” would indicate that Christ endured the humiliation of birth in a manger and death on a cross “for me,” the individual believer. Tellingly, Christ’s life also ends with an inarticulate cry on the cross: in the words of Mark’s Gospel (15:37), “Then Jesus, crying out with a loud voice, breathed his last.”⁶¹ The infant’s cries thus are prophetic of the struggle (“destreza”) awaiting Christ at “the thirty-three,” in a way that recalls contemporary Nativity paintings like the one on the Puebla high altar, which include in the manger scene a symbol such as a bound lamb brought by the shepherds or even a crucifix on the wall. There is an example of each by Zurbarán; for the bound lamb see figures 3.2 and 3.3. The baby’s inarticulate sound of “A,” breaking into the lower realm of earthly music, serves as the tuning note for all earthly music, both *instrumentalis* and *humana*.

Coplas

The first copla presents the whole history of salvation in four lines, by means of a dense series of plays on musical terms. Musically, “peregrino tono” apparently refers to the *tonus peregrinus*. “Subió” is a melodic term; “sostenidos” means “sharps”; and the musical meaning of the last line is clear (“he went up the octave in a trill”). Theologically, the last three lines clearly refer to Christ’s crucifixion and resurrection: he was “raised up” on the cross where he wept in pain. Perhaps the sharp sign is an icon of the cross. Christ then rose from the dead on “the eighth day” or the “octave,” since from earliest Christian tradition Sunday was considered both the first day of the

61. “Jesus autem emissa voce magna exspiravit.”

week and the eighth day of the preceding. Finally Christ ascended into heaven where he dwells as part of the triune (“trino”) Godhead.⁶²

The first line refers to the Fall of humanity, through Adam, the first man, whom God cast out of paradise and forced to wander in the earth. Hence, he was given “a wandering song,” the most literal translation of “peregrino tono.” This wandering would include the Israelites’ wandering in the wilderness and their exile to Babylon—the whole epoch before the coming of Christ, which Guillelmus Durandus called the “tempus peregrinationis.”⁶³ Christ, as the New Adam, was born like a “pilgrim” on a journey in a borrowed stable, as Lapide remarks. When John 1:14 says “the Word became flesh and dwelt among us,” the word translated “dwelt” or “habitavit” (*ἐσκήνωσεν*) means, as Lapide explains, “he set up a tent or tabernacle in us, that is, among us, for a short time, like a guest or pilgrim [peregrinus] in an alien land.”⁶⁴ Christ’s “pilgrim” birth should “teach us to be pilgrims [peregrinos] on earth, though actually citizens of heaven.”⁶⁵ “Peregrino” can also mean “strange” (Covarrubias defines a “cosa peregrina” as “cosa rara”), so perhaps this is another reference to the unsettling cries of Christ as an infant and again on the cross.⁶⁶ The second copla encapsulates the whole conceit of Christ as a divine musical composition, bringing God and Man into harmony.

62. See the entries for numbers eight and three in Bongo, *Numerorum Mysteria*, and Ricciardo, *Commentaria Symbolica*.

63. See Craig Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 234. Durandus’s allegorical commentary on the liturgy was widely disseminated in manuscript and print versions throughout the Hispanic world, including copies in Puebla.

64. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 884: “Hoc est tentorium vel tabernaculum fixit in nobis, id est, inter nos, ad modicum tempus, quasi hospes et peregrinus in terra aliena: erat enim ipse civis, incola et dominus cœli ac paradisi [...].”

65. Ibid., 669, on Luke 2:5: “ut doceret nos in terra esse peregrinos, cives vero cœli, ut ab hoc exilio magnis virtutum passibus tendamus in cœlum, ceu patriam et civitatem nostram.”

66. Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, 585r, s.v. “peregrino.” There may also be an allusion here to Ps. 118:54, “cantabiles mihi erant iustificationes tuæ in loco peregrinationis meæ” (your justifications were as songs for me in the place of my pilgrimage). Thus the “pilgrim song” that the child gave to Adam would be “your justifications”—that is, salvation through the cross—making this another metonym like “the thirty-three.”

Andrés Lorente (*El porqué de la música*, 609) admonishes the aspiring musician to match the music of his compositions with “the spiritual Music of his person, cleansing his conscience, and rejoicing his soul with Divine Music, so that he may say with David, *Cantabiles mihi erant iustificationes tuæ in loco peregrinationis meæ*” (“la Musica espiritual de su persona, limpiando su conciencia, y alegrando su Anima con Musica Diuina, para que pueda decir con Dauid, *Cantabiles mihi* [...]”).

The villancico began by drawing listeners' attention to the voices of Christmas, and exhorting the singing voices of the chapel choir to take note of their own singing while also listening for "what is sung" on a higher level. The piece connects Christ and David as musician-kings, with Christ as the song that puts prophetic "lyrics" of David and other Scriptural authors to music. After long waiting, at the "opportune time," Christ was born into the world to begin a battle "in hope," a virtuoso performance fulfilled in his death and resurrection at "the thirty-three," upon the "sign" of the cross. Christ himself as the incarnate Word, and his infant cries is the true "sign of A," the "song" that sets the tone for all the other voices, "in one choir and another" of the Christmas manger, and at the Christmas liturgy in the present-day of the villancico's performance.

3.3 MUSICAL ANALYSIS: THE VOICES OF PADILLA'S CHAPEL CHOIR

How, then, does Padilla turn the musical-theological conceits of the poem into actual *musica instrumentalis*? First, Padilla's music projects the words clearly and sets them to memorable melodic and rhythmic patterns, so that the difficult poem may be heard and considered. Within the taxonomy proposed in chapter 2, this would fit within the mnemonic function of villancicos. The piece also works on an affective level by shaping listeners' experience, as Padilla builds momentum and excitement throughout the piece, up to its climax at the end of the estribillo. But Padilla's primary emphasis seems to fit within the contemplative function of villancicos, since Padilla matches the *conceptismo* of the poem with an added layer of musical conceits.⁶⁷

3.3.1 Formal Structure

The large-scale structure of the piece is typical of villancicos by composers of Padilla's generation, such as Juan Bautista Comes in Valencia.⁶⁸ The introducción (that is, the whole introductory

67. Please refer to the complete musical edition in appendix C.

68. Juan Bautista Comes, *Obras en lengua romance*, ed. José Climent, 3 vols. (Valencia: Instituto Valenciano de Musicología, Institución Alfonso el Magnanimo, 1977); Samuel Rubio, *Forma del villancico polifónico desde el siglo XV hasta el XVIII* (Cuenca: Instituto de Música Religiosa de la Excma. Diputación Provincial de Cuenca, 1979);

section, mm. 1–23, including the respuesta) is labeled “a 6,” but this actually indicates the total number of voice parts; in fact only three voices are heard at a time. The section is a dialogue between, on one side, the three voices of Chorus I singing the two stanzas of the introducción, and, on the other side, the two voices and instrumental bass of Chorus II performing the respuesta in between.⁶⁹ It is likely that these opening sections may have been sung by soloists or by a smaller portion of the ensemble.

The published edition and recording of this piece are mistaken about the structure of the music preceding the estribillo. Both put the two stanzas of the introducción in sequence, followed by once through the respuesta.⁷⁰ But the notation in the manuscripts makes clear that the respuesta is sung after each strophe of introducción (in other words, the respuesta is sung twice). In the manuscripts, the structural parts of the introducción are notated in the same order in all the Chorus I vocal parts:

1. The music of the introducción stanzas, with two lines of poetry underlaid (ll. 1–6 and 11–16)
2. Rests matching the duration of the Chorus II respuesta section
3. The first note of the piece is given as a cue note to indicate the repeat

The Chorus II parts, and the Bassus of Chorus I, which plays with Chorus II through most of the piece, have these elements in order:

1. Rests corresponding to the introducción verse sung by Chorus I
2. The music of the respuesta
3. A repeat sign

Paul R. Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1997).

69. The bass part in Padilla’s villancicos, which only contains textual incipits, was most likely played on *bajón* and doubled with harp and organ, which would also have doubled the harmony of the upper voices.

70. Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Tres cuadernos de Navidad: 1653, 1655 y 1657*, ed. Mariantonia Palacios and Aurelio Tello (Caracas: Fundación Vicente Emilio Sojo: Consejo Nacional de la Cultura, 1998); Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Música de la Catedral de Puebla de los Ángeles*, Ars Longa de Habana, directed by Teresa Paz (Seville: Almaviva (CD DS-0142), 2005).

Rests, repeat signs, and cue notes are typically precise in Padilla's manuscripts—as they would have to be to enable a successful performance. In Padilla's parts, where there are errors or confusing passages in the original notation, later hands have corrected them (for example, by adding bar lines). The notation of the introducción leaves little doubt that the respuesta is intended to follow stanza 1 of the introducción, and that the two stanzas are not to be sung directly in sequence.

The estribillo (mm. 24–72) includes the full six-voice texture, and probably every available singer and player. The texture alternates between polychoral dialogue and full-chorus polyphony, and ends with every voice contributing.

The coplas, as in Padilla's usual practice, are sung “a 3.” The first copla is sung by Chorus I, and copla 2, by Chorus II. In both coplas it seems likely that soloists sang these sections rather than the full chorus. After copla 2, the estribillo is repeated, bringing together the poetic *lineas de vuelta* at the end of copla 2 and the beginning of the estribillo.

The piece's harmonic structure coordinates with the form of the poem. The piece is in mode I, in *cantus mollis* (one flat in the key signature transposing the mode up a fourth). The final is on G, and the Tenor parts have, with some deviations, a primarily authentic ambitus. The cadence points are on G (m. 10), D (m. 14), G (m. 23), and G at the end of the estribillo and of both coplas (mm. 72, 82, and 93). These cadence points, as well as the points of local harmonic resolution that could be counted as secondary cadences, all serve to punctuate the different sections of the poem, exactly as one would expect.⁷¹

71. For determining the mode of a polyphonic piece based on the ambitus of its tenor, for the standard cadences in mode I, and for transposition of the modes by adding a B♭, see (respectively) Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 873–882, 883–885, 907–912. Padilla's piece fits well with Cerone's prescription for a piece in this mode and transposition (*Ibid.*, 908): “El Primer Tono se trasporta ordenariamente vna Quarta en alto, con la señal accidental de be mol: su termino es G y g, mediado de la d: sus Clausulas principales seran G solreut y D lasolreut: las de passo, *Befabemi*, C solfaut, y F faut: la cuerda final es Gsolreut: tenra el Tiple Clave de Gsolreut; y las demás partes por su orden.” See also Cristle Collins Judd, “Renaissance Modal Theory: Theoretical, Compositional, and Editorial Perspectives,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Music History*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 364–406; Gregory Barnett, “Tonal Organization in Seventeenth-Century Music Theory,” in Christensen, *The Cambridge History of Western Music History*, 407–455.

The metrical structure as well both articulates the sections of the poem and amplifies the poem's musical symbolism. The piece begins in CZ triple meter, but then at the estribillo (m. 24), Padilla shifts to C meter (*compasillo*), and then returns to CZ in m. 39. As the introducción speaks of "awaiting the thirty-three" and of the time "before the sign" ("divisa"), all the music for the introducción precedes the metrical sign awaiting at the estribillo (m. 24). The shift back to triple meter in m. 39 comes exactly as the musicians sing "and they await the opportune time."

3.3.2 Rhythm and Text Declamation

Within these metrical sections, Padilla uses rhythm to declaim the text clearly, matching the natural accentuation patterns of the poetry. Padilla also highlights the grammatical and rhetorical structure of each phrase. For example, he sets the first two lines of poetry (mm. 1–3) with relatively long note values on the stressed syllables, creating a deliberate, careful tone (example 3.1). This suits the poetic exhortation to "keep count" or "pay attention" to what is sung. The word "Vo-ces" receives three minims for the first syllable and two for the second. Since the word ends on S and is an invocation, it would make sense to have the singers make a small break between mm. 1–2, placing the S sound on the last minim of m. 1 or just after. This allows the word to be sung in a way that matches the natural quantities of its two syllables and that projects its grammatical structure in the opening sentence of the poem.

That first word, as in many Padilla pieces, is sung on the second minim of the compás: thus Padilla could conduct the downbeat, cuing the singers to breathe, and then the chorus would sing. The tessitura is relatively high, so that the voices of Chorus I here seem to hang mysteriously in the air. The rhythmic pattern sung by all three voices homorhythymically is not regular enough to provide a clear expectation of meter. Rather, the first line (mm. 1–3) is declaimed more like recitative. The word "cuenta" (m. 3) is sung on the second minim of the compás and then held for three minims—in other words, it is syncopated across the "downbeat." After this long note, like pulling back a spring, the metrical pattern is released and the voices flow in even, regularly

Example 3.1

Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, beginning

accented minims. Thus on the word “cuenta” the singers have to count carefully, and after it, the normal counting pattern of CZ meter is established.

For line 3 of the poem (“que es músico el Rey”), Padilla creates the effect of an interruption or interjection: he breaks the rhythmic pattern in mm. 3–4 by putting “que es” on the second minim of the compás, and then sets the next words (“mú-si-co el Rey”) in smoothly flowing minims. Here Padilla brings the voices, which had been spread across an octave in mm. 4–5, into a close triad. As a result, this phrase comes across as though it were in parentheses, like an insistent, whispered instruction. This analysis of Padilla’s musical “diction” in the first three lines of poetry should suffice to indicate how carefully Padilla has rendered the words in music so that they may be understood clearly.

The syncopated rhythm on “cuenta” also opens the discussion to Padilla’s more symbolic uses of rhythmic notation (see figure 3.1). The blackened, dotted (that is, artificially perfected) semibreve on “cuenta” leaps off the page as a visual indication to the singer to “keep count with what is sung” here.

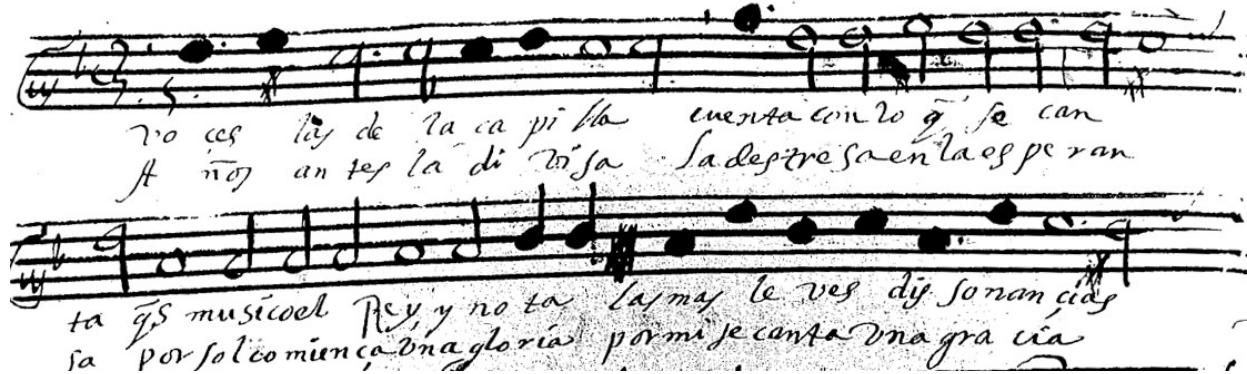


Figure 3.1

Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, Tiple I partbook, black notation in the introducción

In the music for poetry line 4 (mm. 7–9), Padilla sets the reference to “disonancias”—which function, as we have seen, as a symbol of sin—with entirely blackened notation for the whole phrase. Padilla uses coloration similarly at the end of the estribillo, where he sets the phrase “y todo en Dios es bajar” (and everything in God is to descend) in completely blackened note values almost every time it occurs, particularly the first statement of this idea in mm. 59–61, Chorus I. The blackened notes seem in these two instances to serve as symbols of the sin and earthbound lowliness of fallen human nature, to which God in Christ is descending to restore to consonance with the divine.

3.3.3 Musical Conceits

Such symbolic uses of musical elements are found in almost every measure of this villancico. The exhortation “cuenta con lo que se canta” is not only expressed through the rhythmic pattern just described. In fact, this whole first verse of the introducción is sung by Chorus I while Chorus II is literally counting its twenty-seven *compases* of rests until they enter with the respuesta. So on the most literal level, the choir is singing to itself, about itself.

In m. 9, Padilla sets “las más leves disonancias” (the least dissonances) by having the Altus I suspend across the first minim of the compás (m. 9, second half), making a dissonant seventh

against the Tenor's A (example 3.1). This “light” dissonance resolves quickly to F♯, and then all three voices cadence to a triad on G in m. 10. In the repeat (introducción stanza 2), an experienced Tiple singing about the “trills of the dawn” (poem l. 16, music mm. 13–14) would likely have improvised a vocal ornament on the suspension at this cadence.⁷² In the respuesta, where Chorus II sings about awaiting “the thirty-three,” Padilla writes precisely thirty-three notes for both of the sung vocal parts (counting the ligatures in mm. 18 and 22 as two notes each).

As already noted, the whole introducción suggests a feeling of choral recitative with its emphasis on homophonic declamation and the lack of a strong beat pattern. This could create a feeling of expectation, suited to the words of the poem. If, as the poem says, the whole world was waiting for “the sign”—that is, the Incarnate Christ—then in Padilla’s musical setting, that sign comes with the estribillo in m. 24, where the meter shifts to C meter and the musicians begin to project a more regular rhythmic pulse, moving together in *corcheas* (equivalent to modern eighth notes). Here Padilla depicts what the words say by building up a point of imitation “from one choir to the other” (mm. 24–29) and then creating polychoral dialogue (mm. 31–38). Padilla sets the numbers in l. 21 literally: three performers for “tres a tres,” two for “dos a dos,” and one for “uno a uno” (example 3.2).

The style of this section, contrasting with that of the introducción, is like that of a madrigal (example 3.2). In fact, the “two by two” section is strongly reminiscent of a similar passage in the madrigal *As Vesta Was from Latmos Hill Descending* by Thomas Weelkes (1601).⁷³ This section, then, is “music about music” in yet another sense: Padilla refers to other genres and styles of music within one villancico. As the poem depicts the actual singing performed at the first Christmas, Padilla uses a style that indexes convivial group singing. The angels, planets, shepherds, and animals around the crèche in this representation do not simply “sing” in the abstract—they sing a

72. See Cerone’s instruction’s for improvising ornaments at cadences, *El melopeo y maestro*, 545–546.

73. Published in Thomas Morley’s *The Triumphes of Oriana* (London, 1601). It seems more likely that the composers either arrived at this idea independently or that both took it from a common source, probably Italian, since there is little evidence that English music circulated in Spain or its colonies.

(28) C

Ti. I
A. I

T. I
y dos a dos,
uno a u-no y dos a dos, dos a

A. II
T. II
hom-bres y bru-tos y Dios, tres a tres
y dos a dos,

B. I

32 tres a tres, dos a dos, uno a u-no,
dos, tres a tres y dos a dos, dos a dos,
dos, tres a tres y dos a dos,
tres a tres, dos a dos, uno a u-no, y a-guar-dan tiem-po o-por - tu - no,

Example 3.2
Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, estribillo (mm. 28–40)

madrigal.

Padilla's musical "scene" matches contemporary Nativity images that portray music-making around the crèche. Padilla's Andalusian compatriot Francisco de Zurbarán depicted two levels of music in his *Adoration of the Shepherds*, painted for the high altar of the Carthusian monastery of Jerez de la Frontera in 1638–1639 (figure 3.2). In heaven above, angels sing to the accompaniment of the harp, while below, another angelic consort joins the company of worshippers in the stable, and they sing to the accompaniment of the lute. The harp was associated with heavenly music

and earthly church music, and the lute, with musical genres performed outside of church (such as the madrigal). Villancicos crossed both domains, and therefore could incorporate references to both styles within them—much as Zurbarán’s painting incorporates aspects of genre painting (the *bodegón*) into a representation of sacred history.⁷⁴

Padilla left Jerez well before Zurbarán painted this image, but the painting is but one example of an iconographic tradition that may be found in many sources, including a 1631 Roman Breviary (figure 3.3). In this image the angels in heaven hold up the motto “GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO,” as in Padilla’s villancico, “por sol comienza una gloria.” Both images, like the Adoration of the Shepherds in the retablo at Puebla Cathedral, include a bound lamb next to the manger as a symbol of Christ’s fate as the paschal lamb, much as the “thirty-three” and other references in *Voces* point toward the crucifixion.

At the phrase “and they await the opportune time” (l. 23, m. 39), Padilla shifts meter signatures again, returning to triple time (CZ meter) with a new lilting rhythmic pattern. This creates a sense of arrival in a new “tiempo,” which then abruptly halts at the end of the phrase “quién antes del tiempo fue”—as Christ is the beginning and end, this halt is fitting. Lorente says the term “tiempo” can be used to denote both the meter and the symbol that sets the meter.⁷⁵ So Christ was before all time theologically, and he was therefore “before the time signature” musically.

Now begins the mysterious poetic passage “por el signo a la mi re” (l. 25, mm. 42–43), which Padilla sets as literally as possible (see example 3.3). Padilla, maintaining the octosyllabic poetic meter, elides the vowels of “signo_a,” as though combining *omega* and *alpha*. Padilla realizes the solmization syllables in the poem in several ways at the same time.⁷⁶ The Altus I sings the word

74. The parallels between villancicos and genre painting will be the subject of a future study. María Isabel Sánchez Quevedo, *Zurbarán* (Tres Cantos, Madrid: Akal Ediciones, 2000), 31; Peter Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza: El bodegón español en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Ediciones Doce Calles, 1999); Marianna Haraszti-Takács, *Spanish Genre Painting in the Seventeenth Century* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983).

75. See chapter 6 on the symbolism of plucked-string instruments.

75. Lorente, *El porqué de la música*, bk. 2, 149.

76. Guidonian solmization (see David E. Cohen, “Notes, Scales, and Modes in the Earlier Middle Ages,” in Christensen, *The Cambridge History of Western Music History*, 307–363) was still a fundamental part of Spanish theory treatises through the eighteenth century, including both books intended for specialists (Cerone) and those for



Figure 3.2

Francisco de Zurbarán, *Adoración de los pastores*, retablo of the Carthusian monastery of Jerez de la Frontera, 1638–1639

“a” on the pitch A (*la, mi, re*), and the word “mi” on the note E (*mi* in the natural hexachord). On the words “a la mi re,” the Tenor I sings the pitches A–D–A–D: that is, the note A (*la, mi, re*), followed by *la* and *mi* in the soft hexachord, and the final D is *re* in the natural hexachord. The full name of that Tenor D on the word “re” (m. 42, third note) was “D (sol, re),” the solmization syllables of which are homonyms with the Spanish for “sun king.” The Tiple I sings the words “la

beginners, such as the guitar primer of Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz, y norte musical para caminar por las cifras de la Guitarra Española, y Arpa, tañer, y cantar á compás por canto de Organo; y breue explicacion del Arte, con preceptos faciles, indubitables, y explicados con claras reglas por teorica, y practica* (Madrid, 1677), and several manuscript student notebooks in the Biblioteca de Catalunya (E-Bbc: M732/13–16). The syllables were used enough that sometime after this period, they came to be used as the Spanish names for pitch classes in the seven-note scale (with *do* on C and *si* on B). Like solfeggio today, however, it seems unlikely that “professional” performers like those of Padilla’s ensemble would have continued singing the solmization syllables in their daily performance practice beyond their initial education, except perhaps to work through a difficult passage. In any case, the Guidonian gamut seems to have remained in the back of everyone’s mind, and could be exploited for its symbolic potential.



Figure 3.3
Adoration of the Shepherds, engraving preceding the liturgies for Christmas, *Breviarium Romanum* (1631), 168

mi re" on the notes D-C \sharp -D: in the soft hexachord the D would be *la*, and then the written sharp on C would alter it to a *ficta mi*; the final D is *re* in the natural hexachord. In the next line (l. 26, mm. 44–45), every performer sings the word "mi" by literally "putting their eyes on *mi*": Tiple and Tenor on A (soft hexachord), and Altus on E (natural hexachord).

Now, at the reference to the "voice of the Father," Padilla has all the voices leap upwards as though looking up, and then at "I heard" (m. 47), they cadence, as though to stop and listen. The "singing upon points of weeping" (literal translation) is depicted through a light contrapuntal texture with "points" of imitation. The weeping affect may be symbolized by the added E flats and ligatures on "llanto," the ligatures perhaps having an association with more solemn forms of

The musical score consists of three staves (Ti. I, A. I, T. I) in 6/2 time. The lyrics are: "por el si-gno a - la - mi - re, pues - tos los o - jos en mi,". Above the notes, Guidonian hexachordal labels are written: 'la MOL mi FIC re NAT' for the first measure of Altus I, 'mi NAT' for the second measure of Altus I, 'mi MOL' for the first measure of Tenor I, and 'mi NAT' for the second measure of Tenor I. A bracket labeled 'A (la, mi, re)' spans the first two measures of the Tenor I part.

Example 3.3

Padilla, *Voces las de la capilla*, “The sign of A (*la, mi, re*): Subscript abbreviations indicate Guidonian hexachords, *naturalis, mollis, durus*, and *musica ficta*

music like plainchant or Latin polyphony—with a possible half-pun on “canto llano.”

Now the texture of polychoral dialogue returns, as the chorus exclaims to itself, “O, what a song!” (or chant) in long note values, emphasizing the *omega* “O.”⁷⁷ The passage begins on the last minim of m. 50, exactly as a grammatical interjection should.

In the final couplet of the estribillo (ll. 32–34 and 58–72), as the full chorus sings, “Todo en el hombre es subir/ y todo en Dios es bajar,” Padilla sets each line to a contrasting phrase. In the first, for Man ascending, he has the voices ascend stepwise in minims (first heard in Altus I and Tenor I, mm. 58–59), including a chromatic ascent E–F♯–G in the Tenor—this is a rhetorical *anabasis*. In the second, for God descending, all the voices descend—*catabasis*—in emphatic blackened semibreves (Chorus I, mm. 59–61), including added E flats. The Tenor I has the highest number of blackened notes, with successive descending fourths (see figure 3.4).

Padilla contrasts these ideas in polychoral dialogue, culminating in a statement for the full chorus (example 3.4). Thus listeners can hear the fusion of both rising and falling melodic lines, and two different rhythmic systems—the duple-compound rhythm of “Man ascending” (transcribed as

⁷⁷ This passage is erroneous in the published edition, Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Tres cuadernos de Navidad: 1653, 1655 y 1657*. The edition follows the Altus II partbook, which erroneously omits a semibreve rest before “O qué canto” in m. 50; the Tenor II and Bassus I both have rests here, and the music does not make sense without it. See the critical notes to the transcription in appendix D.



Figure 3.4

Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, Tenor I partbook: Blackened notes at end of estribillo

in modern $\frac{6}{2}$ meter), and the triple-simple rhythm of “God descending” (the *sesquialtera* of the colored semibreves, which in the modern transcription feel more like $\frac{3}{1}$).

Padilla uses perfect and imperfect semibreves to symbolize God and Man, respectively. The theme of “man rising to the divine” is written in white notation to produce normal CZ accentuation of three minims per perfect semibreve, while the theme of “the divine descending to man” is written in blackened, imperfect semibreves to form a *sesquialtera* counter-rhythm. In the final cadence, the Altus I combines the two ideas at once by singing the words “everything in God is to descend” (normally set to the descending motive) to the motive of Man ascending. The Altus here embodies the whole theology of the Incarnation: through God’s descent to become Man in Christ, Man may ascend to share in God’s nature.

In the coplas, Padilla matches the *conceptismo* of the poem with similarly intricate musical symbols. As already discussed, “peregrino tono” may mean “wandering song,” “strange song (or tone),” or the plainchant psalm tone the *tonus peregrinus*. The sense of “wandering” may be represented in the harmonic structure, since the pattern of movement from triad to triad is

62

jar, y to - do_en Dios es ba-jar,
 Ti. I
 A. I

jar, es ba - jar,
 T. I

jar, y to - do_en Dios es ba -
 A. II
 T. II

to - do_en el hom-bre es su - bir, y to - do_en Dios es ba -
 B. I

y to - do_en Dios es ba - jar,
 65
 to-do_en el hom-bre es su - bir, y to - do_en Dios, y to - do_en
 jar, to - do_en Dios es ba - jar, y to - do_en Dios es ba -
 jar, es ba - jar, to - do_en Dios es ba - jar,
 jar

Example 3.4

Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla* (mm. 62–68): Ascending and descending motives and contrasting rhythmic systems

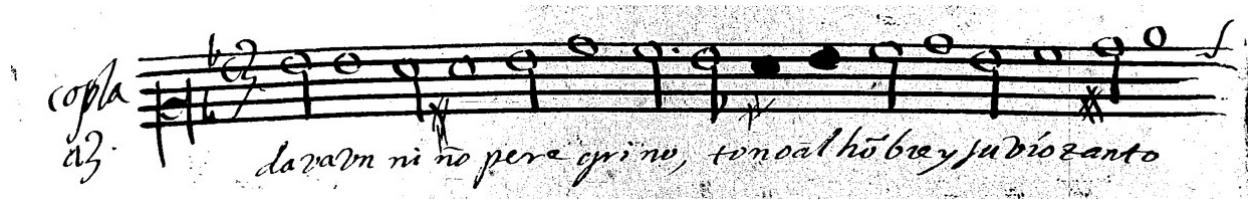


Figure 3.5

Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, Altus I partbook, copla 1: Cautionary accidentals

somewhat unpredictable: the voices move quickly from triads on G (minor) to D but suddenly shift away in a 5–6 voice leading and wander through other triads (example 3.5). Through mm. 75–76 the goal of harmonic movement seems unclear—compared, say, to the first choir’s opening statement in the introducción (mm. 1–14), or to the more “sustained” harmonies in m. 77 on “sostenidos.”

The passage also contains a “strange tone” in that the scribe of the Altus part twice writes in sharps over the Fs in questionable locations, in mm. 73–74 (see figure 3.5). Sharpening these Fs would produce strange results. In m. 73, it would create a $\frac{b6}{\sharp3}$ sonority in the Tiple and Altus, where the $b6$ resolves upward. In m. 74, since the Tiple can only be F \natural , sharpening the F would create a nearly unthinkable diminished octave between the same two voices. Both Fs occur in melodic patterns (G–F–G) where a singer might be tempted to sing the F as an F \sharp according to *musica ficta* performance practice, but an F \natural makes more sense in both places. So unless Padilla truly wanted to create a strange song with intentional dissonance, these sharps are most likely “cautionary accidentals.”

None of Padilla’s manuscripts contain the modern natural symbol \natural . Nor is the symbol found in any other seventeenth-century villancico manuscript examined in this study. Other villancico manuscripts do, however, contain cautionary \sharp signs in similar situations, such as in the Canet de Mar manuscript of Cererols, *Suspended, cielos* (see chapter 4). The sharp sign was the only available symbol to indicate an exception from normal ficta practice. In the first bar of this villancico, for example, Padilla notates an E sharp in the highest vocal part, not to indicate a pitch enharmonic



Figure 3.6

The *tonus peregrinus* (“tono irregular o mixto,” “octavo irregular”), in Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 354

with F, but to tell the singer not to flat the E according to the *una nota super la* rule. In the copla passage, then, the sharp signs probably function to warn the singer *not* to sharp these Fs.⁷⁸

Either way, the Fs may be thought of as “wrong” or “false.” The only way to tell the singer not to make the note “false” through ficta is to write a kind of false note: the copyist notates what the singer does *not* sing. José de Cáseda carries this concept much farther in his *Qué música divina* (see ch. 6).

Padilla also seems to quote the actual chant *tonus peregrinus* here. Padilla begins a local point of imitation on the word “peregrino tono” in the Altus, on the motive of a descending stepwise minor third (B♭–A–G); the Tenor follows (F–E–D), and then the Tiple (F–E–D). This motive may come from the final cadence of the last psalm tone, known in Latin sources as the *tonus peregrinus* and in Spanish sources as *tono irregular* or *tono mixto* (figure 3.6). If notated in *cantus durus* the tone ends F–E–D in both Cerone and Lorente’s treatises; and in the *cantus mollis* in which this villancico is notated, the last four notes of the tone would be G–B♭–A–G, exactly what the Altus sings on “peregrino” (example 3.5).

Padilla juxtaposes this descending motive with another point of imitation on an ascending stepwise fourth in mm. 75–76 for “subió tanto”: Tenor D–E–F♯–G in thirds with the Altus F♯(♯)–G–A–B♭, then the Altus (m. 76, G–A–B♯–C) in thirds with the Tiple (C–D–E♯). In the manuscript,

78. 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; Karol Berger, *Musica ficta: Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

The musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is for Tiple I (Ti. I) and the middle staff is for Altus I (A. I). The bottom staff is for Tenor I (T. I). The music is in common time with a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are: "1. Da - ba un ni - ño pe - re - gri - no to - no al hom - bre". Brackets above the notes in the Altus and Tenor parts indicate a motive taken from the final cadence of *tonus peregrinus*.

Example 3.5

Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, copla 1: F sharps as cautionary naturals; brackets indicate motive taken from final cadence of *tonus peregrinus*

both sharps (F) and naturals (on B and E) are notated with \sharp signs, which are the “sostenidos” mentioned in the next phrase (m. 77). Other possible senses of that word are enacted through the “sustained” repeated tones of m. 77, and the “suspended” Altus B \flat in m. 78.

In the final phrase (mm. 80–82), the singers “go up the octave” just as the poem says Christ did. In contrapuntal imitation, the Tenor’s leap from D₄ to G₄ is continued by the Tiple’s skip from G₄ to D₅ (mm. 79–80). Padilla’s use of the chant tone also plays into the symbolism of “the eighth,” since Cerone says that Spanish writers call this psalm tone “octavo irregular.”⁷⁹

The final copla, as noted earlier, is an epitome of the villancico’s conceit—the Incarnation as Music. Padilla puts the word “alto” to music (m. 83) so that the highest voice, with melodic character, is the *Altus II*. The Tenor sings “high” in his range here, as does the *Altus II*, if sung by an adult male (as was likely the case); while the instrumental *Bassus I* also leaps up higher.

For the phrase “de la máxima y breve,” Padilla presents the basic concept of long versus short note values through the lengthened note on “máxima” in the Tenor, m. 86), and in the Bassus, mm. 86–87 (see example 3.6). Ironically, each of these long notes is actually a breve—but how better to express the unity between these opposites than by singing the name for one while singing the other? The Altus echoes with a blackened semibreve (mm. 86–87), which in this context is a long note made shorter, getting at the same concept a different way. This whole first phrase

79. Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 354.

Example 3.6

Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, copla 2, “máxima” sung on a breve (original note values shown without bar lines)

(mm. 83–87) is ten compases long. It may be divided into five perfect breves—that is, exactly as the poem says, one maxima plus one breve.

Padilla’s setting as a whole is intimately connected to the meaning and sound of the poetry. Padilla has his musicians present the poem in a way that allows the words to be heard clearly and in a way that reflects their grammatical structure and the poem’s dramatic shape, and also combines the conceits of the poetry with musical puzzles of his own.

3.4 THEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: THE TROPS OF CHRISTMAS

The villancico *Voces, las de la capilla*, as a poem and as a musical composition for the feast of Christmas, participates in ancient traditions of celebrating this festival. The piece recapitulates common theological symbols and themes that were associated with Christmas and synthesizes them in a novel way around the central conceit of Christ’s Incarnation as a form of music. Much as Christ began his parables by asking, “To what shall we compare the Kingdom of God?” villancico poets in the tradition of *conceptismo* often reconfigured a well-established doctrine or devotion through creative extended metaphor.⁸⁰ In this case, the metaphor involves the musical “voices” of Christmas, and the established theological content behind it is a set of beliefs and modes of adoration that had become characteristic of the Christmas feast.

80. Mark 4:30, cf. Luke 13:18: “cui adsimilabimus regnum Dei/ aut cui parabolae comparabimus illud”

The festival of Christmas had first developed from regionally varying annual celebrations of Christ's birth and beginnings, and solidified as a formal observance in fourth-century Rome. The customary readings and chants from Scripture developed alongside the other customs of Christmas throughout the medieval period.⁸¹ While it may be more conventional to label these traditions “doctrines” or “dogmas” (particularly after Trent), they represent more than officially codified propositions. Rather, the tropes of Christmas, as we will call them here, include not only doctrinal concepts like the two natures of the incarnate Christ as divine and human, but extend also to attitudes, affects, frames of mind—all the cultural practices that go into making the festival “feel like Christmas,” the “proper ways of worshiping” (an etymological reading of the term *orthodoxy*) that characterize this particular celebration.⁸²

These tropes contributed to what might be called a Christmas imaginary, the contents of which one may see restated and endlessly varied not only in villancicos but also painted and sculpted on Spanish church walls and printed in the text and illustrations of contemporary theological books. The visual and performing arts preserved in historical sources, including Hispanic villancicos for Christmas together with Christmas dramas and Nativity paintings, represent only a portion of the lively variety of customary social practices connected with Christmas—gift-giving, traditional foods, popular songs from oral tradition. Both official sources (the liturgy, creeds, catechisms, councils, commentaries, homilies) and unofficial popular devotion drew from and contributed to a common fund of Christmas tropes, which by the seventeenth century was filled to overflowing.

81. Thomas J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 2nd ed. (Collegeville, MN: Pueblo (The Liturgical Press), 1991), 85–140; Paul Bradshaw, *Early Christian Worship: A Basic Introduction to Ideas and Practice* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1996), 86–89; Susan K. Roll, “The Origins of Christmas: The State of the Question,” in *Between Memory and Hope: Readings on the Liturgical Year*, ed. Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2000), 273–290.

82. Cf. the distinctions—and connections—Ronald Grimes makes between the ritual “modes” of “liturgy” and “celebration,” *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, 3rd ed. self-published by the author (n.p., n.d.), 54–62. That liturgy does more than promulgate doctrines is rather a commonplace in ritual studies and Christian liturgical theology, though the insights from these fields are still too often overlooked in musicological and especially philological studies touching on post-Tridentine Catholicism. For a modern Catholic theology of the function of liturgical feasts, see Robert F. Taft, “The Liturgical Year: Studies, Prospects, Reflections,” in Johnson, *Between Memory and Hope*, 3–4, 12–23, which Maxwell Johnson notes “has since become the standard theological interpretation of the liturgical year” (Johnson, *Between Memory and Hope*, Introduction, xiv).

The challenge for the modern interpreter of a villancico is to identify those common figures and conceits that appear in almost every set of villancicos and may have even been taken for granted in their day, but whose meaning has been obscured by historical and cultural distance, as well as to mark certain theological formations that stand out from the ordinary.

3.4.1 The Sources of Christmas Tropes

Though oral tradition was probably still the most important force in cultivating the Christmas imaginary in early modern Spain, printed theological literature disseminated and reinforced these tropes in Padilla’s day, and makes them accessible today. The primary font of the Christmas traditions is, of course, the Scriptures—but for Catholics this meant the Scriptures as collated, preached, and interpreted within the magisterial Church’s authoritative liturgical and exegetical traditions.⁸³ In other words, certain passages of Scripture treating Christ’s birth, his Messianic identity, and the theology of his Incarnation became “classic” Christmas *loci theologici* through the mutually reinforcing practices of, first, reading and singing these passages in the developing Christmas liturgy, and second, interpreting these passages in preaching and commentaries.⁸⁴ For example, the tradition of beginning the series of psalms in the Christmas Matins liturgy with Ps. 2 was influenced by the interpretation of that psalm as a Messianic prophecy in patristic exegesis, and its placement in the liturgy in turn reinforced that interpretation. Excerpts from patristic preaching were actually included in the Matins liturgy: the lessons of the second Nocturne are taken from a Christmas sermon of Pope St. Leo the Great, and those of the third Nocturne, from Pope St. Gregory the Great and St. Ambrose.

83. Both liturgy and Scripture were officially regulated and disseminated by authority of the Council of Trent (e.g., Breviarium, Missale Romanum; Clementine Vulgate), though local ritual traditions still persisted, and Scripture in some form may have been as much a part of oral tradition as an official written one, especially for lay Catholics.

84. On patristic exegesis and its relationship to later interpretive traditions, see Charles Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Donald K. McKim, ed., *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1998); John L. Thompson, *Reading the Bible with the Dead: What You Can Learn from the History of Exegesis that You Can’t Learn from Exegesis Alone* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007).

In addition to the liturgy and Scriptures, the doctrines and devotions of Christmas were promulgated to early modern Catholics through contemporary theological literature.⁸⁵ Confessional or catechetical literature included most prominently the official Roman Catechism of Trent, which was written in Latin as a guide for clerics in teaching correct doctrine, but which was also adapted in many forms into the vernacular languages for different audiences, as in Fray Antonio de Azevedo's *Catecismo de los misterios de la fe* (1589), the *Compendio de la Dotrina Cristiana* (1595) of Fray Luis de Granada, and the *Practica del catecismo romano* by Juan Eusebio de Nieremberg.⁸⁶ While much early modern Spanish preaching was probably extemporized, the model sermons in Latin and Spanish of Fray Luis de Granada were widely disseminated and likely imitated.⁸⁷

One of the friar's sermons for Christmas manifests many of the same tropes we have seen in Padilla's villancico.⁸⁸ Fray Luis's preaching drew heavily on patristic homiletics: much of his Christmas sermon is actually a free paraphrase and amplification of Christmas sermons by St. Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Ciprian, and especially St. Augustine. These patristic sources were disseminated not only through paraphrases like those of Fray Luis and digests or compendia, but were also widely available directly in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions. The volume of Biblical and patristic compendia preserved from Puebla's seminary libraries alone is staggering. A small selection is shown in table 3.1, which also indicates the *ex libris* markings and provenance of the books. Note that the *Sylva Locorum* by Fray Luis and sermons of Augustine were in the library of Padilla's Oratorio de San Felipe Neri.

85. Alison P. Weber, "Religious Literature in Early Modern Spain," in Gies, *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, 149–158.

86. Catholic Church, *Catechismus Ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini, Ad Parochos Pii V. Pont. Max. iussu editus* (Cologne, 1567); Catholic Church, *Catechismus*; Azevedo, *Catecismo*; Fray Luis de Granada, *Compendio de Dotrina Christiana*, Translated, from the Portuguese, by Fray Enrique de Almeyda (Madrid, 1595); Fray Luis de Granada, *Compendio y explicacion de la doctrina Cristiana*, Biblioteca de autores españoles 11 (Madrid, 1945); Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *Practica del catecismo romano, y doctrina christiana, sacada principalmente de los catecismos de Pio V. y Clemente VIII. compuestos conforme al Decreto del santo Concilio Tridentino: Con las divisiones, y adiciones necesarias al cumplimiento de las obligaciones Christianas, para que se pueda leer cada Domingo, y dia de fiesta* (Madrid, 1640).

87. Fray Luis de Granada, *Concionum de tempore* (Salamanca, 1577).

88. Luis de Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor* (original edition: Luis de Granada, *Compendio de Dotrina Christiana*, 729–749, "Sermon en la fiesta del Nacimiento de nuestro Señor Iesu Christo"); see full text in appendix A.

Table 3.1

Selection of biblical and patristic compendia preserved from pre-1800 libraries in Puebla

-
- Augustine of Hippo, St. *Tomus primus [-decimus] omnium operum D. Aurelii Augustini Hippone-*
sis episcopi, ad fidem vetustorum exemplarum summa vigilantia repurgatoru[m] à mendis
innumeris ... : cui accesserunt libri epistolae, sermones, & fragmenta aliquot, hactenus nun-
quam impressa. Additus est & index, multo quám Basilensis fuerat copiosor. 10 vols. MEX-Plf:
393-42010903 and others *ex libris* Oratorio de San Felipe Neri. Paris, 1555.
- Bigne, Marguerin de. *Magna bibliotheca veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*
Opera et sturdio doctissimorum in alma universitate Colon. Agripp. theologorum ac profess. ;
tomus secundus : continens Scriptores saeculi II id est, ab Ann. Christi 100 usq; 200. MEX-Plf:
12412-21090501, *ex libris* Convento de Nuestra Señora del Carmen; second copy *ex libris*
Colegio de San Juan. Cologne, 1618.
- Corderio, Balthasar. *Catena LXV patrum graecorum in sanctum Lucam.* MEX-Ppx: BS535 C6, *ex*
libris Colegio del Espíritu Santo. Antwerp, 1628.
- . *Catena Patrum Græcorum in Sanctum Ioannem ex Antiquissimo Græco Codice MS. Nvnc*
Prmvm in Lvcem edita. MEX-Plf 9757-21090203, *ex libris* Colegio de San Juan. Antwerp, 1630.
- Feliciano, Giovanni Bernardino. *Catena explanationvm veterum sanctorum patrum, in Acta Apostolorum,* [et] *Epistolas catholicas.* MEX-Plf 16481-22100103, *ex libris* Convento de Santo Domingo
de Puebla. Basel, 1552.
- Gratian. *Decreta scriptorum ecclesiasticorum, conciliorvm, et romanorum pontificvm / Dn. Gratiani*
opera congesta; suasque in classes distributa: & succinctis Antonij Democharis ooaratílois
illustrata [sic in catalog]. Edited by Antonius? Democharus. MEX-Ppx: BV710 G7, *ex libris*
“Francisco de Madrid.” London, 1555.
- Lapide, Cornelius a. *Commentarium in IV. Evangelia.* MEX:-Ppx: B2535 L3, *ex libris* Colegio del
Espíritu Santo. London, 1638.
- Luis de Granada, Fray. *Sylua locorum communium omnibus diuini verbi concionatoribus ... : in*
qua tum veterum Ecclesiæ Patrum tum philosophorum, oratorum et poëtarum egregia dicta
aureæq[ue] sententiæ ... leguntur. MEX-Plf 10965-32050104, *ex libris* Oratorio de San Felipe
Neri. London, 1587.
- Murillo, Fray Diego. *Discursos predicables sobre los evangelios que canta la Iglesia en los quatro*
Domingos de Aduiento, y fiestas principales que ocurren en este tiempo hasta la Septuagesima.
MEX-Ppx: BV4207 M8, *ex libris* “Biblioteca del seminario.” Zaragoza, 1610.
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The late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Latin Biblical commentaries of the Jesuit Cornelius a Lapide (1567–1637), whose works were disseminated widely across the Catholic world and beyond, bring together all the above types of sources in a remarkably thorough compendium.⁸⁹ Donald McKim, the scholar of historical and contemporary Biblical hermeneutics, writes that Lapide’s “work is notable for its grasp of patristic and medieval exegesis and its ability to sum up the tradition by offering not only literal but also allegorical, moral and anagogical meanings and by engaging more contemporary developments in the examination of the Hebrew and Greek Texts.”⁹⁰

To understand Padilla’s villancico in its theological context, therefore, select examples will demonstrate how this piece echoes the tropes of Christmas. Table 3.2 identifies the primary theological tropes that are emphasized in this villancico: Prophecy, Incarnation, Time, Voice, and Wonder. Beneath each theological trope, the musical conceit used to present it is described in italics. The primary sources will be the Scriptures as read in the Tridentine Matins liturgy, the Roman Catechism, the model Christmas sermon of Fray Luis, the commentaries of Lapide, and the patristic sermons of Leo (from the Matins liturgy), and Bernard and Augustine (as cited by the catechism, Fray Luis, and Lapide).

3.4.2 *Voces and Tropes of the Christmas Liturgy*

Padilla’s villancico was originally experienced as an integral part of the Christmas liturgy, in connection with the tropes of Christmas developed in that ritual. Thus the first and most important context for Padilla’s villancico is its place in the Puebla Matins liturgy in 1657. Based on the villancico’s position in the musical manuscripts, it was most likely sung as the fourth villancico

89. Complete “modern” edition (cited in the discussion below) in Cornelius a Lapide, *Commentaria in scripturam sacram* (London: J. P. Pelagaud, ca. 1868). Lapide’s commentaries on portions of the Scriptures were published in separate editions from the early seventeenth through the eighteenth century, and many copies of these remain in Puebla’s historic libraries. The following discussion is based primarily on Lapide’s commentaries on the infancy narratives in Matthew and Luke, and the “hymn to the Word” at the beginning of John.

90. McKim, *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters*, 145.

Table 3.2

Theological and musical tropes of Christmas in *Voces, las de la capilla* (in roman and italic type, respectively)

1. Prophecy	Jesus as the Messiah or Christ, the promised heir to David and fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy <i>Jesus as chapelmaster, heir of David the musician-king</i>
2. Time	Christ's earthly birth as the meeting of eternal and temporal; Christ's two conceptions (eternally begotten of the father and temporally born of the Virgin Mary); Christ as <i>alpha</i> and <i>omega</i> <i>Christ as a composer/conductor, shaping musical time (rhythm, meter)</i>
3. Incarnation	The union of divine and human natures in the person of Christ (the Incarnation) allowing an exchange between human and divine; Christ descending in humility to become human (this is <i>grace</i>) so that he may elevate humans to participate in the divine (this is <i>glory</i>) <i>The incarnate Christ as a divine composition (God's master-piece), bringing harmonic consonance between the counterpoints of human and divine; Redemption as a musical voice exchange, with God descending and humankind ascending</i>
4. Voice	Christ as the Word of God made flesh; Christ as communication from divine to human in bodily form, though as a child, unable to speak (<i>Verbum infans</i>) <i>Christ as music, that is, as the "new song"; Baby Jesus's wordless cries as a form of music, to which all other music will be harmonized</i>
5. Wonder	Wonder as the proper affective response to Christmas: responding to the marvels of Christ's birth (such as being born of a Virgin in a barn or cave surrounded by lowly animals, the angel choir singing Gloria to humble shepherds) with praise and love for Christ. <i>Representing the voices of the first Christmas through the voices of the present-day chapel choir; exhorting hearers to listen, admire, and wonder; using musical techniques to instill wonder—intellectual wonder at compositional ingenuity and affective wonder based on rhetorical techniques and topical allusions</i>

in the Matins cycle. Padilla's *Voces*, according the cathedral chapter's 1633 decree, would have occupied the same liturgical time and space as the fourth Responsory, *O magnum mysterium*, the text of which was spoken by a cleric while the choir sang the villancico.⁹¹ In the same decree the Puebla Chapter mandated that all the lessons be sung (chanted) in their entirety. So this villancico stood in between the lessons of the second Nocturne, taken from a Christmas sermon of Pope St. Leo the Great.

When interpreting the villancico in liturgical context, we must constantly remember that there were many different perspectives and modes of listening, and widely varying degrees of understanding, among those assembled in Puebla Cathedral on Christmas Eve 1657. The poet and composer were evidently steeped in the theological and liturgical traditions of the Church. Even if the Responsory chants were not sung, the poet and composer would have good reason to refer to them. For the learned canons, the simultaneous performance of the Latin prayer and Spanish song may have actually deepened the hidden connections between the two. The laity would not have understood the words of the Latin chants anyway, so they would perhaps not have missed much.⁹² For those who understood the Latin liturgy, though, the trope of Prophecy would be emphasized in the psalms (2; 18; 44) and readings of the first Nocturne (Isa. 9; 40; 51).

The villancico's partner Responsory *O magnum mysterium* develops the Tropes of Incarnation and Wonder. The theology and wording of the chant relate closely to those of Padilla's villancico:

Respond. O great mystery and admirable sacrament, that the animals should see the newborn Lord, lying in the manger. Blessed Virgin, whose womb was worthy to bear the Lord Christ. *Versicle.* Greetings, Mary, full of grace: The Lord is with you.⁹³

The chant provides the scenario of the Nativity, with the animals gathered around the

91. MEX-Pc: AC 1633-12-30, see footnote 13.

92. This question of performance practice in the relationship between villancicos and responsories and its effect on communication and perception must be asked anew for each institution and in each time period. See Dianne Lehmann Goldman, "The Matins Responsory at Mexico City Cathedral, 1575-1815" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2014).

93. Catholic Church, *Breviarium Romanum*, 175: "*Respond.* O magnum mysterium, & admirabile sacramentum, vt animalia vidêrent Dominum natum, iacentem in praesepio: *Beata Virgo, cuius viscera meruérunt portare Dominum Christum. *Versicle.* Ave Maria, gratia plena: Dominus tecum."

manger, which is implied in the estribillo though not explicitly described. The trope of Wonder is emphasized in the opening phrase, particularly the word “admirabile.” In the thematically central *redondilla* that closes the villancico’s estribillo (ll. 31–32), the key word “admirar” explicitly couples the villancico and the chant. The lines “tan de oír y de admirar/ tan de admirar y de oír” actually seem like a reply to the Responsory, as though to say, the mystery of the Incarnate Christ certainly is an “admirable” sacrament—etymologically one that can be seen—but it is also an audible sacrament, because the voice of Christ causes the divine Word to sound as earthly music. Not only the words of the Responsory but even the chant itself as an act of worship demonstrate the trope of wonder (one meaning of “admiratio”) as the proper affective response to the newborn Christ and his mother.

In the Respond and Versicle, the Responsory connects Incarnation and Wonder to Marian devotion, which was central in the cathedral Palafox had dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, and whose high altar centers around an image and symbols of the Virgin. The Responsory addresses the Virgin directly, and in the verse uses the words of the Angel Gabriel from Luke 2, “Ave Maria, gratia plena.” In narrating Gabriel’s annunciation to Mary (Luke 2:28–33), the Gospel of Luke draws on the Messianic prophecies to and through David, which we have seen are central to this villancico (ll. 5–6). After greeting Mary as one “full of grace” (“gratia plena”), the angel prophesies that Mary’s child “will be called the Son of the Most High, and the Lord God will give him the seat of David his father [...] and his reign will never end.”⁹⁴ The villancico’s line 14, “por mi se canta una gracia,” though it seemed at first as a reference to part of the *Gloria in excelsis*, may also refer to the “gratia plena” of this verse that was quintessential to Christmas as well as to Marian devotion.

Both the Reponsory and the villancico were framed by readings from a sermon by the fifth-century Pope St. Leo the Great, which expounds the tropes of Incarnation and Time, and which

94. “have gratia plena Dominus tecum/ benedicta tu in mulieribus [...] ecce concipies in utero et paries filium/ et vocabis nomen eius Iesum/ hic erit magnus et Filius Altissimi vocabitur/ et dabit illi Dominus Deus sedem David patris eius/ et regnabit in domo Iacob in aeternum/ et regni eius non erit finis”

relates closely to the villancico at the lexical level.⁹⁵ Leo's sermons on the Nativity were primary sources for the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation, and they are frequently cited in the Roman Catechism's explanations of this doctrine.⁹⁶ The lessons preceding and following this villancico (lesson 4 and 5) emphasize the trope of Incarnation as an exchange between divine and human, and the tropes of Prophecy and Time:

The very Son of God, in the fullness of time (which the inscrutable height of divine wisdom determined), took upon himself the nature of humankind—thereby to reconcile it to its author. Christ did this so that the devil, the inventor of death, through that same nature which he had conquered, would himself be conquered.⁹⁷

In the next lesson, Leo's sermon expands on St. Paul's soteriology (theology of salvation) exemplified in Phil. 2:5–11. Christ “emptied himself” of divine power to become a finite human being (the Greek term for this is *kenosis*), so that he might raise human beings up to share in his divine nature (this is *theosis*).⁹⁸ As Leo puts it:

In that conflict, begun for us, the fight was fought by a great and marvelous law of justice, since the all-powerful Lord with his terrible [angelic] armies came to battle not in his majesty, but in our humility; casting before [the devil] that same form, that same nature [of humankind], and participating in the death inherent in that nature, though without experiencing any sin.⁹⁹

Leo's concept of Christ exchanging the glory of his divine being to become incarnate and do battle with the devil “in our humility,” “for us,” fits well with the central lines of the villancico:

95. Catholic Church, *Breviarium Romanum*, 174–175, excerpts from Sermo I de Nativitate, listed as Leo's Sermo 21 in Patrologia latina vol. 54. A 1553 Venice edition of Leo's sermons was in Oratorian library in Puebla (MEX-Plf: 86868-32040302).

96. For example, Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, 47.

97. Catholic Church, *Breviarium Romanum*, 174: “Dei namque Filius secundum plenitudinem temporis, quam diuini consilij inscrutabilis altitudo disposuit, reconciliandam auctori suo naturam generis humani, vt inuenient mortis diabolis, per ipsam, quam vicerat, vinceretur.” Translation partly adapted from that of Charles Lett Feltoe, in Philip Schaff, ed., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Second Series* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1894), vol. 12.

98. See Michael J. Gorman, *Inhabiting the Cruciform God: Kenosis, Justification, and Theosis in Paul's Narrative Soteriology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009).

99. Catholic Church, *Breviarium Romanum*, 175: “In quo conflictu pro nobis inito, magno & mirabili æquitatis iure certatum est, dum omnipotens Dominum cum sœuissomo hoste non in sua maiestate, sed in nostra congreditur humilitate : obijciens ei eamdem formam, eamdemq[ue] naturam, mortalitatis quidem nostræ participem, sed peccati totius expertem.”

“Everything in Man is to ascend/ and everything in God is to descend” (ll. 31–32) and “From on high in divinity [...] he made a composition in which to prove the consonances of a man and God” (ll. 38–42). The word “alto” in l. 38 recalls Leo’s phrase “diuini consilij inscrutabilis altitudo,” particularly because the Spanish word actually seems to functioning in place of a Latin ablative phrase like Leo’s. The imagery of battle in Leo’s sermon (lesson 5, “in quo conflictu”) also matches the swordsman references in the villancico—“destreza,” “hazañas,” and the “divisa” possibly drawn from Caesar’s military motto, *spes in virtute*. The trope of Time in the villancico—“awaiting” (l. 10) and “hoping” (l. 11) for “the opportune time” (“tiempo oportuno” l. 23)—resonates with Leo’s description of the Son of God taking on a human nature “in the fullness of time” (“secundum plenitudinem temporis”), which is itself based on the “plenitudo temporis” of Gal. 4:4–5: “in the fullness of time, God sent his son.”¹⁰⁰

3.4.3 Incarnation and Wonder in the Roman Catechism

The next source to consider beyond the Scripture and liturgical texts is official Catholic doctrine as promulgated in the catechism of Trent. The Roman Catechism’s prescriptions for theological teaching about the Incarnation also emphasized the trope of Wonder. The second article of the Apostle’s Creed provided the classic formulation of faith about the Incarnation of Christ, “who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary.”¹⁰¹ In explaining this article, the Roman Catechism seeks to answer the classic theological question, “Cur Deus incarnatus fuerit” (Why God became incarnate), and thus represents the trope of Incarnation. The catechism instructs pastors to teach the “admirable mystery of the concept” by having “the faithful repeat by memory [...] that he [Christ] is God, who took on human flesh, and thereby was truly ‘made man’—which cannot be grasped by our mind, nor explained through words: *that he should wish to become a*

100. “at ubi venit plenitudo temporis/ misit Deus Filium suum/ factum ex muliere factum sub lege/ ut eos qui sub lege erant redimeret/ ut adoptionem filiorum recipieremus”

101. Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, 46: “Qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine.”

*human, to the end that we humans should be reborn as children of God.”*¹⁰² This frequently quoted passage summarizes the basic theology of exchange between God and Man by means of Christ’s Incarnation. The image in *Voces* (ll. 32–33) of God descending and man ascending echoes this explanation.

The doctrine of the Incarnation as articulated in the catechism certainly represents a dogma, a “rule of belief” that was officially imposed by the Catholic Church. But even the catechism itself moves beyond simply defining a theological concept, to include an affective, devotional emphasis—a “rule of prayer” as well. The proper response to meditating on this doctrine, the catechism says, would be “that with a humble and faithful spirit they should believe, and adore.” Thus the catechism models a posture of wonder toward this fundamental belief, rather than rational scrutiny. This passage supports the argument that doctrines may be seen as forms of devotion, as “tropes” within a tradition of belief expressed through ritual.¹⁰³

Moreover, wonder at Christ’s birth is itself one of the tropes of Christmas, articulated in Padilla’s villancico—not only in the words but in the virtuoso composition and performance of the music as well. This attitude fits well with the use of villancicos in the Christmas liturgy: the function of a piece like *Voces, las de la capilla* is not so much to teach theology mnemonically as to marvel at it, and in turn, to incite affective and contemplative wonder in the hearers. Though the conceits may seem intellectual to the utmost, their goal (according to Mary Malcom Gaylord) is “to

102. Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, 50, emphasis added: “Hæc sunt quæ de admirabili conceptionis mysterio explicanda visa sunt, ex quibus, vt salutaris fructus ad nos redundare possit, illa in primis fideles memoria repetere, ac sæpiùs cogitare cum animis suis debent, Deum esse, qui humanam carnem assumpsit: ea verò ratione hominem factum, quam mente nobis assequi non licet, ne dum verbis explicare: ob eum denique finem hominem fieri voluisse, vt nos homines filij Dei renasceremur. Hæc cùm attentè considerauerint, tum verò omnia mysteria, quæ hoc articulo continentur, humili ac fideli animo credant, & adorent: nec curiosè & quod sine periculo vix vnquam fieri potest, illa inuestigare, ac perscrutari velint.”

103. The idea of a “rule of prayer” comes from a Latin motto (drawn from Prosper of Aquitaine) that has become a standby in modern liturgical studies, “lex orandi, lex credendi.” Rather than use the motto to create a dichotomy between belief and prayer—in which “the rule of prayer establishes the rule of faith,” as in Aidan Kavanagh, *On Liturgical Theology* (New York: Pueblo, 1984)—the intent here is simply to emphasize that both faith and worship may be seen as integral and interrelated parts of religious life in Christianity. For critical discussion of the motto, with attentions to its actual origin and its changing meaning in recent scholarship, see Kevin W. Irwin, “Lex orandi, lex credendi: Origins and Meaning; State of the Question,” *Liturgical Ministry* 11 (2002): 57–69.

produce effects of astonishment and awe conveyed by the Latin term *admiratio*—the same word used in the catechism (“admirabile”) and in Padilla’s villancico (“tan de oír y admirar,” ll. 30–31).¹⁰⁴

3.4.4 Christmas Tropes in Preaching and Exegesis

Prophecy and Incarnation

Early modern preaching and Biblical exegesis provide further context for understanding the common tropes of Christmas as performed in this villancico. The trope of Prophecy is discussed thoroughly in Lapide’s commentary on the genealogy of Christ in the gospel of Matthew, explaining the phrase “filii David.” Christ is the son of David, Lapide explains, because he is the fulfillment of the Messianic prophecies made to David and through him, and the promises of God going back to Abraham. Lapide recites the Old Testament prophecies (including Isa. 9 and 55, featured in the Matins liturgy), and connects them to the angel Gabriel’s annunciation to Mary that “The Lord God will give him the throne of his father David.” Thus Lapide makes the same connections among Biblical texts that we have already suggested in interpreting the introducción and respuesta of *Voces*. “When St. Matthew says, therefore,” Lapide concludes, “*Jesu Christi filii David*, he means that all of these prophecies are fulfilled [expletas] in Christ.”¹⁰⁵

Lapide also gives a compact summary of the trope of Incarnation, providing an answer to the question of “why God became incarnate” that extends that of the catechism and fits well with the theology of this villancico. In the birth of Christ, he writes, “the Word was made flesh, God was made man, the Son of God was made the son of a Virgin”; “this was of all God’s works the greatest and best, such that it stupefied and stupefies the angels and all the saints.”

In this God demonstrated his full power by uniting man to God, the mire to the Word, the earth to heaven; and showed his full wisdom, since the one who could not suffer and redeem us in his divinity, put on flesh in the Virgin, since in flesh he could suffer and make satisfaction for our sins to God the Father; and his full justice, so that by the

104. Gaylord, “The Making of Baroque Poetry,” 227.

105. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 44, on Matt. 1:1.

dignity of his person, as one equal to God, he satisfied God's wrath and vengeance by dying on the cross; and all his goodness, which he poured out completely in order to give away his gifts to us; "For he was made the son of men, so that he might make us sons of God," says St. Augustine. "He was born on the earth, so that man might be reborn into heaven," as St. Gregory says.¹⁰⁶

Incarnation, Time, and Wonder

The tropes of Incarnation, Time, and Wonder may all be found in one model Christmas sermon by Fray Luis de Granada, an outstanding exemplar among surviving Spanish-language homiletical literature, and one to which Padilla likely had access.¹⁰⁷ In fact, the Oratorio of San Felipe Neri in Puebla, to which Padilla belonged, owned a copy of the book published in the very same year (1657) that Padilla set his villancico. There were also older editions in other Puebla libraries.¹⁰⁸ In the preface Fray Luis explains that he intends the volume to provide sermons for congregations that lack a preacher of their own, and thus has deliberately written in a simple and popular style.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, Fray Luis manages to gloss nearly all of the most important tropes of Christmas in a gently rhetorical, pastoral style. Though the sermon is based primarily on the infancy narrative in the second chapter of Luke, Fray Luis also cites liturgical texts from Christmas Matins, and paraphrases passages from sermons of Bernard, Ciprian, and Augustine. In this way, Fray Luis

106. Lapeide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 50, on Mt 1:16, "natus est Jesus": "q. d. Verbum caro factum est, Deus factus est homo, Filius Dei factus est Filius Virginis. Hoc, [...] fuit omnium Dei operum summum et maximum, ideoque illud stupuerunt et stupent Angeli, Sanctique omnes. In eo enim Deus ostendit summam potentiam uniendo hominem Deo, limum Verbo, terram cœlo: ac summam sapientiam, ut qui divinitate pati et nos redimere non poterat, carnem in Virgine indueret, qua pati, et pro peccatis nostris Deo Patri satisfacere posset: summam quoque justitiam, quia ob dignitatem personæ, ex æquo quasi Dei iræ et vindictæ moriendo in cruce satisfecit: summam etiam bonitatem, quia semetipsum exinanivit, ut nos suis donis repleret: *Ac factus est filius hominis, ut nos efficeret filios Dei*, ait S. August. *Natus est in terra, ut homo nasceretur in cœlo*, ut ait S. Gregorius."

107. Paragraph citations below refer to the full Spanish text in appendix A.

The sermon was preached in Portuguese at the royal chapel of Portugal (Fray Luis was confessor to the queen), and subsequently translated into Castilian and printed as part of Fray Luis's *Compendio de Dotrina Christiana*, in which form it was disseminated across the Hispanic world.

108. The 1657 edition from the Oratorian library (now MEX-Plf: 65593-12170606) shows signs of frequent use over a long period of time, in the hands of several owners. The title page bears the handwritten inscription, "De el vso de el Br. Yldefonso de Fuentes, lo hereedo de su tio Dn. Pedro Carreño, a 19 [?] de Marzo de 1739 años." At the center of the volume is a section of prayers, and in this copy the pages of prayers to the Virgin are blackened with grime and soot from having been left open and paged through.

109. Luis de Granada, *Compendio de Dotrina Christiana*.

gives vernacular-language speakers access to a compendium of Scripture and church tradition.

Right from the start, Fray Luis emphasizes that his rhetorical goal is (in keeping with the instructions of the Tridentine catechism) not only to teach doctrine but also instill wonder: of all the events in Christ's life, the Christmas "mystery," he says, is "the most full of marvels [or wonders] and lessons" (maravillas y doctrinas).¹¹⁰ Fray Luis's central theme is the trope of Incarnation as exchange: that Christ has humbled himself to be born in a stable in order to raise up humanity to glory. Again and again the friar points up this central paradox of Christmas: "Come and see the Son of God," he exhorts, "not in the bosom of the Father [a reference to John 1], but in the arms of the Mother; not above choirs of angels, but among filthy animals; not seated at the right hand of the Majesty on high [a reference to Heb. 1], but reclining in a stable for beasts; not thundering and casting lightning in Heaven, but crying and trembling from cold in a stable."¹¹¹

"What theme, then," Fray Luis asks, "can cause any greater wonder?" Paraphrasing St. Ciprian, he goes on: "I do not wonder at the figure of the world, nor the firmness of the earth [...]; I marvel to see how the word of God could take on flesh. [...] In this mystery the greatness of the shock steals away all my senses, and with the prophet [Hab. 3] it makes me cry out: Lord, I heard your words, and I feared: I considered your works, and I was struck numb."¹¹²

Fray Luis next alludes to the Responsory "O magnum mysterium," in a passage that resonates strongly with Padilla's villancico ("tan de oír y de admirar/ tan de admirar y de oír"):

With good reason, indeed, you are amazed, Prophet: for what thing could surprise anyone more, than that to which the Evangelist here refers in a few words, saying, "She gave birth to her only-begotten son, and she wrapped him in some rags, and laid him in a manger, because she did not find another place in that stable?"

O venerable mystery, for to be felt than to be said ["Oh venerable misterio, mas para sentir que para decir"]; not to be explained with words but to be adored with wonder in silence ["adorarse con admiración en silencio"]. [...]

110. Luis de Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, para. 4.

111. Ibid., para. 5.

112. Ibid., para. 11. Lapide similarly speaks of being "struck deaf" at the sight of Christ in the manger. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 672, on Luke 2:7: "Christus enim in præsepio, hoc est Jesu homo, Verbum infans, est amor, æque ac stupor omnium angelorum ac fidelium, quod omnes stupent et stupebunt per omnem æternitatem. Quis enim non attonitus stupeat, si profunde hunc puerum inspiciat, eumque roget, Quis es tu, ô parvule Bethlehemite? eumque audiat respondentem: Disce id ex Isaia cap. 9. 6. *Parvulus natus est nobis, et filius datus est nobis*," etc.

What could be lower than a manger, which is a place for beasts, and what could be higher than God, who is seated among the cherubim? Indeed, how can a man not be lost in ecstasy in meditating on two things that are so distant: God in a stable, God in a manger, God trembling from cold, God wrapped in rags, God crying?¹¹³

Fray Luis is not only preaching about wonder; his preaching itself becomes an act of devotion in contemplation of the Incarnation.

Fray Luis presents the Incarnation as the union of opposites, just as Padilla's second copla imagines Christ as a "composition" made of the "máxima and the breve," "proving the consonancias of man and God." Just as Padilla's villancico speaks of Christ coming down "from on high [alto] in divinity," Fray Luis says, "Who is this so high and so low, so great and so small? [...] What high-and-low things [qué altibajos] are these that the wisdom of God joined together as one?"¹¹⁴

Fray Luis also presents the trope of Time and of Prophecy: Christ was begotten eternally of the father but born temporally of the Virgin Mary; he came at an "hour so awaited in all the ages" (tan esperada en todos los siglos), like the sun rising at midnight.¹¹⁵ Passages in Padilla's poem bear close resemblances to these formulations, particularly in the respuesta and introducción (ll. 7–16), "los siglos de sus hazañas." Since "in the beginning was the Word" but the Word was not "made flesh" until the moment of Christ's birth in Bethlehem, Fray Luis exhorts his hearers: "See him here at his beginning, the one who was without beginning" (Veis aquí con principio al que era sin principio).¹¹⁶ These concepts are recalled by the villancico's lines "y aguardan tiempo oportuno/ quien antes del tiempo fue" (ll. 23–24).

Fray Luis is drawing on tropes that go back to St. Augustine's Christmas sermons.¹¹⁷ Padilla himself had direct access to these sermons in Augustine's *Opera omnia*, published in Paris in 1555, since a complete set was owned by the Puebla Oratorians.¹¹⁸ Certainly, Augustinian theology

113. Luis de Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, para. 12.

114. Ibid., para. 24.

115. Ibid., para. 7, 8, 10.

116. Ibid., para. 11.

117. St. Augustine of Hippo, *Sermones de tempore*, ed. J. P. Migne, Patrologia latina 38 (Paris: Migne, 1841).

118. St. Augustine of Hippo, *Tomus primus [-decimus] omnium operum D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*,

would have already formed a major part of Padilla’s theological education in Spain as a priest and *licenciado*. Augustine puts the trope of Time in terms that are even closer to music, and in phrases that are quite similar to those of our villancico. Christ is “the Word of God before all times, the Word made flesh in the opportune time.” Though he was “great in the form of God,” he became “small in the form of a servant”—contrasting “magnus” with “brevis” just as *Voces* depicts Christ as a composition of the “máxima” and “breve.” Christ in his Incarnation thus brings together opposed aspects (“dissidentium attributorum convenientia”), a concept that for the poet of our villancico lends itself easily to an analogy with harmonic counterpoint.¹¹⁹

Another way of putting the theology of Incarnation as exchange is to contrast “grace” with “glory,” as in Padilla’s villancico, ll. 13–14 (“por sol comienza una gloria/ por mi se canta una gracia”). This trope may be found in the Scriptural passages associated with Christmas, particularly John 1 and Heb. 1. Fray Luis puts this in terms of “glory” and “humility”: “In all the passages of [Christ’s] most holy life you will always find joined two things joined in one: on the one hand great humility, and on the other great glory. [...] It is great humility to be born in a stable, but great glory to shine resplendent in heaven. It is great humility to lie between beasts, but great glory to be sung and praised by the angels.”¹²⁰ Fray Luis goes through all the events of Christ’s life in this way; his description of Christ’s baptism seems to be echoed in Padilla’s villancico (l. 27, “a la voz del padre oí”): “It is great humility to come for baptism among publicans and sinners, but it is the greatest glory when the heavens open up, the voice of the Father resounds [sonar la voz del Padre], and the Holy Spirit is seen in the figure of a dove.”¹²¹

ad fidem vetustorum exemplarium summa vigilantia repurgatoru[m] à mendis innumeris ... : cui accesserunt libri epistolae, sermones, & fragmenta aliquot, hactenus nunquam impressa. Additus est & index, multo quám Basilensis fuerat copiosor., 10 vols., MEX-Plf: 393-42010903 and others *ex libris* Oratorio de San Felipe Neri (Paris, 1555).

119. Augustine, *Sermones de tempore*, 1001, Sermo 187, In Natali Domini IV: “Mira in Christo infante dissidentium attributorum convenientia. Laudem Domini loquetur os meum: ejus Domini, per quem facta sunt omnia, et qui factus est inter omnia: [...] Verbum Deus ante omnia tempora, Verbum caro opportuno tempore: conditor solis, conditus sub sole: cuncta saecula ordinans de sinu Patris, hodiernum diem consecrans de utro matris; [...] ita magnus in forma Dei, brevis in forma servi.”

120. Luis de Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, para. 25.

121. Ibid.

Again Fray Luis is drawing on Augustine, who bases his own dialectic of “gratia” and “gloria” on a passage from St. Paul’s letter to the Romans (5:1–2), “For being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have access to this grace [gratiam] in which we stand, and we rejoice in the hope of the glory of God [gloriamur in spe gloriae Dei].”¹²² Augustine uses this passage to interpret Ps. 84:12, “Truth is come to earth, and justice looks out from heaven.”¹²³ The verse from Paul about grace and glory, Augustine says, allows us to “discover consonance” (“consonantiam reperire”) in the contrast between heaven and earth in the psalm verse. Augustine maps Paul’s “grace” onto the “earth” of the psalm verse; and maps “glory” onto “heaven,” based on the angel’s “Gloria in excelsis Deo” of Christmas. God’s grace has come down to earth to bring humankind to heavenly glory; glory is announced by the angels in heaven (in excelsis), to bring “peace to men of good will” on earth, by God’s grace.¹²⁴

Lapide summarizes the same theology (citing Augustine among many others) thus: “In the word, as in the fount and first-born cause, was our supernatural life, for example grace and glory [gratiæ et gloriæ].”

The supernatural life, then, is two-fold: begun by grace, by which a man made righteous by faith, hope, and charity serves God and lives a supernatural life, supernaturally believing and hoping in God, and loving God above all things; and another supernatural life is brought to fulfillment by glory, by which the Blessed enjoy, delight in, and are blessed by in God.¹²⁵

As Lapide epitomizes Augustine’s idea: “Grace, therefore, is the seed of glory, and in turn glory is the consummation of grace.”¹²⁶

122. “Justificate igitur ex fide, pacem habeamus ad Deum per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum; per quem et accessum habemus in gratiam istam, in qua stamus, et gloriamur in spe gloriae Dei.”

123. “Veritas de terra orta est, et justitia de coelo prospexit”

124. Augustine, *Sermones de tempore*, 98, Sermo 185, In Natali Domini 2: “In hac igitur gratia gaudeamus, ut sit gloria nostra testimonium conscientiae nostrae: ubi non in nobis, sed in Domino gloriemur.”

125. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 878, on John 1:4: “In verbo quasi in fonte et causa primiginia erat vita nostra supernaturalis, puta gratiæ et gloriæ, ideoque ut hanc vitam nobis impetraret, incarnatus est et factus homo, ut initio dixi. Supernaturalis enim vita est duplex: inchoata per gratiam, qua homo justus per fidem, spem et charitatem servit Deo, vivitque vitam supernaturalem, in Deum supernaturaliter credendo, sperando, eumque super omnia amando: altera vita supernaturalis est consummata per gloriam, qua Beati Deo fruntur, deliciantur et beantur in æternum.”

126. Ibid., 887: “S. August. q. d. Gratiam vitæ æternæ, id est gloriam beatificam, pro gratia hujus vitæ accepimus

This contrast of heavenly glory and earthly grace provides the most probable background for the verses in Padilla's villancico, "por sol comienza una gloria,/ por mi se canta una gracia" (ll. 13–14). In other words, by the sun (used as a symbol for Christ in nearly every Christmas sermon and commentary), in the domain of the heavens, glory begins, or a "Gloria" (of the angels) begins. On the earth, "by me," a grace is sung; grace referring here both to God's free gift to humanity and to the song of thanks ("gracias") offered back to God in proper Christmas devotion.

The personal aspect of this gift is expressed in the first-person pronouns of the villancico ("por mi"). These echo those used in the Nicene Creed ("qui propter nos homines [...] incarnatus est") and in Fray Luis's preaching. Fray Luis says the reason for the exchange between God and man, or the answer to "why God became incarnate," is that "by this he wished to be made similar to men, in order to be loveable by men, because likeness is the cause of love."¹²⁷ Fray Luis emphasizes this personal connection by using the first person:

"Truly, merciful Child, you [the familiar 'tú'] were born, not for yourself but for us. [...] My Lord was in Heaven hearing the praises and music of his glory [...]; I was mired in the pit, full of miseries and travails, and without any more hope of seeing myself free. He in glory, and I in misery, him admirable, and I miserable. But he who was admirable to the angels, bent the heavens and came down [Isa. 64:1], and made himself a mediator [consiliario] for men. [...] This sweetness is beyond compare, and this faithfulness [piedad] beyond telling: that I should see the God who created me, made a Child for the love of me! [por amor de mi]."¹²⁸

Voice

The trope of Voice which is so important to *Voces, las de la capilla* is also one of the most dominant topics in the theological literature relevant to Christmas. Fray Luis does not leave out the historical music of the first Christmas:

in spe, et reipsa post mortem accipiemus à Christo: gratia enim est semen gloriæ et vice versa gloria est consummatio gratiæ."

127. Luis de Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, para. 18.

128. Ibid., para. 17, 19, 20. Cf. Augustine, Sermo 185 In natali domini II, "Expergiscere, homo: Pro te Deus factus est homo."

After the devout sight of the manger we open our ears to hear the music of the angels, of whom the Evangelist says, that when one of them had finished giving these very glad tidings to the shepherds, there were joined with him a crowd of the heavenly army, and that they all in one voice sang upon the airs praises to God, saying, Glory be to God in the heights, and on the earth peace to men of good will.¹²⁹

More important than these angelic voices to Fray Luis, however, is the voice of the newborn Christ himself. As already noted, Fray Luis begins the sermon by directing his listeners' attention to the Christ-child, "weeping and trembling with cold in the stable." Fray Luis takes Wisd. 7 as a Messianic prophecy, such that King Solomon's words about himself may be applied to his royal descendent, Christ: "I too am a mortal man like others, [...] and the first sound [voz] that I made was crying like other children, because not one of the kings had any different origin in their birth."¹³⁰

Fray Luis, as an avid student and teacher of Catholic Humanism, presents Christ as an orator and philosophical teacher, a "Master of Heaven" ("Maestro del cielo," the same term used for a musical master):

Oh fortunate house! Oh stable, more precious than all the royal palaces, where God sat upon the chair [cátedra] of the philosophy of heaven, where the word of God, though made mute, speaks so much more clearly, all the more silently it admonishes us!¹³¹

Look, then, brother, if you wish to be a true philosopher, do not remove yourself from this stable where the word of God cries while keeping silent; but this cry is greater eloquence than that of Tulio [Cicero], and even than the music of the angels of Heaven.¹³²

For this passage Fray Luis cites "a doctor," and indeed, the whole passage is a paraphrase from St. Bernard of Clairvaux. The Latin key term behind the phrase "la palabra de Dios enmudecida"

129. Luis de Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, para. 24.

130. Ibid., para. 9.

131. "[...] donde la palabra de Dios enmudecida, tanto mas claramente habla, cuanto mas calladamente nos avisa."

132. Luis de Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, para. 16: "Mira pues, hermano, si quieres ser verdadero filósofo no te apartes deste establo donde la palabra de Dios callando llora; mas este lloro es mayor elocuencia que la de Tulio, y aun que las músicas de los ángeles del cielo."

is, in Bernard's fifth Christmas sermon, *verbum infans*—the “infant word” or the “unspeaking word.”¹³³ Bernard expresses the trope in this way:

But what kind of mediator is this, you ask, who is born in a stable, placed in a manger, wrapped in cloths like all others, cries like all others, in sum, who lies unspeaking as an infant [infans], just as others are accustomed to do? A great mediator he is indeed, even in this seeking all the things that are for peace, not just going through the motions but working effectively. He is an infant, but he is the infant Word [Verbum infans], and not even in his infancy does he keep silent.¹³⁴

Bernard is himself drawing on an older tradition of the theology of the Word going back to Augustine. Augustine reiterates this trope throughout his dozens of Christmas sermons. Augustine concisely ties together the ideas of Christ as the incarnate Word, though an infant and therefore not able to speak articulate words. For this reason, he says, the hidden mystery of the Incarnation had to be announced by the voices of angels, whose worship Augustine exhorts his hearers to imitate in their own celebration:

[This day] is called the Nativity of the Lord, when the Wisdom of God manifested itself unspeaking/as an infant, and the Word of God without words sent forth a voice of flesh. That divinity which was thus hidden, was both signified to the Magi by the witness of Heaven, and announced to the shepherds by an angelic voice. This, therefore, is the day whose anniversary we celebrate in our ritual.¹³⁵

Augustine calls Christ the “*Verbum infans doctor humilitatis*,” the infant Word, doctor or teacher of humility.¹³⁶ Clement of Alexandria, one of the earliest church fathers, says that “the

133. Bernard, *In nativitate Domini*, Sermo V.

134. Ibid., 128A, Sermo V: “Sed qualis mediator est, inquires, qui in stabulo nascitur, in praesepio ponitur, pannis involvitur sicut caeteri, plorat ut caeteri, denique infans jacet, ut caeteri consueverunt? Magnus plane mediator est, etiam in his omnibus, quae ad pacem sunt, non perfunctorie, sed efficaciter quaerens. Infans quidem est, sed Verbum infans, cuius ne ipsa quidem infantia tacet.”

135. Augustine, *Sermones de tempore*, 997, Sermo 185, In Natali Domini 2: “Natalis Domini dicitur, quando Dei Sapientia se demonstravit infantem, et Dei Verbum sine verbis vocem carnis emisit. Illa tamen occulta divinitas, et Magis coelo teste significata, et pastoribus angelica voce nuntiata est. Hanc igitur anniversaria solemnitate celebramus diem [...].”

136. The precise phrase may be the contribution of Augustine's editors, in a heading for sermon 187 (Ibid., 1004), but the passage the heading precedes is very closely related to Fray Luis's sermon. In particular: “Tu cum essem homo, Deus esse voluisti, ut perires: Ille cum esset Deus, homo esse voluit, ut quod perierat inveniret. Tantum te pressit humana superbia, ut te non posset nisi humilitatis sublevare divina.”

Word, which was with God, appears as a doctor [teacher]; the Word by which all things were built [...], as a craftsman ['opifex']; to teach good living, as a teacher ['magister,' or, master].”¹³⁷ Likewise, in Fray Luis’s expansion of the trope of the *Verbum infans*, the infant Word in the manger is like a orator in his academic chair of philosophy, or like a bishop in his “catedra”—thus the stable becomes a cathedral or a “royal palace,” where divine wisdom speaks amid choirs of angels: “How was the temple exchanged for a stable? How was Heaven changed into a manger?”¹³⁸

This image is closely related to the opening conceit of *Voces, las de la capilla*: that the stable is a palace or church where the royal chapel performs for the “infante” (recall also the Nativity images by Zurbarán and from the Roman Breviary). Cornelius a Lapide, citing many of the same sources, sums up all these ideas (within the tropes of Incarnation and Voice)—that Christ cried at his birth like all infants, that “this stable and manger was as though changed into the Highest Heaven,” and that Christ descended to this humble birth “not for himself, but for us.”¹³⁹

Augustine uses the voice as an extended metaphor for understanding the actual process of Christ’s Incarnation. In particular, Augustine uses it to defend the doctrine that Christ was not “changed” into flesh, but “remained the Son of God” even “having been made the son of man.”¹⁴⁰ The Word of God, Augustine teaches, existed from eternity, in which state it “was not varied by

137. Quoted in Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 878, on John 1: “Ita Clemens Alexandr. Exhort. ad Gentes: *Verbum, ait, quod erat apud Deum, doctor apparuit; Verbum per quod omnia sunt fabricata, et quod cum eo, qui finxit, vitam simul præbuit, ut opifex, bene vivere docuit, cum apparuisset ut magister, ut postea semper vivere suppeditaret ut Deus.*”

138. Luis de Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, para. 13.

139. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 670, on Luke 2:7: “Christus nascens more aliorum infantium, ait S. Bernardus serm. 4. de Nativitat. vagiit et lacrymatus est, tum ut inciperet peccata nostra deflere et luere, tum ut aliis infantibus se conformaret. Nam, ut ait Salomon, qui fuit typus Christi: *et ego natus accepi communum aerem, et in similiter factam decidi terram, et primam vocem similem omnibus emisi plorans*, etc. *nemo enim ex regibus aliud habuit nativitatis initium*, Sapient. 7. 3. Vide ibi dicta. Rursum Christus natus hasce lacrymas, ac seipsum totamque vitam, mortem et crucem Deo in holocaustum prop salute hominum obtulit, ut docet Apsotolus Heb. 10. 7. et cap. 5. v. 7. [...] Quare tunc stabulum et præsepium fuit quasi versum in celum empyreum; utpote plenum angelis adeoque Cherubinis et Seraphinis omnibus, qui relicto coelo ad stabulum descenderunt, Deum suum hominem factum veneraturi: fuit enim hoc opus incarnationis et nativitatis Verbi [...]. Descendit enim quasi è summo majestatis suæ throno in imam abjectionis vallem, exuit quasi paladumentum gloriæ suæ, et induit saccum carnis nostræ. [...] Christus carnis nostræ parvitatem, vilitatem, æarumnas, famem, sitim, frigus, æastum, verbera, clavos, crucem suscepit, non propter se, sed propter nos, ut hoc efficacissimo amoris sui stimulo corda hominum algida pungeret et compungeret. [...] Depressit se in terram et carnem, ut nos evehernet in cœlum. *Ideo, ait S. Anselm, Deus factus est homo, ut homo fieret Deus.*”

140. Augustine, *Sermones de tempore*, 1002, Sermo 187, In Natali Domini 4: “manentem Dei filium, factum hominis filium.”

punctuation marks whether short or long [nec morulis brevibus longisque], nor drawn together by the voice, nor ended by silence.”¹⁴¹ But Christ as the Word took on flesh and became known to humans, just as an idea becomes a spoken word, without ceasing to be an idea; and in the form of a spoken word it can be communicated to those who hear it and enter into their minds as an idea. This is because for Augustine, a “word” [verbum] first exists as pure thought before it is spoken, but when uttered is “clothed in the voice”:

A word [“verbum”; or, thought] that we carry in the heart, when joined with a voice [“vox”; or, speech, spoken word], we bring forth to the ear, is not changed into the voice, but the whole word is assumed into the voice in which it proceeds, so that internally the idea the word makes intelligible remains, while externally the voice produces the sound that is heard. This word, then, brings forth in sound, what previously resounded in silence. The word, upon being made a voice [or, upon being spoken], is not changed into the voice itself, but rather, remaining in the mind’s light, and having assumed the voice [speech] of flesh, it proceeds to the hearer, and does not leave the thinker. The word in silence is not thought by means of this voice [spoken word], whether it is Greek or Latin or whatever other tongue: but rather, the thing itself which is to be said, before all other differentiations of tongues, is understood in some naked manner in the chambers of the heart, from whence it proceeds, being spoken, to be clothed [vested] in the voice.¹⁴²

The most salient aspect of this theology of the word in relation to this villancico is the idea that the incarnate Christ is in his body the form of communication between God and humankind. Augustine teaches that a human thought is transferred from the one person’s inner heart and mind to those of another person by means of the external medium of the spoken voice. The body converts an inarticulate, abstract idea into a form that others can perceive through the physical

141. Augustine, *Sermones de tempore*, 1001, Sermo 187, In Natali Domini 4: “Quanto magis Verbum Dei, per quod facta sunt omnia, et quod in se manens innovat omnia; quod nec locis concluditur; nec temporibus tenditur, nec morulis brevibus longisque variatur, nec vocibus texitur, nec silentio terminatur; quanto magis hoc tantum et tale Verbum potuit matris uterum assumptus corpore fecundare, et de sinu Patris non emigrare?”

142. Ibid., 1002, Sermo 187, In Natali Domini 4: “Sicut verbum quod corde gestamus, fit vox cum id ore proferimus, non tamen illud in hanc commutatur, sed illo entegro ista in qua procedat assumitur, ut et intus maneat quod intelligatur, et foris sonet quod adiatur: hoc idem tamen profertur in sono, quod ante sonuerat in silentio; atque ita verbum cum fit vox, non mutatur in vocem; sed manens in mentis luce, et assumpta carnis voce procedit ad audientem, et non deserti cogitantem. Non cum ipsa vox in silentio cogitatur, quae vel graecae est, vel latinae, vel linguae alterius cuiuslibet: sed cum ante omnem linguarum diversitatem res ipsa quae dicenda est, adhuc in cubili cordis quodam modo nuda est intelligenti, quae ut inde procedat loquentis voce vestitur.”

act of speaking. The voice itself, then, is independent of the body and makes the idea available to another person through the sense of hearing. To apply this to Christ's Incarnation as Augustine does, Christ as the eternal Word is like the inner thought before being expressed in speech. Christ as the Word made flesh is like the human spoken word. Augustine is not referring to words spoken by the incarnate, newborn Christ; rather he presents Christ's body itself as the medium of communication between divine and human.¹⁴³

This theology underlies the trope of the *Verbum infans*: as an infant, Christ cannot speak words, but this is fitting since he himself is the Word. According to Lapide, "We hear God teaching and preaching from the chair ['cathedra'] of this manger, not by a word but by a deed: I have been made a little one, of your bone and your flesh, I am made man, in order to make you God."¹⁴⁴ As this trope is configured musically in the villancico *Voces, las de la capilla*, what the worshippers at Bethlehem heard in his inarticulate cries was "the voice of the Father," the bodily presence of the divine entering into their ears through sounds that were more like music than speech. In musical terms, Christ may be thought of in various ways as the composer, conductor, singer, and the song.

The metaphor of God as an artist or craftsman (which may be turned into a musical metaphor of "the King" as a musician) is articulated in St. Cyril's explanation of John 1:3 ("through him [the Word] all things were made"), as paraphrased by Lapide: "An artisan makes all of his works of art [opera artis] according to the idea, knowledge [wisdom], concept, or 'word' that his in his mind: all of these comparisons are appropriate for the divine Word, or Son, who is Wisdom begotten, but not made; and by consequence it is also appropriate to say that by him all things were made."¹⁴⁵

143. Obviously there is a great deal more that could be said, since the theology of the Word and the teaching of rhetoric were both lifelong preoccupations of Augustine (see the sermons *De verbis Domini*). It would be productive to connect these ideas to the theology of signs in Augustine's *De doctrina cristiana*: semiotically, the Incarnate Christ would be both sign and signified. The theology of Christ as the Word is also exhaustively treated in Lapide's commentary on the first chapter of John (*In Quatuor Evangelia*, 872–889); among his definitions of the Greek λόγος from John 1:1 is "sermo" or "speech."

144. Ibid., 673, on Luke 2: "Quid fecit tantus Deus, in tantilla carne, jacens in præsepio? Audiamus ipsummet in præsepīi cathedra, non verbo sed facto docentem et prædicantem: [...] Parvulus factus sum, os tuum et caro tua, factus sum homo, ut te Deum efficerem."

145. Ibid., 877, on John 1:3: "Artifex enim omnia opera artis suæ facit per ideam, sapientiam, conceptum, sive verbum mentis suæ: hæc autem omnia appropriantur Verbo divino, sive Filio, qui est Sapientia genita, sed increata; et

With this deeper understanding of the Christmas tropes of Incarnation and Voice, it is now possible to make more sense of two of the most difficult lines in the villancico: the reference to the “divisa” (signal or sign) in l. 11, and the phrase “por el signo a la mi re” in l. 25, upon the sign of A (*la, mi re*). Covarrubias gives “signum” as the Latin cognate for “divisa,” and παρασημον (parasemon) as the Greek, which is derived from σῆμα (*sema*) or σημεῖον (*semeion*). This word in the poem likely refer to the cross, and therefore the term refers to Christ himself as a sign. Lapide discusses a multitude of ways in which Christ may be understood as a “signum”: Christ’s life “signifies and demonstrates him to be the Messiah and Savior of the World”; Christ is “the sign of reconciliation of the human race to God” and “the sign of the covenant between men and God.”¹⁴⁶

The interpretation of Christ as a sign fits well within the theology of Christ as incarnate Word in Augustine (and Bernard and Fray Luis). It also harmonizes with the reference to the “sign of A.” In a sermon on John 1, Augustine connects this passage to Christ’s statement in the Revelation to John, “I am *alpha* and *omega*, first and last, beginning and end” (Rv 22:13): “And just as no letter comes before *alpha*,” Augustine preaches, nothing precedes Christ or follows after him, “for he is God.”¹⁴⁷ Here the tropes of Time and Voice come together. As we have discussed, according to the doctrine of the two conceptions of Christ, the Son of God was begotten eternally of the father but born temporally of the Virgin; Christ’s status as the Word had no beginning, but there was a temporal beginning to his life as a man.

So the “sign of A” may refer to Christ’s eternal being, but it also may point to his earthly beginning as a baby. Covarrubias says of the letter A,

per consequens appropriatur ei, quod per ipsum omnia sint facta. Ita S. Cyrillus.”

146. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 685–686, on Luke 2, a long discussion drawn from many sources.

147. Augustine, *Tomus primus [-decimus] omnium operum D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponeensis episcopi, ad fidem vetustorum exemplarum summa vigilantia repurgatoru[m] à mendis innumeris ... : cui accesserunt libri epistolae, sermones, & fragmenta aliquot, hactenus nunquam impressa. Additus est & index, multo quám Basilensis fuerat copiosor*, vol. 10, 118r, In Natali Domini 2: “Si fides assit, aperta est ratio qua Christus nunc minor, nunc aequalis patri sacris voluminibus asseratur, sicut ipse de se dicit, Ego primus & novissimus. Indubitanter agnosce quòd priorem non potest habere qui primus est. Item, Ego sum α et ω. Et sicut alpha litera nulla praecedet, ita & filium dei nulli secundum constat esse, quia deus est.” See also Cornelius a Lapide, *Commentaria In Acta Apostolorum Epistolas Canonicas Et Apocalypsin* (Antwerp, 1627), on Rev. 1: commenting on “Ego sum α et ω,” Lapide cites a range of mystical interpretations of the letters from other authors.

The first letter in order according to all the nations that used characters, [...] and this because of its being the most simple in its pronunciation [prolacion]. [...] And thus it is the first thing that man pronounces in being born, except that the male (since he has more strength) says A, and the female E, in which man seems to enter into the world, lamenting his first parents Adam and Eve.¹⁴⁸

By this account (which accords with Fray Luis's description of Christ's newborn cries), the baby Jesus first cried out with the inarticulate vowel of A, expressing in this sound his essence as *alpha* and *omega*, as incarnate Word.¹⁴⁹

Of course, A is also the first of the musical tones alphabetically, and may have been used as a common tuning pitch, as today.

The villancico *Voces, las de la capilla* thus uses “the sign of A” to represent Christ’s voice as the tuning pitch for all the other voices of Christmas, because the baby Jesus was himself the “sign” or word of God communicated in flesh to humanity. As we will see in the next chapter, this is also the central conceit of the villancico *Suspended, cielos, vuestro dulce canto*, set by Joan Cererols.

3.5 THE GENEALOGY OF PADILLA’S VILLANCICO

The high level of ingenuity, both theological and musical, in this villancico, makes *Voces, las de la capilla* one of Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla’s master-works, in the early modern sense of a piece that proves the artisan’s mastery of his craft. As such, the piece both demonstrates Padilla’s skill and

148. Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, s.v. “A”: “Primera letra en orden cerca de todas las naciones que usaron caracteres, [...] y esto por ser simplicissima en su prolacion. [...] Y assi es la primera que el hombre pronuncia en naciendo, saluo que el varon como tiene mas fuerça dice A, y la hembra E, en que parece entrar en el mundo, lamentandose de sus primeros padres Adan y Eva.” Covarrubias goes on to discuss other symbolic meanings of the letter, in another demonstration of the survival of medieval symbolic alphabets into early modern Catholicism. Cf. Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week* on the symbolism of the Hebrew acrostic letters of Lamentations in early modern music for Holy Week.

149. To extend Covarrubias’s theological interpretation of infant cries Christologically: if a newborn male cries out “A” to lament the original sin of his ancestor Adam, then the newborn Christ, as the new Adam, cries out both in lament of humankind’s sin (which will necessitate his own sacrificial death), but also sings “the new song” that will replace Adam’s song. The concepts of Christ as a new Adam, and of the “new song,” are developed extensively in the theological sources already cited, and in many others.

establishes his place in a tradition of composition. Evidence survives for two previous villancicos based on the same or similar poems, though the music for both is apparently lost.

On January 6, 1647, the villancico *Cantores de la capilla* was performed for Epiphany at the cathedral of Seville, where the chapelmaster was Luis Bernardo Jalón (ca. 1600–1659). The piece was the second of a cycle of nine villancicos. The poetic text is very closely related to *Voces, las de la capilla*. The sole surviving source for this text is a pliego suelto in a binder's collection that includes other villancico imprints from Seville. That collection is currently held in an anonymously owned private collection in Puebla. According to Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez, who is cataloging these holdings, this binder's collection matches a second collection of Seville villancicos from the 1640s, which is preserved in Puebla's Biblioteca Lafragua. Both parts bear the firemark of Puebla's Convento de la Merced, and other details of the binding and contents have led Mauleón to conclude that these are two halves separated from what was originally a single collection.¹⁵⁰ There are several correspondences between the villancico texts in the Lafragua collection and those used by Padilla in the 1650s. These connections suggest that Padilla himself was familiar with these pliegos; it is even possible that the collection may have been his personal property, which later passed into the library of the Mercedarian convent. It is likely, therefore, that Padilla owned or had access to a copy of the text of Jalón's *Cantores de la capilla* in the Seville pliego. In any case, Padilla's reuse of texts of peninsular imprints—he took the poetic text of his 1653 *A la jacara jacarilla* from a Madrid Royal Chapel imprint of a year earlier—shows that he kept current with the latest pliegos from the mainland.¹⁵¹

These data would at first suggest that Padilla's *Voces, las de la capilla* from 1657 could be an adaptation of Jalón's *Cantores de la capilla* from 1647. But a villancico beginning with the words *Voces, las de la capilla* had in fact already been composed by Francisco de Santiago, who died in

150. *Villancicos que se cantaron en la S. Iglesia Metropolitana de Seville, en los Maytines de los Santos Reyes. En este año de mil y seiscientos y quarenta y siete* (Seville, 1647), Puebla de los Ángeles, private collection, courtesy of Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez. I gratefully acknowledge the generosity of the owners and Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez for making this pliego available.

151. The pliego is E-Mn: VE/88/55.

1644. Santiago was Jalón’s predecessor at Seville Cathedral. All that survives of this setting is an entry in the 1649 catalog of the lost music collection of King John IV of Portugal.¹⁵² Among the “Christmas Villancicos of Fray Francisco de Santiago,” the catalog lists a piece with the same incipits as Padilla’s villancico, though with different voicings:

*Vozes las de la capilla. solo. Ya trechos las distancias. a 9.*¹⁵³

These lines match the first verses of Padilla’s introducción and estribillo, and though the number of voices used is different, the basic format appears the same: an introductory section for fewer voices followed by the estribillo for the full chorus. Extensive searching of poetic and musical archives has not revealed any other villancicos with these incipits.

Other entries in the catalog are listed similarly, giving what are most likely be the incipits for the introducción and estribillo (but not the coplas). One other example that can presently be confirmed is another villancico by Santiago, *Antón Llorente y Bartolo*, which seems to match an anonymous setting that survives from Puebla (see ch. 1). That piece is listed on the next page of the catalog as follows: “Anton llorente, y Bartolo. a 4. No quiero, que me Brazen. a 8.” The Puebla setting is from the Convento de la Santísima Trinidad, which had close ties to the cathedral and includes numerous villancicos by Padilla. The partbooks are preserved today in the Colección Jesús Sánchez Garza in Mexico City (MEX-Mcen: CSG.014). In this case the voicings of the anonymous musical setting do match those in John IV’s catalog: the introducción, beginning “Antón Llorente y Bartolo,” is sung by four voices, and the estribillo, “No quiero que me Brasen ni que me Gilen,” is sung by a nine-voice chorus. Since the John IV incipits for *Antón Llorente* match the introducción and estribillo of the musical setting, this strengthens the likelihood that the incipits for Santiago’s *Voces* correspond to the introducción and estribillo of a text that was nearly similar to that set by

152. Paulo Craesbeck, ed., *Primeira parte do index da livraria de mvsica do myto alto, e poderoso rey Dom João o IV. nosso senhor* ([Lisbon?], 1649); Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro, *Livraria de música de el-rei D. João IV; estudo musical, histórico e bibliográfico* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1967).

153. Craesbeck, *Primeira parte do index da livraria de mvsica do myto alto, e poderoso rey Dom João o IV. nosso senhor*, caixão 26, no. 674.

Padilla in 1657.

Furthermore, a poetic comparison of Padilla's *Voces* with Jalón's *Cantores* suggests that *Voces* is actually the older textual tradition and the source for the other. There is no way from the sources currently available to know for certain if Santiago's text was exactly the same as Padilla's, but an analysis of Padilla's relationships to other composers indicates multiple ways that Padilla may have been connected to Santiago. Taken together, this evidence suggests that Jalón's *Cantores* is an adaptation of a text set by his predecessor, both paying homage and establishing Jalón's place in the lineage of Seville chapelmasters. Padilla knew of Jalón's setting and probably knew the original version by Santiago, or at least its poetic text. He may have deliberately set the older version rather than the adaptation by Jalón in order to establish a lineage directly to Francisco de Santiago and position himself as superior to his contemporary and possible rival Jalón.

3.5.1 Poetic Comparison of Padilla's *Voces* and Jalón's *Cantores*

The poems set by Padilla and Jalón clearly derive from the same textual tradition. About sixteen lines are identical or closely similar between the printed text of *Cantores de la capilla* from Jalón's Seville and the lyrics in Padilla's music manuscript of *Voces, las de la capilla* (see poem 3.2 for the poem; the similar passages are underlined).¹⁵⁴ The first four lines of both poems are the same, except that Jalón's text has "Cantores" instead of "Voces" and "Niño" instead of "Rey." Most of the last half of the estribillo ("estribo") in the Jalón print is the same as that set by Padilla, from "aguardaron uno/ que llegó a tiempo oportuno" through to the identical closing two lines (V ll. 23–33, C ll. 25–34). Finally, Jalón's fourth copla (C ll. 47–50) is identical to the end of Padilla's introducción, verse 2 (V ll. 13–16, "por sol comienza una gracia").

If the dates of each villancico performance were not known, and the two poems compared solely on philological grounds, Jalón's *Cantores* would appear to be the later source. The general

154. In this discussion, line numbers will be indexed to the poems with the first letter of the title: e.g., V l. 13 vs. C l. 13.

trend in mid-seventeenth-century Spanish villancico poetry was away from complex puzzles in the manner of Góngora and toward greater simplicity, clarity, and conventionality. Upon close comparison *Cantores* appears to be a somewhat garbled attempt to simplify the arcaneously Gongoresque *Voces*, to make it suit the tastes of a younger generation.

Meter and Structure

The most obvious difference between the poems is that *Cantores* lacks a respuesta section, and that there are no *lineas de vuelta* joining the last line of the coplas to the beginning of the estribillo. The device of a respuesta is more common in the earlier villancico repertoire, but occurs in several villancicos of Padilla. The *linea de vuelta* was a holdover from the rather different structure of villancicos in the sixteenth century, when the genre was primarily courtly and secular; it can be found in the classic villancicos of Juan del Encina.¹⁵⁵ Its presence in Padilla's text may mark that poem as more influenced by this older tradition. Moreover, the incipits listed for Santiago's pre-1644 villancico include the *linea de vuelta* "Y a trechos las distancias," exactly as it appears in Padilla's estribillo.

The metrical structure of Jalón's poem also suggests a later date than Padilla's text. The portion of each poem that precedes the estribillo (i.e., the introducción) of both poems is written in romance with -a -a assonance in the even-numbered verses. The poet of *Voces*, however, also uses a consistent pattern in the odd-numbered verses: -a assonance in every odd line except the penultimate one in each section. By contrast, the poet of *Cantores* writes simple *romance* with no consistent pattern of assonance in the odd-numbered verses.

The estribillo of *Cantores* is likewise less strictly patterned than *Voces*. Padilla's *Voces* began with the *linea de vuelta*, followed by a series of fully rhymed verse pairs, all in eight-syllable lines. The half-line "uno a uno" formed a bracket with the other half line "O qué canto," marking off this section of paired verses from the closing quatrain, a *redondilla abrazada*. In the estribillo of

155. Navarro Tomás, *Métrica española*.

Poem 3.2

Cantores de la capilla (Seville, Epiphany 1647), preserved in Puebla

[INTRODUCCIÓN]

Cantores de la Capilla,^a
cuenta con lo que se canta,
que es Músico el Niño, y nota
las mas leves dissonancias.
5 La música que componó
de voces altas y bajas,
a compás mayor las rige,
y es proporción abreviada.
Una clave con tres tiempos
10 pone con destreza tanta,
que el pasado y el futuro
al compás presente iguala.
Un Coro errado enmendó
con un medio, que a la entrada
15 puso, y una espiración
que para el Calvario guarda.

ESTRIBO [ESTRIBILLO]

O que lindamente suenan!
o que dulcemente cantan
al compás que lleva el Infante,
20 Serafines que cruzan y passan!
y de sus gemidos
aprended trinados y sustenidos,

Singers of the chapel:
he keeps count with what is sung,^b
for the Baby is a musician, and notes
even the least dissonances.
The music that he composed
of voices high and low,
conducts them *alla breve*,
and it is a reduced proportion.
He places a signature of three times^c
with such dexterity,
that in this meter he makes
the past and the future equal the present.
He amended a choir that had erred
through a mean that he placed
at the entrance, and a breath^d
that he preserves for Calvary.

O, how lovely they sound!
O, how sweetly they sing
to the measure that the Infant gives—
seraphim that cross and pass!
and from his sighs
learn trills and sharps,

a. Orthography has been modernized, but capitalization and punctuation retained from the original print.

b. “Cuenta...nota”: As in *Voces, las de la capilla*, could also be “keep count...take note.”

c. “Tiempos”: Or, meters.

d. “Medio...espiración”: Musically, both could be terms for rests (the second shorter than the first); or “medio” could be a “mean” or middle voice part (and thus theologically symbolic of Christ as mediator). Theologically, “medio” would be “means” (Christ as mediator created a way of salvation).

Poem 3.2
Continued

25 y con mil primores
 responden los Reyes y los Pastores,
 después que aguardaron uno
 que llegó a tiempo oportuno,
 quien antes del tiempo fue
 por el signo a la mi re,
 puestos los ojos en mi,
30 con que mil maravillas vi
 tan de ir^e y de admirar,
 que si lo acierto a dezir,
 todo en el hombre es subir,
 y todo en Dios es bajar.

and with a thousand excellences
the Kings and shepherds respond,
after they waited for one
who arrived at the opportune time,
who was before Time,
at the sign of A (*la, mi, re*)
his eyes set on me/*mi*,
with what thousand wonders I saw
such a thing to go and to admire,
for if I say it precisely:
everything in Man is to ascend,
and everything in God is to descend.

COPLAS

35 1. A Suspensiones el Cielo
 hace en sus esferas pausas,
 porque el Ángel que los mueve
 cuanto le admira le pasma.

40 2. Los compases son del tiempo,
 que ya sus compases guarda
 quien al tiempo lleva siglos,
 quien lleva al siglo distancias.

45 3. Tambien se canta a ternario,
 pues entran, caben y passan
 tres Reyes en un compas,
 de brutos breve morada.

50 4. Por sol comienza una gloria,
 por mi se canta una gracia,
 y a medio compás la Noche
 remeda quiebros del Alba.

[Estrillo rep.]

1. In suspensions, Heaven
makes rests in its spheres,
because the angel that moves them,
the more he admires, the more he is stunned.

2. The measures are of Time,
for He still guards his measures
Who at one time carries ages,^f
who to this age bears the distances.^g

3. It is also sung in triple time,
for they enter, fit, and pass
three Kings in one measure
a brief rest for the animals.

4. With the sun a “glory” begins,
upon me/*mi* a “grace” is sung,
and at the half-measure, the night
imitates the trills of dawn.

e. Thus in the print; probably a misprint for “oír” (hear).

f. “Siglos”: Or, centuries.

g. “Distancias”: Again, a musical term (interval), here apparently referring to the planetary spheres.

Cantores, by contrast, the first two lines (since there is no *linea de vuelta*) are paired, but not in full rhyme (C ll. 17–18). The next line (l. 19) rhymes with nothing and requires an unusual elision of “que_lleva” to scan as eight syllables. And the fourth line (l. 20) is assonant with the second line (l. 18), as though this were a quatrain in romance—except that fourth line can only be read as ten syllables. After this the next four lines (ll. 21–24) do group in pairs with full rhymes, and alternate six-syllable and eleven-syllable lines. These metrical irregularities and inconsistencies are confined to this first portion of the estribillo; after this the remainder is almost identical to *Voces*. Thus the first section of the estribillo (ll. 17–24) appears “tacked on” to the more refined pre-existing material in the second section.

The differences in the remainder of the estribillo are in *Cantores*, ll. 29 and 32, and again reflect less poetic sophistication than *Voces*. The difference in line 29 (vs. V l. 29) makes sense because this line in *Voces* (“o qué canto”) was the concluding half-line of “uno a uno”; but this elegant structural device is not present in *Cantores*, and in its place, the poet needs to fill in this line with something. That position in *Cantores* is held by the phrase “con que mil maravillas vi,” which adds little to the poem except to complete the rhyme with the previous line. Likewise, in *Cantores*, the first two lines of the concluding *redondilla abrazada* do not use the chiastic structure of *Voces* (“tan de oír y de admirar/ tan de admirar y de oír”), and instead the *Cantores* poet uses the second line “que si lo acierto a dezir” (l. 32)—which is pure filler. Not a single line of such padding may be found in *Voces*. Finally, the coplas of *Cantores*, in contrast to the *redondillas abrazadas* of *Voces*, are simple romance (with -a -a assonance in the even lines and no pattern in the odd lines), just like the introducción.

Thus on a purely metrical-formal level, *Cantores* is less sophisticated than *Voces*. In most places its meter is less minutely patterned, except in the passage at the beginning of the estribillo, where there is no consistent metrical pattern, and where one line (the third line of the estribillo) actually does not seem to be part of the syllabic or rhyming pattern at all. These differences are consistent with the explanation that *Cantores* is an adaptation of *Voces* to suit less Gongoresque

tastes, and that it is not an especially skillful adaptation.

Theological and Musical Conceits

To compare the poetic conceits and theological meanings of the two poems, *Cantores* reads like an attempt to take the dense *conceptismo* of *Voces* and both simplify and explain it. The connection of Christ's voice ("the sign of A") and the "voices of the chapel choir" is obscured, as the opening is changed to "singers of the chapel choir." The crucial lines from *Voces*, "a la voz del padre oí/cantar por puntos de llanto," are missing as well. Those lines were necessary to make sense of "el signo a la mi re," as indicating the voice of the newborn Christ and in turn prophesying Christ's cries of suffering on the cross. Even more crucially, the thematically central second copla of *Voces* is absent from *Cantores*, obscuring the conceit of God as a musician and the newborn Christ as his masterwork.

The connection between David and Christ as musician-kings is absent as well. That connection was the source for the prophetic references throughout the introducción and was theologically necessary for the conceit of Christ as Music to make sense. The verse "por sol comienza una gloria" in *Voces* has a thick theological web of meanings related to the prophecies that Christ would establish a glorious kingdom upon the throne of David; but in *Cantores*, without the Davidic context, the verses lose some of this theological meaning. "The King is a musician" in *Voces* is changed to "the child is a musician"—so that Christ himself is now the creator of the music rather than himself being the Music.

Throughout the poems, where *Voces* has an ambiguous or cryptic line, *Cantores* has a less multivalent one: for example, instead of "a la voz del padre oí" *Cantores* has "con que mil maravillas vi." Instead of "y aguardan tiempo oportuno/ quien antes del tiempo fue" *Cantores* has "después que aguardaron uno/ que llegó a tiempo oportuno/ quien antes del tiempo fue." The *Voces* version of these lines is pithy but a bit arcane; the *Cantores* version is crystal-clear but requires an extra line to say the same thing.

As these examples show, the *conceptismo* in *Cantores* is not as tight as in *Voces*: in many cases, *Cantores* makes sense on the musical side but not on the theological side. The new poet has retained the technical terms and other key words used in the first version of the poem, but has attempted to explain the metaphors, sometimes in ways that change the meaning from the first poem. The poet has also added additional musical terms, but the strict *conceptismo* that maintained continuous double meanings on the theological level is loosened. A good example of this procedure is the way the poet has retained the word “destreza” in the introducción. In *Voces*, the poet follows a mention of “the thirty-three” with these lines: “Años antes la divisa/ la destreza en la esperanza.” The poet of *Cantores* replaces those lines with these:

Una clave con tres tiempos pone con destreza tanta, que el pasado y el futuro al compás presente iguala.	He places a clef with three times [meters] with such dexterity, that in this meter he makes the past and the future equal the present.
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This poet retains a numerological reference based on three, and connects it to the idea of a “sign” and “destreza” so that the “sign” clearly indicates a metrical sign (ternary meter), and “destreza” now indicates the divine musician baby’s compositional skill. The poet does not use “destreza” as a “divisa” or motto as it is *Voces*, possibly taken from Tacitus’s *spes in virtute*. All the connotations of swordsmanship and heroic combat are absent, along with any specific reference to Christ’s future struggle in his Passion. The term’s meaning is reduced to a simply musical one, and the rich theological associations in *Voces* are lost.

The deliberate theological enigmas of the “divisa” passage in *Voces* are absent; in their place is language with more specifically musical meaning, but used in a confusing way. The reference to “clave” in *Voces* was part of a delicate series of allusions to Isa. 9 and 22 and other Old Testament prophecies read at Christmas Matins; but without the phrase “sobre el hombro” the allusion is obscured. The character of the Christ-child composer in *Cantores* writes in “compás mayor” (l. 7), in a “proporción abreviada” (l. 8), and adds “una clave con tres tiempos” (l. 9). The musical meaning of “clave” in the treatises of Cerone and Lorente is always equivalent to “clef”—the

symbol indicating the “key” pitch assigned to one staff line—but here the symbol may be confused with a meter signature (a “tiempo” in the treatises). “Compás mayor” is usually $\text{\textcircled{C}}$ or *alla breve* meter, but the “proporción abreviada” would likely be the “proporción menor” of C3 meter or CZ meter—a meter with three minims per compás, or “three times.”

Despite the seemingly confused musical terminology, this version of the poem does manage to make a distinct theological emphasis compared to *Voces*. Since *Cantores* presents Christ himself as the chapelmaster, it places more emphasis on his control over the element of rhythm, and that concept has with its own theological traditions (within the trope of Time). The contrast between “compás mayor” and “proporción abreviada” is similar to the “máxima y breve” contrast of *Voces*, both indicating the eternal God limiting himself to become human as the baby Jesus. Lapide, speaking of Christ as “the Word” in John’s Gospel, says that as the eternal Word, Christ had no beginning or end, no “mensura.”¹⁵⁶ Indeed, since “through him all things were made,” time itself had its beginning with Christ. This fits well with the image of Christ as a chapelmaster, since Christ would then be the author of the first element of music (time and rhythm); but it could conflict with the nuanced theology of Christ as Word as articulated by St. Cyril, in which God the Father is the “Artifex” and Christ the Word is the idea in his mind. Upon being born, Christ entered the world of finite, measured time; and the measure of his thirty-three years of human life began. Thus Lapide (obliquely drawing on Isa. 10:9) calls the newborn Christ the “Verbum abbreviatum.”

As in *Voces*, there seems to be a reference to Rev. 1, in which Christ says he has the “clave” of death and hell, and is referred to as “the one who was, and who is, and who is to come” (Rev. 1:8, “qui est, et qui erat, et qui venturus est”). The concept of “three times” as present, past, and future, may also be found in Lapide. Lapide connects Christ’s epithet in Revelation to the *tetragrammaton*, or the divine name YHWH revealed to Moses, which Lapide translates as “Sum qui sum” (I am who I am). “The word *sum*,” he says, “like *est* and *erat*” in the Revelation verse, “signifies an eternal

156. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 874.

state, which encompasses all differentiations of times [temporum], present, past, and future. By the Hebrew *eie* [that is, *haya*], the Hebrews convey three times [or tenses] together, present, past, and future.”¹⁵⁷ These ideas were perhaps implicit in *Voces*, but the reference to “tres tiempos” seems to reference this theological concept directly, while also making a clearer, but less nuanced, musical metaphor.

Similarly, the modifications to the estribillo clarify the musical conceit while making the theological dimension a bit simpler and more explicit. The poet of *Cantores* writes multiple lines like “O que lindamente suenan!/ o que dulcemente cantan” that do not advance the conceit, where the poet of *Voces* restrained such effusions to the four-syllable “O qué canto.” Another indication that this is a reworking is the mention of the “Reyes” of Epiphany at the manger scene, fitting for the liturgical context of Jalón’s 1647 version, but not for the Christmas context of Santiago’s and Padilla’s villancicos.

Again in the coplas, *Cantores* retains the key words used in *Voces* but uses them in a simpler way that is easier to understand, but has fewer possible interpretations. Not only the musical key words like “distancias” are retained, but the single word “siglos” in *Voces* is here explained in two lines.

Jalón thus pays homage to Santiago by basing his villancico on the same text, but also shows his differences from his predecessor through the “improvements” to the poem, and, one may imagine, a more modern musical style as well.

Considering the piece’s liturgical context within Matins for Epiphany 1647 in Seville strengthens the argument that *Cantores* is a clumsy adaptation of *Voces*. The pliego places this piece as the second in the villancico cycle, which means it would be paired with this responsory:

Respond. In the form of a dove the Holy Spirit was seen, the voice of the Father was

157. Lapide, *Commentaria In Acta Apostolorum Epistolas Canonicas Et Apocalypsin*, on Rv 1: “Verbum enim sum, siue est, & erat, vel, vt. hebr. est., erit, significat stabilem æternitatem, quæ omnes temporum, præsentis, præteriti, & futuri differentias complectitur. Vnde tradunt Hebræai, Hebr. *eie* tria tempora complecti, praæsens, præteritum & futurum.”

heard: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. *Versicle*. The heavens were opened above him, and the voice of the Father intoned. This is my beloved Son.¹⁵⁸

This chant would match perfectly with Padilla's *Voces*, especially the line "a la voz del padre oí"—but this line is absent in *Cantores*. The poet did adjust the older text to fit the Epiphany context in general, by adding references to the Three Kings and adding stellar and cosmic language to the coplas. But it is to the discredit of either the poet or the composer that such a key line, not only for the theology of the poem but for its place in the liturgy, should have been cut. Even though the Responsory chants were not sung in Seville, the texts would still have been read, and the clergy would have known them. The most likely explanations are that the poet did not tailor the text for this specific placement in the service, and that Jalón selected the placement based on fairly loose theological criteria.

3.5.2 Homage and Rivalry within a Social Network

If Jalón's villancico is a modernization of Santiago's, then, and the text was available to Padilla in Puebla through the pliego suelto, why did Padilla choose to set Santiago's original text rather than Jalón's? One possibility is that Padilla specifically wanted to differentiate himself from Jalón and associate himself more directly with Santiago. Santiago, Jalón, and Padilla were all linked together as part of a network of Hispanic musicians. While Jalón certainly had direct links to Santiago, there are several ways in which Padilla could plausibly have known Santiago or his music as well, and would therefore have wanted to affiliate himself with Santiago through setting the same text.

158. Catholic Church, *Breviarium Romanum*, 231: "Respond. In columbæ specie Spiritus sanctus visus est, paterna vox audita est: *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complácui. *Versicle*. Celi aperti sunt super eum, & vox Patris intónuit. Hic est Filius."

Connections between Santiago and Padilla

Fray Francisco de Santiago (ca. 1578–1644) spent the most illustrious part of his career as chapelmaster at the Cathedral of Seville, from 1617 to 1643.¹⁵⁹ He was born with the surname Veiga in Portugal, probably in Lisbon. He lived there until about 1596, when he took Carmelite vows and a new name, and served his order as a musician in Madrid. Santiago must have acquired widespread renown, because in 1616 when Alonso Lobo, the then-chapelmaster of Seville Cathedral, took ill, the Seville Cathedral chapter commissioned Santiago to provide the “chanzonetas” (villancicos) for that year’s Christmas feast. The next year, 1617, Lobo died and Santiago succeeded him as chapelmaster. Santiago maintained a lifelong association and correspondence with the Duke of Braganza, who after 1640 reigned as King John (João) IV of Portugal. Santiago obtained permission from the Seville Cathedral chapter to visit Lisbon every five years (1625, 1630, 1635, and 1640). Whether Santiago wrote music specifically for the royal chapel in Lisbon, or simply brought John IV copies of his music from Seville, the Portuguese monarch acquired a collection of five hundred thirty-eight villancicos by Santiago, not to mention other musical genres. Santiago stayed in Seville until his death in 1644 after a long struggle with a paralyzing medical condition.

Meanwhile Padilla (baptized in Málaga in 1590) had been rapidly climbing his way up the ladder of prestigious positions in Andalusia.¹⁶⁰ He started as a choirboy at Málaga Cathedral, where he studied with chapelmaster Francisco Vásquez from about 1602–1608. Padilla’s first position was as chapelmaster for the nearby cathedral of Ronda (1608–1612). Starting August 13, 1612, Padilla served as chapelmaster at the collegiate church of Jerez de la Frontera. Apparently not long after that, Padilla’s teacher Vásquez died, vacating the position at Málaga Cathedral. In February 1613 Padilla competed (“opositó”) for the chapelmastership but came in second to the

159. Robert Murrell Stevenson, “Santiago, fray Francisco de (born ca. 1578 at Lisbon; died October 5, 1644, at Seville),” *Anuario Musical*, 1970, 1–11; *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, s.v. “Santiago, fray Francisco de,” by Mariano Pérez Gutiérrez.

160. See the biographical timeline in Gembero-Ustároz, “Muy amigo de música.”

Portuguese composer Estêvão de Brito (1577–1641).¹⁶¹ Padilla stayed at Jerez until he achieved a more prestigious position, chapelmaster at the Cathedral of Cádiz, where he began March 17, 1616 and remained until 1622.

The first point to be noted here is that Padilla's years in Cádiz (1616–1622) overlap with Santiago's tenure in Seville (1617–1643), leaving about six years (1617–1622) when the two chapelmasters could easily have interacted either personally or through correspondence. The two port cities would have been closely linked economically and socially. Both cities were among the first to print *pliegos sueltos* of villancico poems, and Padilla could have had access to the texts set by Santiago through this medium alone.¹⁶² Even if there was no personal connection between Padilla and Santiago, the Seville composer's position at the helm of the flagship music program in the Hispanic world would have made him a prime target for emulation, homage, or competition.

The second point is that Santiago's appointment at Seville may have precipitated Padilla's emigration to the New World. The pinnacle of achievement for any Spanish composer, particularly one from Andalucia, would be the chapelmastership at Seville Cathedral. As Padilla built his early career, he must have had his eye on Seville, knowing that Alonso Lobo (1555–1617) was aging and that the chapelmaster position would become available soon. But when Lobo's health finally failed and Seville Cathedral had to enlist a replacement before Christmas 1616, the chapter appointed the older and much more accomplished Francisco de Santiago without publicly advertising the position (i.e., there was no public *oposición*, as there had been in Málaga in 1612). Santiago was still young enough that Padilla could safely assume the Seville position would not again become available for decades. Padilla had just started his position in Cádiz—not a lowly post—but the appointment of Santiago deprived Padilla of any hopes of further advancement on the Spanish mainland. If Padilla had hoped to work for the king, Mateo Romero had been master of the Royal Chapel since 1598, and would remain so until 1633. Another esteemed Madrid position,

161. *Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Brito, Estêvão de,” by Robert Murrell Stevenson.

162. See the entries for Seville and Cádiz in Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Catálogo de villancicos de la Biblioteca Nacional, Siglo XVII* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1992).

chapelmast at the royal Convento de la Encarnación, was given in 1620 to none other than Luis Bernardo Jalón. This may be part of the reason why in about 1622, Padilla sought better opportunities in New Spain.

There is other circumstantial evidence to suggest that Santiago's music was known in Puebla. At least three villancicos in the Colección Jesús Sánchez Garza, originally belonging to the Convento de la Santísima Trinidad in Puebla and full of villancicos by Padilla, have texts that correspond to incipits of villancicos attributed to Santiago in the John IV catalog: two already identified by Stevenson, and one not previously identified, *Anton Llorente y Bartolo*, discussed previously.¹⁶³ This latter villancico is unattributed in the Sánchez Garza copy, but its musical style seems consistent with a date of composition during Santiago's lifetime (that is, before 1644). The title characters match the protagonists of the *Entremés de los romances*, a play published in 1612–1613 (Valencia and Barcelona, 1612; Madrid, 1613), and the subject of a long-standing debate about its similarity to parts of *Don Quixote*.¹⁶⁴ Given the date of this source material and the musical style, it is plausible that this villancico was composed by Santiago, obtained by Padilla during his time in Spain, and brought by Padilla to Puebla.

Connections between Santiago and Jalón

While Padilla was working under Bishop Palafox in Puebla, Santiago took ill in 1643, and just as the chapter had done at the beginning of Santiago's tenure, they hired Jalón as an interim director who then succeeded the ailing master. This position was the culmination of Jalón's restlessly ambitious career. He had left a musical position at the Convento de la Encarnación in Madrid in 1623 to be chapelmast of the cathedrals of Burgos (1623–1634), Cuenca (1634–1642), and

163. Stevenson, "Santiago, fray Francisco de" MEX-Mcen:CSG.014; incipit in Craesbeck, *Primeira parte do index da livraria de mvsica do myto alto, e poderoso rey Dom João o IV. nosso senhor*, 204, caixão 26, no. 675. (Santiago's *Voces las de la capilla* was in caixão 26, no. 674.)

164. Daniel Eisenberg and Geoffrey Stagg, eds., "Entremés de los romances," *Cervantes* 22, no. 2 (2002): 151–174; Geoffrey Stagg, "Don Quijote and the "Entremés de los romances": A Retrospective," *Cervantes* 22, no. 2 (2002): 129–150.

Toledo (1642–1643).¹⁶⁵ On November 10, 1643, he was appointed chapelmaster at the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, but dropped everything a month later when he was invited to assist Santiago at Seville Cathedral. Jalón remained in Seville until his death on April 6, 1659.

Jalón was present in Seville for the last year of Santiago's life. Jalón was first hired as an interim replacement for the Christmas feast in 1643 but then ascended to become full chapelmaster starting January 1, 1644; Santiago died the following October 5. It is easy to imagine that the two composers had close contact during that time. Jalón, of course, would have had access to Santiago's music in the cathedral archive or from Santiago's personal collection. This is probably how he encountered Santiago's villancico *Voces, las de la capilla*.¹⁶⁶

Jalón's setting of *Cantores* was performed only two years after Santiago's death. Jalón began his work at Seville as an emergency substitute only a month before the musically demanding feasts of Christmas and Epiphany in the 1643–1644 liturgical year. The music for that first Christmas season would either have already been chosen by Santiago, or perhaps Jalón used whatever was at hand to put together a performance quickly. Santiago died the following October, by which time the music for the 1644–1645 Christmas season would likely already have been composed: thus any homage to his late predecessor would have to wait.¹⁶⁷ Jalón's ensemble performed *Cantores*, probably his adaptation of Santiago's *Voces*, for Epiphany in 1647—that is, the 1646–1647 Christmas season. The musicians in Jalón's ensemble would likely have known the earlier setting and understood the connection between the two. This close interval of time strengthens the argument that Jalón may have composed the piece as a deliberate homage.

165. *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, s.v. "Jalón, Luis Bernardo," by Antonio Ezquerro Esteban (though the article is imprecise and its authority seems dubious).

166. When and where Santiago's piece was originally performed is unclear. The most likely setting would be Seville Cathedral, of course. Pliegos survive for villancicos performed at Christmas in Seville for almost each year after 1626, but none has yet been found that contains this text. Another possibility, given Santiago's close relationship with John IV and his frequent travels to Lisbon, is that he composed some music expressly for the Portuguese court, or donated music previously composed. This would partly explain why so much of Santiago's music was preserved in Lisbon (until the fire), but only a handful of pieces survive today in Seville, and no villancicos.

167. See chapter 5: Miguel de Irízar composed all his villancicos for Christmas 1689 after September of that year, based on poems available to him nine months previous.

Establishing a Musical Pedigree

That the imprint of Jalón's villancico text survives in a Puebla collection with other correspondences to works by Padilla suggests that Padilla knew of Jalón's *Cantores de la capilla*. With *Voces, las de la capilla*, Padilla may have been trying to show that he, not Jalón, was the true successor to Santiago. Padilla was not able to capture the coveted position of Seville chapelmaster in 1616, so he may have wanted to demonstrate that he was carrying on the great legacy of Santiago in the New World. The modification in *Cantores de la capilla* suggest that Jalón represented a new generation and a new style, and his music was likely in a newer style than that of Padilla. In 1657, Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla was sixty-seven years old; only three years later, on account of dangerously poor health, he had to write a "power of attorney" giving legal rights to Juan García de Céspedes, who (like Padilla had done for Fernández) had been serving as Padilla's assistant and would later succeed him.¹⁶⁸ Padilla's villancico *Voces, las de la capilla* may have represented the aging composer's attempt to demonstrate an affinity with the older generation.

This chain of homage may shed light on the origins and meaning of Padilla's most performed piece of Latin music today, the *Missa "Ego flos campi"* for eight voices.¹⁶⁹ The piece has been assumed ("undoubtedly," according to one editor) to be a parody mass based on a lost motet *Ego flos campi* by Padilla.¹⁷⁰ But John IV's catalog lists a *Missa "Ego flos campi" a 8* by Francisco de Santiago. Furthermore, the catalog specifies that Santiago's mass was based on the motet *Ego flos campi a 8* by Nicolas Dupont, a Flemish composer in the Spanish Royal Chapel.¹⁷¹ For Santiago

168. Mauleón Rodríguez, "Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla desde el ámbito civil."

169. Score edition, Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Missa Ego flos campi*, ed. Martyn Imrie, Ivan Moody, and Bruno Turner (Isle of Lewis, Scotland: Mapa Mundi (Vanderbeek & Imbrie), 1992); recent recordings in Mauleón Rodríguez, *Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla y la época Palafoxiana*; Jeffrey Skidmore, *New World Symphonies: From Araujo to Zipoli; An A to Z of Latin American Baroque*, Ex Cathedra (London: Hyperion CD A67380, 2003), among many other recordings and performances.

170. Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Missa Ego flos campi*, Introduction.

171. Craesbeck, *Primeira parte do index da livraria de mvsica do myto alto, e poderoso rey Dom João o IV. nosso senhor*, 417, caixão 34, no. 787: "Missas [...] Ego flos campi, a 8. Ferta sobre hum Motette de Niculas du Pont." The Dupont motet is included in the catalog on p. 381, caixão 32, no. 767: "Ego flos campi, a 8, Niculas du Pont. De Nossa Senhora." Both pieces are lost.

Based on this connection, Robert Stevenson suggested that Santiago, like his peer Diego de Pontac, studied

to use this music by Dupont, who may have been one of his teachers in Madrid, was to connect himself to the august lineage of Habsburg Franco-Flemish composers going back to Dufay and Ockeghem. It is possible, then, that Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla's *Missa "Ego flos campi"* is not based on his own motet, but on Santiago's mass of the same name, and that this represents another instance of Padilla establishing his musical pedigree.¹⁷²

Though the “genealogical” connections made in this section can only be considered as speculative, there is a significant amount of circumstantial evidence supporting the possibility that Padilla's 1657 *Voces, las de la capilla* was a deliberate homage to an earlier work by Francisco de Santiago, and an intentional contrast to the different type of homage paid to the same composer by Luis Bernardo Jalón in his “modernized” *Cantores de la capilla* of 1647. These homages support the argument that the subgenre of metamusical villancico functioned as a special way for composers to prove their craft and demonstrate their place in a tradition of composition, and of musical theology.

3.6 CONCLUSIONS: HEARING AND FAITH

What, then, does Padilla's *Voces, las de las capilla* reveal about music's role in the relationship between hearing and faith as understood in early modern New Spain? For one, this piece may serve as the starting point for a trajectory of “singing about singing” in the seventeenth century. The poem and music represent sounding music—including the “present” music in Puebla as well as the historical music of the angels and shepherds at Bethlehem—as *musica instrumentalis*, fully

with Nicolas Dupont during Santiago's time in Madrid (“Santiago, fray Francisco de”).

172. That this type of homage was a customary way for a student to identify himself with a teacher or paragon might be demonstrated by a similar homage payed to Padilla by Francisco Vidales. Vidales was organist at Puebla under Padilla's direction. According to John Koegel, “The Puebla organist Francisco de Vidales used Padilla's *Exultate justi in Domino* as the model for his parody *Missa super Exultate*, and another connection between the two men is seen in Vidales's addition of a tenor part to Padilla's *O Domine Jesu Christe*.” *Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Padilla, Juan Gutiérrez de,” by John Koegel.

(It must be noted, however, that the same article contains several errors and misunderstandings—the *kalenda* was not a popular dance form, Padilla never composed in “6/8 meter” or in “C and F major,” and Koegel's description of the Credo of the *Missa Ego flos campi* simply does not match the music.)

in accord with the Neoplatonic-Boethian system. The musical performance invites listeners to contemplate the higher forms of music, and above all the theological “Music” of the incarnate Christ, bringing God and Man into consonance and forming in his body and voice the perfect *musica humana*.

In singing this villancico about singing, the Puebla chapel choir drew its listener’s attention to the fact that they were singing. The musicians emphasized the musical artifice, and so encouraged listeners to contemplate the higher levels of music. The listener would have the opportunity to listen for the voice of the spheres, the angels, and most importantly, of Christ himself through the voices of the chapel choir. These higher forms of music would be audible only by faith, through the present cathedral music which was its echo. The exhortation in the opening line means that the Puebla “chapel choir” is to set its time and tuning based on these higher forms of music, and that listeners are therefore invited to “pay attention” as well to the verbal and musical riddles presented to them. The complex poetic and musical structure provides an object for aesthetic reflection, even inviting detailed analysis.

But in order to contemplate the piece in this way, the listener must be equipped with both faith and knowledge: faith to seek the higher theological meaning behind the words and music, and knowledge to understand it. Obviously, Padilla’s villancico is aimed at a very sophisticated listening audience. The poem’s double and triple conceits, some of them based on references to Latin Scriptural and liturgical texts, require extensive knowledge not only of theology and literature, but also of technical music theory. Likewise, many of the Padilla’s musical puns—such as singing “máxima” on a breve, the thirty-three notes of the respuesta, and the quotation of the *tonus peregrinus*—would probably be accessible only to the performers themselves, if even they were paying close enough attention. Given the realities of hurried rehearsal schedules and the practical mindset of many performers then and now, much of this artistry would remain hidden, known only to the composer himself. The piece would still leave an overall impression on the less attentive and less educated listener, connecting the voices of the chapel choir with the voices of

the Christmas angels and the mystery of Christmas.

In this way, though the piece in most ways stands as a paradigm of the contemplative function in villancicos, the affective function is active as well—with its appeal to bodily, communal reaction and participation. This function fits with the instructions in the catechism that the mystery of the Incarnation is more to be marvelled at than explained in words. Similarly, Fray Luis concludes his Christmas sermon with a *peroratio* that invites his listeners to join their voices and hearts with the worshippers at Bethlehem:

But consider, that if the angels on that day sang and solemnized this mystery with Glorias and praises, giving thanks [gracias] for the redemption that came to us from heaven, even though they themselves were not the ones redeemed, what should we do who are redeemed? If they thus give thanks [gracias] for the grace [gracia] and mercy given to strangers, what should those do who were redeemed and restored by it?¹⁷³

The theology of Christ as the *Verbum infans* that underlies this villancico is central for understanding how sacred music was believed to function. As we have seen, in the Catholic theological tradition of Christmas, Christ as the eternal Word of God became incarnate, not simply to communicate “words” from God, but to be in his body the medium of communication itself, as well as the message. The point of the Christmas liturgy, then, would not be simply to “hear about” God, but to encounter the incarnate Christ in his flesh, through the sacrament of the Eucharist. Lapide cites St. Cyril to say that “symbolically, the manger is the altar, on which Christ in the Mass by consecration is as though born and sacrificed.” He then quotes St. John Chrysostom: “That which the Magi saw in the manger, in a little hut, with much veneration and fear approached and adored, you perceive the same thing not in the manger, but on the altar.”¹⁷⁴

173. Luis de Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, para. 28. Paragraph citations below refer to the text and translation there. Cf. Bernard, *In nativitate Domini*, 126B, Sermo IV: “Et ut noveritis quo in loco solemnitatis hujus cooperint gaudia celebrari: quod jam angelis erat, futurum omni populo gaudium evangelizatur: sed et confessim adest divinis personans laudibus coelestis exercitus multitudo. Hinc est quot solemnis ducitur nox ista prae caeteris, in psalmis, coelestes illos principes praevenire conjunctos psallentibus, in medio juvencularum tympanistriarum.”

174. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 672, on Luke 2: “Sic et S. Cyrillus in Catena. Symbolice præsepe est altare, in

All the auditory elements of the service, from the reading of Scripture to the singing of villancicos, could only point toward this physical sacramental encounter. But because of music's ability to work on the external sense of hearing and the internal faculties of the memory, intellect, and affections, a villancico would still play a special role for pious listeners—helping them experience intellectually and affectively something of the wonder and mystery of the Incarnation at Christmas. The primary audience of this cultivated subgenre of metamusical villancico would likely have been the cathedral chapter, who from their position within the architectural choir would have been best able to hear the verbal and musical conceits, who had the education to understand the theological background, and who participated fully in the liturgy by communing. By contrast, since the laity in Puebla and Seville would have been unlikely actually to receive the elements, the common parishioner's relationship to the "admirabile sacramentum" was primarily to look (admirar), to listen, and to adore.

Music could make listeners more receptive to the grace of faith because of its ability to move the affections to such a devotional state. It was a common trope in villancicos and devotional literature to invite listeners to join the shepherds and travel in faith to the manger. Lapide holds up these Christmas shepherds to his readers as an example of faith: they heard the angel chorus and saw the sign of Christ in the manger, and then they went and told everyone, and as Luke says, "everyone who heard it was amazed at what the shepherds said." Lapide says Christmas shepherds were chosen as the first outside the Holy Family and the stable animals to see the newborn Christ because in their own humble poverty they would not be put off by Christ's lowly birth. For "many approached the manger, and saw Christ, but only those believed in Christ, whose

quo Christus in Missa per consecrationem quasi nascitur et immolatur. Unde S. Chrys. in Catena: *Quod in præsepio videntes atque tugurio Magi, cum multa veneratione ac timore accesserunt et adorarunt: tu idipsum non in præsepio, sed in altari cernens, majorem istis barbaris exhibe pietatem.*"

Another classic epitome of this sacramental theology is from Pope St. Leo the Great, in his second sermon on the Ascension: "That which was plainly visible in our Savior, passed into the sacraments [or signs, or mysteries]." Pope St. Leo I, *Sermones*, ed. J. P. Migne, Patrologia latina 54 (Paris: Migne, 1846), 398, Sermo II de Ascensione Domini: "Quod itaq[ue] redemptoris nostri conspicuum fuit, in sacramenta transiuit."

hearts God effectively moved; while the others, taking offense at Christ's poverty, spurned him.”¹⁷⁵ The shepherds not only heard and saw, but believed because they freely received the gift of faith, as Lapide explains in his commentary on John 1:12: “God gives the power to become sons of God to those who freely receive Christ by faith and obedience, excluding those who do not wish to receive him.”¹⁷⁶

If the listeners were to imitate the shepherds, then, they would not only listen for the angelic choirs and look for Christ's presence sacramentally on the altar, but they would allow God to move their hearts to receive him in faith—a faith that would motivate them to witness their faith to others, as the shepherds did. Christmas villancicos like Padilla's *Voces* and the others to be discussed in the following chapters would provide a way for people to listen in faith for the voices of angels and the voice of Christ, and through compositional craft, the musical performance could also move listeners' hearts to wonder and adoration.

175. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 677, on Luke 2: “Hinc patet pastores multis narrase ea quæ de Christo nato ab angelo adierant et viderant: quare multos præsepe adiisse, Christumque vidisse; sed eos solos in Christo credidisse, quorum Deus corda efficaciter tangebat, ceteros offensos paupertate Christi eum sprevisse.”

176. This summarizes a long argument in defense of free will—targeted, it would seem, at his Calvinist compatriots in the Low Countries. Ibid., 882: “Hoc est enim quot ait hic St. Joannes, Deum dedisse potestatem filios Dei fieri his qui libere Christum per fidem et obedientiam receperunt, exclusis iis, qui eum recipere noluerunt.”

CHAPTER 4

HEAVENLY DISSONANCE IN CEREROLS, SUSPENDED, CIELOS (MONTSERRAT, CA. 1660)

The villancico tradition traced in the previous chapter emphasizes the theological and musical notion of the newborn Christ as *Verbum infans*, whose inarticulate musical voice sounds the tuning pitch for the new song of a restored creation. That concept is central to a widely attested tradition of villancicos, preserved in seven known poetic sources and three musical settings. The villancicos in this family of pieces have an estribillo beginning with variants of “Suspended, cielos, vuestro dulce canto” (Suspend, O heavens, your sweet chant). The sources survive in archives from the far northeast corner of Spain—the village of Canet de Mar on the Mediterranean coast north of Barcelona—to another small town in Ecuador. The only complete musical setting is a setting by Joan Cererols, chapelmaster and monk at the Benedictine Monastery of Our Lady of Montserrat near Barcelona. The earliest textual source is an imprint from a 1651 performance by the Royal Chapel in Madrid.¹

The Christmas-themed poem concentrates specifically on the contrast between the music of the spheres and the Music of the Christ-child, the latter understood both metaphorically and literally, in the crying voice of the newborn “Word made flesh” (John 1). “Suspend, O heavens/ your

1. Intriguingly, the 1651 pliego in which the text first appeared was almost certainly known to Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (E-Mn: R/34199/27, see table 4.3). While the fourth villancico in the pliego is *Ha de los coros del cielo/Suspended cielos, vuestro dulce canto*, the seventh villancico in the same source is *Alto zagales de todo el ejido/ al sol que ha nacido/ galán y pulido*—a text Padilla used two years later in his 1653 Christmas cycle in Puebla. Though no known setting of *Suspended, cielos* by Padilla survives, there are many similarities in the theological themes and poetic approach between *Suspended, cielos* and Padilla’s *Voces, las de la capilla* of 1657. At the very least both pieces represent parts of the same musical-theological tradition.

“sweet chant,” the setting by Cererols begins, “hold, stop, and listen/ to the newest consonance”—that is, to the voice of the newborn Christ. Cererols uses musical-rhetorical strategies to represent imperfect worldly music and to encourage listeners to imagine a higher level of music. He uses dissonance as a paradoxical or ironic symbol to represent “the newest consonance”—a technique that demands a Neoplatonic listening practice. The piece marks the beginning of the turn in emphasis traced in part II, from music as a reflection of heavenly perfection toward music as an expression of human affects.

This chapter will focus first on the surviving setting by Cererols, before tracing the complex textual genealogy of the other versions. The author’s discovery of a previously unidentified second manuscript variant of Cererols’s music allows for the first critical edition of *villancico*, and opens a new perspective on the work’s reception and use.

As the best documented metamusical *villancico*, *Suspended, cielos* encompasses the basic tropes and concepts of the whole subgenre. The poetic text develops the possibilities of music as a theological metaphor more richly and profoundly than any other known source. The musical and theological density of the poem created ample opportunities for composers to showcase their metamusical craft and demonstrate their place in relation to their peers and forebears.

4.1 SETTING BY JOAN CEREROLS: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The only known complete musical setting is preserved today in a manuscript of the parochial archive of the church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Canet de Mar, on the seaside about 50 km north of Barcelona.² The undated manuscript attributes the music to Joan Cererols (1618–1680) of Montserrat. The mountaintop monastery of Montserrat continues to be an influential religious and musical center in the region. Pilgrims still make the long journey to the peak to revere the

2. Grateful acknowledgments are due to the rector and archive director for making a digital image of the manuscript freely available for this study. The Canet archive, under supervision of the archdiocese of Gerona, is being fully digitized.

statue of the Black Virgin of Montserrat—patron and symbol of Catalonia. They petition the Virgin’s intercession in her shrine, ensconced in a special chapel above the high altar of the abbey church, which is filled daily for the performances of the renowned boys’ choir of the Escolania de Montserrat.

Joan Pau Cererols Fornell was baptized in 1618 in the village of Martorell, in the shadow of Montserrat. He was the youngest child of Jaume Cererols, a well-to-do tailor.³ His mother died when he was ten, and it appears that only a few months later Joan was sent off to boarding school as a chorister at the Escolania de Montserrat.⁴

In the Escolania he would have received a thorough training in performance, practical music theory, Latin, and the other typical subjects taught in church schools. After graduating Cererols entered the novitiate of the Montserrat Benedictines at age 18, in 1636. He remained at the monastery until his death in 1680, eventually becoming chapelmaster of the Escola and teacher in the Escolania, and sacristan of the abbey church.

A monastery chronicle says that Cererols was “Chapelmaster and master of the choir-school boys for more than thirty years,” having “left behind many written [i.e., manuscript] books of music.”⁵ Moreover, Cererols was “an excellent poet,” learned in letters and theology, and able “to speak Latin as fluently as if it were his mother tongue.” This description fits well with the evidence of *Suspended, cielos*, which pairs sophisticated poetry and elegantly masterful musical technique. Cererols’s version includes several variant poetic readings that do not appear in any of the other sources, and most of these (as will be shown) appear to be deliberate changes directed by a keen theological and literary intellect.

3. 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 *Joan Cererols i el seu temps: Actes del I Symposium de Musicologia Catalana*, ed. Francesc Bonastre (Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 1985), 25–75.

4. Ibid.

5. The chronicle was probably written several decades after Cererols’s death. See appendix A for this text with translation, based on the edition in Grigori Estrada, “Esbós per a un estudi de l’obra de Joan Cererols (1618–1680),” in Bonastre, *Joan Cererols i el seu temps*, 7, note 2.

The chronicle stresses the influence of Cererols as a teacher in a line of great teachers:

He had the gift and talent of teaching and thus had so many students that there was hardly a church in this principality [i.e., Catalonia] whose Chapelmasters and Organists were not his students, aside from the many others that he had in other provinces of Spain, all of whom manifested the excellent qualities [prendas] of their Teacher, as the reverend Father himself also demonstrated those of Father Master Márquez, of whom he [Cererols] was a student.

In saying that Cererols's students manifested the *prendas* of their teacher, the chronicler happens to use a term from the Cererols family trade of tailoring, since *prenda* can mean a precious garment. The point seems to be that the student reflects the teacher's craftsmanship and character in a distinctive manner, the way one would recognize the cut of a particular tailor and his workshop.

The genealogy of *Suspended, cielos*, analyzed below, shows that Cererols was part of a network of musical influence and exchange that spread across Spain and the New World. Cererols may have drawn some of his own influences from a stay of several years in Madrid, after the religious orders of Catalonia fled there from the 1640 Catalan revolt. Cererols's time in Madrid coincided with the flourishing of new musical styles and forms at the royal court, led by the composers of the Royal Chapel, chapelmaster Carlos Patiño and court harpist and composer Juan Hidalgo. This means that Cererols was probably in Madrid when the first known version of *Suspended, cielos* was performed by the Royal Chapel on Christmas Eve 1651.

Cererols's version of the poetic text is quite close to this earliest imprint. Even if Cererols may not have had access to the venue of musical performance (the pliego does not specify the location), he or another member of his monastic community could certainly have obtained a copy of the commemorative imprint. The influence of the new styles from the Madrid court may be heard in Cererols's music, and the specific connection of his *Suspended cielos* to the 1651 Madrid pliego suggests a strong affinity between Cererols and the royal chapel.

The chronicler's claim that Cererols influenced musicians all over Spain is supported by the large number of Cererols's works that have survived, even though all the originals at Montserrat

were destroyed in 1811 when Napoleon's invading troops burned the monastery. For the first modern edition of music by Cererols in the 1930s, Dom David Pujols of Montserrat assembled no less than seventy-eight manuscripts, most of them probably copies by pupils or associates. The extant works include thirty-five villancicos, a larger number than what has survived by many of Cererols's contemporaries.⁶

4.1.1 *Suspended, cielos* by Cererols: Musical Manuscript Sources

It may have been one of Cererols's students who brought the setting of *Suspended, cielos*, along with several other Cererols compositions, to the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Canet de Mar (E-CAN: AU-0116, henceforth *CAN* for this source). The manuscript attribution to Cererols suggests the piece originated in the Abbey of Montserrat, though it could also have been commissioned from Cererols by another institution. The set of parts appears to be complete: the eight voice parts match the notation "a 8" in the music, plus an integral accompaniment part. The musical setting includes a fulsome estribillo for the full double-choir ensemble and six coplas scored for an alternating sequence of Tiple duet and the four voices of Chorus I (likely soloists), both with accompaniment. The layers of fingerprints on the fold of each partbook where a singer would hold up the music paper demonstrate that the piece was performed many times. The piece may have been copied for use in the Canet parish church—in which case the Canet musical ensemble must have been extraordinarily capable—or brought there from somewhere else like Montserrat as part of someone's personal collection.

In addition to this Canet manuscript, there is another source for this music—a previously unattributed set of manuscript performing parts in Barcelona's Biblioteca de Catalunya (E-Bbc: M/765/25, henceforth *Bbc* for this source). The Barcelona source includes only the estribillo, with music almost identical to that in *CAN*. *Bbc* lacks the Tenor I and accompaniment parts, and the

6. Joan Cererols, *Joan Cererols III*, ed. David Pujols, Mestres de l'Escolania de Montserrat 3 (Monestir de Montserrat, 1932).

coplas are missing as well. There is one significant musical variant in *Bbc*—a high ending for the Tiple I-1 (mm. 77–80)—but the rest of the musical text matches *CAN* even in most details of coloration and accidentals.

The Barcelona parts also include dynamic markings: “*eco*” and “*falso*,” which are used in repeated sections in polychoral dialogues. These markings began to appear in Hispanic villancicos after about 1660 and only became widespread around the last decade of the seventeenth century.⁷ If the parts were copied by an alumnus of the Montserrat Escolania who remembered how the piece was performed there, these markings could perhaps reflect an earlier performance practice under the leadership of Cererols. It is more likely, though, that they represent an attempt to accommodate the piece to the changing aesthetics around the turn of the century.

The original performance context for the Barcelona version of *Suspended, cielos* is not known, though both *CAN* and *Bbc* manuscripts reflect a Catalan origin. The poem *Suspended, cielos* is in Castilian Spanish, but the spelling of the lyrics in both manuscripts reflect distinctively Catalan pronunciation. First-language Castilian speakers from the heart of Castile would probably have pronounced the last syllable of *Suspended* with the voiced dental fricative *th* (IPA ð). But individual parts in both *CAN* and *Bbc* have the spelling “*Suspendet cielos*,” which fits with the phonology of Catalan. Catalan has “final obstruent devoicing” so that a final *-ed* would be pronounced *-et*.⁸

These manuscripts also show that the copyists and performers used an S sound for *ceceo* instead of the Castilian voiceless dental fricative *th* (IPA θ). Where the Castilian poetry imprints of this villancico represent this sound with a C or Z as in *ci, ce*, and *z*, the *CAN* and *Bbc* copyists write S, as these letters were pronounced with a Catalan accent. So instead of “*sollozos*,” they have “*sollossos*; instead of “*consonancia*” some parts have “*consonansia*.⁹ These orthographic variants

7. See the similar markings in Jerónimo de Carrión’s *Qué destemplada armonía*, ca. 1690–1700, in chapter 5.

8. Scott Myers and Megan Crowhurst, “Catalan Voicing Phenomena: Final Obstruent Devoicing,” in *Phonology: Case Studies*, Website (Austin, TX: The University of Texas at Austin, 2006), http://www.laits.utexas.edu/phonology/catalan/cat_voice2.html.

9. One sees the same phonetic spelling in the villancico manuscripts from Puebla, according to the predominant Andalusian accent of the New World immigrants.

confirm the Catalan provenance of these manuscripts and accord with the Montserrat chronicle's description of Cererols's influence in the region.

One musician who would seem a likely candidate for carrying the Cererols legacy to Barcelona, and perhaps this specific manuscript, is the organist Gabriel Manalt (1657–1687). Manalt was baptized in Cererols's own home town of Martorell. In such a small village, Manalt must have known the locally prominent Cererols family.¹⁰ Manalt was organist at the church of Santa María del Mar in Barcelona from 1679, according to the records of his *oposición* or audition, until his death. He also served as interim chapelmaster from August 2 to September 26, 1685.¹¹ In the notice of his burial at his home church in Martorell, Manalt was praised as “a man highly accomplished in the art of playing the organ, and unique in Catalonia.”¹² The Montserrat chronicle includes organists among the students of Cererols, and there is a strong probability that Manalt knew or studied with Cererols. If so, Gabriel Manalt could certainly have brought Cererols's music to Barcelona.

4.1.2 Ascription of Liturgical Function and Authorship

Suspended, cielos was originally a villancico for Christmas. The poetic text of the CAN version matches closely with the surviving poetry imprints, and all of the imprints document the singing of this text at Christmas, except for one from Epiphany (see table 4.3). The text, with its reference to the weeping Christ-child, is clearly dedicated to the Nativity. Therefore the Eucharistic dedication “al Santísimo Sacramento” on the cover page of the CAN bundle of partbooks, written in a different hand from the music, must be erroneous. As the poetic analysis below will demonstrate, this is a difficult poem, and its meaning may have been hard to guess by a later archivist unfamiliar with the work who wrote this dedication on the coverleaf.

10. It seems likely he was a student at the Escolania while Cererols was chapelmaster.

11. Balanza i González, “Joan Cererols (1618–1680): L’entorn familiar,” 70–71.

12. Martorell parroquial archive, *Llibre d’Òbits 1669–1689*, f. 146, quoted in ibid., 70.

By contrast, the text of the *Bbc* manuscript has been adapted for a Eucharistic theme. The liturgical function of the piece was altered by changing two lines of the lyrics (ll. 11–12). The reference to the cries of the baby Jesus in “Y con sollozos tiernos,/ un Niño soberano” is replaced by a reference to bread and Christ the man, “Y desde un pan divino/ un hombre soberano.” This change in *Bbc* shifts the Christmas theme of the *CAN* version to a general Eucharistic theme, so that the piece could be sung at more than just Christmas or Epiphany. We may assume that this is an alteration of the Cererols setting rather than an independent textual tradition for the following reasons: (1) Not one of the seven poetry imprints from this tradition includes these altered lines, but instead all agree with *CAN*; and (2) the rest of the lyrics in *Bbc* agree with *CAN*, even where *CAN* diverges from the poetry imprints. The alteration further strengthens the argument that the *CAN* manuscript was actually a Christmas piece, erroneously labeled with a Eucharistic dedication; otherwise the copyist of *Bbc* would not have felt the need to modify the poetry to articulate a Eucharistic theme.

Since the Eucharistic dedication in *CAN* and that manuscript’s attribution to Cererols are in the same hand on the same page, this suggestion does raise the possibility that the composer’s name was also a guess. But the musical style is consistent with Cererols’s other known works, and *Suspended, cielos* features high voicing and demanding vocal writing that would make sense for the Montserrat boys’ choir. The *CAN* manuscript is also preserved adjacent to several other Cererols pieces. The *Bbc* manuscript, though unattributed, is likewise grouped immediately adjacent to several other works in the Biblioteca de Catalunya that are attributed to Cererols. Within the signature E-Bbc: M/765, *Suspended, cielos* (no. 25) is followed by Cererols, *Señor, si ofensas* (no. 26). No. 14 is Cererols, *Pues que para la sepultura*, which remarkably includes both the composer’s score and the performing parts. The provenance of this archival signature in the Biblioteca de Catalunya is not known, but at least no. 14 originated with the composer himself, and must have been passed on through a chain of musicians connecting back to Cererols. The signature concludes with a different setting of *Pues que para la sepultura*—a poem not found in any known imprints,

but only in the Cererols manuscript—composed by Diego de Cáseda, chapelmaster in Zaragoza and composer of his own lost setting of *Suspended, cielos*. The same collection includes a work by Miguel Ambiel, a later occupant of the same post in Zaragoza and one of the subjects of chapter 6. Perhaps Cererols’s music passed through these composers directly, or through another party who collected scores from this interrelated network of musicians.

The poetry in this musical setting (both versions of the estribillo, plus the coplas in *CAN*) includes unique variants not found in any of the other sources of the poem. If Cererols was indeed the “excellent poet,” learned in letters, that the Montserrat chronicle says he was, then it makes sense that he would make such alterations to the poetic text of a villancico.

4.2 PERFORMANCE AND THE MUSICAL WORK IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY VILLANCICOS

Here it is worth pointing out a problem that recurs throughout the Hispanic villancico repertoire: villancicos were pieces of music transmitted only through manuscript and usually preserved only in performing parts, and thus the archival sources do not represent a musical work as an object. Rather, they are a set of instructions for performance in a particular venue, on a prescribed range of possible occasions, and by a specific ensemble—which is why some villancico manuscripts include the names of the performers on individual parts.

Only in the most elite settings were these manuscript copies made by professional copyists. This appears to have been the case for music performed by the Madrid Royal Chapel, in the examples preserved at the Escorial and in the collection of the Convento de la Encarnación now housed at Montserrat. The partbooks at Segovia Cathedral also appear to have been copied professionally, probably because the cathedral musicians had such close ties to Madrid (see chapter 5).

But in most other collections, the manuscripts were copied by a variety of unprofessional hands, sometimes in the same piece. The copyists may have been the performers themselves, and

were most likely not the composers. In many villancicos from the Sánchez Garza collection in Mexico City, originally from a convent in Puebla, one sister named Leonora copied all her own *bajón* parts, inscribed with her own name and written in a markedly different and less skillful hand from the other partbooks in the same set.¹³

Most villancico manuscripts show considerable wear, and many include added notations from performers or archivists, such as dates of performance (often well into the eighteenth century, long after the death of the composer), added barlines, and corrected accidentals, as in the Padilla villancicos in Puebla. Sometimes replacement texts pasted or sewn into the manuscript above the original text, as in numerous examples from the Sánchez Garza collection. Such notations were added by performers who were less familiar with the assumed conventions of the genre than were the first performers, for whom the parts were originally intended. Even within a set, one can observe different degrees of notational specificity: usually the upper chorus parts, intended for boys still in training, contain thoroughly notated rhythmic coloration, written-out ficta accidentals, and even cautionary accidentals. By contrast, the instrumental Bassus parts, intended for more highly trained adult instrumentalists (*bajón*, harp, organ), often lack coloration and accidentals except for the most unconventional musical patterns.

A set of villancico partbooks, then, represents a tradition of performance in a particular setting, not an independent artwork in the modern sense. Dianne Goldman has traced complex layers of quotation, borrowing, and arranging of older music across generations of Latin Responsory settings in Mexico City Cathedral.¹⁴ She argues that in many cases Mexico City chapelmasters did not consider their work of adaptation—even to the level of rearranging for a different text with new instrumentation—to constitute a new composition, but left intact the attribution to the original composer. The musical notation and the performance it made possible did function as a kind of devotional object in the church, a part of the church's furnishings or *fábrica* just as

13. For example, MEX-Mcen: CSG.196, *La corte del cielo* by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla.

14. Dianne Lehmann Goldman, "The Matins Responsory at Mexico City Cathedral, 1575-1815" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2014).

much as the altar paintings, statuary, and candlesticks. Like these objects, a musical piece could be altered or repaired as needed without ceasing to be considered the same piece.

Hispanic musicians did have strong notions of authorship, even though the use of the author's production might be more fluid. Pablo Rodríguez has identified examples where Miguel de Irízar in Segovia adapted works by Cristóbal Galán to suit the more modest capabilities of the Segovia ensemble, but Irízar still put Galán's name on the music and not his own.¹⁵ It would appear that for Irízar an arrangement of a Galán villancico still counted as a composition by Galán.

Homage seems to have been in a different category than adaptation, however. In chapter 6 we will discuss a piece by Miguel Ambielo based on an earlier model by Pablo Bruna. Ambielo's music is distinct enough from the model that it would bypass today's copyright restrictions, but at the same time, Ambielo makes such a direct homage that anyone familiar with the earlier piece would perceive it as a public statement of his affiliation to Bruna.

Poetic texts of villancicos, as will become clear in this chapter, were not accorded the same rights of attribution or authorship. They were passed from hand to hand, copied from published imprints, and probably also adapted from oral or semi-oral traditions. In a few cases, poetic imprints identify the author of the poetry, as in the pliegos of villancicos by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz or Manuel de León Marchante. But composers, or perhaps some other personnel in their institutions such as a learned cathedral canon, freely adapted, abridged, expanded, and centonized these poetic texts. The texts themselves were produced in increasingly conventionalized, predictable genres and styles, so that even when two texts are not identical, they often include the same basic tropes and conceits.

In the case of *Suspended, cielos*, the CAN manuscript is clearly attributed to Cererols and is a complete musical composition: the eight parts match the indication "a 8" in the parts themselves, and the accompaniment part is so integral to the setting that it must be original. The lyrics form

15. Pablo-Lorenzo Rodríguez, "Villancicos and Personal Networks in 17th-Century Spain," *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies* 8 (1998): 79–89.

a coherent poetic text that corresponds to a high degree with surviving poetry imprints from other settings of this textual tradition. The probability is high that the copyists of both Canet and Barcelona manuscripts had first or second-degree connections to Cererols and Montserrat. Two ensembles could perform simultaneously, one reading from *CAN* and the other from *Bbc*, and apart from some confusion of the lyrics, most listeners would hear the performance as a single composition. Thus the appendix presents a critical edition of both estribillos, based primarily on *CAN* but noting variants in *Bbc*. One could use this edition to reconstruct either Canet or Barcelona versions of the piece; but one may also consider the score to represent an abstract piece of music by Joan Cererols, which has been preserved in two documents of specific performance traditions.

4.3 POETIC AND THEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

With these considerations in mind, then, we may now turn to the text itself, asking what the villancico as set by Joan Cererols may reveal about changing understandings of music's theological power. An analysis of the poem's formal structure must be reserved for later, because the text is best understood as part of a tradition of variant texts.¹⁶ For now it suffices to point out that the estribillo begins and ends with an eleven-syllable phrase (ll. 1–2 and 13), and within these frames there are two paired quatrains with endings in the pattern *b cc d, b ee d* (ll. 3–6 and 7–10). The estribillo closes with a group of lines with syllable counts 7–7–11, which may evoke the poetic genres of *lira* or the *madrigal*. Both genres have obvious musical associations that would make this metrical gesture into a metamusical reference at the level of poetic structure. The coplas in the Cererols versions are six metrically regular quatrains of romance in *-a -o*.¹⁷

16. Note that for this reason the discussion of the poem in this section and of Cererols's music in the next will be keyed to the Cererols version of the poem shown in poem 4.1. An alternate version (a hypothetical reconstruction of the earliest exemplar) with a different numbering of lines will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

17. The one exception to this pattern, in l. 29, seems to be an error of copying or more likely of memory; the printed sources of the poem have “vano” instead of “grande,” which both preserves the romance assonance and makes theological sense.

Theologically, this poem turns a glossary of musical terms into theological double conceits, much as Padilla's *Voces* does. It will be helpful to give an overview of the overall idea before delving into the details. This text (see poem 4.1) concentrates on the relationship between the song or chant of the heavenly spheres and the crying voice of the newborn Christ. The voice of Christ here manifests the incarnate Word, and as Christ both embodies and creates perfect harmony between God and Man, his voice is described as a "sovereign concord" (l. 26), which "brings order to the dissonance of the clay" (ll. 24–25) and "adjusts the meter" of the first man Adam's "heedless fugue" or flight ("fugas") from Paradise (ll. 14–17). This voice is "the newer consonance" (l. 4), before which the spheres must cease their song and simply listen. The implication is that what passes for consonance in the material world is dissonant or out of tune by comparison to this new song. Indeed, Christ's weeping cries—those at his birth and those upon the cross, which the others presage—are to be the "plainchant" upon which the spheres are to build a new music, the polyphonic "cadence" of a new heavens and new earth. (ll. 11–13 and 34–37).

4.3.1 Musical-Theological Conceits

The poetic use of musical language in *Suspended, cielos* functions less on the level of individual words with punning double meanings, as in Padilla's *Voces* or in Pablo Bruna's *Suban las voces* (chapter 6) than as an extended metaphor. The text begins as many other villancicos do, with an exhortation to the audience to be quiet and listen. But here the group addressed is not the congregation of human worshippers, as in most villancicos that begin with "Escuchad," "Silencio," and the like. Nor does poem speak to the human chorus as in *Voces, las de la capilla*. Instead this exordium speaks directly to the "cielos" or heavens.

The poem distinguishes between the music of the heavenly spheres and the music of the spiritual realm of Heaven. The meaning of "cielos" can be ambiguous. In Spanish letters of this period, the term can refer to anything above the earth in the geocentric Ptolemaic cosmos—the sky, the planetary and stellar spheres, or the spiritual world beyond. The latter concept (equivalent

Poem 4.1

Suspended, cielos: Poem as set by Cererols in Canet de Mar manuscript

[ESTRIBILLO]

Suspended, cielos,
vuestro dulce canto;
tened, parad, escuchad
la más nueva consonancia
5 que forman en su distancia
lo eterno y lo temporal.
Escuchad,
que entonan las jerarquías
en sonoras armonías,
10 contrapunto celestial.
Y con sollozos tiernos,
un Niño soberano^a
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 entoning
in resounding harmonies
celestial counterpoint.
And with tender sobs,
a sovereign baby boy
bears the plainsong to the angels.

COPLAS

1. Las fugas que el primer hombre^b
15 formó en desatentos pasos;
al compás ajusta un Niño
de las perlas de su llanto.

2. Qué mucho si a los despeños^c
que le ocasionó un engaño,
20 bella corriente de aljófar,
grillos le previene blandos.

3. Una voz que ha dado el cielo,
de metal más soberano
a ordenar entra sonora
25 la disonancia del barro.

1. 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.^d

3. A voice that heaven has given,
of the most sovereign timbre,
to bring order, enters resounding
into the dissonance of the clay.

a. In place of *CAN* ll. 11–12, *Bbc* has “y desde un pan divino/ un hombre soberano” (and through divine bread, a sovereign man).

b. *CAN*: “Las fugas del.” Texts from *CAN* believed to be errors are amended in several places to accord with the readings from the consensus of poetic manuscripts.

c. *CAN*: “Qué mucho que.”

d. Translation uncertain.

Poem 4.1
Continued

	4. Concierto tan soberano sólo pudo ser reparo, con una voz tan humilde, de un desentono tan vano. ^e	4. So sovereign a concord/concerto could only be a restoration, with so humble a voice, of so vain a discord.
30	5. En las pajas sostenido ^f dulcemente se ha escuchado, ligar en pajas lo eterno, reducir lo inmenso a espacio. ^g	5. Upon the straw sustained/sharp sweetly he has been heard, binding in straw the eternal, reducing the immense to this space/slowly.
35	6. Divina cláusula sea deste eterno canto llano, que forma en su movimiento de cada punto un milagro.	6. Let there be a divine cadence of this eternal plainsong, which forms in its movement a miracle from each point/note.

e. CAN: Tiple I-1 has “desatento” instead of “desentono” (untunefulness); both vocal parts have “tan grande” instead of the metrically correct “tan vano” in the poetry imprints.

f. Tiple I-1 and 2: “sosteniendo” (sustaining/sharpening); Altus I and Tenor I, with poetry imprints: “sostenido.”

g. All the CAN partbooks have “lo inmenso espacio,” most likely a contraction for “lo inmenso a espacio,” as in all the poetry imprints.

to “Heaven” in English) is more often denoted by the “el cielo” in the singular, or by the specific cosmological term, “cielo Empyreo” (perhaps “highest Heaven” or “God’s heaven”).

But the opening exhortation to silence appears addressed specifically to the planetary spheres, not to the angels. The term “distancia” in l. 5 (distance or interval) was a technical term (“distantia” in Latin) used in astronomical and cosmological texts such as Kircher’s *Musurgia universalis* to refer to the spaces between the spheres. The word is also used to mean a musical interval in music-theoretical texts. As is well known, in seventeenth century Catholic cosmology, these heavenly spheres were believed to move and therefore sound at harmonic intervals from each other. The Spanish music-theoretical texts by Cerone, Lorente, and Nasarre all build their musical systems on this concept, with various specifications for the actual musical content of this heavenly music. Further evidence that the villancico is addressed to the planetary spheres is the reference in copla 6 (ll. 34–37) to “movement”—a defining characteristic of the spheres—and to “points,”

which could be the stars and planets themselves.

In l. 8 the subjects being addressed are told to listen to what “the hierarchies are entoning.” “Jerarquías” was a technical term from theology to refer to the levels of heavenly beings, classes of angels like cherubim and seraphim. The term alludes to a rich tradition of angelology promulgated in this period in works like Blasco Lanuza’s 1652 *Patrocinio de ángeles y combate de demonios*, and of course to “The Celestial Hierarchy” of (pseudo-)Dionysius the Areopagite, which was frequently cited by Spanish theologians.

Athanasius Kircher, too, follows a long tradition of interpreting Col. 1:16 as a taxonomy of spiritual beings, where St. Paul proclaims Christ’s supremacy over “all things in heaven [caelis] and earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers.”¹⁸ Kircher maps each member of his list of heavenly beings (plus lists of planets, animals, minerals, and more) to notes of the musical scale.¹⁹ While Kircher sees “everything in heaven and earth” as part of a grand musical system, he makes a clear distinction between the music of the planetary spheres and that of the angelic beings—in terms of *Suspended, cielos*, between the “distancias” and the “jerarquías.” The “Romance” verses that appear in other versions of this villancico, though not set to music by Cererols, make it even more clear that the addressee of the estribillo is the heavenly spheres, not the angels. Indeed, the spheres are commanded to stop and listen to what the angels are singing.

This rhetorical device recalls many similar passages of Scripture. The notion that “the heavens” (“caeli” in the Vulgate) should sing the praises of God predates the Boethian concept of “music of the spheres,” as it is attested throughout the Hebrew Psalms and many other places. Psalm 18 (sung at Christmas Matins, Nocturne 1, second psalm), begins “Caeli enarrant gloriam Dei” (the heavens are telling the glory of God).²⁰ Psalm 95 (Nocturne 3, second psalm), which begins

18. “quia in ipso condita sunt universa/ in caelis et in terra/ visibilia et invisibilia/ sive throni/ sive dominationes/ sive principatus/ sive potestates/ omnie per ipsum et in ipso creata sunt”

19. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis, sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X. libros digesta* (Rome, 1650), bk. 2, 393.

20. Catholic Church, *Breviarium Romanum ex decreto Sacros. Conc. Trident. Restitutum Pii V. Pont. Max. iuss*

“Cantate Domino canticum novum” (Sing [ye] to the Lord a new song), addresses the heavens in the antiphon drawn from verse 11: “Lateantur caeli et exultet terra” (Let the heavens rejoice and the earth exult). The opening “Suspended, cielos,/ vuestro dulce canto” assumes that, as these passages state, the “heavens” do sing praises; but in contrast to these passages, the villancico exordium orders the heavens to stop their singing. Moses uses the same gesture at the beginning of his canticle in Deut. 32: “Audite caeli quae loquor/ audiat terra verba oris mei” (Give ear, O heavens, to what I speak; let the earth hear the words of my mouth). The Revelation to John depicts this same song of Moses as being sung by the chorus of angels, “living creatures,” and saints in heaven (Rev. 15:3).²¹ The prophecies of Isaiah (which as we have seen were of central importance to the Christmas Matins liturgy) begin with almost the same exhortation as that of Moses, except now it is God himself to whom the heavens must listen: “audite caeli et auribus percipe terra/ quoniam Dominus locutus est” (Give ear, O heavens, and let the earth listen as with ears, for the Lord has spoken). In Rev. 8:1, the heavens fall silent when the Lord’s word is spoken: after the seventh seal is opened, and before the angels blow their seven trumpets of doom, “factum est silentium in caelo quasi media hora” (there was silence in heaven for about half an hour).

The central conceit of the estribillo is that the spheres must cease their music and listen to the new, higher music—“the newest consonance”—that is proceeding from the “singing” of baby Jesus’s crying voice and extending upwards like a plainsong cantus firmus for the music of the angels. The coplas situate the miracle of Christ’s birth in the context of salvation history, going back to “the first man,” Adam, describing everything in parallel musical and theological discourse.

In copla 1, Adam’s fall from grace and expulsion from Eden are presented as a “fugue” (the same word as “flight”), formed in “heedless paces” or “careless steps.” “Pasos” could refer either to the steps of melodic intervals, or to the paces of rhythmic values. Of course, good harmony in a fugue depends on all the voices entering at the proper intervals, both melodically and rhythmically,

editum, & Clementis VIII Primum, nunc denuo Vrbani Pp. VIII auctoritate recognitum ([Rome?], 1631).

21. Notably for the discussion of José de Cáceda’s villancico in chapter 6, they sing this with “citharas.”

so that the streams of counterpoint align correctly. Adam's composition is marred not by lack of skill but by inattention or rashness: Adam was a bad musician, theologically speaking, because he was an inattentive listener to God's (counterpoint) rules and failed to "follow" the divine theme laid out in the simple law not to eat from the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. As a result, just as in a fugue, one voice states the subject and then all subsequent voices follow it, so Adam passed on his sin to all who came after him. *Musica humana* is out of tune because it is based on Adam's inattentive, disobedient theme rather than on that of God. God's own theme, then, has now been sounded forth in the voice of the "New Adam"—Christ. Thus, the copla says, "A baby boy adjusts the measure through the pearls of his crying." Christ's voice specifically fixes the compás or meter, setting the voices back in proper rhythmical alignment. This is a very similar conceit to the image of Christ giving the compás, or laying down the beat, in Jalón's *Cantores de la capilla*.

The Gongoresque second copla is cryptic but the basic idea seems to be that the tears of Christ (the "pearls," a metonym for the fullness of Christ's life and sacrificial death) restrain Adam/Man from the full consequences of the Fall. The musical terms here appear to be "despeños" (falls, as in melodical descents); "corriente" (running, perhaps like a melisma); and "blandos," a term for flats (synonymous with "bemolizados").

The third and fourth coplas describe the Incarnation in musical terms: Christ's voice, given from heaven, enters resounding—it enters as real, physical sound, not just theological Music—into the dissonance of the clay, that is, of the human body itself (since Adam was formed from the dust of the earth). Because of original sin all *musica humana* was formed in dissonance. Christ's body, then, was the first body to be completely free from this dissonance, and as a result is able to bring order to the rest of creation. Of course, "barro" could also refer to the muddy feed-trough in which Christ was born. That humble child's voice sounds forth the perfect concord of the God-Man, since the term "concierto" means both concord and "concerto." This voice corrects the "desatento" of Adam's song.

Coplas 5 and 6 are similar to the last copla of Padilla's *Voces*. They present Christ himself as a musical composition that brings together the infinite and the finite. The baby Jesus, "sustaining" (or "sharpening") on his bed of straw, "ties" or "binds" together ("ligar," as in ligature) the eternal in the tiny package of a newborn human body, reducing himself ("reducir" also being a possible musical term) to a small "space." The *CAN* partbooks all have "inmensio spacio," probably a contraction for "inmenso a espacio," which is what all the printed poetic sources have. The phrase is fitting since "a espacio" is a musical term meaning "slowly"—it is used in the partbooks of Carrión's *Qué destemplada armonía*, chapter 6.

The word "ligar" is part of a triple metaphor. As a musical metaphor, the term indicates Christ "tying" together divine and human as in a musical ligature. It is also an agricultural term for tying up a bale of hay, so Christ, the limitless God, has reduced himself to this tiny bundle in swaddling clothes, laid in the manger.²² "Ligar" is an (al-)chemical term as well, indicating the mixture of an impure metal with a more pure one to create an alloy; "reducir" could also have a chemical sense. Both words refer to the mysterious union Christ forms between divine and human natures.²³

This binding of temporal and eternal refers to a doctrine disseminated in the Tridentine catechism, namely, that Christ had "two births"—one eternal and one temporal. As God, Christ was conceived by the Father before all ages (or all worlds—the word "saeculum" means both). As a man, Christ was conceived by the Holy Spirit of the Virgin Mary at a specific moment.²⁴

22. This perspective comes from a conversation with Padre Daniel Codina of the Monastery of Montserrat, drawn from his own childhood on a farm.

23. Lapide speaks of Christ's being wrapped in swaddling cloths using the phrases "infasciavit eum" and "ligavit pollices ejus"; Cornelius a Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, in *Commentaria in scripturam sacram* (London: J. P. Pelagaud, ca. 1868), 671. In the Spanish version of his 1595 Christmas sermon Fray Luis de Granada describes the baby Jesus as "liado con una faja" (in appendix A, para. 20), and uses "estrechar" to speak of Christ confining himself to be conceived as human: "Grande humildad es ser Dios concebido y estrecharse en el vientre de una mujer" (para. 25). The latter idea draws on Augustine's notion of Christ as *Verbum abbreviatum* (see *ibid.*, 670).

24. Catholic Church, *Catechismus ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini: iussu Pij V. pontif. max. editus* [...] (London, 1614), 42: "Deus, quantum tamen diuinis human conferri possunt, seipsum intelligens, Verbum aeternum generat, & si praestat contemplari, quod fides proponit, & sinceramente Iesum Christum erum Deum, & verum hominem credere, & confiteri, genitum quidem, vt Deum, ante omnium saeculorum aetates, ex Patre: vt hominem verò natum in tempore, ex matre Maria virgine. Et quamquam duplicem eius natuitatem agnoscemos, vnum tamen filium esse credimus. Vna enim persona est, in quam diuina, & humana natura conuenit."

This occurred when Mary responded to the angel of the Annunciation “Let it be with your servant according to your will.” In that moment, Christ limited himself to the temporal world and the finite limits of the human body.²⁵

The final copla sums up the musical-theological conceit. This new harmonious music is described as a “cláusula” or cadence (or perhaps just “phrase”). In traditional polyphonic composition, the chant cantus firmus dictated the nature of all the cadences. Thus the Music of the incarnate Christ, his voice sounded forth in infant cries, should form the plainsong cantus firmus for the music of the spheres, the music of a new creation.

4.4 MUSICAL ANALYSIS

Cererols sets *Suspended cielos* for two choirs of four voices each (SSAT, SATB) plus accompaniment (the untexted bass of chorus II was probably played instrumentally). Cererols balances the classic homophonic polychoral textures of Spanish villancicos against more soloistic sections in a newer style. Reflecting a new development for the genre in the last half of the seventeenth century, the six coplas are through-composed, with different combinations of voices for each verse.

The voicing of Cererols’s setting corresponds closely to the ensemble depicted in a painting in the monastery museum from about 1639, just after Cererols enrolled as a novice (detail in figure 4.1).²⁶ The painting shows the Madonna of Montserrat, flanked by the abbot Juan Manuel de Espinosa with St. Benedict and other saints. At the Virgin’s feet is the Escolania choir. They are divided in two groups. The boys on the left play a shawm, two cornets, and a sackbut, constituting an SAAT or SSAT ensemble. The boys on the right include three singers and a bajón player, matching the chorus II of *Suspended, cielos*. Another boy in the middle is singing or conducting (or both) while holding a partbook. The partbook suggests that they are not singing a Latin liturgical

25. Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, 49.

26. Josep de C. Laplana, *Museu de Montserrat: La sorpresa de l’art* (Abadia de Montserrat: Museu de Montserrat, 2011), 34.



Figure 4.1

The Escolania de Montserrat, detail of *Mare de Déu de Montserrat*, anonymous, Madrid school, ca. 1639 (Museu de Montserrat)

work (which were usually written in choirbooks and read from a lectern), but a villancico.

One striking feature of the Cererols villancicos is their high written tessitura. Here the ambitus of the Tiple I-1 extends up to C₆, with a tessitura centering around A₅. The lowest vocal parts (the two Tenor parts), meanwhile, only go down to A₃. There can be little doubt that transposition was a common practice, and that pitch in general probably fluctuated widely from one site to another. Nevertheless, nearly all of Cererols's published works have the same high tessitura and similar disposition of voices. The members of the Escolania de Montserrat were trained in singing through daily ensemble practice every day of their lives from an early age. Particularly if we assume that the pitch level at Montserrat might have been as much as a minor third lower than A-440, then these vocal ranges would square with the capabilities of this virtuoso chorus of boys and adolescents. The high ranges in particular would have been supported by instrumental doubling, as depicted in the painting in figure 4.1.

The villancicos of Cererols are generally distinguished by their sobriety and dignity, which is somewhat unusual for the genre, but would be fitting for their special performance venue in a mountaintop Marian shrine and monastery. The pilgrims who listened to the choir at Montserrat were people inclined to endure difficulty for spiritual purification. Such listeners would probably prefer to hear the boys' choir singing in solemn austerity rather than the earthier villancicos sung

in their parish churches.

4.4.1 Esterillo

This villancico demonstrates large-scale compositional planning, with an elegant, balanced, polished form. Cererols sets each poetic line or pair of lines in the estribillo to a distinct phrase of music, but he groups these sections by style, meter, and by cadence points. Cererols follows the structure of the poem, creating three primary sections, as shown in table 4.1. In a manner that might be compared to keyboard variation toccatas or *praeludia*, Cererols begins with an attention-grabbing statement that functions like a rhetorical *exordium*, and then follows with a series of subsections in contrasting styles, including homorhythmic polychoral declamation; a more soloistic, melody-oriented, but dissonance-laden style; and classical imitative counterpoint. Interjections (or in rhetorical terms, perhaps *confutationes*) punctuate these sections and clear the air for modal, metrical, and stylistic shifts.

Cererols unifies these sections by developing two primary motives throughout them. The first, motive A, is an ascending stepwise third followed by a descending step, and is first heard in the Altus I of the opening measure. The second, motive B, is a descending stepwise fifth, first heard clearly in the Tiple I-1 of mm. 22–23. Motive B grows in prominence throughout the movement, eventually serving as the subject of a fugue in mm. 38–47 and playing the role of a cantus firmus in the motet-like section in mm. 47–58. The interjection sections stand out for not developing either motive.

Cererols begins the villancico like Padilla's, with polychoral dialogue, so that the two choirs enact the opening exhortation to the heavens by exhorting each other (example 4.1). This first section (mm. 1–10) is in classic polychoral style and form. The concluding cadence of this section confirms the modal final of D; the ambitus of the Tenor parts (A to A) indicates that the piece is in mode 2 (plagal on D).

On the level of word-painting, Cererols represents the word “suspended” according to both

Table 4.1
Cererols, *Suspended, cielos*, formal structure of estribillo setting

Lines	Measures	Cadence	Musical Characteristics	Motive
1–2	1–10	<i>d</i>	“Exordium,” homorhythmic declamation in polychoral dialogue; CZ meter	A
3	11–18	A	Interjection, fragmented dialogue; C meter	
4–6	19–30	<i>d</i>	Dissonant, “modern,” soloistic, moving to imitative polyphony; return to CZ	A, B
7	30–33	C	Interjection, polychoral dialogue	
8–9	33–38	A	Dissonant music from mm. 19–30 returns	A, B
10	38–47	<i>d</i>	Classical counterpoint, fugue <i>a 8</i> ; switch to C meter	B
11	47–58	a	Dissonant suspensions, sustained contrapuntal texture	A
12	58–61	a	Interjection, polychoral dialogue	
13a	61–74	<i>d</i>	Classical counterpoint: double fugato, like cantus-firmus motet	B
13b	75–81	D	Tutti conclusion, homorhythmic polychoral dialogue	A

of its possible meanings—“be quiet” or “suspend.” As the singers invoke the heavens, they all ascend on “cielos,” singing the word on an offbeat note that is “suspended” rhythmically across the downbeat (mm. 1–3). Then all the voices rest on the fourth minim (second compás) of m. 3. Next chorus I follows its own advice, and “suspends” its song by singing suspensions at the final cadence (in mm. 8–9, first a 4–3 suspension in the Alto and then one in the Tenor).

While the subchoirs address each other in this way, they are also addressing the congregation. Thus the first three lines of the poem are an imaginary exordium addressed to the spheres; but the musical setting of these lines doubles as a real exordium addressed to the human listeners.

For the third line of poetry (“tened, parad, escuchad”), Cererols has the ensemble change from CZ meter to C meter. In mm. 11–18, the chorus sings these words with a halting rhythmic figure in *corcheas* interrupted with rests. As the section proceeds, the choirs begin to respond to each other more quickly, so that there is an increase of excitement toward the end of the phrase. The singers cadence on A, contrasting with the first cadence on D as a quasi-dominant, and thereby creating

Example 4.1
Cererols, *Suspended, cielos*, opening with A motive

momentum for the new section to begin. This whole opening section is followed by another minim rest for the whole ensemble (m. 19), as the final cadence on “escuchad” would resound within the Montserrat sanctuary. The *eco* and *falso* dynamic markings in the *Bbc* manuscript would heighten the dramatic effect of the words “hold, stop, listen.”

The middle section begins in m. 19. The lines of poetry set to music here (ll. 4–6) concern the central musical-theological conceit of the piece—the “más nueva consonancia” or newer consonance (in Christ) that is to contrast with and correct the music of the spheres. For this phrase, “la más nueva consonancia,” the style shifts from homophonic, polychoral dialogue to a more chamber-like texture for the four voices of chorus I (example 4.2). The meter returns to CZ meter, now with a lilting, repetitive dotted pattern as the Tiple I-2 (possibly a soloist) sings an independent melodic line that is echoed and supported by the other voices of Chorus I. The Tiple

The musical score consists of five staves. Staff 1 (Ti. I-1) starts with a dotted half note followed by a measure in 6/2 time. Staff 2 (Ti. I-2) begins with a dotted half note followed by a measure in 6/2 time. Staff 3 (A. I) starts with a dotted half note followed by a measure in 6/2 time. Staff 4 (T. I) starts with a dotted half note followed by a measure in 6/2 time. Staff 5 (Ac.) starts with a dotted half note followed by a measure in 6/2 time. The vocal parts (Ti. I-1, Ti. I-2, A. I, T. I) sing the lyrics "la más nueva consonancia" in unison. The continuo part (Ac.) provides harmonic support. Motive A is indicated by brackets over the first two measures of each staff, and Motive B is indicated by brackets over the last two measures of each staff.

Example 4.2

Cererols, *Suspended, cielos*, “the newest consonance” sung on a dissonance, with A and B motives

I-2 begins with only the instrumental continuo accompaniment—the first time that accompaniment has had an independent role—and the other three voices respond together. The phrase begins with motive A (the rising and falling third), here E-F(♯?)-G-F(♯). The varied repetition of this motive leads to the first clear statement of motive B, beginning in the Tiple I-1 in m. 35 (A-G-F-E-D), on the word “consonancia.” By introducing these motives on this line of poetry (“la más nueva consonancia”), Cererols makes this poetic and theological idea his central theme. The shift in meter here back to triple, and the new, cyclical rhythmic pattern, combine with the repetitious melodic figures that rise and fall again. These features suggest a musical depiction of the motions of the heavenly spheres.

Here Cererols presents the listener with a musical paradox. The first time anyone sings the word “consonancia,” Cererols has the vocalist sing it on a dissonance (G against C♯, Tiple I-2, m. 20, third note). Moreover, it is an unprepared dissonance, and is then repeated. In the next phrase,

Cererols uses dissonances again on the word “distancias” (an exquisite $\frac{7}{5} - \frac{6}{4} - \frac{6}{3}$ voice leading) when he is referring to the heavenly spheres.

On “lo eterno y lo temporal,” Cererols has the singers assert motive B prominently in a full-ensemble fugal texture: the descending fifth in the Tenor II (mm. 26–27) is imitated by the Tiple I-1 and I-2 (mm. 27–28); and answered in inversion by Alto II (mm. 27–28) and the Tenor I (mm. 46–49). The Tiple I-1 actually sings both the descending and inverted versions of the motive in sequence (mm. 27–28). This, together with the other simultaneously rising and falling lines creates an effect similar to the end of the estribillo in Padilla’s *Voces*. As in the Padilla villancico, this compositional device is more than just good fugal technique; it symbolizes and dramatizes the linkage of “the eternal and temporal” and is also a trope for angelic music. This phrase includes both choirs in a culminating cadence, returning to the modal final of D.

Now the full chorus interjects homophonically, “Escuchad, escuchad.” The sudden shift to dotted rhythms in homorhythmic texture and polychoral dialogue, as well as the local shift to cadences on G and C, could startle the congregation (as an interjection should) and redirect their attention from angelic and Christological music back to that of the spheres, who are again told to “listen.” The shift to cadencing on C for this interjection matches the function of this poetic line as a hinge verse in the middle of the central section. The next phrase (“que entonan las jerarquías”) somewhat recalls the music for “que forman en su distancia” (mm. 24–26); Chorus II sings in homorhythmic counterpoint, contrasting with the polychoral dialogue preceding. In referring to the music that the heavenly beings are “intoning,” Cererols has the second chorus sing a plagal cadence on C, like the end of an organ intonation preceding a choral verset.

In m. 33, for “en sonoras armonías,” Cererols repeats the music he used earlier for “la más nueva consonancia,” thereby reiterating the A and B motives. Here the repeated dissonances again function ironically against the words “in resounding harmonies.”

That phrase in Chorus I leads to a cadence on A, at which point the meter shifts again to C

meter and the ensemble breaks into a strict fugato for eight equal polyphonic voices (example 4.3). The fugue subject is motive B, the descending stepwise fifth, which again is juxtaposed immediately against its inversion. The fugue cadences once again on D, confirming the modal center to concluding the second section. Here the classical fugue, paradigm of elevated counterpoint and musical perfection, represents “contrapunto celestial” (heavenly counterpoint).

The next section (mm. 47–58), contrasts with the fugue in style and motivic content. This music is similar harmonically to the music for “la más nueva consonancia,” but this section is in duple meter (Cererols maintains *compasillo* through to the end of the estribillo) and the more continuous polyphonic texture. This section emphasizes motive A, the rising and falling third, as in the Alto II, mm. 49–50. Cererols expressively depicts Christ’s “sollozos” or sobs through increased chromatic inflections, suspensions, and dissonances, with a steady, throbbing rhythmic motion in minims and semiminims. The section culminates in a particularly sobbing $\frac{6}{5}$ sonority in m. 56 in a relatively low register, which resolves to a cadence on A. The homophonic polychoral style returns for the sprightly statement of “un Niño soberano,” which functions as another musical interjection to articulate the musical structure and set up the final section.

In the concluding section, mm. 61–74, Cererols depicts the baby Jesus “bearing the plainsong to the angels” by having his choir sing in the style of a cantus-firmus motet (example 4.4). The cantus firmus here is the plainsong-like motive B, sung in the Tiple I-1, mm. 61–65, on long notes (mostly semibreves) to the words “el canto llano.” This “plainchant” melody is passed from one voice to the other while the remaining voices sing a contrasting theme in shorter note values (possibly a variant of motive A), making a kind of double fugato.

The choirs cadence on D in m. 74, and then sing a rousing concluding that brings back material from the opening, rather like a rhetorical *peroratio*. Here motive A returns (Alto II, m. 74), and Cererols confirms the modal final with plagal cadences (back and forth between G—with added “minor” flat—and D).

Every point of stability in the musical-rhetorical structure was articulated with a cadence on

41

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

T. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

Example 4.3
Cererols, *Suspended, cielos, fugato a 8* for “celestial counterpoint” on motive B subject

68

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

T. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

a los án-geles lle-va el can-to lla - no, el can-to lla -

el can - - to lla - no, el can-to lla -

lla - - no, el can-to lla -

lle - va, a los án-geles lle-va el can-to lla-no, el can-to lla -

- - no, a los án-geles lle-va el can-to lla -

no, el can-to lla - no, el can-to lla -

el can - - to lla - - no, el can-to lla -

el can-to lla -

Example 4.4

Cererols, *Suspended, cielos*, motet-like conclusion with motive B as cantus firmus

D, but only this final cadence includes notated F sharps (in both manuscripts). While sharps may have been added to the other cadences in performance, it seems more likely that withholding the major third until the end is a deliberate structural choice by Cererols.

4.4.2 Coplas

The six coplas are set to two strains of music for each pair of strophes, though each time they are varied slightly.²⁷ Cererols has composed these two strains in such a way that different parts of the music fit with the text of each copla. This is evident even in comparing the coplas based on the same strain of music (the odd numbers as one group and the evens as the other).

In copla 1, the four singers (probably soloists) and accompaniment enact the “heedless paces” of Adam’s “flight” by singing a relatively unbalanced rhythmic pattern (mm. 81–85). The next phrase, in contrast, represents Christ restoring metrical order to Adam’s song with a metrically even rhythmic pattern (mm. 85–87). For “las perlas de su llanto” the musicians sing a melodic figure that drops like a falling tear, then leaps back up and ascends stepwise in long notes, like a song of lament. This passage is also a fugato, thus representing the “fugue” mentioned at the beginning of the copla. Of course, the fugato subject is a variant of the estribillo’s motive B, the descending-fifth subject of the fugue on “celestial counterpoint” and the cantus firmus used to represent Christ’s “plainsong.”

In copla 3, Cererols uses essentially the same music, but since it is now set to different words, the audience would likely perceive a different set of connections between musical and verbal texts. The music used in copla 1 for the description of Adam’s fall is now reused to describe the voice of Christ. The addition of ornamentation in the highest voice (copla 3, m. 110) helps shift the emphasis to this new concept. The metrically regular music used in copla 1 for Christ resetting the meter is here used for “a ordenar entra sonora”—essentially the same idea. The fugal passage that follows, originally used for the tears of Christ (and Adam’s fugue), is now used for

27. The only source for the coplas is *CAN*.

“la dissonancia del barro.” With the new words it is easier for a listener to notice the dissonances in this contrapuntal passage, as though it were indeed formed in “heedless steps”: in addition to the numerous suspensions and resulting dissonances, the Tiple 2 sings direct fifths with the accompaniment on the word “disonancia” (m. 115), and the Tiple 2 and Alto sing direct fifths in the following bar. The most blatant case is when the outer voices sing direct fifths going into m. 20, especially since that contrapuntal crudity functions to avoid the greater offense of parallel octaves between outer voices that would otherwise be formed.²⁸ These dissonances and intentional partwriting solecisms might not be noticed as much in the first copla, or might contribute to portraying the idea of Christ’s tears, or of Adam’s “heedless” fugue. But in the second copla, they seem to tailored to fit the new text.

When Cererols reuses this music again in copla 5, a listener might hear yet a different set of connections. Now the word “sostenido,” which can mean either “sustained” or “sharp,” aligns with the F♯ in Tiple 1 (copla 5, mm. 136–137, with ficta). For “ligar en pajas lo eterno,” Cererols alters the top voice so that it includes a ligature in mm. 140–141. And in the fugato passage, instead of noticing the fugal texture or dissonances, one might notice that the concept of “reducing the immense” to a small space coincides with a contrapuntal wedge figure between Tiple 2 and accompaniment. At the same time, a melodic motive in the Tiple 2 (the fugato subject) establishes a melodic space with its opening fifth leap and then fills in or “reduces the space” through a stepwise descent.

The even-numbered coplas contrast with the odd verses by using a soloistic texture for two independent voices and continuo (example 4.5). The music is based on similar materials: compare the fugato subject in copla 1 to the Tiple I-2 figure on “que a los despeños” in copla 2. The soloists continually imitate each other in the concertato style of an Italian sacred concerto (such as those of Monteverdi or Grandi from earlier in the century). This makes sense, since the text of copla 4

28. The parallel unisons or octaves between the accompaniment and the lowest voice part, in contrast, are quite common in villancicos (particularly in the later seventeenth century), since the accompaniment is often little more than a *basso seguente*.

Example 4.5

Cererols, *Suspended, cielos*, even coplas in the style of a sacred “concierto”

is “concierto tan soberano.”²⁹ There are few other known examples known that use this specific type of Italian concerto style in a villancico. Catalonia had long historical ties with Italy, and it is possible that new-style Italian sacred music was known in the region.

Copla 2 begins with music similar to that used in the estribillo for “la más nueva consonancia.” The singers depict the “falls” with melismatic ornaments. The “running stream of pearls” aligns with the flowing, undulating passage in mm. 99–103, with the voices intertwining in an even rhythmic flow. The final phrase is similar to that of the odd-numbered coplas, based on a variant of the estribillo motive B. Cererols may depict the “holding back” idea of “previenen” with multiple rhythmic anticipations of the downbeat. It is also possible that the sharps in this passage ironically or paradoxically portray the flats implied by “blandos.”

29. The 1651 poetic imprint actually has “concierto tan sagrado,” which appears to be an even more direct allusion to the specific genre of sacred concerto.

In copla 4, the music is almost identical, but now the concertato texture comes to the forefront as a representation of the “concierto.” In copla 6, Cererols embellishes the final phrase to match both the reference to “points,” to the affective idea of wonder at the “miracle,” and to the general reference to the “cláusula” that the heavens are forming, based on Christ’s plainchant. It makes sense that this ornamented passage is an embellishment of motive B, the same figure used for that plainchant in the estribillo.

4.5 MUSICAL-THEOLOGICAL SYMBOLISM

Considering the villancico as a whole, Cererols builds a coherent and dramatically compelling large-scale structure out of contrasting subsections, developing two primary motives. A primary musical characteristic of this villancico is the stylistic contrast between evocations of old-style polyphony and music in a more modern style that is more soloistic and chromatic. A clear example is in mm. 33–39 (“en sonoras armonías/ contrapunto celestial”): Cererols sets “sonoras armonías” with the same soloistic, dissonance-laden music in CZ meter he used earlier for “la más nueva consonancia,” but then shifts suddenly to duple meter (C meter) for a classical fugato on “contrapunto celestial” starting in m. 38. Where triple meter was the hallmark of Spanish villancicos, most Spanish liturgical polyphony with Latin texts was in duple meter. Thus Cererols seems to be using a kind of polystylistic technique to create a contrast between earthly music (including the spheres) and heavenly (angelic, Christological) music, with the latter represented by a style typical of sacred Latin polyphony.

In other words, this villancico is metamusical not only because its poetic text concerns music, or because Cererols matches the poem’s theological-musical conceits with musical symbols (like fugue for “heavenly counterpoint”). More than that, it is metamusical because it refers to discrete, recognizable types of music outside the piece. This is similar to the way Padilla uses a madrigal-like style to represent the music sung at the Nativity scene.

Cererols integrates these stylistic components into a coherent whole through the two unifying melodic motives. The first time the choir sings motive A is the very opening, on “Suspended, cielos,” and throughout the exordium. They repeat this motive on “la más nueva consonancia,” then again on “en sonoras harmonías” and then on “y con sollozos tiernos.” Motive B is introduced at the end of “la más nueva consonancia,” and then becomes the subject of the fugue on “contrapunto celestial” and the cantus firmus of the last confirmatio on “a los ángeles lleva el canto llano.” Motive A is initially sung with words referring to the music of the spheres (in the Exordium). Then, the section from mm. 19–24 (“la más nueva consonancia”) begins with motive A but then leads into the first appearance of motive B. Given these associations between the motives and the lyrics, it seems possible that the two motives are linked to earthly and heavenly music, since the first motive (heard first in reference to the heavens) gives way to the second (B) motive on the phrase “la más nueva consonancia.” This second motive grows in prominence throughout the estribillo until it reaches an apotheosis at the end, where it is clearly associated with the voice of Christ and the new music that his incarnation is bringing into the world.

Furthermore, the composer’s use of these two motives maps roughly onto the two contrasting stylistic references. The relatively modern music for “la más nueva consonancia” and “sonoras armonías” emphasizes motive A, while the stile antico fugatos emphasize motive B. That motive, A–G–F–E–D, forms the “plainchant” cantus firmus represented in the motet-like section at the end, and the final copla refers to the same chant, saying “let there be divine cadence [cláusula] of this eternal plainchant.” It may be no coincidence that motive B corresponds to the “cláusula” or final cadence of the first psalm tone. Cerone and Lorente both devote chapters to the different types of “claúsulas” for each tone, and the first tone is the only one with this exact motive.³⁰ Of course, the melodic figure is common enough, but the allusion seems plausible given the poetic references to plainchant and to the “cláusula,” coupled with the cantus-firmus style treatment of this figure at

30. Pedro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples, 1613), 353–354; 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), 62–63.

the end of the estribillo. Particularly if motive B is taken from an actual plainchant, the contrast between motives A and B and between the styles associated with them enact musically the central poetic and theological goal of the villancico: to contrast the new song of Christ (echoed in the angels) with the music of the spheres and of fallen humanity.

4.5.1 Dissonance as Ironic Symbol

The moment in *Suspended, cielos* when that contrast between earthly and heavenly music becomes most acute is when Cererols uses a pronounced dissonance to set the word “consonancia,” in the key line of the estribillo (l. 4, m. 20). One interpretation of this paradoxically dissonant passage is that it depicts the new divine consonance by enacting its opposite—that is, it represents the “untuned” music of the spheres who have just been exhorted to be quiet. The cyclic repetition of the lilting rhythmic pattern and the undulating melodic lines would indeed correspond to the perpetual circular rounds of the heavenly spheres, whose “movements” (copla 6) were described by Fray Luis de Granada as a “dance” (see chapter 2).

The alternation of consonance and dissonance may well be a way of depicting the “distancias” or intervals between the planets, which were believed to exert influences on each other similar to that of different contrapuntal lines. In Athanasius Kircher’s cosmology of music, published in 1650 only a year before the first known appearance of this villancico poem, not all of the planets are consonant.³¹ In the tenth book of the *Musurgia*, Kircher presents an extended allegory of the entire creation, especially the heavenly spheres, as a ten-stringed lyre. As part of this cosmology, Kircher explains the familiar idea that the planets in the earth-centered Ptolemaic universe are arranged at distances (*distantias*) according to musical intervals. From the way Neoplatonists like Luis de Granada praise the order of the heavens, one might assume that these intervals are all perfect consonances; but this is not the case, at least according to Kircher. Numerous passages in

31. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*. Since Cererols’s music shows the influence of Italian style, this would add to the possibility that the monks in Montserrat had access to Italian publications like Kircher’s *Musurgia*, either at the home abbey or while in exile in Madrid.

the contemporary plays of Calderón demonstrate the widespread belief that the planets and stars exerted both positive and negative influences on the earth and on the human body, by means of mysterious humors and *spiritus animales*.

Kircher translates this idea into musical terms, beginning with a fundamental principal of Augustinian moral theology:

Therefore there is nothing bad in the nature of things, that does not also yield to the good for the preservation of the whole universe. What else, therefore, are Mars and Saturn, than certain kinds of dissonances?—which dissonances, in relation to the perfect consonance of Jupiter, syncopated and tied (*ligata*), resolve not only in sweet music but also in the best kind of ornamentation.³² What else is Mercury if not a certain kind of dissonance syncopated and tied between the Moon and Venus, which are like two consonances, so that the earth (which is born in freedom and not obligated to anything), thanks to the benign influence of the Sun, Venus, and the Moon, should not be corrupted. Truly, anyone who can consider this on a little higher level, would find the seven planets to sing continuously in perfect, perpetual four-part polyphony [*tetraphoniam*], in which the dissonances and consonances thereof are brought together, so that if they resolved in the most comely harmony of the world, and so that the curious reader should have a certain example of the celestial polyphony [*tetraphoniae*], this can be seen demonstrated in musical notes according to our own speculative idea.³³

Kircher next offers a musical example that symbolizes the consonant and dissonant relationships among the planets. In his explanation he continues his allegory of the four-string lyre by using the Greek terms for the strings to represent the four polyphonic voices:

In the example Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars form the *netodium*, that is, they sing the highest voice, in which notes the consonant Jupiter always unites in harmony [*ligat*]

32. Note Kircher's use of *ligare*, cognate with the *ligar* of Cererols, copla 6, with the same connotations of "united in harmony," "connected," or even "fused together." The consonant pitches link with the dissonant ones, moving them off the beat and turning them into passing tones, thereby making them acceptable.

33. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, bk. 2, 383–384: "Ita nullum in rerum natura malum est, quod non in bonum totius vniuersique conseruationem tandem cedat. Quid enim Mars & Saturnus aliud sunt, quam dissonantiae quædam? quæ tamen à Ioue consonantia perfecta syncopatæ ligatæque non dulcedinum tantum Musicæ, sed & maximum ornamentum conciliant. Quid aliud Mercurius nisi dissonantia quædam inter Lunam & Venerem veluti duas consonantias syncopata ligataque, ne libertatem nacta nullique obligat, terram ipsam benigno Solis Veneris & Lunæ influxu fædaret? Certè quicunque hæc paulo altius considerarit, 7 planetarum cum terra perfectam tetraphoniam perpetuo decantare reperiet, in quæ dissona consonis eo artificio committuntur, vt vel maximè suauem harmoniam mundo conciliant, & vt Lector curiosus tetraphoniæ cœlestis exemplum quoddam haberet, hic in notis musicis speculationis nostræ ideam exhibere visum est."

and undoes the influence of [*confringit*] the dissonant Mars and Saturn. The Sun proceeds truly as the *mesodium* [Alto], singing in perfect consonances, looking at the Earth, the *proslambanomenam* [Bass], from the octave above, or an octave and a fifth. Venus, Mercury, and the Moon truly sing the *hypatodon* [Tenor], and Venus and the Moon, which are consonant, carrying Mercury in the friendship between them as a dissonant passing-tone [*intermedium dissonum*] thereby tie him up in harmonic intervals [*modulis*], so that they absolutely restore consonance, as can be seen there in the notes of the Tenor part. The Earth truly receives from the substance of all these, therefore, the perfect mixture of consonances and dissonance, so that it constitutes the most perfect music with the planets, which we can imagine by using this musical example.³⁴

This example Kircher calls a *clausula* in Latin. The planetary relationships are expressed through technical counterpoint rules: for example, Venus prepares the dissonance of Mercury, and the Moon resolves it. Table 4.2 presents Kircher's music and summarizes his explanation of the correspondence between planets and contrapuntal figures.³⁵ When the Cererols villancico refers in its last copla to the planetary spheres singing a “cláusula,” it may well be a direct allusion to this passage from Kircher. Even if it is not, both examples are attempts to express the heavens in harmonic terms.

Kircher shows here both that the heavens could be understood in musical terms and that music could be understood in heavenly terms. Kircher's cadence demonstrates that Neoplatonic thought about music did not always begin with theory and then descend to practice; it also used contemporary *musica instrumentalis* as a specific model or metaphor for the higher conceptions of music on the cosmic level. Kircher's *clausula* sounds like a perfectly ordinary seventeenth-century cadence (in mode I, transposed to cantus mollis), but for Kircher even the “mundane” details of the counterpoint such as passing tones and suspension have high symbolic potential. This example

34. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, bk. 2, 383–384: “ubi ℥ & ♂ netudum id est supremam vocem cantant, in cuius notis Iupiter consonus Martem & Saturnam dissonos semper ligat & confringit. Sol verò Mesodium cantans perfectissimis consonantiis procedit, dum Proslambanomenam terram supra per diapason, vel per diapason cum diapente respicit. Hypatodon verò cantat ♀ ♪ & ♀ quidem cum ♪ consona Mercurium intermedium dissonum in sui amicitiam trahentes ita harmonicis modulis deuncit, vt eum prorsus consonum reddant, vti in notis hypatodi videre est. Terra verò omnibus substans consona dissona ita perfecta mistura recipit, vt vel hinc perfectissimam cum Planetis Musicam, qualem hic suppositam fingere possimus, constituat.”

35. In Kircher's original music notation, the *Hypatodus* (tenor) should have a tenor clef, not an alto clef.

Table 4.2

“Tetraphonium coeleste ex planetarum corporibus constitutum,” four-part cadence of the planets, from Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, bk. 2, 383

Voice	Planet	Pitch	Contrapuntal Function (Relative to Bass)
Netodus	Jupiter	G ₄	Consonance, perfect octaves; Resolves Saturn and Mars
	Saturn	A ₄	Dissonance, upper part of “double neighbor”
	Mars	F♯ ₄	Dissonance, lower part of “double neighbor”
Mesodus	Sun	E♭ ₄ -D ₄	“Most perfect” consonance with Earth, perfect octave and fifth (plus imperfect minor tenth)
Hypatodus	Venus	C ₄	Consonant, perfect octave; with Moon surrounds Mercury
	Mercury	B♭ ₃	Dissonant passing tone between Venus and Moon
	Moon	A ₃ -G ₃	Consonant, perfect fifth and octave; resolves Mercury
Proslamba-nomenon	Earth	C ₃ -D ₃ -G ₂	Fundamental bass, receives perfect mixture of consonance and dissonance, supports other voices

suggests that composers and educated listeners thought symbolically in Neoplatonic terms even about the basic fabric of their compositions.

If Cererols’s setting of “la más nueva consonancia” with repeated dissonances is meant to portray the consonant and dissonant relationships of the planets, though, there is still a notable difference between his depiction of heavenly music and the “tetraphonium” of Kircher. Kircher’s example is, as he says, “perfect [...] polyphony,” following contrapuntal rules exactly. It includes dissonance, but everything is properly contained and resolved to consonance. Cererols, by contrast, breaks the rules by using unprepared dissonances, and later in the piece, direct fifths.

His transgression is mild by comparison to those of Monteverdi or Purcell, but in the context of mid-century Spanish church music this still stands out as strange.

One possible explanation is that for Cererols, the heavens are actually out of tune. From a Neoplatonic perspective, the entire created world is by definition imperfect, since only God is perfect. Furthermore, after the Fall of Man, the heavens are part of the “whole creation [...] subjected to futility” (Rom. 8:20), which is not only imperfect, but broken. Likewise, the early modern theorists had to concede that dissonance was necessary to create beautiful music, although it must be properly regulated.³⁶ The musical system, like Kircher’s planetary system and like the system of humors, depended on opposing forces being held in perpetual tension. The natural alternation of night and day created by the heavenly bodies is necessary for life on earth, but in the eschatological New Jerusalem seen in John’s Apocalypse, “the city has no need for sun nor moon to shine in her, for the splendor of God filled her with light and her lantern is the Lamb, [...] for in this city there will be no night.”³⁷ A world without night would be a world governed by completely different laws than those of earth. Therefore the “newer consonance” of heaven would confound the ears of earthly listeners, could they hear it in its true form, as it would be based on a wholly different set of rules than any music that could be performed or even imagined on earth.

Cererols, it would seem, uses specific dissonances, within a stylistic topic of more dissonance-laden music, as an ironic symbol of “la más nueva consonancia.” He depicts these words by enacting their opposite. The text speaks of a higher Music than that of the spheres, but Cererols chooses this moment to represent the imperfect music of the material world. Only when the same music, reused again ironically for “sonoras armonías,” gives way to the perfectly rule-bound, traditional style of the fugato on “contrapunto celestial,” does Cererols paint a musical picture of true heavenly music.³⁸

36. For example, Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 616: “Que la dificultad de la Compostura y su hermosura, solo consiste en saber poner bien en su propio lugar, y de buena manera, las dichas consonancias y dissonancias.”

37. Rev. 21:23,25b: “et civitas non eget sole neque luna ut luceant in ea/ nam claritas Dei illuminavit eam/ et lucerna eius est agnus/ [...] nox enim non erit illuc”

38. Compare to David Yearsley’s discussion of evocations of heavenly music in Buxtehude’s funeral counter-

But this representation of heavenly counterpoint may itself be seen as another form of irony, since as we have suggested, the music of the heavenly city in which there is no night and day (and therefore presumably no dissonance) would have to be of a different order than any earthly music. As the choirs of Montserrat, Canet de Mar, or Barcelona would sing this passage, the subtext would seem to be that the music now resounding in the church is not in fact the music being described by the lyrics. If even the music of the spheres is imperfect and must give pause before the new Music of Christ and his angelic choirs, then certainly any human singing, no matter how carefully governed by orthodox contrapuntal “canons,” would be all the more imperfect.

Athanasius Kircher, we have seen, portrays the dissonances of the planets in a positive light, but at the same time emphasizes that the music of the world beyond is unimaginable to human minds. In the last book of the *Musurgia* Kircher presents the whole creation as a “Praeludium” played by God on a divine organ of creation. In the engraving of this organ shown in figure 4.2, Kircher depicts an unusual keyboard. This keyboard arranges the keys in groups of seven—one for each day—with the black keys in Trinitarian groups of three, instead of the twelve-note chromatic keyboard with black keys in groups of three and two. Perhaps the keys correspond to a diatonic series, so that each seven-note group forms a diatonic octave. Whatever the arrangement, this keyboard is not designed for playing earthly music. The Latin motto beneath the keys (illegible in the scanned image) reads, “Thus does the eternal wisdom of God play upon the spheres of the worlds.” This author of a chapter on organ construction certainly knew how the keyboard was supposed to be arranged. Kircher, it seems, is pointing to what Olivier Messiaen might later call “the charm of impossibilities”: the image is a riddle that points to a divine music, governed by different rules than that of music in the lower world.

Cererols, then, could be presenting his hearers with an auditory symbol of this “impossible” music. The music is intended to point beyond itself to the higher music of God, and Cererols does

points and in J. S. Bach’s final chorale prelude: David Yearsley, “Towards an Allegorical Interpretation of Buxtehude’s Funerary Counterpoints,” *Music & Letters* 80, no. 2 (1999): 183–206; David Yearsley, “*Vor deinen Thron tret ich* and the Art of Dying,” in *Bach and the Meanings of Counterpoint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1–41.

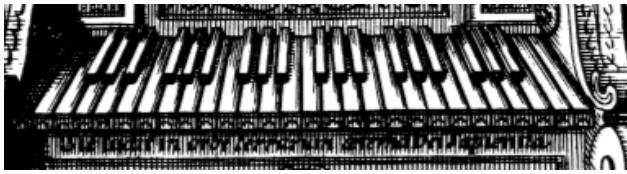


Figure 4.2

Keyboard for divine music on the organ of creation, detail from Kircher *Musurgia universalis*, vol. 2, facing p. 366, “Harmonia nascentis mundi”

this by pointing out the imperfect artifice of the music itself. The music reflects God’s perfection, but is itself imperfect; so the listener must discern both what about the music reflects the higher perfection, and what about the music is imperfect. As Mary Malcom Gaylord has said of Spanish baroque poetry, Cererols negotiates “tensions between aesthetic and didactic aims”; his music “deceives in order to undeceive; it makes life’s truths taste bitter by contrast, so as to urge discretion and prudence.”³⁹

4.6 THE GENEALOGY OF SUSPENDED, CIELOS

The Cererols villancico raises problems about music’s place in the cosmos, how music may serve as a means of understanding theological truths, and what kind of representation is possible through music. These concerns expanded far beyond the single case of this villancico setting; rather, the two manuscript sources of the Cererols setting are only part of a larger poetic and musical tradition. Though all but one of the other musical settings appear to be lost, the other versions are attested by seven poetry imprints from 1651 to 1689. This villancico tradition extended from Madrid and Alcalá de Henares in the center of Castile, to Calatayud and Zaragoza in Aragón; to Montserrat, Barcelona, and Canet de Mar in Catalunya; and as far as the village of Ibarra in Ecuador. The surviving sources are listed in table 4.3. The following discussion is keyed to the table, with (for example) Source 1 abbreviated S1.

39. Mary Malcolm Gaylord, “The Making of Baroque Poetry,” in *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, ed. David Gies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 222.

Table 4.3
Sources of *Ha de los coros del cielo/Suspended, cielos*

No.	Year	City	Institution	Feast	Composer (Poet)	Source	Family
<i>Poetry Imprints</i>							
1	1651	Madrid	Royal Chapel	Christmas	Carlos Patiño?	E-Mn: R/34199/27	A
2	1668	Calatayud	Colegiata Sta. María la Mayor	Christmas	Juan Muñoz	GB-Lbl: 11450.dd.8 (54)	A
3	1675	Alcalá	Iglesia SS. Justo y Pastor	Christmas	Antonio Garcia? (Attr. Manuel de León Marchante)	León Marchante, <i>Obras poéticas</i> (Madrid, 1733), 139	B
4	1680	Seville	Cathedral	Christmas	Alonso Xuárez?	E-Mn: VE/83/10	B
5	1681	Seville	Iglesia S. Salvador	Christmas	Miguel Matheo de Dallo y Lana	E-Mn: VE/79/7	B
6	1683	Zaragoza	Basilica El Pilar	Epiphany	Diego de Cáseda	E-Mn: VE/129/2, GB-Lbl: 1073.k.22 (07)	B
7	1689	Madrid	Royal Chapel	Christmas	Juan de Navas?	E-Mn: VE/88/80	A+B
<i>Music Manuscripts</i>							
8	c. 1660?	Canet de Mar	Església de Sant Pere i Sant Pau (from Abbey of Montserrat?)	Christmas (but labeled Eucharist)	Joan Cererols	E-CAN: AU/116	A
9	c. 1680?	Barcelona	Unknown	Eucharist	Anon. variant of Cererols	E-Bbc: M/765/25	A
10	c. 1690?	Ibarra, Ecuador	Conceptionist Convent (from Quito Cathedral?)	Christmas, Sanctoral, General	Anon. (Quito chapelmaster?)	Ecuador, Ibarra, Parish archive	B'

Table 4.4

Poetic structure of estribillo in hypothetical Q version of *Ha de los coros/Suspended, cielos*

Line	Text (Q Version)	Ending	Syllables
1	Suspended, cielos, vuestro dulce canto,	a	11
2	tened, parad, y escuchad	b	8
3	la más nueva consonancia	c	8
4	que forman en su distancia	c	8
5	lo eterno y lo temporal.	d	8
6	Escuchad,	b	4
7	que cantan los Serafines	e	8
8	esta noche los Maitines	e	8
9	en el Coro del portal	d	8
10	Escuchad,	b	4
11	que entonan las Jerarquías	f	8
12	en sonoras armonías	f	8
13	contrapunto celestial.	d	8
14	Y con sollozos tiernos	g	7
15	un Niño soberano	g	7
16	a los Ángeles lleva el canto llano.	a	11

The sources may be grouped loosely according to poetic variants into two textual families, A and B. Figure 4.3 shows a possible stemma of relationships among the sources.⁴⁰

The patterns of variation, omission, and addition in the different versions suggest that the earliest known sources all descend from an earlier source, which (playing on the convention from textual criticism of the biblical Gospels) we may call “Q.” Table 4.4 presents this hypothetical earliest version, and table 4.5 demonstrates the differences from this model in the later sources. The Q version is identical to the earliest poetry imprint, S1, except that it lacks l. 12. That line, “en sonoras armonías,” is present in six of the other sources, and fits obviously within a regular metrical scheme.

40. The full texts of S1, S3, S7, and S8 are compared in parallel with original orthography in appendix A.

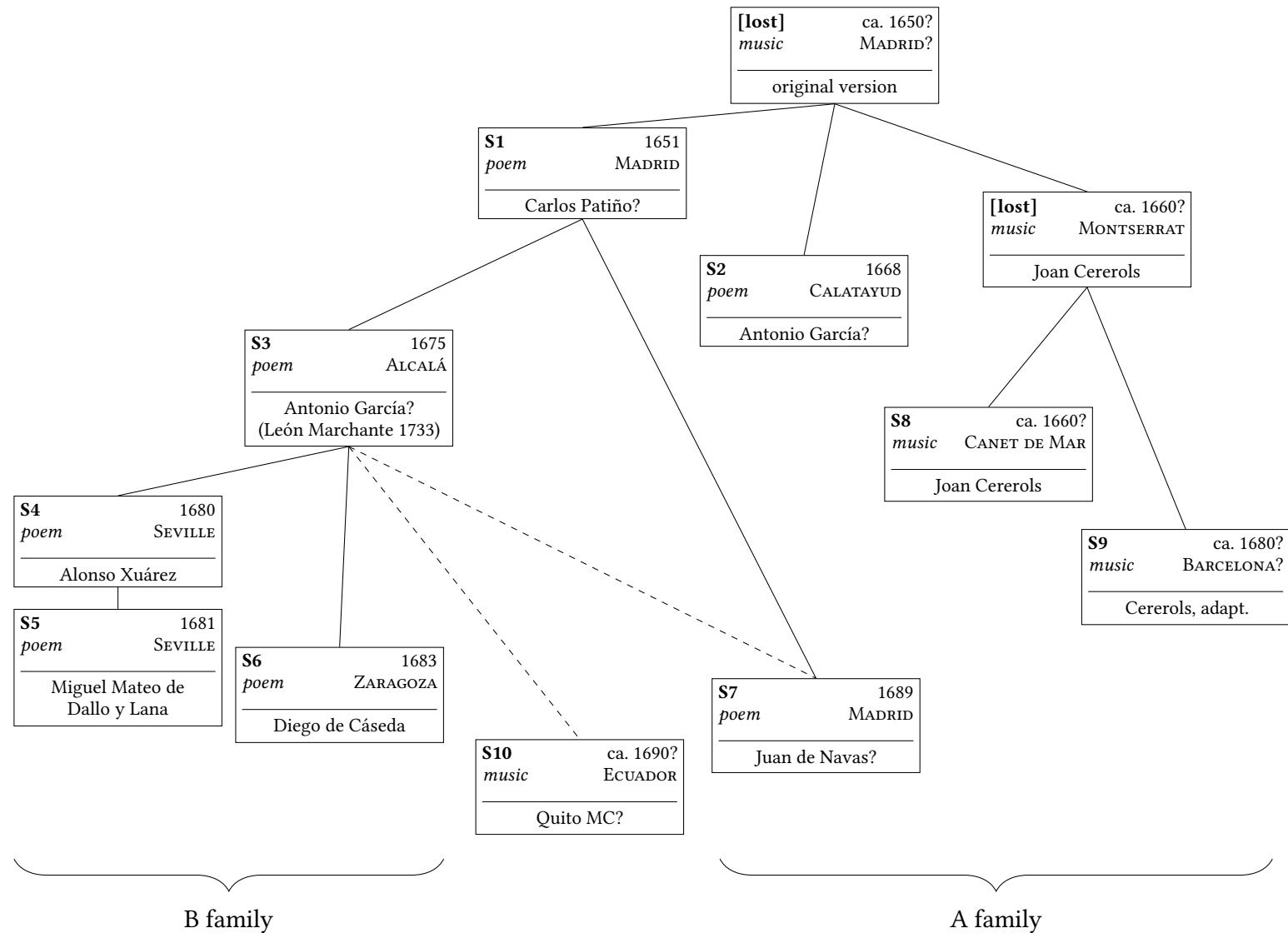


Figure 4.3
Genealogical stemma of sources for *Ha de los coros/Suspended, cielos*

All the versions except the highly abridged S10 are framed by eleven-syllable lines (ll. 1 and 16).⁴¹ After this exordium-like phrase, there follow three quatrains in a regular pattern. Each quatrain includes two rhyming lines in the middle; the first line of each quatrain rhymes with the first line of the other quatrains, and likewise for the last line of each quatrain. For this reason, we may consider l. 12 of Q, which is present in the second-oldest source (S2) and also in the Cererols setting, to have been part of the original exemplar. The estribillo's conclusion is sealed with the *lira*-like three lines (ll. 14–16) with a 7–7–11 pattern of syllable counts.

The Cererols versions omit the second of the quatrains in Q, much as several of the sources in the B family omit other portions. As polyphonic estribillo settings became longer and more complex across the century, there must have been pressure to shorten the text.

The treatment of the romance section “Ha de los coros del cielo” (poem 4.2) is the clearest distinguishing feature among the sources. S1 and S2 both begin with this romance, followed by the estribillo “Suspended, cielos,” and coplas. S2 is unique among the sources in replacing the coplas entirely with a unique text, “En las pajas de un pesebre.” The Cererols sources S8 and S9 have nearly the same estribillo as S1 and S2, with one quatrain omitted, and the same coplas as S1; but the Cererols versions omit the opening Romance entirely.

This romance of notable elegance clarifies the conceit of the relationship between mundane and heavenly music. In S1 and S2, these stanzas set the scene for the rest of the villancico, making clear that the poem is addressed to the planetary and astral spheres. The fourth stanza is especially noteworthy: rather than simply pun on musical terms with astronomical double meanings, it uses such terms to paint a dramatic moment. The starry “sapphires”—themselves scattered across the sky like notes on a “starry notebook”—must “make a rest” at the sound of the “newer consonance.” As though looking up in astonished wonder at this new music, the astral musicians let their sheets of music fall closed. The musical terms here closely align with the surviving documents of

41. Most of the print sources split these lines into two, but that is only a concession to the narrow column width of the typical pliego type block, not a poetic-analytical decision.

Table 4.5

Variants of estribillo in sources of *Suspended, cielos* compared to Q version

Line	Family A			Family B		
	S1	S2	S8, S9	S3, S4	S5, S7	S6
1						
2				All omit “Tened”		
3						
4						
5						
6		= 1. 2	Omit			
7			Omit		Omit	
8			Omit		Omit	
9			Omit		Omit	
10		= 1. 2		Omit	Omit	
11				Omit		
12	Omit			Omit		
13				Omit		
				Add “Escuchad, ay”		
14						
15						
16						

performance practice: “cuaderno” (notebook) was the term used for partbooks, and for villancicos, these often consisted of one or two folded sheets of music paper (as in the poem, “hojas dobladas”), which were gathered together in a folder (“cartapacio”). These verses do not much change the basic theology of the text set by Cererols, but they make it less cryptic and more dramatic.

The first source in Family B comes from a 1675 Alcalá imprint that was published with the posthumous complete works of the poet Manuel de León Marchante in 1733.⁴² The existence of earlier sources shows that León Marchante was not the original author of this text, as is the case with several other villancicos attributed to him in that edition. Instead in S3 León Marchante adapted the earlier text, and the subsequent sources in Family B all show the strong influence of

42. Manuel de León Marchante, *Obras poéticas posthumas: Poesías sagradas, tomo segundo* (Madrid, 1733), 139.

Poem 4.2

Romance from earliest source of *Ha de los coros/Suspended, cielos* (S1: Madrid, 1651)

ROMANCE

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 1. | (i.) Ha de los Coros del cielo? ^a
cuyo misterioso canto
sagrada canción entona
por los siglos de los Astros. | 1. Ah, the choirs of heaven!
whose mysterious chant
intones a sacred song
upon the centuries of the stars. |
| 5 | 2. (ii.) Quién interrompe lo acorde
deste sagrado Palacio?
que la celeste armonía
pendiente está de su labio. | 2. Who interrupts the concord
of this sacred palace?
for the heavenly harmony
is hanging on his lips. |
| 10 | 3. (i.) Una novedad suspenda
vuestros Músicos sagrados,
pues suspende a las esferas
lo voluble de sus arcos. | 3. A novelty suspends
your sacred musicians,
just as it suspends for the stars
the fickleness of their curving motions. |
| 15 | 4. (ii.) Hagan pausa los zafiros
deste cuaderno estrellado,
dejen doblada la hoja
los azules cartapacios. | 4. The sapphires of this starry note-book
make a rest,
the azure partbooks
let the folded sheet fall closed. |
| 20 | 5. (i.) La consonancia más nueva
escuchad, que la han formado,
hombre, y Dios en un pesebre,
cielo, y tierra en un establo; | 5. Listen to the newest consonance,
for they have formed it—
man and God in a manger;
heaven and earth in a stable. |
| | 6. (ii.) Despuéblense las esferas
de celestes ciudadanos,
pues bajan a ser sus glorias
alegrías de los campos. | 6. Let the spheres be emptied
of heavenly citizens,
for they descend to be the merry
[Glorias] of the fields. |
-

a. The pliego numbers the stanzas of the romance and the coplas to show the alternation between two singers or ensembles. The original numbers are given here as parenthetical roman numerals.

his version. In the estribillo S3 and its descendants all omit the word “tened” from l. 2 and add a line, some variant of “Escuchad, ay,” before the final stanza. The Family B sources all move the romance “Ha de los coros” from the beginning of the piece to after to the estribillo (see table 4.6). This change demonstrates a trend in the later seventeenth century away from using introductory romance sections and toward beginning directly with the estribillo.⁴³ They combine an abridged and edited version of the earlier romance (four of the six original stanzas) with three stanzas selected from the original coplas, and they interpolate two new coplas.

The composers and institutions of the Family B sources are part of a close network of musicians, which will resurface several times in this study. Léon Marchante, in addition to his work for Alcalá, also wrote numerous villancico poems for Toledo Cathedral, where the chapelmaster was Pedro de Ardanaz. Ardanaz and the probable composers of sources 4–6, Alonso Xuárez and Miguel Matheo de Dallo y Lana in Seville and Diego de Cáseda in Zaragoza, set many of the same texts.⁴⁴ Xuárez (or Súarez), Ardanaz, and perhaps Cáseda were all students of Tomas Miciezes the elder.⁴⁵

Source 7 documents that in 1689 the Royal Chapel returned to this villancico tradition with a new setting, possibly by Juan de Navas, who was temporarily in charge of the chapel. The source is a hybrid of both textual families. The pattern of omissions and alterations in the estribillo is nearly identical to that of the B-family source S5 (Seville 1681). Like the B-family texts, S7 moves the romance to the coplas, but unlike them, it does not abridge or alter the romance and coplas from the earlier Royal Chapel version S1, nor does it include León Marchante’s new stanzas. Instead it simply pastes romance and coplas together to form twelve stanzas after the estribillo. At the same time, there are a few textual variants in these stanzas that still show the influence of Family B.

The final source, S10 from Ecuador, survives only as a fragment of a larger work—only the

43. This trend was described in Álvaro José 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, Dec. 3, 2014,

44. This is the same Dallo y Lana who later emigrated to Puebla and set poems by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz.

45. Álvaro José Torrente, “Grove Music Online.”

Table 4.6

Variants of romance and coplas in sources of *Suspended, cielos* compared to Q version

Source	Romance	Coplas
Family A		
S1	“Ha de los coros” 6 stanzas before estribillo	“Las fugas que el primer hombre” 6 stanzas after estribillo
S2	“Ha de los coros” 4 stanzas before estribillo	“En las pajas de un Pesebre” 8 unique stanzas after estribillo
S8	Omit Start with estribillo	“Las fugas del primer hombre” 6 stanzas after estribillo (variants of S1)
S9	Omit (Same as S8)	Lost
Family B		
S3–S6	Move romance to coplas Start with estribillo	“Ha de los coros,” “Las fugas” 9 stanzas after estribillo, composed from 4 stanzas of romance as in S1 3 stanzas of coplas as in S1 2 new coplas interpolated
S5		Only first 5 stanzas of Family B
Hybrid A+B		
S7	Move romance to coplas Start with estribillo	“Ha de los coros,” “Las fugas” 12 stanzas after estribillo, composed from 6 stanzas of romance as in S1 6 stanzas of coplas as in S1

third-chorus parts of the estribillo for an eleven-voice original. The poetic text is a highly abridged variant of the main tradition, though it may be tentatively linked with the B family because it omits “Tened.” These abridgments make the text into a more general devotional text, with less concrete references to the planetary spheres. This setting also includes alternate texts that seems more suited to Eucharistic or Sanctoral devotion.

4.6.1 Changing Tastes and Perspectives Reflected in Family B

León Marchante's revisions to *Suspended, cielos* move in the direct of greater clarity, at the expense of some interesting complexity in the theological or musical conceits, much like Jalón's *Cantores de la capilla* simplified *Voces, las de la capilla*. Marchante omits the most grammatically and poetically difficult copla of the 1651 source ("Que mucho si a las despeños"), along with three others. In the first verse of the S3 romance ("Ha de los Coros del Cielo"), "siglos" is changed to "signos," which both makes more sense and strengthens the musical conceit.⁴⁶ The 1651 phrase "siglos de los astros" (centuries of the stars) was a somewhat abstract concept, implying a musical connection by referring to time, and possibly implying the idea of "signs" through the Latin cognate "sigla," which could also be a musical reference. Changing the word the "signos" makes these musical references explicit and simplifies the concept.

In verse 9 ("En las pajas sustenido"), "subtenido" is changed to "sustenido." If "subtenido" was not a printer's error, the term is a technical term from geometry, indicating a line that joins together two extremes of an arc. This is a fitting, if arcane, way to describe Christ joining together "the eternal and the temporal." "Sustenido," however, is a technical term from music (meaning "sharp")—Padilla's villancico used it as well. It strengthens the musical conceit, though the depth of meaning is reduced considerably: now it simply uses a musical term as a pun for Christ "sustained" on the bed of straw.

In the same verse, "ligar en pajas" is changed to "ligar en faxas" (modern spelling: "fajas"). The 1651 version has the baby Jesus "tying together in straw the eternal and the temporal": like a musical ligature joining distinct notes, Jesus ties together God and Man in the humble body of a baby lying in the straw of a feed-trough. The term "ligar," in addition to its musical meaning, also means both "meld" or "fuse"—as in alchemy—and simply "tie," like a farmer tying together a bale of straw. So there are actually three concepts here: musical, chemical, and agricultural.

46. Recall the use of "siglos" as well in *Voces, las de la capilla*.

Changing “pajas” to “fajas” (beyond simply increasing poetic variety by not repeating the word used two lines earlier) emphasizes the agricultural concept at the expense of the others, since a “faja” is a tied-up bale of hay. Again, the change moves from the abstract to the concrete, from abstruse double meanings to a more accessible concept. The change here also makes a more direct connection between the straw—made from wheat, just like Eucharistic wafers—and the incarnate body of Christ.⁴⁷

These comparisons suggest that the second textual tradition, represented by source 3 (the León Marchante edition) and sources 4 through 6, which are closely related to S3, stems from León Marchante’s attempt to improve upon an older villancico text (S1). Sources 4–6 were all produced within a three-year period, by composers (cited by name in the pliego) who were all personally acquainted with each other and regularly exchanged villancico texts. León Marchante wrote a large number of villancicos for Toledo Cathedral, where they were set to music by the chapelmaster Pedro de Ardanaz. In Ardanaz’s correspondence with Miguel de Irízar, chapelmaster in Segovia and a fellow student with Ardanaz of Tomás Miciezes, Ardanaz mentions also sending texts to Diego de Cáseda, chapelmaster in Zaragoza and composer of S6. Ardanaz probably also shared the text with another former student of Tomás Micezes, Alonso Xuárez (or Suárez) in Seville, composer of S4. So the text in S3 may have passed from Alcalá to Cáseda in Zaragoza (S6) via Ardanaz in Toledo. S4 and S5 are obviously related to each other: S4 is for Christmas at Seville Cathedral in 1680, and S5 is an abridged version of the same text (with only five coplas), performed the following year at Seville’s second most important church-music institution, the church of San Salvador. S4, S5, and S6 are thus each a year apart, since S6 was sung at Epiphany of 1683, which was the end of the 1682 Christmas season. This second textual tradition, then,

47. The many Christmas villancicos that emphasize the manger straw are likely drawing a connection between Christ’s presence as the incarnate baby of Bethlehem, and his Real Presence in the Eucharist at Christmas. As Gabriel Alonso de Herrera explained in his treatise on agriculture, wheat was made of the same elements as the human body—in particular the element of fire—and this was why it was most suitable for consecration as the Eucharist. Gabriel Alonso de Herrera, *Libro de Agricultura, que tracta de labrança y criança, y de muchas otras particularidades y prouechos del campo* (Medina del Campo, 1569).

apparently derived from León Marchante and transferred along networks of related composers, achieving prominence in three corners of the peninsula.

4.6.2 The Second Royal Chapel Version (S7): Return to the Original Tradition

In 1689, when the Spanish Royal Chapel returned to this villancico, the composer elected to stay close to the original version from the same institution, thirty-eight years earlier. The Capilla Real did not have an official chapelmaster in 1689; instead the cantor Juan Gómez de Navas was assuming most of the chapelmaster's normal duties.⁴⁸ Either he or other members of the ensemble, such as the organist future chapelmaster José de Torres, could have written the music.⁴⁹ They may have even reused some version of the original music from 1651, especially if that piece was composed by an esteemed figure like Carlos Patiño or Cristóbal Galán (d. 1684). All the chapel musicians would have known both composers personally and it is likely that the composer of the 1689 version studied with one of them. So, much as Padilla appears to have done in his setting of *Voces las de la capilla*, reverting to the version by Santiago rather than the “improved” version by Jalón, the 1689 Madrid composer eschews the Marchante textual tradition and returns to the 1651 text.

4.6.3 Conversion to a General-Purpose Piece in Ecuador (S10)

Source 10 stands quite apart from any of the other versions, not least because it resides in the remote parish archive of Ibarra, Ecuador. Among a collection originally from the Conceptionist convent of Ibarra, there remains a fragment of an eleven-voice setting based on a variant of the *Suspended, cielos* textual tradition. Only the four voice parts of the third chorus survive, and only for the estribillo. No setting of the coplas survives, if there was one.

48. *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio, 10 vols. (Madrid: Sociedad general de autores y editores, 1999), s.v. “CapillaReal.”

49. Torres is represented in Puebla with two villancicos in the Sánchez Garza collection.

The manuscripts demonstrate that the piece was frequently performed and redapted for different occasions. The Tiple and Tenor parts bear the names of performers, “Sra. S. Martin” and “Sra. S. Seçilia” respectively. There is a second copy of the Alto part, copied in a different hand, with the indication for the instrument *dulzaina*.

The words in the surviving parts take the first three and last three lines from the other sources and omit everything else (poem 4.3). They also omit “cielos” from the first line. The result is a much more generic text that could be applied to a variety of feasts.

Indeed, someone has added two more lines of text that would allow the piece to be used at almost any occasion. In the manuscript at m. 28, additional lyrics are written in a different hand above the first line of lyrics. The Tenor partbook includes the dedication “Asuncion,” showing at least one such use of the piece. The second line begins with a reference to the planets, but the rest retains none of the themes of the other sources. A third line of text has been written in, in a different hand, above the others; this text is designed for generic sanctoral devotion: now “un niño soberano” is replaced by “un santo soberano.”

The musical style seems closer to that of the last decades of the century, and there are few musical similarities between this and the Cererols setting (example 4.6). The initial conceit “Suspended cielos” is depicted with halting, offbeat semiminims separated by rests, somewhat the way Cererols set “tened, parad.” Like Cererols, this composer uses slightly surprising harmonic shifts to catch the listeners’ attention (as in the move to B in mm. 13–14). A final similarity, likely stemming from the text and not from any musical tradition, is the plainchant-like melodic lines on “el canto llano” (mm. 31–49), particularly the stepwise descent from D₅ to A₄ in the Alto part. These similarities demonstrate the prevalence of these musical-rhetorical tropes.

The changes in text and therefore liturgical function in this piece emphasize “faith and devotion” over Neoplatonic cosmology. This theme is more typical of some later seventeenth and early eighteenth century villancicos, which begin to take on a quasi-Pietist emphasis on heartfelt, affective devotion.

C 3

TIPLE

ALTO

TENOR

BASSUS
[instr.]

CHORUS III

Sus - pen-ded vues - tro can - to, pa-rad, es-cuchad,
 Sus - pen-ded vues - tro can - to, pa-rad, es-cuchad,
 pa - rad, pa - rad,

pa - rad, es-cuchad, sus - pen-ded, pa-rad, pa - rad,
 pa - rad, es-cuchad, sus - pen-ded, pa-rad, pa - rad,

a - ten-ded, es - cu - chad, es - cu -
 a - ten-ded, es - cu - chad, es - cu -

Example 4.6
Suspended vuestro canto (Ecuador), surviving music

28

chad, que con sollo-zos tier - nos un ni - ño so - be-ra - no el can -
chad, que con sollo-zos tier - nos un ni - ño so - be-ra - no el can -
2
3
to lla - no a los án - ge-les
to lla - no a los án - ge-les lle - va, a
3
43
lle - va, lle - va el can - to lla - no, el can - to lla - no.
les lle - va el
los án - ge-les lle - va el can - to lla - no, el can - to lla - no.

Example 4.6
Continued

Poem 4.3

Suspended vuestro canto: Ecuador version of *Suspended, cielos* (S10), extant text

[ESTRIBILLO] *a 11*

- | | |
|---|---|
| Suspended vuestro canto,
parad, escuchad, attended,
que con sollozos tiernos
un niño soberano
5 a los ángeles lleva el canto llano. | Suspend your song,
stop, listen, take heed,
for with tender sobs
a sovereign baby boy
bears the plainsong to the angels. |
| Detened planetas,
parad, escuchad, attended,
y attended que resuena
que la fe y devoción ya juzga llano. | Hold back, planets,
stop, listen, take heed,
and take heed, for it resounds,
for faith and devotion already judge plainly. |
| 10 Suspended vuestro canto,
parad, escuchad, attended,
que en embozos de carne,
un santo soberano
a los ángeles lleva el canto llano. | Suspend your song,
stop, listen, take heed,
for in a cloak of flesh ^a
a sovereign saint
bears the plainsong to the angels. |
-

a. Meaning uncertain.

4.7 CONCLUSIONS: MUSIC BY PADILLA AND CEREROLS AS A REFLECTION OF HEAVEN

The poetic tradition of *Suspended, cielos* villancicos manifests a widespread cultural fascination with heavenly music, and with the use of music to represent itself. The genealogy of these pieces, passing from hand to hand among interrelated musicians, suggests that the metamusical villancico subgenre did function as a favored way for these composers to prove their craftsmanship and establish a place in the musical community. The prevalence of a text so heavily dependent on Ptolemaic and Neoplatonic-Boethian musical cosmology challenges Hollander's hypothesis of secularization during the seventeenth century, at least for Catholic Spain. At the same time, the Cererols setting, with its ambiguous symbolic use of dissonance and contrasting musical styles, does suggest a certain anxiety about the relation of earthly and heavenly music that seems distinct to this period.

Cererols represents a Neoplatonic hierarchy of musical styles, and points to higher levels on the chain of being (“in the distance”) in which there would a new kind of music altogether. His metamusical representations of earthly music’s imperfections (all within, of course, a single earthly performance) should not, however, be considered as a condemnation of human music. Quite on the contrary, to contemporary ears some of the most striking and affectively expressive passages in the piece are those in the more “modern” style which we have suggested represents human music. Within one piece Cererols includes music that lends itself to a contemplative function (fugue, cantus-firmus motet), and affective music that expresses, perhaps, the anguished “sobs” of the human world into which Christ was born (like a “sovereign voice” that “enters the dissonance of the clay,” l. 26).

This piece manifests a latent problem within musical thought and practice (and theological thought) in the early modern period: To what degree does the order of nature reflect the perfection of God?⁵⁰ Is dissonance a necessary element of beautiful music, or is it a sign that something is wrong with the system from its root? Does earthly music reflect the divine or express the human? The argument of these chapters is that the function of Spanish villancicos about music shifts gradually from reflecting divine perfection toward expressing human affects. This piece by Cererols stands at a midpoint where dissonance may function as a symbol through which listeners may contemplate the imperfection, sin, and the Fallen world; and as an ironic or paradoxical symbol that urges them to imagine a higher form of music; while at the same time dissonance is beginning to serve a positive aesthetic purpose to elicit an affective response from listeners. Later composers, as we will see, pushed the artifice even farther, going to more extravagant ends to

50. For example, Fray Luis de Granada portrays the balance of humors (discussed further in chapter 6) in a positive light, much as he treats the relationships of predator and prey in the animal kingdom—all as reflecting aspects of God’s goodness as Creator. It seems curious that Fray Luis is not bothered by the earthly cycle of “kill and be killed,” or by the eternal tension between earthly elements; one might think he would portray these as symptoms of the Fall. This is a fundamental theological and philosophical problem for understanding the period, and requires more investigation. It seems likely that starting from confident optimism of Catholic thinkers around the time of Trent, the view of creation becomes more negative across the seventeenth century, in tandem with the cataclysms of war, famine, economic depression, and for Spain, political decline.

demonstrate the out-of-tuneness and imperfection of earthly music.

The adaptations of this text for other purposes (the Eucharistic Cererols variant; the two alternate texts of the Ecuador manuscript) demonstrates the appeal that this poetic conceit offered, but also suggests that as the century progressed people began to see it as simply an attractive poetic conceit, missing the intricate theological complexity of the earlier sources. The eloquent exposition of Neoplatonic musical theology in the poetry imprints and the Cererols setting is watered down in the Ecuador manuscript to a series of vague conventions. This trend corroborates part of Hollander's thesis, showing a process of conventionalization—but not necessarily one of secularization. Though the Ecuador text places no emphasis on the details of any particular cosmology, that does not mean the authors or performers had ceased to believe in the old cosmology. Besides, from only the third-chorus parts it is impossible to guess at the full content of the villancico text. And even if the musical theology of the Ecuador setting is relatively vague compared to the rest of the tradition, the original piece still calls for no less than eleven voices to sing out an exhortation to the planets. The complicated conceits of this poetic tradition as seen in the earliest sources may have fallen out of fashion, but the fundamental theological framework underlying this poetic tradition still continued to provide meaning.

CHAPTER 5

THE HUMAN SIDE OF HEAVENLY MUSIC IN SEGOVIA (IRÍZAR, CARRIÓN, 1671–1720)

This chapter looks at the changing functions of metamusical villancicos in the specific local context of Segovia Cathedral. It focuses on the human side of villancicos both in following the trajectory toward greater emphasis on human expression, and by focusing on the mundane reality of human labor behind the making of Christmas villancicos.

The archival record in Segovia shows that the successive chapelmasters Miguel de Irízar (1634–1684) and Jerónimo de Carrión (1660–1721) composed their villancicos to meet the specific devotional needs of their local community. Their works show that villancico's role in the cultivation of faith was not limited to representations of theological concepts; these pieces also served a vital purpose in the local church's own faith traditions. This chapter will first consider the local context in Segovia, looking briefly at the use of metamusical villancicos to provide for the community's tradition of devotion to San Blas, patron of singers.

The next section of the chapter focuses on Miguel de Irízar's musical labor during the last months of 1678. Irízar's surviving draft scores, written on the backsides and in the margins of his letters from other musicians, allow for an extended study of how this frugal composer used sources from a network of musicians to create his music for Christmas 1678. The exceptionally detailed documentation available for Irízar makes it possible to reconstruct how the chapelmastor made the best use of his resources during challenging economic times in order to provide what was necessary for his parish. This study shows how metamusical villancicos served for local

devotion while also being connected to broader networks of influence. And while Irízar’s religious music certainly furthered the church’s theological ends of propagating faith, the sources make it possible to consider this music also in terms of economic production, as the labor of a workman supplying music to meet a local demand.

Finally, a comparison between the two chapelmasters Miguel de Irízar (chapelmaster from 1671 to 1684) and Carrión (chapelmaster, 1684 to 1721) also demonstrates the ongoing shift in theological understandings of music’s power. The *calenda* from Irízar’s 1678 cycle, *Qué música celestial*, depicts sublime heavenly music descending to earth, while a later calenda by Carrión, *Qué destemplada armonía* (ca. 1690) represents “untempered” earthly music rising to heaven. The relationship between these two pieces shows the development of metamusical representation in one particular place.

5.1 MEETING A LOCAL COMMUNITY’S DEVOTIONAL NEEDS

Irízar’s correspondence and his and Carrión’s borrowing of villancico poems from elsewhere demonstrate these composers’ connections with the broader tradition of villancico composition in the Spanish Empire. But Irízar and Carrión also formed part of a local tradition of villancico composition, situated in this urban and architectural space and in service to its particular devotional customs.

Segovia was an important center both of political power and religious devotion. The mountaintop fortress town of Segovia had served as a retreat for the monarchs of Spain since the time of Henry IV. Even after Philip II made Madrid his capital and the Escorial his new residence, the rulers of Spain continued to pay regular visits to Segovia. Segovia provided refuge not only to the political powers but also to influential spiritual figures—St. Teresa of Ávila and St. John of the Cross. These Carmelite reformers founded houses for female and male members of their new Discalced Carmelite order. The sumptuous royal life in the Alcázar made a stark contrast against

the severe austerity of John's male monastery deep in the valley below.

The cathedral was built between 1525 and 1768, after the medieval cathedral had been destroyed as a consequence of the 1521 revolt of the *Comuneros*. The new building's high vaulted ceilings and its ornately carved Choir (preserved from the old cathedral) mark it as Gothic, but spacious plainness gives it the sober serenity of the reforming Tridentine church.

Here in the later seventeenth century, the successive chapelmasters Miguel de Irízar and Jerónimo de Carrión produced one of the best-preserved bodies of music from Golden-Age Spain. Where many other cathedrals such as Seville and Toledo have lost most of the villancicos of their seventeenth-century chapelmasters, Segovia preserves not only hundreds of performing parts, but in Irízar's case, the composer's manuscript draft scores and hundreds of his letters. These two are preserved together because Irízar, in a sure reflection of the difficult economic climate at the end of the Habsburg dynasty, bound his old letters into handmade notebooks and used the blank space on the margins and backsides to draft his compositions. The letters preserve a far-flung correspondence with other composers and musicians from Madrid to Zaragoza and Seville, and open a precious window into how villancico poems and music were transmitted through networks of acquainted musicians.

The music that survives by both composers is scored for as many as twelve vocal and instrumental parts in three choirs, and features virtuosic solo vocal writing. Their spacious proportions reflect those of the cathedral, and their sumptuous textures are fitting for this royal city.

The appointments and decorations of the cathedral, which continued to be developed in the as-yet unconsecrated church throughout the tenures of Irízar and Carrión, emphasize music. The Chapel of the Immaculate Conception, designed during Irízar's tenure by Alonso de Herrera, includes several paintings by Ignacio Ríes that include depictions of music (these are moralistic images where music functions as part of a *vanitas*). On either side of the altar in this chapel are plaques with the lyrics to the early seventeenth-century popular song *Todo el mundo a voces*

eleva, which was sung throughout the Spanish Empire to affirm the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.¹ The chapel's plaques with the lyrics of this song symbolize musical devotion itself, and demonstrate the effective use of music to propagate faith in this specific dogma. Exactly opposite this chapel (such that the two chapels flank the main entrance to the church) is the Chapel of San Blas, which became an important site for musical devotion that specifically focused on the theological theme of music.

5.1.1 Metamusical Villancicos for San Blas

Devotion to San Blas was apparently strong in this period, since both Irízar and Carrión composed a disproportionately high number of villancicos in this saints' honor, compared with what may be found in the musical archives and pliegos sueltos from other locations. These villancicos celebrate Blas as a patron of singers, and thus these pieces constitute "singing about singing" in a specifically Segovian tradition of devotion. Irízar composed twenty-three villancicos dedicated to San Blas, and several survive by Carrión as well. These pieces were likely performed in or around the chapel (figure 5.1) on his feast day, February 3. Blas (Blasius or Blaise), bishop of Sebastea, Armenia, was martyred in about 316 by beheading. He is believed to have saved a boy from choking to death on a fishbone, and therefore he is the patron of the throat; traditionally there is a blessing of throats on his feast day (February 3).² The paintings and music for this saint in Segovia make clear that he was revered as a patron of singers and musicians. The altar in this chapel is ornamented with a set of paintings of musicians from sacred history with their typical symbols: King David with his harp, St. Cecilia at her organ, St. Gregory taking dictation of plainchant from the Holy Spirit as a dove, and scenes from the life of San Blas himself.³

1. Alfonso de Vicente, "Música, propaganda y reforma religiosa en los siglos XVI y XVII: cánticos para la 'gente del vulgo' (1520–1620)," *Studia Aurea* 1 (2007), <http://www.studiaurea.com/articulo.php?id=47>; Víctor Rondón, "*Todo el mundo en general*, ecos historiográficos desde Chile de una copla a la Inmaculada Concepción en la primera mitad del siglo XVII," *Revista de Historia Iberoamericana* 2, no. 1 (2009).

2. *Dictionary of Saints* (New York: Doubleday, 2005), s.v. "Blaise."

3. Devotion to San Blas in Segovia, and the Blas chapel in the cathedral, probably share kinship with the cult of Blas in Toledo. Toledo Cathedral features a huge chapel for San Blas, filled with fourteenth-century frescoes that



Figure 5.1

(Clockwise from left) Altar of the Chapel of San Blas in Segovia Cathedral; Details of altar paintings of St. Cecilia and King David

The theme of music was central to the villancicos performed in Segovia for San Blas. The lyrics of a villancico set by Irízar show how musical conceits were used to celebrate the saint's martyrdom (poem 5.1).

An eight-voice villancico for Blas set by Carrión summons the whole range of metamusical tropes, with its references to harmony, birdsong, the element of air, echoes, *clarines*, and technical musical terms (see poems 5.2 and 5.3). This villancico demonstrates how the same lexicon of metamusical tropes we have seen in Christmas pieces could be applied to sanctoral devotion as well. It also provides further evidence that metamusical villancicos like this served a special

include, in addition to scenes of Blas's life, a depiction of the heavenly chorus, singing and playing instruments.

Poem 5.1

Pues es Blas de los cielos músico y mártir, villancico for San Blas set by Miguel de Irízar, estribillo (E-SE: 11/12)

Pues es Blas de los cielos músico y mártir, atención a una letra corriendo sangre de fiesta varia que oí: Son pasos de gloria los de garganta.	Since Blas is a heavenly musician and martyr, hark to a verse written in blood, an odd, festive verse I heard: The passages of the throat are pathways to glory.
Vaya de fiesta, que si por la fe puso Blas su cabeza, si perdió la garganta ganó la puesta. Vaya de fiesta.	On with the festival, since if for his faith Blas laid down his head, though he lost his throat he won the day. ^a On with the festival.

a. “Puesta” could mean Blas’s “position” as a saint in heaven, but it was also a term used in playing cards—a penalty amount paid by a losing player (DRAE). Blas “put down his head” on the table and thereby won the game.

purpose for composers as opportunities to demonstrate their craft. Portions of the poem set by Carrión appear in a pliego suelto from the Cathedral of Seville, for a festival in honor of San Blas in 1694.⁴ According to the pliego, these villancicos were performed before an image of San Blas in the Capilla de Nuestra Señora de la Antigua, with music (now apparently lost) by chapelmaster Diego Joseph de Salazar. Carrión appears to have assembled his villancico from these Seville villancicos. Carrión took the beginning of his estribillo from the second villancico in that pliego, and centonized his coplas from the third villancico in the same print. Carrión also borrowed from himself. Following a widespread practice, Carrión arranged the same villancico with slightly altered words to serve for the more general function of Eucharistic devotion (E-SE: 32/13).

Blas was not the only saint to be honored with metamusical villancicos, in Segovia or

4. E-Mn: VE/1301/59: *Letras de los villancicos que se cantaron en la santa, metropolitana, y patriarchal Iglesia de Sevilla, este presente año de 1694, en la Capilla de N. Señora de la Antigua, a la estrena de la efigie del glorioso obispo y martyr Sr. San Blas, que celebro la capilla de musica de dicha santa iglesia, compuestos por D. Diego Joseph de Salazar Racionero, y Maestro de dicha Capilla.*

Poem 5.2

Que nueva grave armonía, villancico for San Blas set by Jerónimo de Carrión (E-SE: 36/23),
excerpts from estribillo

Que nueva grave armonía
puebla la región del viento
siendo imán de los sentidos
sus acordes dulces ecos.
Son avecillas que alegres festivas
a voces publican
 de San Blas portentos.
Pues canten a coros
sus picos sonoros,
pues canten suaves,
 canoras y graves,^a
haciendo la salva
clarines del alba,
y pues todas con métrica acorde dulzura
rendidas explican su fiel devoción.

What new, grave harmony
populates the domain of the wind,
since its tuneful, sweet echoes
are the magnet of the senses.
They are little birds who joyfully, festively
with loud voices announce
 portents of San Blas.
So let them sing in choirs,
singing with their little resounding beaks,
so let them sing smoothly,
 melodiously, and gravely,
making their fanfare
as clarions of the dawn,
and so, with metrical, tuneful sweetness,
they humbly explain their faithful devotion.

a. Cf. Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, l. 19, “grave, suave y sonoro.”

elsewhere. For example, another villancico by Irízar, *A la música, al compás* exists in two versions, invoking all the typical metamusical tropes in praise of St. Thomas Aquinas—a figure frequently depicted as a heavenly choirmaster—and St. Charles (E-SE: 10/49 and 11/47, respectively). The many music-themed villancicos for San Blas and other saints associated with music, especially Peter, Thomas Aquinas, and the Virgin Mary, deserve a separate study in their own right.⁵ But the Segovian villancicos for Blas give a glimpse into how widespread was the use of musical conceits in villancico poetry, and how flexibly those conceits were applied to a variety of devotional functions.

The poetic tropes used in the Blas villancicos are nearly universal in seventeenth-century Spain, but Irízar and Carrión adapt them here to the devotional culture of a specific community. The connections between the two Segovia chapelmasters, as well as between them and their

5. Drew Davies has written about villancicos for St. Peter from eighteenth-century New Spain in which Peter is represented as a heavenly choirmaster: “St. Peter and the Triumph of the Church in Music from New Spain,” *Sanctorum* 6 (2009): 67–89.

Poem 5.3

Que nueva grave armonía, Jerónimo de Carrión (E-SE: 36/23), excerpts from coplas

-
- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Es música Blas, y el orden ^a
episcopal con su vida
fue consonancia a la Iglesia
de celestial armonía.
[...] | 1. Blas is music, and the episcopal
order was with his life
in consonance to the church
of celestial harmony. |
| 2. Es música porque tuvo
las seis voces reducidas
a tres virtudes que eleva,
y a tres potencias que humilla. ^b
[...] | 2. He is music because he took
the six pitches and reduced them
to three virtues that elevate
and three capacities that humble. |
| 4. Es música en que se canta,
por las claves nunca unidas
del bemol de la paciencia
y el be cuadrado de la ira. | 4. He is music in which it is sung
upon the clefs that are never united,
of the B flat of patience,
and the B natural of wrath. ^c |
| 5. Es música a cuyas notas
en su santo cuerpo escritas
Peines de hierro dan pauta
y viva sangre da tinta. [...] | 5. He is music, whose notes
are written on his holy body,
spikes of iron inscribe the staves,
and lifeblood pours out for ink. |
-

a. “Órden” theologically means the “holy orders” Blas received as bishop; musically it can mean a string on a plucked string instrument.

b. “Las seis voces,” ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la; “tres virtudes,” faith, hope and love; “tres potencias,” intellect, will, and affections.

c. Literally, “Bemol,” the “soft B”; “be cuadrado,” the “square B” or the “hard B.”

colleagues throughout the realm, indicate a genealogy of musical-theological thought and practice that extended through both local and global networks. The same may be said of Irízar and Carrión’s villancicos for Christmas: that they reflect both a local tradition of composition, with influences between the two composers, and a translocal tradition, with influences through networks of affiliated musicians.

5.2 CRAFTING A VILLANCICO CYCLE: IRÍZAR'S MUSIC FOR CHRISTMAS 1678

In September 1678 Miguel de Irízar faced the perennial problem of Hispanic church musicians everywhere: the challenge of composing a new cycle of villancicos for the coming Christmas season, and also in his case for the Immaculate Conception. Sometime after receiving a letter on September 9, Irízar folded a pile of his received letters and sewed them into a makeshift notebook. He opened to one of the blank backsides in the middle, inscribed the prayer “May Jesus, Joseph, and Mary help me” at the top of the page, and began to compose the opening piece of his Christmas cycle—the eleven-voice *calenda*, *Qué música celestial*.

Starting with the question “What heavenly music is this that today transmutes the air?” this villancico represents the reaction of the shepherds to the angelic music at the first Christmas. In so doing, Irízar uses music to represent itself, and calls listeners’ attention to marvel with the Christmas shepherds—both in response to the *musica instrumentalis* that is heard, and to the theological Music of the Incarnation. By examining the archival evidence for how Irízar assembled the materials to compose his cycle for Christmas 1678, we may gain a better perspective on the relationship between the economic labor of crafting villancicos and their theological function within the local community.

Irízar obtained this poem, together with six others in the 1678 Christmas cycle, from his friend Pedro de Ardanaz, the chapelmaster at Toledo, who had set the same text a year earlier. Irízar composed this villancico in one of his notebooks made of letters (E-SE: 18/36), together with the rest of the Matins cycle for Christmas 1678 and a few other liturgical pieces. The letters in the same notebook, together with additional contemporary letters bound in other composition notebooks, make it possible to determine exactly when Irízar composed the music for Christmas 1678, and where he obtained most of the poetic texts he set to music that year. The sources for the other texts can be identified by comparison with surviving pliegos of villancico poetry in Madrid. In addition to the composer’s draft score, performing parts for all but one of these pieces are also

preserved in the Segovia archive.

This section will first present what the contents of Irízar's letter-notebooks reveal about his compositional schedule and the local demands for villancicos in Segovia. Next it will focus on notebook E-SE: 18/36, which contains the Christmas cycle for 1678. A detailed codicological analysis is linked contextually to related letters and poetry imprints to reconstruct how Irízar assembled the sources and composed the music for that year. The last section will discuss the musical theology of the first piece in the set, *Qué música celestial*, and will then compare it to a piece by Irízar's successor, Jerónimo de Carrión.

5.2.1 Irízar's Compositional Schedule

By correlating the dates of the letters with the musical contents of the notebooks in which those letters are bound, we can see a clear pattern of how Irízar composed. Irízar's letters have been cataloged by Matilde Olarte Martínez, and his compositions in Segovia cataloged by José López-Caló; combining the data from both catalogs reveals a close relationship between Irízar's letters and his music.⁶ Olarte Martínez has transcribed the letters, which are preserved today in legajo 18 of the cathedral archive—mostly in the bound notebooks Irízar reused for composition, along with some loose letters.⁷ Between January 1677 and January 1679, Irízar received letters from about two dozen correspondents. Most of them were fellow chapelmasters or musicians who exchanged music, poetry, and referrals for other musicians. Table 5.1 shows what music Irízar composed in each of the notebooks he made from the letters he received primarily in 1677 and 1678.

6. 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-Caló, *La música en la Catedral de Segovia*, 2 vols. (Segovia: Diputación Provincial de Segovia, 1988). Pablo Rodríguez has traced connections between Irízar's music and music and poetry imprints from other archives: "Villancicos and Personal Networks in 17th-Century Spain," *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies* 8 (1998): 79–89.

7. Olarte Martínez uses a double numbering system for the letters. The first number in her system indicates the chronological order; this number is followed by a second in brackets, which indicates the letter's topographical location in the archive, as given in her index beginning on p. 568. For clarity, this text adds a "c" to her chronological numbers, and a "t" to her topographical numbers. Topographical numbers from [t333] to [t349] are loose letters, not part of bound notebooks. Letters [t350] to [t362] were transcribed by José López-Caló in 1963, but Olarte Martínez could not find them in the archive in 1992.

Table 5.1

Contents and functions of music in Irízar's letter-notebooks, 1677–1679

Sign.	Letter Dates	Music Nos.	Musical Contents	Possible Functions
18/35	1674/07/18– 1677/01/06	1572– 1583	Passion villancicos, Lamentations paraphrase “to Christ crucified”; 2 <i>Miserere</i> psalms; motet <i>Tristis es anima mea</i>	1677 Holy Week (Apr. 11–17)
18/28	1677/01/15– 1677/03/17	1505– 1520	Villancicos for Ascension, Corpus Christi 1677 (partbooks, cat. 802–809); Vespers psalm <i>Laetatus sum</i>	1677 Ascension (May 27), Corpus Christi (June 17)
18/12	1677/01/14– 1677/06/30	1358– 1360	Marian villancico, Vespers psalm <i>In exitu, Missa sobre In exitu</i>	1677 BMV Assumption (Aug. 15)
18/26	1676/12/16– 1677/08/24	1477– 1480	Compline psalms <i>Ecce nunc benedicite, In te Domine speravi</i> ; motet <i>Salve Regina</i> ; St. Francis villancico	1677 St. Francis (Oct. 4); Compline after Trinity 1677 Christmas missing
18/11	1677/11/19– 1678/03/02	1345– 1357	Patiño, <i>Misa de batalla</i> ; villancicos for Corpus Christi 1678 (partbooks, cat. 810–817)	1678 Corpus Christi (June 9)
18/15	1678/03/13– 1678/05/25	1389– 1393	<i>Miserere</i> ; Lamentations lesson; motet “to Christ in the tomb”; Mass; Villancico “for nuns”	1678 Holy Week (Apr. 3–9); Convent (profession?)
18/36	1677/03/27– 1678/09/09	1584– 1596	Villancicos for BMV Conception, Christmas 1678 (partbooks, cat. 699–706); motet <i>Parce mihi</i> (Matins for Dead)	1678 BMV Conception (Dec. 8); Christmas; funeral
18/45	1678/09/28– 1679/02/03	1676– 1695	Villancicos for Corpus Christi 1679; Compline psalms <i>Cum invocarem, Qui habitat, Magnificat</i>	1679 Corpus Christi (June 1); Compline, Vespers
18/4	1678/09/09– 1679/04/28	1275– 1277	Pérez Roldán, <i>Misa In cymbalis</i> ; psalms <i>Lauda Jerusalem, Laetatus sum</i>	1679 General post-Easter (Apr. 2)

The table shows that that every few months Irízar gathered a bundle of recent letters, in no particular order, and sewed them together into a notebook. The latest date of the letters in each packet suggests an approximate date of making the bundle. The musical contents of each notebook correlate rather closely with the liturgical feasts a few months in the future. For example, notebook E-SE: 18/28, with the latest letter dated March 17, 1677, contains a villancico and psalm for Ascension (May 27, 1677) and the complete villancicos for Corpus Christi (June 17, 1677). The next year, Irízar composed his Corpus Christi villancicos in notebook 18/11, with the last letter dated March 2, 1678.⁸ In almost every case, there is a gap of only a few months between the last letter and the liturgical occasion of the music in the notebook. The liturgical occasions for these pieces are the highest feasts of the year—Christmas, Holy Week, Corpus Christi, and the Conception of Mary. Much of the other music is for Vespers and Compline.

The Christmas cycle for 1678 was composed in notebook 18/36, which contains letters dated from March 1677 through September 9, 1678. As will be shown below, the physical character of the notebook suggests strongly that it was bound together before any composition was begun. After drafting the scores, Irízar had to leave time to have the parts professionally copied. The performing parts are not in Irízar’s hand, and their manuscript style, as well as the quality and watermarks on the paper, all closely resemble partbooks copied in Madrid for the Royal Chapel, and preserved today at the Escorial and in Montserrat. And of course, Irízar then needed time to rehearse these large-scale works, most of them scored for up to twelve voices and accompaniment, with his ensemble. Moreover, the notebook includes not only Christmas music, but also a villancico for the Conception of Mary, celebrated December 8 (see table 5.3). Thus Irízar probably had less than twelve weeks between September 9 and December 8, 1678, to compose the music in this notebook—an average of at least one piece per week.

8. The contents of E-SE: 18/11 have not previously been identified with this feast. The titles listed between catalog numbers 1346 and 1357 correspond to the partbooks for Corpus Christi 1678, catalog nos. 810–817.

5.2.2 The Contents of the 1678 Christmas Notebook (E-SE: 18/36)

Turning now to the specific contents of notebook 18/36, we may discern the probable order of composition of the pieces based on their arrangement in the manuscript. The manuscript is made from ten letters. Table 5.2 lists the dates and correspondents for each letter in the notebook, numbered chronologically. Each letter was written in a column on side of a sheet of long double-folio-size paper.⁹ Irízar made a pile of these ten letters, folded them in half, and sewed them into one signature down the crease, creating a folio-size notebook similar in proportions to the partbooks of Padilla's villancico sets in Puebla.

Having bound his notebook, Irízar set about utilizing all the available blank space for composition. He reserved the space on the front page (f. 1r) to write this description of the contents once he was finished:

Festival of Christmas of the year 1678. There is also a villancico for four voices for the same feast, which begins "Airecillos quedito." There is another villancico for eight voices for the conception, which begins "Quien es ésta, cielos." There is a lesson for the dead for eight voices, "Parce mihi."¹⁰

Table 5.3 lists the compositions in the notebook in their probable order of composition. Their numbers in the table are keyed to figure 5.2, which attempts to show the sequential locations in the manuscript where Irízar notated the music.

9. In some cases, the same piece of paper was folded to double as an envelope: three letters in this notebook have the address written on the other end of the sheet. For example, the text of Letter 1 is on the recto of folio 3, and the address is on the same sheet, numbered in the bound notebook as 18v.

10. "fiesta de Nauidad de el año de 1678 = ay demas vn Billancico a quatro de la misma festiudad que comienza airecillos quedito = ai otro villancico a 8. de la conception que comienza = quien es esta cielos = ai una leccion de difuntos a 8 parce michi ="

Table 5.2
Contents of E-SE: 18/36: Letters (Chronological order)

Label	Folios	Date	Sender	City	Catalog No.	
					c [t]	Page
L1	3r, 18v	1677/03/27	Lizondo, Francisco	Madrid	186 [263]	467–468
L2	1r, 20v	1677/11/24	Ortiz de Zarate, Domingo	Madrid	204 [261]	477
L3	2r, 19v	1678/01/12	Ortiz de Zarate, Domingo	Madrid	215 [262]	481–482
L4	8r	1678/06/26	Marrodanto, Francisco de	Ávila	229 [268]	488–489
L5	7r	1678/06/27	Irízar, Simón de	Alcalá	230 [267]	489
L6	5r	1678/06/28	López de Matauco, Manuel	Alcalá	231 [265]	489–490
L7	6r	1678/06/29	Palacios, Blas	Madrid	232 [266]	490
L8	9r	1678/07/02	Cavallero, Francisco	Sigüenza	233 [269]	490–491
L9	4r	1678/08/26	Irízar, Simón de	Alcalá	234 [264]	491
L10	10r	1678/09/09	Irízar, Simón de	Alcalá	236 [270]	491–492

Table 5.3
Contents of E-SE: 18/36: Music (Probable order of composition)

Label	Text Incipit	Folios	Score Cat.	Parts Cat. (Sign.)	Voices (+acc.)	Function (Christmas)
M1	Qué música celestial	9v, 8v–9r, 7v–8r, 6v–7r, 5v	1587	704 (3/28)	12	Calenda/Matins I
M2	Quién de prodigios tan altos descifrar	6r, 4v–5r	1586	706 (3/31)	9	Matins II
M3	Porque el valle es hoy la cuna del sol	3v, 2v–3r, 1v–2r	1584	702 (2/3)	10	Matins III
M4	Airecillos, quedito, que reposa el sol	2r (lyrics), 10v–11r	1588	None	4	Mass?
M5	Qué voces el aire rompe en el monte	10v–11v	1589	705 (3/30)	8	Matins (IV)
M6	El alcalde de Belén, en la Nochebuena	11v–13r, 10r	1590	699 (3/29)	8	Matins (V)
M7	Escuchen dos sacristanes que disputan	12v–15r	1591	700 (2/1)	10	Matins (VI)
M8	Pedro Grullo está en el portal	14v–16r, 14v	1592	701 (40/37)	9	Matins (VII)
M9	Quién es ésta, cielos	16v–17r	1593	997 (9/17)	8	BMV Conception
M10	Pues que todas las naciones (<i>gallego</i>)	17v–19r	1594–5	704 (3/32)	8	Matins (VIII)
M11	Parce mihi domine	19v–20r, 18v	1596	473 (13/13)	8	Matins for Dead
M12	Si imitando al serafín fui clarín	3v, 3r, 9v, 12v	1585	707 (40/34)	4	Mass?

Figure 5.2 is a schematic representation of the notebook, and shows the location of each letter on the recto sides of folios 1–10. Each dotted line in the figure represents a page in the notebook. The solid line on folio 10 the arc on the left margin between 10 and 11 shows the center folding. Each music piece is identified by its label in table 5.3; the vertical lines with bars on the end represent music written in sequence on consecutive folios, usually across an opening. The arrows show the chronological movement from one such span to another.

As shown in figure 5.2, Irízar began composing the first piece in the cycle on the verso side of folio 9, roughly in the middle of the notebook. He turned the notebook sideways and drew the staves in landscape format (rather than the portrait format of the letters). Above the first system (that is, along the left margin of f. 9v), Irízar invoked the Holy Family, “Jesus. Maria. Y Joseph. Me ayuden,” and titled the set, “fiesta de el Nacimiento de este año de 1678.” Irízar wrote the same prayer above almost every piece in the notebook, or across the top of the page where he put multiple pieces on one page.¹¹

With the notebook turned sideways, Irízar then proceeded sequentially to fill up the verso sides of each letter, sometimes spilling onto the recto as well. This means that in the numbered notebook he actually moved backward through the folios from the middle toward the front, as shown in the diagram. When, on f. 5v, Irízar completed *Qué música celestial*, he wrote another prayer to Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, and began the next villancico (M2), in the margins of 6r, and then continued moving to each next folio. After finishing the third villancico (M3) on f. 2r, Irízar had filled up nearly all the usable space on the backsides of the letters.

For the remainder of the pieces, he turned back to the middle of the notebook (10v) and began to use the completely blank pages in the second half of the bundle. For the following pieces (M4–M11) Irízar turned the notebook back to portrait orientation and filled the pages in a more

11. The prayer precedes M1 (f. 9v), M2 (above the binding on 5v, just before M2 on 6r), M3 (3v), M4 and M5 (10r), M6 (10v–11r, across the seam), M7 and M8 (14v–11r, above the end of M7 and the beginning of M8), M10 (17v–18r), M11 (19v–20r), and M12 (3v). Irízar only omitted the prayer on M9, the villancico for the Conception—perhaps a reflection of the haste he had to compose it in.

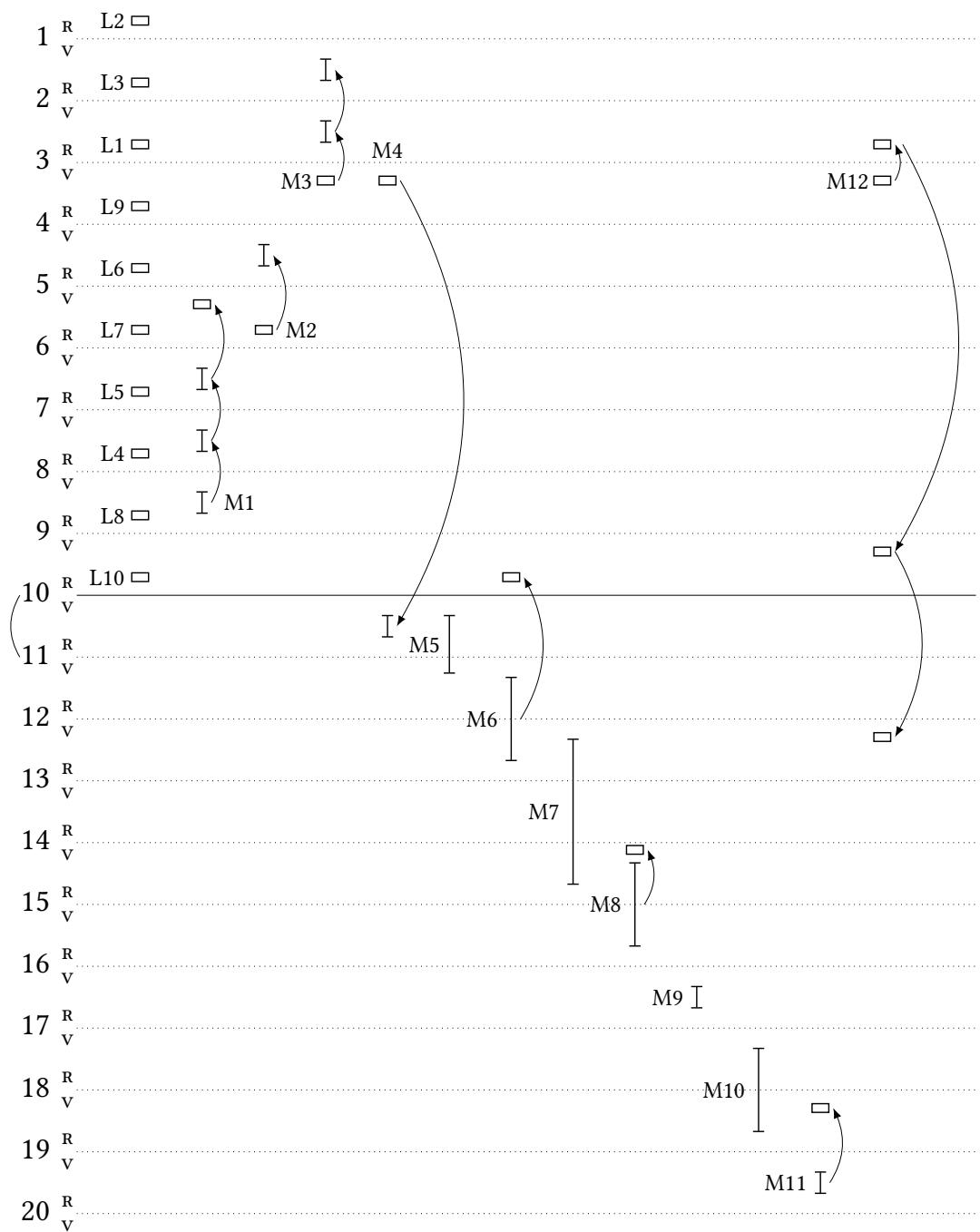


Figure 5.2

Locations and order of writing in Miguel de Irízar's composition-notebook E-SE: 18/36 (R, *recto*; V, *verso*, keyed to tables 5.2 and 5.3)

traditional manner, drawing his staves across the binding seam to use both facing pages. He composed M4 and M5 beginning on the same facing pages (10v-10r), with M5 spilling over onto 11v. He fit M6 on the rest of 11v-12r and 12v-13r, but ran out of room for the coplas—so he had to go back and use some empty space at the top of 10r (above letter 10). Irízar returned to 12v and continued drafting the compositions across the facing pages in a relatively straightforward manner. Toward the end of M11 (*Parce mihi*), Irízar ran out of pages and so doubled back to some space at the bottom of 18v for the end of the funeral lesson.

The compositional order of the remaining piece (M12) is not completely certain. It begins with the prayer just after M3 on f. 3v in landscape format, and continues on 3r (moving backwards through the folios as M1–M3 do); but the ending is squeezed in the bottom of 9v (under the first systems of the calenda), and the coplas are fit in portrait orientation beneath M6 and M7 on f. 12v. This piece (M12), the villancico *Si imitando al serafín fui clarín*, is scored for five voices, which enabled Irízar to fit it into these smaller spaces. Its fragmented geography scattered across the notebook suggests that Irízar composed it last, and fit it into the only blank spaces he had remaining.

5.2.3 Assembling the Poetic Sources through a Network of Villancico Exchange

Well before composing the music in this notebook, Irízar had carefully assembled the poetic texts he would set. All but two of the villancicos in notebook 18/36 may be positively matched with earlier imprints of villancico poems (the exceptions are M4 and M9). The Latin piece M11 is from the liturgy of Matins for the Dead. Table 5.4 lists the probable sources for poetic texts Irízar set to music in the notebook 18/36. Table 5.5 provides more information on the imprints cited in table 5.4.

Six pieces (M1, M3, and M5–M8) match villancicos sung a year earlier for Christmas 1677 at the cathedral of Toledo. Of those six, two pieces have additional correspondences. The text of M5 had already been performed at Seville Cathedral for the Conception in 1676, before being sung in

Table 5.4
Poetic concordances with E-SE: 18/36

Pre-1677	1677	Segovia 1678 (E-SE: 18/36)	Post-1678
	Toledo 1	1. <i>Qué música celestial</i>	
	Madrid 1	2. <i>Quién de prodigios tan altos</i>	
	Toledo 2	3. <i>Porque el valle es hoy la cuna del sol</i>	Zaragoza 1678
Irízar, <i>Pasitico airecillos</i> E-SE: 3/6, cf. Córdoba 1665		4. <i>Airecillos, quedito</i>	
Seville 1676/2	Toledo 5	5. <i>Qué voces el aire rompe</i>	
	Toledo 4	6. <i>El alcalde de Belén</i>	Puebla 1689
	Toledo 8, Valladolid 10	7. <i>Escuchen dos sacristanes</i>	Seville 1680, Puebla 1689
	Toledo 6	8. <i>Pedro Grullo está en el portal</i>	Seville 1680
Latin liturgy		9. <i>Quién es ésta, cielos</i>	Seville 1701
	Madrid 5	10. <i>Pues que todas las naciones</i>	Cádiz 1685
Madrid 1676	Calatayud 2, Córdoba 5	12. <i>Si imitando al serafín</i>	

Toledo in 1677. And twelve days after the 1677 Toledo performance of M3, the text M3 was sung for Epiphany 1678 at El Pilar in Zaragoza (that is, in the same Christmas–Epiphany season and preceding Irízar’s setting for the next season).

Two of Irízar’s other villancicos (M2, M1) match texts performed in 1677 for Christmas by the Royal Chapel in Madrid (M2, M11). One piece (M12) matches three earlier imprints, all for Christmas: first, from the Convento de la Encarnación in Madrid in 1676; then from Calatayud and Córdoba in 1677. The remaining villancico (M4) was adapted by Irízar himself from one of his earlier compositions, and that model piece has its own concordance with an earlier imprint.

Table 5.5
Poetry imprints cited in table 5.4

City	Year	Celebration	Institution	Composer	Poet (Later Ed.)
Cádiz	1685	Christmas	Cathedral		
Calatayud	1677	Christmas	Colegiata	Muñoz	
Córdoba	1665	Christmas	Cathedral		
	1677	Christmas	Cathedral		
Madrid	1676	Christmas	Encarnación	Ruíz	
	1677	Christmas	Royal Chapel	F. de Escalada?	
Puebla	1689	Christmas	Cathedral	Dallo y Lana	Sor Juana (1692)
Seville	1676	BMV Conc.	Cathedral	Xuárez	
	1680	Epiphany	Cathedral	Xuárez	
	1701	BMV Conc.	Cathedral	D. J. de Salazar	
Toledo	1677	Christmas	Cathedral	Ardanaz	León Marchante (1733)
Valladolid	1677	Christmas	Cathedral	Gómez Camargo	León Marchante (1733)
Zaragoza	1678	Epiphany	El Pilar	J. de Cáseda	Sánchez (1688)

These concordances are far from coincidental. Rather, they reflect a specific network of exchange of villancico poetry among interrelated musicians across Spain. A large proportion of Irízar’s letters document interchanges of villancico poetry between Irízar and other chapelmasters with whom he was affiliated. Chief among those correspondents was Pedro de Ardanaz. Ardanaz was chapelmaster at the more prestigious Cathedral of Toledo, and, as Ardanaz puts it in his letters, Irízar’s “amigo y condiscípulo” (friend and fellow-pupil). Both men had studied in Toledo with Tomás Miciezes the elder. Irízar’s correspondents also included his brother Simón in Alcalá, and his student Domingo Ortiz de Zarate in Madrid.

Irízar’s correspondence of the year 1677 reflects a composer eager to acquire imprints of villancico poetry. Irízar appears especially interested in staying current with the most prestigious musical institutions, particularly from the Royal Convent of Las Descalzas in Madrid, where the Royal Chapel often performed, and from the Cathedral of Toledo, the “Iglesia Primada” or

“mother church” for the whole Spanish Empire. Irízar also sent out his own musical scores, and corresponded with other church musicians about recruiting musicians for his and their ensembles.

The earliest letter that Irízar bound into the notebook 18/36, in which he drafted his Christmas cycle for 1678, was a request from Ortiz de Zarate for music to be sent on to the New World. Apparently Irízar’s student had previously requested villancicos and some Latin works, to be taken to the New World by another composer whom he only calls “el padre maestro.” It is not clear whether any of Irízar’s musical works ended up overseas, but the request suggests how the process of transmission across the Atlantic worked. Ortiz de Zarate is also responding to Irízar’s earlier request for Corpus Christi lyrics from the Royal Convent of Las Descalzas in Madrid:

My dear teacher:

I received your letter [...]. The villancicos have still not arrived, for if they had arrived I am not so crude as to have not written you to tell you I had received them [...]. The lyrics for Corpus Christi [letras del Santísimo] from Las Descalzas are not being printed, but I have charged a friend with copying a dozen or so of the best ones that I will find, and I will pass them on to you the instant that they bring them to me. The reverend master who is going to take the villancicos with him is not leaving until January, because the galleons have been delayed, and so I would greatly appreciate it if you could send me some that you would not miss; and even if there might be something in Latin, because over there, as there are few masters [maestros], there is a lack of everything. [...]

Madrid, November 24, 1677. The least of your disciples, who kisses your hands many times,

fray Domingo.¹²

Regarding the Corpus Christi villancicos from Las Descalzas, Ortiz had written in a previous letter, “they have told me that they do not print those, only the ones for Christmas.”¹³ This statement would partly explain the general lack of Corpus pliegos in the archival record today.

Irízar maintained an especially close correspondence with his “fellow-pupil” Pedro de Ardanaz in Toledo. Irízar’s letters of 1677–1678 suggest the two had a regular custom of exchanging

12. E-SE: 18/36, f. 14r (address 20v); Olarte Martínez c204 [t261], p. 477.

13. Letter from Madrid, September 27, 1677, transcribed by José López-Caló in “Correspondencia de Miguel de Irízar,” *Anuario musical*, no. 18 (1963): 201, but not subsequently located in the cathedral archive by Olarte Martínez (c200 [t357], p. 474).

Christmas and Corpus Christi texts. On the third day of Christmas 1677, Irízar received this note:

Dear sir:

I hope you are having a very happy Christmas and are in very good health. Here are the lyrics of the villancicos that are to be sung tonight in this holy church. [...]

Toledo, December 27, 1677. I kiss your hand,

D. Juan de Chávarri¹⁴

A letter from Pedro de Ardanaz of March 29, 1678, describes Chávarri as a friend of Ardanaz who had sent Irízar these and other documents on behalf of Ardanaz. Ardanaz, in turn, requests that Irízar send him villancico texts from Madrid, as well as any others that he might have:

My dear sir:

Since you have as always favored me with your memories, by means of my friend Chávarri I have returned them to you, with affection corresponding to your kindness. [...] I will try to fulfill my obligation with all punctuality; in celebrating *pascua* [Holy Week and Easter], choosing among the best lyrics that I can get, some that were obtained by soliciting through other channels. What I request of you is that you be so kind as to send me the folder of those [lyrics] that were sung at the Descalzas last year, for although I had it, I don't know where it has gone off to, and since I imagine that you must have it, I do not want to bother acquiring it in another way. If you should have others to your taste, you could also send those to me, for I will endeavor to procure as much as you might have, [with] punctuality, because during the holiday [pascua] I would like to begin doing something. *A Dios*, may God preserve you many years.

Toledo, March 29, 1678. Your friend and fellow-pupil, who kisses your hand,

D. Pedro de Ardanaz¹⁵

Two months later Ardanaz sent Irízar more poetry, but only after sending them to another friend in Madrid:

My dear friend:

Having sent these lyrics to a friend from Madrid, I have not been so punctual in sending them to you. I hope they will be to your taste; please send them back to me after copying them, and order from me as many as should be to your taste.

14. E-SE: 18, loose letter; transcribed by Olarte Martínez, no. c212 [t350], p. 480.

15. E-SE: 18/15; Olarte Martínez c221 [t125], p. 485. The word "memorias" might perhaps be better translated "souvenirs." This may refer to lyrics Irízar had sent to Ardanaz. Villancico imprints were souvenirs of a religious feast in a particular city, as their titles usually suggest, "villancicos that were sung" in a particular place. Since no printed villancico texts survive from Segovia, Irízar may have sent Ardanaz a manuscript copy of the lyrics, perhaps along with other descriptions of the feast.

Toledo, May 13, 1678.
Your friend and fellow-pupil, who kisses your hand,
D. Pedro de Ardanaz¹⁶

A month before Christmas 1678, Ardanaz sent Irízar the villancico texts for that feast in Toledo:

My dear friend:

Lest you should think that my occupations (though many) could hold me back from responding to you whenever you are kind enough to write me, and send me as much as you were caring enough to send—for the bond between countrymen and fellow-pupils is very close, to make one abhor anything having to do with obligation or duty—I send the lyrics. They are not as good as I would like. I hope the ones you will send me for Corpus [Christi] will be better, for I do not have them, and I assure that that you would be doing me a great kindness in sending them to me, and if you have not made a copy of the notebook, you could have them copied, and keep the copy, or if not, the reverse. May God preserve you many years.

Toledo, November 27, 1678.

Your friend and fellow-pupil, who kisses your hand,
D. Pedro de Ardanaz¹⁷

Evidently, there was a constant flow of “letras,” or villancico poems, back and forth between Toledo and Segovia, and also to Madrid and other parts. While Irízar and Ardanaz may also have exchanged notated music, these letters only mention “letras.” The terms “cuadernillo” (notebook) and “cartapacio” (folder), along with the suggestion of having them copied and then returning the original (or the reverse), imply that at least some of these texts took the form of the poetry imprints we now know as *pliegos sueltos*.

In fact, by comparison with surviving pliegos, it is possible in this case to identify precisely one of the imprints that Ardanaz sent to Irízar in 1677, and identify it as the primary source for Irízar’s 1678 Christmas cycle. In the letter from November 27, 1677 (see note 14 above), Ardanaz had his friend Chávarri send Irízar “las letras de los villancicos que se han de cantar” for Christmas that year in Toledo. Chávarri’s phrase was a stereotypical title for villancico poetry imprints, and

16. E-SE: 18/15; Olarte Martínez c226 [t126], p. 487.

17. E-SE: 18, loose letter; Olarte Martínez c243 [t333], p. 494.

in fact his wording matches exactly the title on a pliego suelto from Christmas 1677 in Toledo. This imprint is preserved in two copies in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (E-Mn: R/34982/3 and VE: 88/44): *Letras de los villancicos que se han de cantar en los Maytines del Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Iesu Christo, en la Santa Iglesia de Toletto, Primada de las Españas, Año de 1677. Siendo en ella Racionero y Maestro de Capilla Don Pedro de Ardanaz.*

The first villancico in that pliego is *Qué música celestial es la que hoy el aire altera?*—the very poem Irízar then chose to open his villancico cycle in Segovia the following year. As table 5.4 shows, Irízar used this and five other villancico poems from this imprint in his 1678 Christmas cycle. Poems from this same pliego appeared in 1733 in the complete works of Manuél de León Marchante, who as we have already seen was writing villancicos for Toledo at this time, and whose texts were disseminated all over Spain.

Here, then, is a concrete, documented example of a villancico poem traveling through a network of interrelated poets and composers (Marchante to Ardanaz via Chávarri to Irízar). Irízar’s choice to use these texts the following year could certainly have been based on little more than convenience, but given the warm words with which Ardanaz describes their bond of friendship, Irízar may also have been demonstrating his kinship with the chapelmaster of Toledo. The cathedral of Toledo was, as the pliego states, “the first church of all the realms of Spain.” Just as Irízar eagerly sought the lyrics for anything performed at the royal institutions in Madrid, he proudly reused villancicos from Toledo—though of course he wrote his own music.

5.2.4 Further Connections along Compositional Networks

Irízar in Segovia was only one node in the network of Hispanic composers. Most of the texts he set in 1678 came to him from Ardanaz, but (as in the case of *Suspended, cielos*) they also traveled elsewhere. A third fellow-pupil of Miciezes was Alonso Xuárez, chapelmaster of Seville Cathedral

from 1675–1684.¹⁸ A year before Ardanaz set *Qué voces el aire rompe* in Toledo in 1677, and Irízar set it in Segovia in 1678, Xuárez had set the same text in Seville for the feast of the Conception of Mary in 1676. The poem is attributed to Manuél de León Marchante in his 1733 posthumous works edition, so this poet must have been closely connected to this network of composers. Xuárez later set two of the texts from Toledo 1677 and Segovia 1678: in 1680 he set *El alcalde de Belén* and *Pedro Grullo está en el portal* (Irízar's M6 and M8) for Epiphany at Seville Cathedral.

Diego de Cáseda at Zaragoza formed another node in the network. As was the case with *Suspended, cielos*, Pedro de Ardanaz in Toledo exchanged villancicos with Diego de Cáseda at El Pilar in Zaragoza just as Ardanaz did with Irízar. Only twelve days after Ardanaz performed his setting of the poem *Porque el valle es hoy la cuna del sol* (Irízar's M3) at Toledo Cathedral in 1677, it was performed at Epiphany 1678 in Zaragoza, probably in a setting by Cáseda. Where Irízar received Ardanaz's pliego in the letter from Chávarri on December 27, 1677 (note 14 above), Cáseda must have obtained the text earlier in order to set it to music and perform it on January 6, 1678.

Diego de Cáseda and Miguel de Irízar, aside from being connected through Ardanaz, also interacted directly on one documented occasion, when Cáseda sent villancico texts to Irízar. In 1674, Cáseda sent "las letras" (lyrics) to Irízar, as though in reply to a direct request, saying, "They have served me honorably in the feast."¹⁹ Irízar bound this letter with two others into his notebook 18/30, which contains a villancico de calenda for Christmas 1675, *Nave que a Belén caminas* (the performing parts are in E-SE: 1/30). The first line of this text matches the calenda performed in Cáseda's church for Christmas 1674, according to the surviving pliego from Zaragoza. This provides yet another example of Irízar receiving a text in the mail and setting it to music for the same feast a year later, and demonstrates a direct connection between Irízar and Cáseda.

In 1678, then, both Cáseda and Irízar repeated texts performed at Christmas 1677 by Ardanaz

18. *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio, 10 vols. (Madrid: Sociedad general de autores y editores, 1999), s.v. "Xuárez, Alonso."

19. E-SE: 18/30, c120[t233], p. 433, date 1674/09?/08. The precise date of the letter apart from the year is uncertain.

in Toledo. The authorship of the poem in question, *Porque el valle es hoy la cuna del sol*, was later claimed for two different authors in posthumous editions of their works. The piece was attributed to Manué de León Marchante in the 1733 edition of his works, where its original performance at Toledo in 1677 is specified, along with the correct annotation that the piece was repeated in 1678 in Zaragoza.²⁰ But in the 1688 posthumous works of Zaragoza poet Vicente Sánchez, the same poem is included as one of his own works, together with the other pieces from Epiphany 1678 in Zaragoza.²¹

A similar problem of attribution applies to two of Irízar's other villancicos, *El alcalde de Belén* (M6) and *Escuchen dos sacristanes* (M8).²² In León Marchante's collected works of 1733, *El alcalde* is grouped with villancicos performed for Christmas 1676 at Las Descalzas in Madrid, suggesting that Ardanaz took the piece from there. The León Marchante edition specifies that the piece was later repeated at the Cathedral of Puebla de los Ángeles in 1689. Indeed it was, as a surviving pliego verifies—but in 1692 the editors of another posthumous edition credited the text to none other than Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz.

In fact, three of the poems performed that year in Puebla and attributed to Sor Juana in both historic and modern editions, are also claimed by Marchante, and were performed in Toledo in 1677. These are *El alcalde de Belén*, *Pues mi Dios ha nacido a penar*, and *Escuchen dos sacristanes*.²³ The poetry of the first and last of these three pieces is identical to that set by Irízar in 1678. If Sor Juana wrote these texts before 1677, through what channels did they get to Spain, and why were they not performed in Puebla until 1689? It is much more likely that the villancicos reached

20. Manuel de León Marchante, *Obras poéticas postumas: Poesías sagradas, tomo segundo* (Madrid, 1733).

21. Vicente Sánchez, *Lyra Poética de Vicente Sanchez, natural de la Imperial Ciudad de Zaragoza. Obras Posthomas* (Zaragoza, 1688).

22. It should be noted first that dozens of villancico imprints include the incipit “El alcalde de Belén,” but that these are not all the same text. Rather, this formula was a stereotypical opening line for a particular subgenre of villancico in which the mayor of Bethlehem brings a variety of colorful characters to the manger. But the specific text set by Irízar and previously by Ardanaz is attributed to León Marchante in his 1733 collected works.

23. Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Villancicos y letras sacras*, ed. Alfonso Méndez Plancarte, *Obras completas de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz 2* (Mexico City: Instituto Mexiquense de Cultura, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952), no. 285, 287, 290.

the New World through Puebla's chapelmaster, Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana, who as we have seen in chapter 4 worked in Seville before moving to Puebla, and was part of the same network as Ardanaz and Cáseda.

Another member of the network was Miguel Gómez Camargo at the cathedral of Valladolid, who sent two letters to Irízar in 1677. Gómez Camargo set *Escuchen dos sacristanes* for Christmas in 1677, simultaneous with Ardanaz's setting of the same text in Toledo. It would appear that Gómez Camargo and Cáseda were more closely connected either to Ardanaz or to Ardanaz's poet (possibly Marchante) than Irízar was, since both had access to the same texts as Ardanaz before Ardanaz set them. By contrast, Irízar had to get them second-hand from Ardanaz after the fact.

Irízar's M12, *Si imitando el serafín*, was not taken from Ardanaz in Toledo; instead it could have come from several earlier sources. The text was set twice for Christmas 1677 settings, the first in Córdoba and the second in Calatayud. The latter was composed by Juan Muñoz, who also set a version of *Suspended, cielos*, and must have been part of the network as well. Preceding both 1677 settings was a version by Matías Ruiz at Madrid's Convento de la Encarnación in 1676.

The network of villancico exchange was both complex and highly efficient in allowing the spread of poems around Iberia and across the Atlantic within just a few years, or even within months. Pieces performed by Irízar in Segovia in 1678 were also set to music within a few years by interrelated colleagues and associates in Toledo, Valladolid, Madrid, Catalyud, Zaragoza, Córdoba, Seville, and Puebla de los Ángeles.

5.2.5 Adapting the Sources for Local Devotional Functions

Having uncovered how Irízar obtained his poetic texts, we may now turn to consider how he adapted those sources to produce the music for Christmas 1678 in Segovia, and how the pieces he composed may have been used liturgically. Reconstructing the order of composition is actually the easier challenge.

It is not possible without a printed pliego to be certain of the precise liturgical function of

the pieces in Irízar’s notebook 18/36. Most contemporary villancico poetry imprints list eight pieces for performance in the Nocturnes of Matins, while some list as many as ten villancicos for Christmas and then include several more designated for other occasions in the same festival season. One 1677 imprint from Córdoba (E-Mn: VE/1308-39) includes seventeen pieces, which as its title indicates, are for (the Calenda, night, and days of Christmas). That pliego lists nine more villancicos after the calenda, presumably for “the night” or the Matins service; and then seven more “for the days of the holiday” (“para los días de Pasqua”)—to be sung during the twelve-day festival season of Christmas. Another imprint from Córdoba (for Christmas 1665) lists a Calenda, nine additional villancicos for Matins, and then three more “for the Mass.”

Irízar’s notebook contains ten Christmas-themed villancicos, plus the funeral piece (M11) and a villancico for the Conception of Mary (M9). Two of the Christmas pieces are scored for only four voice-parts (M4 and M12) in a single chorus plus an accompaniment part, in contrast to the other polychoral pieces for eight, ten, and twelve voices with accompaniment. According to the performing parts, M12 is actually a solo vocal piece, with the other four voice-parts played on *bajoncillos*. These two pieces also stand out because they are not taken from the same poetic sources as the rest of the set. Thus it seems plausible to speculate that M4 and M12 were not performed at Matins, but perhaps at Mass or some other occasion in the festival season. This would explain why Irízar, in his table of contents (18/36, f. 1r), lists M4 separately: “there is also a villancico for four voices for the same festivity that begins, ‘Airecillos quedito.’” Without these two pieces, then, the eight Christmas villancicos remain that form a plausible Matins cycle, largely based on Ardanaz’s 1677 cycle, but with two substitutions made from the 1677 Royal Chapel cycle.

Irízar creatively adapted these sources to craft a unified cycle of his own. The first of his alterations to the Toledo cycle from Ardanaz is in the first Nocturne: Irízar inserted the calenda from Madrid in between Ardanaz’s first two pieces, and omitted Ardanaz’s third piece. The villancicos of the first Nocturne in Ardanaz’s cycle are *Qué música divina* (Irízar’s M1), *Porque el valle es hoy la cuna del sol* (Irízar’s M3), and *Gilguero de la selva* (not set by Irízar). Irízar began

with the same calenda as Ardanaz. But for Irízar's first Nocturne, he dropped Ardanaz's third villancico, which used the theme of birdsong and was constructed using elaborate poetic devices. Instead, Irízar inserted a different villancico between the first two set by Ardanaz—Irízar's M2, *Quién de prodigios tan altos*. Only one pliego survives with this text, from Christmas 1677 at the Royal Chapel in Madrid, where *Quién de prodigios* was the calenda. This was likely Irízar's source, which he possibly received from Ortiz de Zarate in Madrid.

In the case of Irízar's M1–M3, the relationships between the texts suggests that that the order of composition in 18/36 corresponds to the order of performance in the Christmas cycle. M1, the calenda, presents hearers with a series of enigmas, posed as questions from the Christmas shepherds to the angel. The estribillo of M1 concludes with the angel promising to the shepherds, “Proseguid las dudas, y [...] descifraré el tema” (Present your doubts, and I will decipher the theme). The coplas, then, are a series of explanations of the mysteries and paradoxes of Christmas. After this piece, Irízar inserted M2, the first line of which should make clear why Irízar included it in this position: “Quién de prodigios tan altos descifrar lo grande puede” (Who can decipher the great thing among such lofty wonders). After these two thematically linked pieces, M3, *Porque el valle es hoy la cuna del sol*, is a dialogue between the mountain and the valley, focused on the symbolism of Christ as the sun (“sol”). That same symbol was prominent in M1 and M2, and M2 (Irízar's added piece) also speaks of “volcanoes,” connecting to the mountain theme of M3. Thus Irízar combined texts from Christmas performances at two more prestigious institutions of the year previous in order to produce a first Nocturne that was more tightly integrated than in either of those two sources.

If M4 and M12 were indeed intended for the Mass, then M5–M8 and M10 (skipping M9, the Conception piece), would seem to constitute the rest of the Matins cycle. M5–M8 are all taken from Ardanaz's 1677 set, though Irízar's order of composition is different from the order of these pieces in the 1677 Toledo imprint. It may be that Irízar rearranged them intentionally, or their order may be the result of technical considerations in Irízar's compositional process—such as

Table 5.6
Irízar's adaptation of an earlier text to produce *Airecillos, quedito*

Pasitico airezillos	airecillos quedito
que se duerme el sol	que reposa el sol
queditico auezillas	pajarillos pasito
no recuerde amor	no dispierte amor
suspended la voz	suspended la voz
no le recordéis	no le desperteis
ni le desbeleis	ni le desbeleis
ventezillos	avezillos no
paxarillos no	ventecillos
que harto desbeladito	que harto apasionadico
me le tengo Yo	me le traigo io

fitting the pieces onto the available blank space in the notebook. He may also have wanted to compose the “comic” villancicos M6–M8 (of the type that Irízar calls in his letters “de chanza”) all in a series, even if they were not performed in that order. M10, an “ethnic” villancico parodying Galicians (that is, a *gallego*), comes from the same Madrid 1677 imprint as M2, and would appear to have provided Irízar with an amusing and festive conclusion to the set.

The source and function of the remaining piece, *Airecillos, quedito* (M4), seems more difficult because there is no apparent source for the text. This piece is also the only one with no correspondences to extant poetry imprints, either before or after 1678. This piece is listed separately from the other pieces in Irízar’s table of contents, and may have served a separate liturgical function, such as at Mass. The composer’s draft in notebook 18/36 explains why: Irízar appears to have adapted this text himself from a pre-existing villancico poem. After filling the first half of his notebook with the music for M1–M3, Irízar turned back to f. 10v to compose M4 and the following villancicos. But before doing that, Irízar used the last remaining space on f. 2r, on which he had just finished writing down M3, to draft the poetic text that he would use in villancico M4. Above letter 3 on f. 2r, Irízar wrote two parallel columns of verses, as shown in table 5.6.

The text in the right column corresponds exactly to the estribillo of Irízar’s M4, ff. 10v–11r.

The text in the left column corresponds to a villancico set previously by Irízar. The partbooks for *Pasitico airezillos* (E-SE: 3/6, cat. no. 640) are dated 1670, the year before Irízar moved from Vitoria to become chapelmaster at Segovia in 1671. Evidently Irízar took the words of this villancico which he had composed for his previous employer, and made trivial alterations to the text to produce a new piece. The poetic and theological meaning of the two versions is nearly identical. But this example is a snapshot of what must have been a widespread compositional practice of adapting older texts. It suggests that even beyond the great number of literal concordances of villancico poems such as those we have been tracing in these chapters, there may be an untold number more examples like this, of modeling and adaptation.

5.2.6 Sketch Study of *Qué música celestial*

The 1678 calenda, *Qué música celestial*, survives in both the draft score and final performing parts, and thus provides a rare opportunity to follow a villancico composer's creative process. The colors and thickness of the ink suggest that Irízar first drew the staff lines onto his recycled papers, then added bar lines and clefs in the same layer of ink (this is the most lightly colored layer). Irízar does as the theorist Cerone recommended, and just as can be seen in other surviving villancico full scores: he fits two compases between each pair of barlines.²⁴ This means that for the most part the barlines in the transcription match up exactly with those of Irízar's score. It appears that Irízar drew in the barlines before composing the music, since in some places where space becomes tight he ends up fitting three compases between two barlines. Since Irízar's notational system did not include tied notes, for a colored note that stretches across a barline (like the F on "altera," mm. 3–4 in the transcription), Irízar writes a blackened note centered on the line.

After writing his prayer to the Holy Family and setting up the page, it appears that the first lines Irízar wrote were the opening phrases for the Alto and Tiple 1 soloists of Chorus 1. He filled in the words beneath the notes as he wrote (they appear to be in the same layer of handwriting).

24. Pedro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples, 1613), 745–747.

Irízar continued on, drafting the whole piece, including all the solo lines with their words and all twelve voices of the three choirs in the polychoral dialogues.

A second layer of ink is darker and thicker; this appears to be a second go-through of the manuscript, filling in details (particularly lyrics) and making corrections, such as crossing out stems mistakenly added to semibreves. Irízar corrected the counterpoint throughout in the polychoral sections, particular in the Chorus III parts and the lower voices of all the choirs. It would have been easy in drafting a piece for twelve voices to create accidental harmonic clashes between the top and bottom of the score page. The accompaniment part of the opening is also in a distinct, darker ink, suggesting Irízar filled it in later. It appears, therefore, that Irízar composed from the top down, thinking first of melodic ideas for the upper voices and then going back and filling in the harmonic support.

The manuscript shows that Irízar had to accommodate his musical conceptions to particular abilities of his ensemble. Irízar made one additional change after the rest of the piece was finished. In place of what he had written for copla 4, Irízar substituted a new for the Tiple 2 of Chorus I. He did not cross out the original music for this copla, written at the bottom of the page under the conclusion of the estribillo, with the other coplas. But in the top right corner of the page, in different ink but the same hand, there is an alternate setting of the fourth copla. It is this second setting that was copied into the performing parts, not the original one. The primary difference between the two versions is that the original setting has an ambitus of an octave and a fourth (from C \sharp ₄ to F₅), while the new version stays within the hexachord from A₄ to F₅. There are only two other major solos for the Tiple I-2, on the phrase beginning “Qué claro fulgor” (mm. 26–30) and the concluding quatrain of the estribillo (starting “Proseguid las dudas,” mm. 100–105). Of the four solo voices Irízar uses, this one has the shortest and least demanding part, and the ambitus and tessitura of this short solo are identical to that of the revised setting of copla 4. Thus it would appear that Irízar had to revise his original idea for the fourth copla to accommodate the limited range and ability of the boy soprano singing second treble in Chorus I, who would likely have

found it difficult to sing in the low register of the original version.

Irízar may have been limited in what he could ask of his choirboys, but the part he wrote for the Chorus I Alto is comparatively rather virtuosic, especially the theologically important solo passage in mm. 63–77. One of the letters in this composition notebook (from Irízar’s brother, June 1678) mentions a “capón” or castrato that Simón de Irízar intended to present for Irízar’s consideration in the Segovia chapel.²⁵ Perhaps Irízar hired this castrato and made him the featured soloist in the calenda for Christmas that year.

The overall impression of the manuscript is that Irízar composed the piece very quickly—perhaps even in one or two sittings. The composer must have had a clear plan for dividing the text among soloists and the full ensemble, for the proportions of these different sections, and for the harmonic structure that articulated them through cadences on various bass notes.

Irízar made the most of the materials available to him—his paper, his poetic texts, and above all his personal connections. On the basis of this analysis, Irízar was an economical composer, in the sense of creating value through exchange within an environment of scarcity. Looking in more depth at the musical and theological content of his 1678 calenda will show that this economical outlook was not separate from a religious one.

5.3 HARMONY TRANSPOSED FROM HEAVEN TO EARTH: IRÍZAR’S *QUÉ MÚSICA CELESTIAL*

The opening villancico in the 1678 cycle invites listeners to ponder the nature of music as a means of revealing higher truths. Irízar’s poetic text is taken with only minor variants from the poem sent to him by Ardanaz, which was apparently written by León Marchante (see poems 5.4 and 5.5). The poem presents a series of questions followed by explanations, though some of “deciphered” answers only increase the mystery. As a result, the overriding affect is of wonder, a central aspect of Catholic Christmas devotion.

25. E-SE: 18/36, folio 74; c230[t267], p. 489.

Poem 5.4

Qué música celestial, poem as set by Ardanaz and Irízar, excerpt from estribillo

	1. Coro. [AI]	Qué música celestial es la que hoy el aire altera?	What heavenly music is that which alters the air today?
	2. Coro. [SI-1/all]	Qué soberana armonía es la que el oído eleva?	What sovereign harmony is that which elevates hearing?
5	3. Coro. [TI]	Qué luz es esta que en día transforma la noche densa?	What light is this that transforms the dense night into day?
	4. Coro. [SI-2/all]	Qué claro fulgor el cielo esta noche da a la tierra?	What clear splendor does the sky this night give to the earth?
10	Todos. [All]	Lo admirable de este Enigma grande novedad encierra.	What can be seen of this riddle encloses a great new thing.
	1. Coro. [AI]	Gloria repiten las voces.	Gloria—let the voices repeat it.
	2. Coro. [SI-1]	Paz dan sus luces cadencias.	Peace—their lights give cadences.
	3. Coro. [SI-2]	Toda la tierra es ya Cielo	All the earth has become heaven
	4. Coro. [TI]	Y todo el Cielo da en tierra.	and all heaven appears on earth.
15	Todos. [All]	Qué será que en nuestra duda no cabe saber qué encierra ser el cielo voces todo, ser glorias toda la tierra?	What should it mean that in our doubt there is no room to know what it encloses, since the heaven is all voices, since Glorias are in all the earth.
20	Ángel. [AI]	La causa es, Pastores, que de una Doncella forma el Verbo carne, por pagar la deuda, que del primer Padre tomó por su cuenta: y el cielo envidioso de ver que hoy la tierra a Dios goza humano, con voces celebra la dicha que el Orbe posee en su esfera. Venga en hora buena.	The cause, shepherds, is that from a maid the Word takes form in flesh, to pay the debt that from the first Father He took upon his account: and the sky, seeing with envy that today the earth knows God as a human, with loud voices celebrates the saying that the Orb holds in its sphere. Let him be welcomed.
25		[...]	
30	[All]		

Poem 5.5

Qué música celestial, excerpt from coplas

	1. Coro. ^a	1. Que será que en voces graves toda la Corte celeste con gloria, y paz nos combida en alternados Motetes?	1. What shall it mean that in grave voices all the heavenly court with “glory and peace” banquets us in alternated motets?
50	Ángel.	2. Es que el cielo hoy gozoso (de glorias tales) varias galas de acentos rompe en el aire.	2. It means that the sky today joyously (from such glories) breaks open with so much finery of accents in the air.
55	2. Coro.	3. Que será que a media noche por las puertas del Oriente, sin romper el Alva bella, el Sol se nos manifieste?	3. What shall it mean that at midnight through the portals of the East, the fair Dawn not breaking, the Sun shows himself to us?
60	Ángel.	4. Es que el Sol cuando nace de tal Aurora, dora el yerro del hombre que a ella la adora.	4. It means that the Sun, when he is born from such an Aurora, gilds the error of Man just as he adores her. ^b
65	3. Coro.	5. Que será que un Portalillo tanto en sí se desvanece, que todo el poder encierra en lo estrecho de un Pesebre?	5. What shall it mean that in a little stall such a presence is hidden that the stable encloses all Power in the narrow bed of a manger?
70	Ángel.	6. El Portal no era nada, y al ver que hoy tiene en su albergue a Dios Niño, se desvanece.	6. The stall was nothing— and on seeing that this day it holds in its lodging God as a Baby, it vanishes.

a. S3: Irizar scores the coplas for SI-1, AI, TI, and SI-2 solos in rotation (e.g., SI-1 sings coplas 1, 5, 9, and 13).

b. The Spanish “yerro” sounds like “hierro” (iron), contrasted with gold; the Spanish words for “gilds” and “adores” are “dora” and “adora.”

The villancico followed the singing (or was sung during the reading) of the first Matins Responsory:

Respond. For us today the king of the heavens has deigned to be born of a virgin, in order to recall lost Man to his heavenly kingdoms: let the army of angels rejoice, for eternal salvation has been manifested to the human race. *Versicle.* Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace to people of good will.²⁶

The villancico dramatizes the moment in the infancy narrative of Christ (Luke 2) just after the angelic chorus sings the *Gloria in excelsis* which was echoed in the Responsory versicle. The piece begins with questions and exclamations of wonder from the shepherds: what is this music? what is this harmony? what kind of light is this? what sort of splendor? In Ardanaz's settings, each sentence is sung by a separate choir; Irízar assigns each line to a separate soloist, dramatizing the scene as a dialogue between four characters. The full choir responds (l. 9): "Lo admirable de este Engima/ grande novedad encierra" (What can be seen [or admired] of this riddle encloses a great new thing). The villancico (ll. 11–12) represents the angels' song of "gloria" and "paz," and portrays the shepherds amazed response to this heavenly music. In the central section of the estribillo (ll. 19–30) the angel explains the mystery of the Christian gospel to the shepherds: the Word has become flesh through a virgin in order to pay the debt humankind owes to God.

This, the angel says, is why the heavens are rejoicing. The "cielo"—here clearly meaning "sky"—is jealous of the earth because God has come down to earth. But the sky is now filled with the heavenly armies and their "dicha" (saying) of *Gloria*, like the banner in the heavens that appears above the nativity scene in the 1631 Breviary engraving (previously cited with reference to Padilla, figure 3.3).

What does this poem have to say about the theological power of music? This villancico is

26. Catholic Church, *Breviarium Romanum ex decretum Sacros. Conc. Trid. Restitutum Pii V. Pont. Max. iuss editum, & Clementis VIII Primum, nunc denuo Vrbani Pp. VIII auctoritate recognitum* ([Rome?], 1631): "Respond." Hodie nobis cælorum Rex de Virgine nasci dignatus est, vt hominem pérditum ad cœlestia regna reuocâret. * Gaudet exercitus Angelorum: quia salus æterna humano generi apparuit. *Versicle.* Gloria in excelsis Deo, & in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

not as intensely metamusical as *Voces, las de la capilla* or *Suspended, cielos*. It does not offer long strings of musical terms with double theological meanings, though the final line, “descifraré el tema” is a pun on the musical terms *cifrar* and *tema*. In asking “What heavenly music is this?”, though, the piece does invite the listener to contemplate the relationship between the historic music of Christmas, the music heard “hoy” (today) in the Christmas Matins service, and the higher Music of Christ’s incarnation.

The piece is apt for this study because it concentrates on the relationship of the affects and senses—particularly hearing—to faith in the mysteries of Christmas. The primary affect, as we have seen, is wonder; and this wonder is a response to what is heard and seen. The first two sentences of the estribillo focus on wonders of hearing (“música,” “armonía”), with a specific mention of the sense of hearing (“el oído”). The next two sentences focus on wonders of sight (“luz,” “claro fulgor”). These opening lines, then, move from hearing to sight, from the shepherds hearing the angel’s promise to them seeing “lo admirable,” the admirable or visible thing. That thing is the sign promised by the angel, the baby wrapped in cloths and lying in a manger, the “verbum quod factum est” (Word that has been fulfilled) that the shepherds set out to see (Luke 2:15). The last two quatrains of the estribillo mirror the opening by moving again from sight back to hearing. First they describe the “admiraciones” or “sights to behold”—the lights of heaven have come down to earth—and then close with a description of music, “en graves cadencias/ de sonoras voces” (in solemn cadences of resounding voices).

The whole villancico is about “enigmas”—profound truths hidden behind plain appearances, the spiritual hidden within the material. The Incarnation of Christ was the epitome of the sacred being hidden in the humblest matter of this world (see coplas 5–6, 11–12). The Eucharist was another such miracle, in which that same physical body of the Incarnate Christ was hidden in accidents of bread and wine, and at Christ-Mass, these two mysteries were united.

The piece, then, invites hearers to listen for a deeper meaning in the music, according to theological and cosmological notions common to the pieces discussed in previous chapters. By

describing music as “altering” or “transmuting the air,” the villancico situates music within the contemporary theory of the four elements. The mathematical proportions that govern sound are hidden within physical objects, like the wood of a viol or the tin of an organ pipe. When these objects are made to vibrate, they alter the air according to those fixed and universal mathematical ratios. For the shepherds’ ears to hear the angelic voices was to have a direct physical connection to the world beyond, by means of the element of air. The air itself becomes the means through which the word or divine message is transmitted into the world of matter. As the speaker of copla 2 says, the *cielo Empyreo*, the highest Heaven where the angels dwell, has come down and broken through the earthly *cielo* or sky.²⁷

5.3.1 Musical Analysis

To turn this music-themed poem into a sounding musical performance, Irízar structured the estribillo in three large sections. First, there is an opening section that establishes the mode, style, and motivic ideas (mm. 1–42). This section matches with the first portion of the poem, which consists of questions from the Christmas shepherds. In the second large section (mm. 43–83), Irízar presents the angel’s answer and the sheperds’ response. The third large section (mm. 83–107), returns to the modal center with cadences on D and also returns to the music of the opening section. Irízar provides separate settings for the coplas, as Cererols did. He uses a repeating sequence of four solo singers from Chorus I.

Perhaps under the influence of the pioneering dramatic works from the Madrid court in the preceding decades, Irízar’s setting dramatizes the poem musically. Irízar’s melodic writing in the solo sections, like his treatment of the accompaniment, is strongly reminiscent of contemporary music from the Madrid court, such as the villancicos of Benito Bello de Torices and the theatrical

27. In the early eighteenth century, this idea would be built into Toledo Cathedral, with the *Transparente* behind the high altar—and opening cut in the ceiling and decorated so that it appears the roof itself has broken open amid choirs of angels.

music of Juan Hidalgo.²⁸ This style makes heavy use of stepwise thirds in sequence, as in mm. 63–77 and in all the coplas, with the accompaniment in canon with the melody (or the reverse).

Irízar casts the soloists of Chorus I as the Christmas shepherds at the beginning of the piece. In other places Irízar casts a soloist as the angel, as in the passage beginning in m. 63, and in the even-numbered coplas. The chorus by turns plays the roles of the shepherds and of the angel choir. Irízar makes ample use of echo effects to dramatize their interactions (example 5.1). The closing exclamations “Let him be welcome!” are shouted out almost as a surprise, and then left to resonate in the cathedral.

Irízar’s choices of cadence points and other harmonic shifts fit in with his dramatic scheme. To give one example of how this is true on a small-scale level (example 5.2): in mm. 16–19, Irízar begins the phrase with all voices singing in the natural hexachord, suggesting a local modal final of C; this is for the words “Qué soberana armonía.” The high tessitura, and the clear, balanced counterpoint (note the voice exchanges) are suited to depict a “sovereign harmony.” But in the second half of the phrase, “es la que el oído eleva,” Irízar suddenly adds G sharps and shifts the implied local modal center up a third to E. This shift dramatizes the grammatical structure of this sentence: the interrogative subject “What sovereign harmony” is set in one harmonic palette, and then the color shifts boldly for the predicate “is that which elevates hearing” or “the ear.” The effect is to put the first section, the subject, almost into quotation marks as representing the heavenly music of the angels, and then the second half as representing the shepherds’ awestruck affective response as they are, through the ear and the sense of hearing, physically “altered” by the music they are hearing.

28. See the Torices pieces in Bernat Cabero Pueyo, *Der Villancico des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in Spanien* (Berlin: Dissertation.de, 2000).

Example 5.1

Irízar, *Qué música celestial*, mm. 43–53: Echo effects and dramatic dialogue between angels and shepherds

5.3.2 Motivic and Contrapuntal Analysis

Irízar was as economical with musical motives as he was with paper, but his parsimonious use of musical material has theological meaning as well. He begins with two solo phrases, one descending stepwise from D₅ to F₄ and then back up the scale to A₄, and a second that repeats the same figure transposed to start on A₅ (example 5.3). On a simple level of text painting, the solo melody forms a melodic *catabasis*, depicting the music coming down to the shepherds from heaven. Meanwhile Irízar represents “altera” with the rhythmic alteration of coloration and the pitch alteration of added B flats in the accompaniment.

48

Ti. I-2
T. I
Ti. II
A. II
T. II
B. II
Ti. III
A. III
T. III
B. III
Ac.

tierra es ya cie - lo.
Y to - do el cie - lo da en tie - rra, da en tie - rra.
to - da, y to - do
to - da, y to - do
to - da, y to - do
Ac.

6

Example 5.1
Continued

16

Ti. I-1
Ti. I-2
A. I
T. I

¿Qué so - be - ra-na ar-mo - ní - a es la que el o - í - do e - le - va?
¿Qué so - be - ra-na ar-mo - ní - a es la que el o - í - do e - le - va?
¿Qué so - be - ra-na ar-mo - ní - a es la que el o - í - do e - le - va?

Example 5.2
Irízar, *Qué música celestial*, mm. 16–19: Local modal shift for “elevating hearing” (only Chorus I parts shown)

Example 5.3

Irízar, *Qué música celestial*, opening: Singing down through the soft and natural hexachords

On a more abstract level, this opening melodic figure is an epitome of music itself. The descending gesture encompasses an entire Guidonian hexachord, starting from the highest pitch of the soft hexachord. The B \flat in the second bar would have cued the singer to read the passage according to the solmization for the Guidonian soft hexachord (on F); thus the Alto sings down through the whole hexachord, from *la* to *ut* and then back up, *ut-re-mi*. This simple figure, which is like a textbook example for solmization, begins at the very top of the Guidonian gamut—D₅, the second highest note on the hand. The second soloist, the Tiple I-1, then picks up the scale where the first singer left off (though up an octave), and continues the descent. To thus imitate the opening melody at the fifth above, the Tiple has to solmize the passage in the natural hexachord. Between the two singers, they outline the plagal ambitus of the second mode (from A to A, with a final on D). So these solos present hearers with a paradigm of perfect music, according to the most ancient and timeless of rules known to a late-seventeenth-century Spanish chapelmaster.

The shift of hexachords could represent the transposition of heavenly music down to earth. By writing in the B \flat in m. 2, Irízar puts the opening phrase in *cantus mollis*. By the 1670s *cantus*

mollis had become more than just a notational convention for a transposition of the modes—in cases like this the one-flat signature appears to represent elevated, unearthly, or altered states, and heavenly music in particular.²⁹ Irízar begins his piece in cantus *mollis*, we might imagine, to make this opening exclamation of wonder sound otherworldly and surprising. The second singer, then, transposes the melody back to the natural hexachord and cadences on the modal final. Thus the angelic music comes back to earth.

Irízar creates a further heaven–earth distinction through the interaction of soloists and accompaniment in this opening passage. The accompaniment line (apparently written in after most of the vocal parts) is in canon with the singer. It repeats the hexachordal descent starting in m. 2, but the canon is rhythmically displaced so that the two voices form a chain of 7–6 suspensions. In Irízar’s scoring for only solo voice and continuo, the dissonances would stand out especially starkly. Even more than the added B♭ and the Phrygian cadence, the suspension chain contributes to an affect of wonder, and creates an impression of a mysterious, higher music.

Like Cererols’s paradoxical use of dissonance, this suspension chain has a range of possible meanings. The way the bass voice moves at a delay from the solo voice suggests the way earthly music imitates or echoes heavenly music. That its imitations create dissonances could emphasize the imperfection of this earthly music. On the other hand, the contrapuntal pattern is a textbook example of fourth-species counterpoint, so it could also be a way of representing heavenly music itself. This kind of heavenly music defies human expectations but is at the same time governed by its own laws. A listener untrained in counterpoint might only have perceived a mysterious, haunting affect, and in any case the passage does evoke a “soberana armonía” (sovereign harmony) that “elevates the sense of hearing” or “lifts up the ear.”

Irízar’s uses counterpoint symbolically by constructing “combinatorial” patterns that suggest the union of heaven and earth, divine and human. In the opening phrase, the accompaniment is in

29. Among numerous similar examples, we may note that Kircher’s “cadence of the planets” in chapter 4 was also in cantus *mollis*.

canon with the Alto solo, with the voice rhythmically offset by one minim to create a suspension chain. After the accompaniment plays the canon once (mm. 2–3, D–C–B \flat –A), it then repeats the same notes, this time in minims instead of perfect semibreves. This repetition of the first four notes of the Alto’s motive (la-sol-fa-mi) corresponds with the Alto’s last three notes (*ut-re-mi*). Thus the two voices here are combinatorial: together they form the complete pitch-class set of the soft hexachord. This terminology may be anachronistic, but the juxtaposition of the two segments of the hexachord is clear. This contrapuntal combination adds to the symbolic possibilities of this passage, suggesting that the higher and lower forms of music, and therefore the divine and human, are being combined. This combination is the theological Music about which the soloist is singing.

Irízar uses a combinatorial technique again in the coplas. In copla 1 (example 5.4), the Tiple I-1 soloist’s melody is built from sequential imitations: the descending stepwise third that recalls the opening motive of the estribillo, repeated on descending steps of the scale and thus tracing the same descending stepwise fifth from the estribillo opening. Just as the second soloist in the estribillo opening continued the first singer’s scalar descent, so here in copla 1 the second melodic phrase (mm. 112–116) is a repetition of the first phrase down a perfect fourth, and therefore continues the descent outlined in the first phrase (making a full descent from A₅ to A₄). The accompaniment is in canon with the voice at the rhythmic interval of a semibreve and the melodic interval of a perfect fifth. Thus the accompaniment of the first phrase is at the same transposition as the melody of the second phrase, and vice versa. This means that in the first phrase (mm. 108–111), the soloist outlines the descent from A to D, *la-sol-fa-mi-re* (natural hexachord), while the accompanist outlines the descent from D to G, *la-sol-fa-mi-re* (hard hexachord). So Irízar not only juxtaposes the upper and lower halves of the plagal octave ambitus, but also the hard and natural hexachords—just as he did in a different way in the opening of the estribillo.

The patterned order of the counterpoint in the coplas contrasts with Irízar’s counterpoint in the estribillo at the angel’s response to the shepherds, beginning in m. 63 (example 5.5). The solo begins much like the coplas, with a sequential pattern, here of rising thirds, with the

Example 5.4

Irízar, *Qué música celestial*, copla 1: “Combinatorial” canons

voice and accompaniment in parallel tenths. The voice and instrumentalists are both in the soft hexachord. But at the mention of the Incarnation (“toma el Verbo carne”), the voice suddenly drops to the bottom of its tessitura, joining in unison with the accompaniment—a fitting depiction of the hypostatic union. Now both parts switch to the natural hexachord: once again, Irízar has depicted Christ’s movement from heaven to earth through a shift between hexachords. As the singer continues to describe Christ’s payment of Adam’s debt (on the cross), mm. 67–69, the two parts begin to diverge rhythmically and melodically. At the mention of sinful Adam, “the first father,” in mm. 68–69, Irízar writes a cross-relation (B♭ accompaniment m. 68 to B♮ voice m. 69) and added sharps to symbolize the difficulties of Adam’s estrangement from God. In the next phrase, mm. 70–77, the accompaniment begins the melodic idea and then the voice follows in canon, just as the poem describes the heavens looking on enviously at what is happening on earth. Notably, the accompaniment is in the soft hexachord, while the voice is in the natural hexachord (in mm. 69–72).

63

A. I

La causa es, pas - to - res, que de u-na don - ce - lla to-ma el Ver - bo car-ne por

Ac.

67

pa-gar la deu - da que del pri-mer pa - dre to - mó por su cuen - ta, y el

71

cie - lo en - vi - dio - so de ver que hoy la tie - rra a Dios go - za hu - ma - no con

74

vo - ces ce - le - bra la di - cha que el or - be po - see en su es - fe - ra.

Example 5.5
Irízar, *Qué música celestial*, mm. 63–76

5.3.3 Irízar’s Place in the Tradition of Metamusical Villancicos

This piece presents a balance of mnemonic, contemplative, and affective functions in the metamusical villancico tradition. On the mnemonic level, much of the text is concerned with presenting doctrines, though it presents them more as objects of wonder than as logical propositions. Irízar’s symbolic use of hexachordal theory and contrapuntal techniques are also amenable to a more contemplative Neoplatonic listening practice. The poetry and music are much less enigmatic, however, than the complex examples by Padilla and Cererols. Instead their main function would seem to be on the affective level, inciting wonder and devotion at the mysteries of Christmas.

Compare to the Cererols example, this villancico is not especially concerned with the harmony of the spheres. Astronomical terminology is used only once explicitly (“la dicha que el Orbe posse en su esfera”), and it refers to a singular orb with a singular sphere, not a series of harmonizing spheres. “Celestial” in this villancico refers primarily to the music of Heaven, not the heavens, “cielo Empyrio,” not “cielos.” While it does emphasize that the music of the highest heaven has broken through to the terrestrial sky, it does not concern itself in detail with the relationship between cosmic music (*musica mundana*) and divine music as Cererols’s villancico does. Rather, its emphasis is more on the human affective response to the angelic music and the divine Incarnational Music that it heralded.

These shifts of emphasis may reflect changing attitudes toward the old cosmology in the later seventeenth century. All the same, it should be remembered that the attributed poet of this villancico, Manuel de León Marchante, also adapted *Suspended cielos*. León Marchante certainly did not reject the old system, but continued to exploit its rich symbolic potential.

5.4 HARMONY RISING TO HEAVEN: JERÓNIMO DE CARRIÓN, *QUÉ DESTEMPLADA ARMONÍA*

The general movement toward a greater emphasis on the human may be seen clearly in the contrast between Miguel de Irízar’s *Qué música celestial* and another Christmas calenda, by his

successor Jerónimo de Carrión. In *Qué destemplada armonía*, Carrión takes these tendencies a step farther by making the faultiness of human music his central theme. While Irízar, like Cererols and Padilla, invites his audience to join with the shepherds in listening for heavenly music, Carrión portrays the way human music rises to heaven and is heard by God.

Carrión's villancico dramatizes the history of salvation in musical terms (poem 5.6). Humankind's fallen nature is an "untempered harmony of differing, confused voices" rising from the depths to God, but with "sad cries of 'ay' [...] it pierces heaven and clamors for his mercy." Faith in the promise that God will accomplish his "high word" turns this music of supplication into "sweet accents" offered humbly "on bended knee." God then responds to the sinners' plea by sending Christ to born on earth and bring peace to humankind.

The term "destemplada" literally suggests something that was once in tune, but has been made out of tune. In Catholic doctrine, humankind was made in the image of God but after falling into sin, the nature of humankind was corrupted. The phrase "gime oprimida/ la naturaleza humana" expresses the theology of St. Paul in Rom. 8:20, that human nature and even all creation were "subjected to futility." "Destemplada" also evokes an "untempered" instrument, one in which the Pythagorean comma has not been evenly distributed across the range. In tuning a keyboard instrument, a temperament is a compromise between acoustic reality (with its built-in Pythagorean comma) and the human aesthetic ideal. The Pythagorean comma may be seen as a flaw built in to the system of human music from its acoustic foundations.

Carrión's villancico suggests that earthly music, like the rest of the natural world, is not only imperfect in comparison to a perfect God, but is actually broken because of the Fall of humankind. Tuning creates only the illusion of perfection, just as in Catholic theology the human striving for righteousness apart from Christ can never satisfy a righteous God. Only God could set things aright by becoming incarnate and redeeming human nature. In musical terms, Christ offers not a temperament—an imperfect human remedy for the problem of imperfection—but a new system of music altogether.

Poem 5.6

Qué destemplada armonía, poem as set by Carrión (E-SE: 20/5), first portion of estribillo

	¿Qué destemplada armonía de confusas voces varias de lo profundo del valle la sagrada esfera escala?	What untempered harmony of different, confused voices from the depth of the valley scales the sacred sphere?
5	Sin duda gime oprimida la naturaleza humana al peso de infiel cadena que horrorosamente arrastra.	Undoubtedly, the human nature groans in subjection to the weight of the faithless chain that horrifically drags him down.
10	Pues con ayes tristes, pues con tiernas ansias, el cielo penetra, y a su piedad clama.	For with sad cries of “ay,” for with tender yearnings, the harmony pierces Heaven and clamors for his mercy. ^a
15	Y elevando los dulces acentos cuando la asegura feliz esperanza al eterno le pide rendida el cumplimiento de su alta palabra.	And raising up the sweet accents while blessed hope assures it, to the Eternal it begs on bended knee for the fulfillment of his ancient word.
	Y así dice, y así exclama: ¿hasta cuando, Señor poderoso,	And thus it says, and thus it exclaims: “How long, O mighty God,
20	dueño de las almas, han de estar de tus misericordias las puertas cerradas?	master of souls, must the doors of your mercies be closed?”
	Pero ya del Olimpo de luces la risa del alba nos anuncia	But already from the Olympus of lights the dawn’s laughter announces to us
25	en el sol que previene la paz deseada.	in the sun that is rising, the peace we have desired.
	Venga, llueva, llegue, nazca.	Let him come, let him rain down, let him arrive, let him be born.

a. Or “makes a claim on his faithfulness.”

In one way this narrative uses music as a metaphor for retelling the Christian gospel message. Out-of-tune music functions as a symbol for the fallen creation, and the transformation of groans into sweet music represents redemption. But the symbolic function of music cannot here be separated from a more literal discourse about music-making as a form of worship. If *musica humana* is out of tune, then *musica instrumentalis* will be as well. Sinful people, the villancico would suggest, are not capable of offering God music that would truly please the divine ears. Only through faith does music become an offering that God can accept, and only God, through sending Christ to restore the *musica humana*, can create a truly tuneful music. Moreover, the performers of the villancico actually enact what they are describing, so that the piece itself becomes both a lesson about how to offer music to God and a musical offering in its own right.

The music of Carrión's calenda is similar to Irízar's in many ways, in that both begin with a dialogue of soloists, asking wonder-filled questions about music. But Carrión's music reflects the new stylistic trends of a younger generation. The piece is divided into separate sections of slow and fast tempos, marked "despacio" and "airoso," respectively. The estribillo includes sections that sound like the coplas of earlier villancicos, and the actual coplas include their own estribillo-like refrain. The manuscript lacks the customary indications that the actual estribillo is to be repeated, which makes sense given its length and complexity; the refrain in the coplas, then, functions in the place of singing the whole estribillo again. The soloists play even more important roles in this piece than they did in Irízar's *Qué musica celestial*. Carrión writes lengthy, operatic-like solo roles, calling for greater virtuosity and including written-out runs and ornaments (surely embellished further by the performers).³⁰

Carrión depicts "destemplada armonía" by having the words sung on syncopated, colored notes, over rapidly shifting cadence points. The opening solo seems intended to sound awkward and ill-proportioned (example 5.6). The accompaniment here includes almost the whole "gamut"

30. The role of the chorus is diminished by comparison, so that almost all of the complex music is sung by soloists, suggesting an increased reliance on a smaller group of specialized performers and perhaps a decline in the recruitment and training of choral singers.

Despacio
solo

Ti. I-1 Ac.

Example 5.6
Carrión, *Qué destemplada armonía*, opening

of possible rhythmic values—imperfect semibreves, colored semibreves, minims, dotted minims, and a corchea—none of these in any particular pattern. When the choir enters, representing “ayes tristes,” Carrión uses added flats, coloration, suspensions, and sighing motives. He also uses the dynamic markings “quedo” for *sotto voce* and “voz” for full voice to create dramatic echo effects.³¹ As the music “penetrates heaven” (a bold phrase sung by a soloist), the harmony becomes increasingly triadic, and the rhythm more regular, becoming quite insistent for “a su piedad clama.” This music is transformed into fugal counterpoint in Chorus I as the music rises to heaven, with Carrión using the now-familiar trope of old-style counterpoint to represent heavenly music. The chorus offers their final plea, “How long, O Lord, will the gates of heaven remain closed,” in a hymn-like, homorhythmic phrase. After this a brisk Tenor solo narrates how God responds by sending Christ down from heaven, and the chorus responds in polychoral exclamations, “Let him come! Let him be born!” in a grand, festive style.

Carrión thus creates a discourse about music through using a range of contrasting musical

31. These recall the added dynamic markings in the *Bbc* manuscript of Cererols, *Suspended, cielos*.

styles. Instead of depicting angelic or planetary music, Carrión uses stylistic topics to evoke various forms of human music. The opening stages a disordered music, the central section stages a more beautiful music made acceptable to God through repentance and faith, and the final section of the estribillo and the coplas stage a musical celebration in dancing rhythms and joyful harmonies. The poetry and music offer few symbolic enigmas to contemplate, but instead function primarily on an affective and dramatic level, inviting listeners to join in offering faithful worship.

5.5 CONCLUSIONS: LABOR, DEVOTION, AND COMMUNITY

The villancicos by the chapelmasters of Segovia Cathedral represent musical labor in service of the community's devotional needs. Irízar worked frugally to bring together many sources and form a coherent set of pieces for Christmas 1678 that would appeal to the ears of his parish. Both composers provided music for the local devotions to San Blas, and developed some of the same metamusical tropes in their Christmas pieces. Their work should be understood as both a form of economic production and religious devotion.

One of the only mentions of music in John Elliott's 1963 history of Spain is the following indictment, which still summarizes a common view of the period:

Inert and immovable, the top-heavy Church of baroque Spain had little to offer a passive population but an unending succession of sedatives, in the form of Te Deums, processions, solemn masses, and heavy ceremonial which ministered to its apparently insatiable passion for display.³²

Fifty years later this common judgment of Catholic ritual as a propagandistic tool for social control needs to be reappraised in light of actual evidence about Spanish music, especially vernacular villancicos. In the uncertain years after the Peace of the Pyrenees, was religious music really a top-down imposition, a sense-dulling bulwark against change? Was its purpose to sedate a passive population so as to dull their reasoning and reduce the risk of revolt?

32. John Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469–1716* (1963; London: Penguin, 2002), 369–370.

The last decades of Hapsburg rule in Spain probably were uncertain times for musicians like Miguel de Irízar. Like the Hapsburgs themselves, the chapelmasters in Spain's churches were the heirs of an illustrious and distinctive tradition whose future was increasingly in doubt. And the villancico repertoire does preserve modes of thought and expression that other parts of the world had already long left behind. *Qué musica celestial* rehearses the same tropes of traditional Neoplatonic musical theology that we have seen in the previous case studies. It continues to proclaim a Ptolemaic cosmos at precisely the same time when that system was being dismantled through empirical science in the crucibles of modern thought like the English scientific societies.

But even if this music is conservative in some ways, that need not mean it is a form of top-down propaganda or empty display. First of all, music in this Neoplatonic understanding is no sedative for passive listeners. This music is about much more than putting on a show (fiddling while Rome burns, as Elliott portrays it). Instead, Irízar's villancico is typical in its emphasis on "elevating hearing," awakening the senses to stimulate a contemplative transport to higher realms of truth. The music was designed to elicit a response from listeners; it challenged listeners to use their imaginations to understand the dizzying variety of poetic conceits that these pieces offered.

Second, villancicos were cultivated and celebrated in communities across the globe as a key part of social life. Villancicos provided a way to both preserve the old teachings and worldview, while celebrating those older traditions in ever-new ways. They give evidence to people's own desire to preserve the old beliefs even as the world around them was changing.

Irízar's composition notebooks are not the work of some agent of church propaganda. His prayer-filled scores suggest simply an industrious and faithful Christian, offering what he could to meet his parish's specific devotional needs. In the letters, Irízar corresponds with contacts across the peninsula to obtain villancico poems and musical sources he needs to meet the high output expected of him. It was no contradiction for Irízar to be seeking at the same time the extra bonus in pay he received for each set of villancicos.

Musical devotion such as villancicos contributed to community life not only in purely religious

aspects; it also forged social bonds, as in the confraternities that sponsored the Corpus Christi processions and other ceremonial events, and it formed part of the local economy. William Christian has shown similarly that religious devotion, especially sanctoral devotion, in early modern Spain was strongly tied to local community interests. Apparitions of weeping and bleeding statues peaked in early modern Spain in all the years in which there were the most wars, plagues, and economic hardships.³³ The Inquisition investigated these apparitions to verify their truth, and in some cases, they revealed them to be fakes. But the Inquisition testimony of those who fabricated the illusions shows that even the fakes were, in their own way, manifestations of sincere faith that brought hope and comfort to a terrified populace. The illusions were most often created out of the desire to increase the traffic of pilgrimage to a parish—in other words, they were desperate attempts to boost the local the community's economy while also lifting its religious morale. Villancicos could function in much the same way.

Even though much Spanish church music in the last days of the Habsburgs preserved older ways of understanding the world, it not be seen cynically as a top-down imposition, but as a multivalent expression of the lives of individuals in a community in the midst of exceedingly difficult and uncertain times. Spanish parishioners had every reason to want to envision a future for themselves in which the Golden Age would never end, where the spheres would continue to move as they always had, bringing sun and rain at the proper times, and in which the sure intercession of the saints could be depended on to protect and benefit their parish.

33. William A. Christian Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

CHAPTER 6

THE LIMITS OF IMITATION IN ZARAGOZA (BRUNA, AMBIELA, CÁSEDA, TO CA. 1700)

This chapter concludes the trajectory traced in part II, by focusing on the changing nature of imitation within a network of composers in Zaragoza province. Zaragoza has emerged throughout part II as a principal node in the network of villancico composers and poets. The city was an important religious center in the crown of Aragon, with its two principle churches, the cathedral of La Seo and the basilica of El Pilar (today co-cathedrals). A large proportion of the surviving villancico poetry imprints were published in Zaragoza, many of them commemorating performances of music by Diego de Cáceda or his son José. In the greater province of Zaragoza, the village of Daroca was home to the acclaimed blind organist Pablo Bruna. Miguel Ambiel, from the same province, received his early training in Daroca before graduating to highly prestigious posts in Zaragoza, Madrid, and Toledo.

Villancicos by Bruna, Ambiel, and Cáceda demonstrate that they shared in a tradition of metamusical representation. Ambiel based his villancico *Suban las voces al cielo* closely on a piece with the same incipit by Bruna. These pieces, the subject of this chapter's first section, provide a rare known example where one villancico composer adapted not just the words but also the music of another composer. Identifying the similarities between these pieces also brings into clear relief the stylistic differences between them. The contrast between treatments of the same source demonstrates how musical representations of heavenly music, and the theological worldview that motivated those representations, were changing. The final section of this chapter discusses

the villancico *Qué música divina* by José (or Joseph) de Cáseda, in which the conventions of the metamusical villancico tradition are pushed to a particular extreme.

The villancicos studied in this chapter exemplify two types of imitation: first, compositional imitation within a tradition of metamusical villancicos, and second, the use of earthly music to represent heavenly music. In these pieces we may see these concepts of imitation shifting, as the increasing weight of convention in this type of music required composers to devise ever-new ways to represent the relationship between heavenly and earthly music. At the same time, the devotional functions and aesthetics of villancicos were changing. Unlike the Christmas pieces in the previous case studies, the pieces in this chapter are for devotion to the Eucharist (Bruna and Cáseda) and to Mary (Ambiela).

In keeping with these functions, these pieces present music as an affective devotional practice of self-offering. In Bruna's villancico, the voice is likened to flames rising from a burning heart; Ambiela's adaptation emphasizes voices rising up to the sky to join the choirs of heaven. Cáseda's piece creates a delicate chain of conceits, using voices to represent the *vihuela*, which in turn represents Christ on the cross. Cáseda evokes affective sympathy with Christ's suffering by using deliberately untuneful, "false" music, far beyond Cererols's mild ironic dissonances, in a kind of Neoplatonic anti-imitation.

6.1 VOICES AS FLAMES OF SELF-OFFERING: *SUBAN LAS VOCES AL CIELO* BY PABLO BRUNA

The first known version of *Suban las voces al cielo* is a Eucharistic villancico composed by Pablo Bruna for four voices (SSAT) with accompaniment, preserved in the archive of Girona Cathedral. The musicologist Pedro Calahorra identified Miguel Ambiela's piece of the same incipit and edited both scores in 1986, with a comparative analysis. Calahorra described Ambiela's *Suban las voces* as a "parody villancico," calling it "an homage from a pupil to his master."¹ The similarities in the

1. Pedro Calahorra Martínez, "'Suban las voces al Cielo' Villancico polifónico de Miguel Ambiela prodia del homónimo de su maestro Pablo Bruna," *Nassarre: Revista Aragonesa de Musicología* 2, no. 1 (1986): 9.

poetry and music do suggest that Ambielo knew Bruna's villancico and composed his villancico as an intentional response to it.

Calahorra analyzes the pieces' formal structures and situates them within a history of musical style. Today there is increased knowledge of the villancico repertoire and the scholarly priorities of this project are different from those of Calahorra's article. Thus it is possible both to deepen the analytic understanding of these pieces and to extend that understanding into contextual interpretation of their theological meanings.

A deeper understanding of the sources is made possible by a previously unattributed additional copy of the Bruna villancico in the Biblioteca de Catalunya (E-Bbc: M/759/44). The music and words of the estribillo in this second manuscript are identical to the Girona version, but the coplas differ. Both manuscripts have the same music for the coplas, but distinct poetic texts.

Suban las voces is the only surviving villancico attributed to Pablo Bruna. Bruna was born in 1611 in Daroca, a small town about 93 km southwest of Zaragoza. He served as organist at the collegiate church of Santa María de los Sagrados Corporales from 1631 until his death in 1679.² His musicianship, which was not hindered by being blind from an early age, was renowned throughout the region; in 1639 he was offered the organist position at El Pilar in Zaragoza but declined it.³ Bruna's organ music was disseminated more widely through its inclusion in the anthology *Huerto ameno de varias flores de música* collected by Fray Antonio Martín y Coll and published in Madrid in 1709.

The watermark and appearance of the Barcelona manuscript suggests a copying date in the last third of the seventeenth century, but the style of the music suggests a much earlier date of composition. The musical style is actually rather similar to that of Padilla. Though Bruna was a generation younger, most of Padilla's villancicos are from the last decades of his life, so the two were composing at the same time.

2. Pedro Calahorra Martínez, *Historia de la música en Aragón (Siglos I–XVII)* (Zaragoza: Librería General, 1977), 104.

3. Ibid., 123–125.

Poem 6.1

Que me quemo, villancico for Eucharistic adoration by Jaume Pexa (Lleida, 1643), estribillo

Que me quemo,	For I am burning,
ay que me abraso,	ah, for I am being burned up,
de amor me rinde.	from love I surrender myself.
Venga mi esposo	Come, my Bridegroom
porque gosarle quiero en pan sabroso.	for I want to know your pleasures in the savory bread.

6.1.1 Devotional Function: Eucharistic Adoration

Bruna's villancico would function well for Eucharistic devotion, in both its poetic content and musical style. The piece seems to fit in a subtype of chamber villancico dedicated "al Santísimo Sacramento" (to the Blessed Sacrament) and intended not for the extravert public festivities of Corpus Christi, but for more reflective and intimate occasions of Eucharistic adoration. Bruna's madrigalesque counterpoint for four voices is similar to other such pieces from before 1660, in contrast to the solo and duo continuo-songs that predominate later.⁴

This more intimate type of Eucharistic villancicos frequently features mystically-infused texts with an emphasis on personal affective devotion to Christ in the sacrament. The central image in Bruna's villancico is the soul as a burning phoenix, consumed by the love of God. This use of fire symbolism may be found in other Eucharistic villancicos, such as a 1643 piece by Jaume Pexa from Lleida (Lérida), E-Bbc: M/765/15 (poem 6.1).⁵ The partbooks of this eight-voice piece bear the heading "De amores del exposo sancto" (About love for the exposed Sacrament)—making clear that the piece was to be performed for Eucharistic adoration. The estribillo is strongly similar to Bruna's.

4. The Girona manuscript does include an accompaniment part labeled "entablatura," but this is primarily a *basso seguente* rather than the independent continuo part found in Irízar and Carrión.

5. See DMEH, s.v. "Pexa, Jaume." The villancico is in the same box of villancicos as the Barcelona version of Cererols's *Suspended, cielos*, as well as a piece by Miguel Ambiel and another by one of the Cásedas (probably Diego, the elder). This suggests that music of all these composers was valued by the same collector, whether individual or institutional.

6.1.2 Poetic and Musical Analysis

The unknown poet of Bruna's villancico combines the conceit of the soul as a burning phoenix with a musical conceit, announced in the first line: "Let voices to ascend to heaven" (poem 6.2). Poetically, the estribillo of *Suban las voces* may be divided into three sections: first, the opening quatrain establishes the primary conceit; second, ll. 5–1 present a scene of music-making using technical terms from music; and third, the estribillo closes with a couplet (ll. 12–13) that epitomizes the conceit.

This pattern is generally similar to the form of *Voces, las de la capilla*, though shorter and without a *respuesta* section. The second section of *Suban*, "Y mudando el aire en veloces corcheas," is quite similar to the estribillo of *Voces*, which begins "Y a trechos las distancias en uno y otro coro" (and in the musical setting, features corcheas for the first time). Further, the concluding summary couplet is similar in function to the one at the end of the *Voces* estribillo, "Todo en el hombre es subir." These connections situate Bruna's text as part of an older poetic tradition, though not necessarily linking it directly with *Voces*.

These sections are articulated through the poetic-metrical structure. Bruna's first section begins with octosyllables as though in *romance* (ll. 2 and 4 do have assonance in -e -a), but line 4 is truncated to five or six syllables, bracketing off this introductory statement. This line transitions to the next section (ll. 5–11), which is in *romancillo* with seven-syllable lines, continuing the assonance pattern from the opening quatrain.⁶ In the closing couplet the first line continues the seven-syllable romancillo, and the second line makes the proper assonance; but mirroring the end of the introductory couplet, the last line is truncated to five syllables.

In the coplas, the first stanza is identical in both manuscript copies, but the Girona version follows it with two stanzas, while the Barcelona version follows it with five unique stanzas (poem 6.3). The Barcelona coplas are all in the same metrical scheme as copla 1: three octosyllabic

6. Line 7 breaks the pattern, though, since it can only be read with six syllables.

Poem 6.2

Suban las voces al cielo, setting I, poetic text set by Bruna

[ESTRIBILLO a 4]

Suban las voces al cielo
y digan que en esta mesa
fénix se abrasa un alma
de amores llena.

Let the voices ascend to Heaven,
and let them say that on this table
a phoenix is consumed, a soul
full of love.

- 5 Y mudando el aire
en veloces corcheas,
vuelen, vuelen juntas
en síncopas que elevan
y en bemoles blandos,
10 trinados que suspendan,
digan en paso todas:

And transforming the air
into rapid quavers,
let them fly, fly together
in syncopations that they raise
and in mild flats,
trills that they suspend,
let them all say in time together:

Ay, que se abrasa un alma,
ay, que se quema.

Ah, a soul consumed in flames,
ah, a soul that burns.

COPLAS a 4

[Barcelona and Girona]

- B1/G1. Fénix hermoso eres, alma,
15 que entre cenizas renaces;
si en Dios hallas nueva vida,
arde.

B1/G1. O soul, you are a handsome phoenix,
who are reborn among the ashes;
if you should find new life in God,
burn.

[Barcelona only]

- B2. De tu mismo fin procedes
para siempre eternizarte;
20 si está tu ser en no ser,
arde.

B2. From your very end, you go forth
to become eternal forever;
if your being is in not being,
burn.

- B3. En el peligro más cierto
hallas lisonjas los males;
si en el fuego no peligras,
arde.

B3. In the most certain danger
you find the evil ones to be flatteries;
if in the fire you are not endangered,
burn.

Poem 6.2

Continued

25 B4. A la vida lisonjeas
cuando llegas a abrasarte;
si con morir te eternizas,
arde.

30 B5. Cuando el fuego te consume,
la tumba es cuna en que naces;
si del polvo resucitas,
arde.

35 B6. A mejor Arabia fénix
hoy arrepentida partes;
si la vida está en la muerte,
arde.

[Estríbillo rep.]

B4. You flatter life
when you come to be consumed in flames;
if in dying you become eternal,
burn.

B5. When the fire consumes you,
the tomb is the cradle in which you are born;
if from the dust you resurrect,
burn.

B6. To greater Arabia, phoenix,
today you depart repentant;
if life is in death,
burn.

[*Girona only*]

40 G2. Lo vivido ya no es vida
pues muriendo se acabó;
y lo que queda quién sabe
si dejará de ser hoy,
arde.

G3. Alma en el camino estás,
mira aquella luz, por Dios,
que es lástima y aun desdicha
perderse con tanto sol:
arde.

[Estríbillo rep.]

G2. The life lived is no longer life
for in dying it is accomplished;
and of what remains, who knows
if it will cease to be today?
burn.

G3. Soul, you are on the road,
look at that light, for God's sake,
for it is a shame and indeed a disgrace
to be lost when there is so much sun:
burn.

lines and the short refrain “arde” (burn). Though the short refrain line alters the meter, the assonance scheme is still that of romance, with all the even lines in -a -e to match “arde.”

The Girona coplas, by contrast, change the metrical pattern after copla 1. There is also an additional line in the Girona coplas, forming four lines of romance with assonance only on the last syllable, -o. In the Girona coplas 2–3, the “arde” refrain no longer forms part of the metrical or assonance structure. These differences strongly suggest that the Barcelona coplas are the original coplas (or are closer to the original poetic source). By contrast the Girona coplas 2 and 3 appear to have been written by a different, later poet—possibly to replace verses that had been lost or were never copied from the original. The theology of the distinct Girona coplas (G2, G3) is basically the same as that of the Barcelona coplas, but the tone is slightly more didactic. As was the case with the Jalón’s *Cantores de la capilla* (chapter 3) and with the revised textual family B of *Suspended, cielos* (chapter 4), the more didactic, explanatory texts in a villancico tradition are often the later ones, suggesting the accommodation of an earlier text to suit.

Bruna’s approach to text setting is similar to Padilla’s: he sets each phrase of poetic text to a distinct phrase of music, with its own rhythmic and harmonic profile, following closely the prosody of the words. The three poetic sections are also clearly articulated in the musical form through shifts of meter and character.

Bruna has his musicians enact the musical concepts in the poem in a madrigalistic manner. The singers perform “let voices ascend” by leaping upward on “voces” (mm. 1–4) and then repeating the whole phrase again a third higher—a musical-rhetorical *anaphora*, since the term means both repeating a phrase and “lifting up.” Like Padilla’s estribillo, Bruna follows the first section with a change of meter (to C), and his setting of “Y mudando el aire en veloces corcheas” uses appropriately flying corcheas (eighth notes), ascending and descending in paris (“juntas”). Bruna sets “en súncopas que elevan” exactly as would be expected, with syncopated phrases that leap upwards like flames. Bruna uses chromatic alterations for the phrase “bemoles blandos,” writing E flats in the outer voices (m. 21) and then setting up a striking Phrygian cadence in mm. 21–22

Poem 6.3

Suban las voces al cielo setting I, comparison of coplas in the Barcelona and Girona manuscripts

Barcelona	Girona
B1. Fénix hermoso eres, alma que entre cenizas renaces; si en Dios hallas nueva vida, <i>arde.</i>	G1. Fénix hermoso eres, alma que entre cenizas renaces; si en Dios hallas nueva vida, <i>arde.</i>
B2. De tu mismo fin procedes para siempre eternizarte; si está tu ser en no ser, <i>arde.</i>	G2. Lo vivido ya no es vida pues muriendo se acabó; y lo que queda quién sabe si dejará de ser hoy, <i>arde.</i>
B3. En el peligro más cierto hallas lisonjas los males; si en el fuego no peligras, <i>arde.</i>	G3. Alma en el camino estás, mira aquella luz, por Dios, que es lástima y aun desdicha perderse con tanto sol: <i>arde.</i>
B4. A la vida lisonjeas cuando llegas a abrasarte; si con morir te eternizas, <i>arde.</i>	
B5. Cuando el fuego te consume, la tumba es cuna en que naces; si del polvo resucitas, <i>arde.</i>	
B6. A mejor Arabia fénix hoy arrepentida partes; si la vida está en la muerte, <i>arde.</i>	

(9) C

Ti. 1 Y mu-dando el ai-re en ve - lo - ces corcheas, en ve - lo - ces corche-as, vuelen, vuelen juntas,

Ti. 2 Y mu-dan-do el ai-re en ve - lo - ces corcheas, en ve - lo - ces corche-as, vuelen, vuelen juntas,

A. Y mu-dando el ai-re en ve - lo - ces corcheas, en ve - lo - ces corche-as, vuelen, vuelen juntas,

T. Y mu-dando el ai-re en ve - lo - ces corcheas, en ve - lo - ces corche-as, vuelen, vuelen juntas,

13

vuelen, vuelen jun-tas en sín - copas que e - le - van, en sín - copas que e - le -
vuelen, vuelen jun-tas en sín - copas que e - le - van, que e - le - van, que e - le -
vuelen, vuelen jun-tas en sín - copas que e - le - van, que e - le -
vuelen, vuelen jun-tas en sín - copas que e - le - van, en sín - copas que e - le -

Example 6.1

Bruna, *Suban las voces*, mm. 9–30: madrigalistic text setting (accompaniment omitted)

in which the Alto leaps upwards into an unprepared seventh. Bruna writes dotted figures on “trinados que suspendan” that would invite any singer to add a trill, and in mm. 26–28, these trills flow into textbook suspensions (as in m. 27, Alto). For “digan en paso” (let them say in turn) Bruna has the voices follow each other in fugal imitation, in an evenly paced rhythmic pattern.

Bruna’s text setting in the coplas, as in most villancicos of the time, is more focused on allowing the singers to declaim the verses clearly and in with good prosody. But for the phrase “si en Dios hallas nueva vida” (if you find new life in God), Bruna disrupts the smoothly flowing duple meter of the copla setting and uses rhythm in a symbolic and dramatic fashion. For a moment

19

van y_en be - mo - les blan - dos, blan - dos, tri - na - dos que sus -
van y_en be - mo - les blan - dos, blan - dos, tri - na - dos que sus -
van y_en be - mo - les blan - dos, blan - dos, tri - na - dos que sus - pen-dan, tri -
van, y_en be - mo - les blan - dos, blan - dos, tri - na - dos que sus - pen-dan, tri -

25

pen - dan, sus - pen-dan, sus - pen - dan, di - gan en pa - so
pen - dan, sus - pen-dan, sus - pen - dan, di - gan en pa - so to - das,
na-dos que sus - pen-dan, sus - pen - dan, di - gan en
na - dos que sus - pen-dan, sus - pen - dan, di - gan en pa - so to - das, en pa - so

Example 6.1
Continued

Bruna creates the effect of triple meter within *compasillo*: he divides three compases of duple time into what sounds like four compases of triple. This shift in accentuation to groups of three minims animates this phrase with a new kind of rhythmic life, a fitting enactment of the soul being reborn like the phoenix. Similarly, in the ending refrain line on “arde,” Bruna syncopates the rhythm by playing off the voices in pairs, where in each compás one group has downbeat accents and the other has a minim rest followed by an offbeat accent. Cerone calls rests “sospiros,” literally “sighs,” and their use here creates a breathless intensity that fittingly portrays the soul in ardor.

This passage points to a more dramatic quality of Bruna’s setting, that goes beyond literal

representations of the musical figures in the poetry. Bruna creates a mystical affect throughout the piece partly through the use of chromaticism. For example, in m. 7, the voice and accompaniment undulate between a G-over-E♭ harmony and F♯ over D, on the words “a phoenix is burning, a soul.” These minor-second gestures and chromatic alterations may be ways of characterizing mystical ardor. Altered notes could symbolize the changes wrought by fire, which in turn is a metaphor for the soul’s conversion to loving God. But beyond the symbolic level, such gestures seem to form part of a stylistic topic connected with a certain kind of devotional experience. A piece like this not only *represents* affective devotion, it *is* affective devotion, for its historic performers and their worshipping community as well.

6.1.3 Voice, Flame, and Phoenix

The connection between the poem’s two conceits—singing voices and the burning phoenix—may not be immediately apparent. Some of the musical terms (“corcheas,” “síncopas,” “bemoles”) have no obvious theological meaning, and may seem like superfluous excuses for compositional showmanship. But this poem does not use music as a metaphor for theological concepts the way Padilla’s *Voces* does. Instead the musical language refers directly to actual music-making. The villancico is about the act of devotion through music.

The relationship between the concepts of singing and burning here is closer to analogy than to metaphor. As flames rise from the burning phoenix, so should the voices rise from souls afire with the love of God. This linkage is apt because in early modern physics, both fire and music “transform the air.” In the physiology of the time, there was also a connection between the physical mechanism of the voice and the element of fire. By exploring what the symbol of the phoenix meant in Bruna’s time, and how fire was understood, this simple connection becomes meaningful for understanding music theologically within early modern cosmology.

The Phoenix as Symbol and Emblem

The phoenix (*fénix*) according to the 1611 Covarrubias dictionary, was “said to be a singular bird who is born in the Orient, celebrated through all the world, raised in happy Arabia, [...] who lives six hundred and sixty years.”⁷ Covarrubias cites Pliny along with Tacitus and other Classical authorities for the famous legend of this noble bird that builds its own funeral pyre and is then reborn from the ashes. The account matches the villancico’s description of the phoenix in the coplas, particularly B1/G1, B5, and B6. Covarrubias recounts another story that this happened in the same year as Christ’s crucifixion and resurrection, “of which it seemed prophetic.” Be these tales true or false, Covarrubias writes, “the sentiment is pious, and many have formed hieroglyphics of the phoenix, applying them to the resurrection of our Lord, and more have done so than could be counted, and likewise many emblems and imprints that are moral or deal with amorous subjects. [...] The alchemists have their particular symbols under the name of the phoenix bird.”⁸

Covarrubias himself had published just such a moral emblem one year previous in his *Emblemas morales*. His emblem 90 combines the heraldic arms of the royal monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, St. Lawrence’s grill, with a burning phoenix underneath a sun with rays (figure 6.1).⁹ As with all his emblems, Covarrubias matches a mysterious visual image centered on a cryptic motto with a slightly less mysterious poem, all of which he then explains in prose on the next page. The motto FŒLICITER ARDET is taken from Ovid: “If someone loves something that gives joy when loved, he burns happily, rejoices, and as by wind sails directly to the beloved.”¹⁰

7. Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid, 1611), 400, s.v. “fenix”: “FENIX, dizen ser vna singular aue que nace en el Oriente celebrada por todo el mundo, criase en la felice Arabia, [...] y viue seyscientos y sesenta años.”

8. ibid., 400: “Todo lo que la antiguedad ha dicho de la Fenix: sea verdad, o mentira [...] La consideracio[n] es pia, y muchos han formad geroglificos de la fenix: aplicandolos a la resurreccion de nuestro Redentor: y son sin numero los que se han hecho: y assi morales como en materia amorosa muchas emblemas y empresas. Refiere algunas Antonio Ricerardo Brixiano a quien me remito. Los Alquimistas tienen sus simbolos particulares debaxo del nombre del aue Fenix.”

9. Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Emblemas morales* (Madrid, 1610), f. 290, r–v.

10. Ovid, *De remedio amoris*, quoted in ibid., 290v: “Si quis amat, quod amare iubat; foeliciter ardet, Gaudeat, &

Covarrubias's phoenix poem develops similar ideas to the Bruna villancico: a fire of divine love in the human breast, the phoenix dying for love but being transformed to new life.

Always in the mortal breast there burns
the celestial, divine, and holy fire;
it causes no conflict with the elemental body
For it causes neither fear nor alarm:
as another Phoenix, in love it burns
and though it is consumed in its old mantle
it changes it for another, more precious—
of royal purple, incorruptible, and glorious.

Note that the phoenix is not directly a symbol of Christ here, but rather, like the Bruna villancico, it represents the soul burning with “holy fire,” being transformed to new life. The closest comparison between the Covarrubias poem and the villancico would be in coplas B4–B5.

The Bruna villancico functions like a musical emblem. Instead of a visual image, the estribillo conjures an auditory emblem in which sounding music serves a similar purpose. The creation of a sonic object of contemplation makes particular sense in the case of Bruna, who was blind. The opening quatrain and the closing couplet both suggest the visual format of emblems with verbal mottos on banners, such as “FENIX SE ABRASA UN ALMA” or simply “ARDE.”

The Covarrubias emblem is only one example of how the phoenix could be used symbolically; for a deeper understanding Covarrubias refers his readers to the *Commentaria symbolica* of Antonio Ricciardo.¹¹ Under “phoenix” Ricciardo lists sixteen possible meanings of the phoenix in different emblematic configurations. Three of these meanings aid significantly in understanding the symbolism of this villancico:

3. The phoenix signifies our souls in this bodily pilgrimage. Indeed, while we are living here we are far removed from our homeland.
13. A phoenix in the midst of burning flames, with the words, “Ne pereat” (Let him not perish), signifies a man who in the present life gives himself to be burned up through [bodily] mortification, lest he perish eternally.

vento nauiget ille suo.”

11. Antonio Ricciardo [Antonius Ricciardus], *Commentaria Symbolica* (Venice, 1591).



Figure 6.1

"IT BURNS HAPPILY": The phoenix emblem from Covarrubias, *Emblemas morales* (1610), centuria III, no. 90

15. A phoenix over flames, expanding its wings to the rays of the sun, with these three letters, V. E. V., and with the words, “Ut uiuat” (Let him live) [...] signifies a man, who puts all his hope in Christ the Lord, the sun of justice, from whom he hopes for renewal of life. The fire, then, signifies the Holy Spirit, who should be embraced, who chooses everything that is best [for the man], in order that he might be taken up from earthly heaviness, and live eternally.¹²

Bruna’s villancico explicitly links the phoenix to the soul (l. 3), in line with these symbolic interpretations. Ricciardo’s pilgrimage idea (definition 3) appears in copla G3, “Alma, en el camino estás” (Soul, you are on the road). The motto “Ne pereat” recalls the phrase “no peligras” in copla B3, which concentrates on mortification to avoid the “flatteries of the wicked.” The image in definition 15 is rather close to Covarrubias’s phoenix emblem, though the motto is different; the inclusion of the sun in both corresponds to copla G3.¹³ Most importantly, Ricciardo’s definition 15 matches closely with the theology of Bruna’s villancico, in which the soul surrenders its own being (copla B2) to find new life in Christ through a purifying fire. Ricciardo compares the rising flames of a fire to the soul’s ascent to God, just as the villancico uses “voices ascending to heaven” as metaphor for both concepts—flames and the soul’s elevation.

Early Modern Physics of Fire

This theological symbolism should be understood according to the early modern physical theory of fire within the system of four elements. In another emblem (*centuria I*, no. 45), Covarrubias provides a useful epitome of the elemental system as understood in seventeenth-century Spain.

Heaven, fire, air, water, and earth

12. Ricciardo, *Commentaria Symbolica*, s.v. “Phoenix,” 132–133: “3 Phoenix significat animi nostri in hoc corpore peregrinationem. Dum enim hic uiuimus a patria procul absumus. [...] 13 Phoenix in medio flamarum ardentium. cum uerbis. Ne pereat. significat hominem qui in presenti uita se igni mortificationis exibeat ne æternum pereat. [...] 15 Phoenix super flamas expandens alas ad radios Soli. cum tribus his litteris. V. E. V. & cum uerbis, ut uiuat. [...] signifi. hominem, qui omnem suam spem ponat in Christum Dominum solem iustitiæ, a quo sperat uitæ renouationem. ignis enim signific. Spiritum Sanctum, quem optimus quisque optare & amplecti debet, ut exuat se terreno pondere, & æternum uiuat.”

13. It may be significant that Ricciardo distinguishes between images of the phoenix with and without a sun, since the image of the sun is only included in the Girona coplas. This slight change of iconographic reference could be further evidence that the Girona coplas were written by a second, later poet.

and all this, as much as has been created,
Love rules it, Love opens and closes it,
in a sweet chain, linked together,
and when one or the other wages war,
the conquered is always left bettered;
for the one is converted into the other,
taking life even from death.¹⁴

In Covarrubias's view the system of four elements, though based fundamentally on tension between the elements ("war"), is kept in balance by the governing power of love. In his explanation he clarifies that this love is "God himself."¹⁵ Divine love, he explains, keeps all the elements together in a continuous chain, transforming one into another to the mutual benefit of all.

The key point here for understanding the symbolism of fire is that the elements are in continual conversion from one to another, and that love is at the center of this movement. Similarly, Fray Luis de Granda wrote that the Creator built the terrestrial world with its four elements "by such order and measure [compás] that, though they are opposed to one another, they have peace and harmony [concordia], and not only do they not disturb the world, but in fact they preserve and sustain it."¹⁶ Much like Covarrubias's concept of a chain, the four elements are linked with their neighbors in a "lineage of affinity and genealogy," such that each passes into the next. Starting from the lowest of the elements, earth, up through air, water, and the highest, fire, the elements "do something like a saber dance [danza de espadas], each one continuing on amicably to the others in this way."

14. "El cielo, el fuego, el aire, el agua, y tierra/ Y éste todo, de quanto está criado,/ Amor lo rige, amor lo abre, y cierra,/ En vn vinculo dulce, encadenado,/ Y quando vno à otro haze guerra,/ Queda el vencido siempre mejorado;/ Pues el vno en el otro se conuierte,/ Sacando vida, de la misma muerta."

15. The inclusion of "el cielo" with the list of four elements probably refers to all of creation beyond the earth's atmosphere—the planetary spheres and the "world beyond" of the *cielo Empyreo*. Similarly, after discussing the sun, moon, and stars, Fray Luis writes, "Now it is time that we descend from Heaven ('el cielo') to this lower world, where the four elements reside." (Fray Luis de Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, Biblioteca de autores españoles 6 (1583; Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1871), 204: "Mas ya es tiempo que descendamos del cielo a este mundo más bajo, donde residen los cuatro elementos[...].")

16. Ibid.

Covarrubias's emblem is in full agreement with the cosmology of Fray Luis. The friar's last sentence makes essentially the same point as the Covarrubias emblem: that the elements may seem to be at war, but, like the circular bands in the emblem, they are really moving in a round dance united by love.

It is notable how frequently Fray Luis uses musical language to describe the order of nature: *compás*, *concordia*, and most interestingly, *danza de espadas*, which was apparently exactly what it sounds like, a mock-war dance with swords. Instrumental music for such dances survives from all over the Hispanic world.¹⁷ Fray Luis sees the natural order of the elements reflected in the circular movements of dance (and presumably hears them in the cyclical sonic patterns of dance music as well). This point should be borne in mind when we return to the connection between fire and music below.

Fire in this cosmology is the highest and lightest of the elements, and therefore the closest to the world beyond the terrestrial. The air is next to fire in the chain of being.¹⁸ As Fray Luis later explains, the element of air in the atmosphere is divided into three regions, the highest of which is “adjacent to the element of fire, and is therefore extremely hot.”¹⁹ Since the elements are adjacent, the lower one may be transformed into the higher one: thus “we see the air become inflamed with fire, which is adjacent, and be converted into fire.”²⁰ The process of burning, then, converts air into fire through the medium of flame. As the element at the farthest extreme of the terrestrial realm, and as an agent of transformation in a world governed by love, fire could become an apt

17. For example, in Fray Antonio Martín y Coll, *Huerto ameno de varias flores de música* (Madrid, 1609), and the Peruvian Codex Martínez Compañón.

18. The question of why flames rise and other such matters are treated at length in Aristotle's *Physics*, which was one of the primary Classical sources for early modern cosmology. Helen Lang (*Aristotle's Physics and Its Medieval Varieties* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992)) analyzes Aristotle's theories and how they were transmitted and transformed through the medieval period.

19. Luis de Granada, *Introducción del simbolo de la fe*, 207. Fray Luis does not explain this point further, but it may be presumed that the fiery realm beyond this highest region would be the realm of the sun and stars, which Fray Luis understands to be giant balls of fire.

20. *Ibid.*, 205.

symbol for love's ability to transform the soul and transport it into the heavenly realm.²¹

Flames of the Soul in St. John of the Cross

This type of fire symbolism is a common trope of mystical literature, and the classic treatment of the subject is the *Llama de amor viva* (Living Flame of Love) by St. John of the Cross. The Carmelite reformer (known in Spanish as San Juan de la Cruz) wrote this treatise in Granada in about 1582, and it was published with his other works in Madrid in 1630. John's writings illuminate the metaphor of fire for the soul's rebirth through acts of loving devotion.

The *Llama de amor viva* is a poem followed by a treatise on affective devotion in the form of a commentary on the poem. In the poem, the soul professes its rapturous love for "the living flame of love" with which the soul is burning, as can be seen in the first six lines (poem 6.4). The Bruna villancico, like the piece by Jaume Pexa cited earlier, manifests the same basic trope of the soul burning with love for God, and even being consumed by this fire like the phoenix. Though John's writings did not have as wide a reception in the seventeenth century as those of his mentor Teresa of Ávila, the published edition can be found in collections on both sides of the Atlantic. It seems plausible that a mid-seventeenth-century poet writing about the burning soul would have had some familiarity with John's writings or his general theological emphasis, since John treats this particular theme with such intensity. By reading these texts together we can gain a deeper understanding of how, in early modern Spanish thought, fire could serve as a symbol for the soul being transformed by God.

The imagery of the burning soul in Bruna's villancico fits well with the theology of divine

21. The transformative power of fire explains the use of the phoenix by the alchemists, as noted by both Covarrubias and Ricciardo.

It should be noted that fire had many symbolic meanings. Covarrubias uses it in about a dozen other emblems. In some it is a symbol of love and transformation. The second emblem, of the Eucharist—the *sine qua non* of transformation through love—features the chalice and host flanked by two flaming braziers, all within a sun with flaming rays. Emblem 63 shows a heart pierced with arrows burning in a fiery furnace, representing the pain of love; this resembles the image in Bruna's villancico of the burning heart, dying for love. In other emblems Covarrubias also uses fire as a moral symbol with a more negative valence, representing avarice, war, and uncontrolled passions.

Poem 6.4

St. John of the Cross, *Llama de amor viva*, poem mm. 1–6

¡Oh llama de amor viva, que tiernamente hieres de mi alma en el más profundo centro!, pues ya no eres esquila, acaba ya, siquieres; rompe la tela de este dulce encuentro.	O you living flame of love, who tenderly wound my soul in the deepest center! since till now you are not harsh, now finish, if you wish— tear the veil from this sweet encounter.
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union as John expresses it in the *Llama*. John uses fire to represent the soul's purification and transformation, while he uses the flames that rise from the fire to represent the holy acts that proceed from a soul that has been thus purged and renewed. “This flame of love,” John writes, “is the spirit of [the soul’s] Bridegroom, who is the Holy Spirit; and the soul indeed feels this flame within herself, not only as a fire which holds her consumed and transformed in tender love, but even as a fire that, beyond this, burns [arde] in her and gives forth a flame.”²² The Holy Spirit works within “the soul tranformed in love” (or *into* love), bringing about a union of wills between the lover and the object of love.

This image must be understood in the broader context of John’s theology of divine union, which he articulated thoroughly in his earlier treatise, the *Subida del monte Carmelo* (The Ascent of Mount Carmel).²³ In order to achieve “divine union,” John teaches, the soul must be purged of all sensory appetites and all ideas of God that are less than the inconceivable darkness of God’s true self. Fire is thus an apt metaphor for this process of purgation and transformation. As the soul is being thus transformed, it gives forth “flames,” which are the soul’s acts of love for God. “The difference between the habit and the act,” John explains in the *Llama*, “is that between the transformation in love and the flame of love; that is, the difference between the burning wood

22. San Juan de la Cruz, *Llama de amor viva*, in *Obras completas*, 6th ed., ed. José Vicente Rodríguez and Federico Ruiz Salvador (Madrid: Editorial de Espiritualidad, 2009), 790: “Esta *llama de amor* es el espíritu de su Esposo, que es el Espíritu Santo, al cual siente ya el alma en sí, no sólo como fuego que la tiene consumada y transformada en suave amor, sino como fuego que, demás de esto, arde en ella y echa llama, como dije.”

23. The famous “Dark Night of the Soul” is really the concluding part of that treatise.

and the flame that comes from it; for the flame is the effect of the fire that is there.”²⁴

The flames rising from the fire, then, are the actions of person whose soul is united with God. John emphasizes that the acts, or effects, of love he has in mind are purely the result of the Holy Spirit working through the soul. The soul in such a state of “divine union” is united with God not in nature (the soul does not become God) but in will, so that to the degree possible in mortal life, the soul becomes completely submitted to the divine will and “remains transformed into God through love.”²⁵ God can then act through the devotee such that the person’s actions, though human, appear divine—this the goal of all John’s spiritual disciplines.²⁶ In other words, the soul that burns in loving union with God in John’s system achieves ethical or moral transformation by means of an affective transformation. John epitomizes his own mystical theology in these two sentences of the *Llama*:

And thus, in this state the soul can perform no acts; for the Holy Spirit does them all, and moves her to them all; and for this reason, all of her acts are divine, for she is made and moved by God. From thence it seems to the soul that, each time this flame flickers up, making her to love with savour and divine temper [temple], the flame is giving her eternal life, for it lifts her up, through the working of God, into God.²⁷

John’s fire metaphor for the process of sanctification and glorification (to use the doctrinal terms) depends on early modern physical explanations of fire. In explaining his verse about the fire wounding the soul “in the deepest center,” John draws on a prescientific theory of gravitation to explain that all elements tend toward the center of that element.²⁸ Thus stones are pulled down because they seek the center of the earth. Fire, therefore, ascends because the realm of fire is

24. Juan de la Cruz, *Llama de amor viva*, 790: “Y la diferencia que hay entre el hábito y el acto, hay entre la transformación en amor y la llama de amor, que es la que hay entre el madero inflamado y la llama de él; que la llama es efecto del fuego que allí está.”

25. San Juan de la Cruz, *Subida del monte Carmelo*, in *Obras completas*, 6th ed., ed. José Vicente Rodríguez and Federico Ruiz Salvador (Madrid: Editorial de Espiritualidad, 2009), 227: “Y así, cuando el alma quite de sí totalmente lo que repugna y no conforma con la voluntad divina, quedará transformada en Dios por amor.”

26. *Ibid.*, 226–230.

27. Juan de la Cruz, *Llama de amor viva*, 791: “Y así, en este estado no puede le alma hacer actos; que le Espíritu Santo los hace todos y la mueve a ellos; y por eso, todos los actos de ella son divinos, pues es hecha y movida por Dios.”

28. *Ibid.*, 792–795.

beyond the sky. The center of the soul for John is God, and thus the soul is drawn to God like an ascending flame.

In John's theology of divine union, then, the flames that arise from a soul afire with love of God are a person's acts of love and devotion. People offer these acts as part of offering themselves wholly to God like a burnt offering—like the phoenix immolating itself in Bruna's villancico. This image of the burnt offering is the primary metaphor in the *Subida del monte Carmelo*. John writes that the soul in search of divine union, like Moses ascending Mount Sinai to build God an altar there (Exod. 34), must go through a process of self-emptying and thereby “ascend this mountain and make of herself an altar upon it, on which to offer to God a sacrifice of pure love, and pure praise and reverence.”²⁹

Though John does not use the metaphor of the phoenix, his theology of spiritual purgation and self-offering, read together with the other sources of early modern symbolism and metaphysics, provides a deeper theological foundation for understanding the symbolism of the phoenix and fire in Bruna's villancico. Covarrubias and Ricciardo use the phoenix to represent the soul being transformed and brought to new life through a purgative death. Covarrubias and Fray Luis show how this metaphor could work by explaining the physics of fire as it transforms matter and ascends to the heavens. And St. John of the Cross uses fire to represent the Holy Spirit's transformation of the soul so that acts of love arise from it like flames from fire.

The Voice as Flame

The remaining element in the villancico to understand, then, is how the musical voice is connected to this theological symbolism of fire. In early modern Spanish theology, the voice was linked to fire both analogically and actually.

As an analogy, as flames leap up from a fire, voices raised in worship arise from a soul full of love for God. Both *Suban las voces* and *Llama de amor viva* use emotional interjections (“oh”

29. Juan de la Cruz, *Subida del monte Carmelo*, 191.

for John, “ay” for Bruna) that go beyond linguistic communication into inarticulate expression. In Bruna’s setting, the refrain of “arde” is repeated so much as to function like an interjection as well. John says that such words “signify affectionate praising, which, each time they are said, reveal more about the interior than what is said by the tongue.”³⁰ John calls his verses “canciones” (songs), and writes them in the form of *liras* (groups of three lines with seven, seven, and eleven syllables). Even though as an ascetic reformer John did not endorse elaborate church music, these references to music, and his description of praise as going beyond what can be expressed in words, would still make his theology amenable to those outside his order who wished to incorporate music into their devotional practice. In the terms of St. John of the Cross, vocal expression, both articulate and inarticulate, may be one of the “acts of love” that are the flames leaping up from the heart burning with the Holy Spirit.

Fray Luis’s explanation of the physical world in terms of the four elements links the actual mechanism of vocal expression to the element of fire. The body as microcosm is composed of the four elements, and Fray Luis explains that the voice is generated from the tension and exchange between them. The heart is hot because it is fiery, and in order to cool off this fire and prevent harm to the body, God surrounded the heart with the lungs, which are full of cool air. The heat of the heart is cooled by the air of the lungs, and then comes forth through the throat.³¹

In the throat, Fray Luis explains, the air meets with the voicebox, producing the voice. Fray Luis praises the virtues of musical song produced by this voice, not yet articulated into words: how different bodies produce different voices, as in the different parts of a chorus, and how their voices sounding together produce “tuneful music” (“música acordada”) for the service of the church.³² When the voice meets with the tongue, lips, and teeth, these organs “articulate the voice, and thus various words are formed, with which the man as a political being explains and declares his

30. Juan de la Cruz, *Llama de amor viva*, 790: “Para encarecer el alma el sentimiento y aprecio con que habla en estas cuatro canciones, pone en todas ellas estos términos, *joh!* y *¡cuán!*, que significan encarecimiento afectuoso; los cuales cada vez que se dicen, dan a entender del interior más de lo que se dice por la lengua.”

31. Luis de Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, 435.

32. Ibid., 434.

thoughts and ideas with other men. [...] In this once again his providence shines forth, since the hot air that the heart gives forth, being dangerous to itself, serves [to produce] such a beneficial thing as the voice and speech of man.”³³

In Fray Luis’s explanation, the voice literally arises through a kind of chemical process from the fire in the heart. The useful fruit of the interplay of opposed elements (in this case, specifically opposed qualities of the elements—heat and cold) gives rise to the means through which a person may make tuneful music and express his inner thoughts to the external world.³⁴

6.1.4 Bruna’s Musical Theology

The villancico set by Bruna depends on a web of theological and symbolic associations—between the phoenix, fire, the soul, and musical voices. The soul not only burns, but becomes a burnt offering, in self-immolation like the phoenix. In Bruna’s villancico, this offering is explicitly tied to the sacrifice of the Eucharist (ll. 2–3, “digan que en esta mesa/ fénix se abrasa un alma”), such that the soul’s offering is united with Christ’s. This conceit fits well with the theology of divine union in St. John of the Cross, as expressed through the symbolism of fire.

In its function as devotional music, the villancico is able to embody these theological ideas in sounding reality. Bruna’s setting both represents these ideas like an auditory emblem and creates an affective world conducive to phoenix-like devotion. The singers offer their voices to ascend to heaven like a burnt offering, and they invite the listeners to join them in this devotional “act of love.”

The emphasis in Bruna’s villancico is less on contemplation (compared to Padilla or Cererols) and more on affect. Though the piece today requires intellectual effort to understand—its theology of fire depends on a premodern cosmology and physics, and uses symbols whose meanings must be

33. Luis de Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, 435.

34. Note the social aspect both of music and speech in Fray Luis’s description. In his theology the voice is a means to create social relationships, including both ecclesial and political ones.

reconstructed—the function of the piece in its own time was likely not intellectual contemplation. Instead, the piece would kindle the hearts of performers and listeners to affective devotion.

The representation of music in this piece is, like Carrión's *Qué destemplada armonía*, more centered on human music-making than on heavenly music, and it focuses on the ascent of earthly music to heaven rather than the reverse. In Bruna's *Suban las voces*, the performance embodies a theology of music as a form of self-offering for the musicians and for those listening sympathetically. One influential patristic source for such a theology of worship is a passage from Augustine's *City of God*, book 10. Augustine condemns the Greco-Roman Neoplatonists because although they came close to Christian truth in their notion of the “one supreme good, the unchangeable God,” they still offered vain sacrifices to idols. In contrast, Augustine teaches, the true sacrifice of a Christian is for the whole Christian community to offer itself as “a living sacrifice” (Rom. 12:1) to God. Only to the one true God, he preaches, “we owe the service which is called in Greek *λατρεία* (*latreia*), [...] for we are all His temple, each of us severally and all of us together [...].”³⁵ Augustine’s description of sacrifice resonates strongly with the theology of self-offering in Bruna’s villancico and in the other theological sources examined thus far (as the emphasized phrases show):

Our heart when it rises to Him is His altar: the priest who intercedes for us is His Only-begotten; we sacrifice to Him bleeding victims when we contend for His truth even unto blood; to Him we offer the sweetest incense when we come before Him burning with holy and pious love; to Him we devote and surrender ourselves and His gifts in us; to Him, by solemn feasts and on appointed days, we consecrate the memory of His benefits, lest through the lapse of time ungrateful oblivion should steal upon us; *to Him we offer on the altar of our heart the sacrifice of humility and praise, kindled by the fire of burning love.*³⁶

This is the sacrifice of Christians: we being many, are one body in Christ. And this also is the sacrifice which the Church continually celebrates in the sacrament of the altar, known to the faithful, in which she teaches that *she herself is offered in the*

35. St. Augustine of Hippo, *The City of God*, trans. Marcus Dods (New York: The Modern Library, 1993), 10:3, p. 306.

36. Ibid.

*offering she makes to God.*³⁷

While Augustine portrays the Eucharist as the summit of Christian sacrifice, his theology of sacrifice encompasses the whole church community, not only the bread and wine on the altar. Under this theology of worship, music and liturgy would be included as part of the church's "sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," and Bruna's villancico both proclaims and performs this kind of communal offering to God.

The next section examines Miguel Ambiel's reworking of this piece, in which the devotional focus is shifted from the Eucharist to the Assumption of Mary. But this Augustinian theology of worship as ecclesial self-offering continues to underly the use of music for sanctoral devotion, in which a villancico may serve as an intercessory offering to God by means of the broader communion of saints, chief among whom was the Blessed Virgin.

6.2 VOICES RISING IN INTERCESSION: *SUBAN LAS VOCES AL CIELO* BY MIGUEL AMBIELA

The second villancico beginning *Suban las voces al cielo*, by Miguel Ambiel, is based on the same poetic text set by Bruna, and probably on Bruna's music as well. The new poem is dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, and retains none of the fire or phoenix symbolism of Bruna's villancico. The compositor of Ambiel's poetic text (likely Ambiel himself) has simply excerpted from the Bruna poem all the lines with musical vocabulary and built a new poem around them (poem 6.5).

Miguel Ambiel (1666–1733), like his contemporary Jerónimo de Carrión, lived through the end of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty, the ensuing War of Spanish Succession, and the installment of the new Bourbon dynasty. His highly successful career spanned a tremendous shift not only in political life, but also in religious sensibilities and musical aesthetics. Raised in La Puebla de Albortón in Zaragoza province, his parents sent him at age 15 (in 1681) to study music in Daroca.

37. Augustine of Hippo, *The City of God*, 10:6, p. 310.

Poem 6.5

Suban las voces al cielo, setting II by Miguel Ambiel, estribillo

	Suban las voces al cielo y diga Capilla Regia que María al cielo parte pero nunca más entera.	Let voices ascend to Heaven and let the Royal Chapel say that to Heaven Mary departs, though more whole than ever. ^a
5	Y digan mudando el aire en veloces corcheas, vuelen, vuelen juntos en síncopas que elevan, con bemoles blandos:	And let them say, transforming the air into rapid quavers, let them fly, fly together in syncopations that ascend with mild flats:
10	trinados que suspendan sigan sus pasos todos hasta la esfera donde María goze glorias eternas.	trills that suspend let everyone follow her paces up to the sphere where Mary enjoys eternal glories.

a. Or, “never more whole than at this moment.” This is a play on “parte” (part) in the previous line. “Wholeness” here refers both to Mary’s perpetual virginity and to the unity of her body and soul at her Assumption.

Since Bruna had died three years earlier, Pedro Calahorra’s claim that Ambiel was Bruna’s student cannot be true. Nevertheless, it is probable that Bruna’s music was still being performed during Ambiel’s apprenticeship, and that Ambiel himself participated in the performances. Only four years later Ambiel was appointed chapelmaster at the collegiate church. During the single year he served there (1685–1686), Ambiel would have made use of the church’s archive, where he could have encountered Bruna’s villancico if he had not already heard or performed it. His first position after Daroca was in Lleida (1686–1690), followed by one in Jaca (1698–1700). After this he ascended to some of the most prestigious positions in Spain: El Pilar in Zaragoza (1700–1707), Las Descalzas Reales in Madrid (1707–1710), and finally Toledo Cathedral (1710–1733).³⁸

The manuscript of Ambiel’s *Suban las voces* for six voices (SST, SAT, Ac.), preserved in

38. Calahorra Martínez, “‘Suban las voces al Cielo,’” 1; *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), s.v. “Ambiel”; Carmen María Álvarez Escudero, *El maestro aragonés Miguel de Ambiel (1666–1733): su contribución al Barroco musical* (Oviedo, Spain: Arte-Musicología, Servicio de Publicaciones, Universidad de Oviedo, 1982).

Barcelona (E-Bbc: M/733/1) was composed sometime before 1689, probably while Ambiela was still in Daroca. The title page dedicates the piece for the Assumption of Mary. A second, sloppier hand on the title page is probably that of a young performer who doodled with his own name (“Torrente”) at the bottom of the page and who also copied his own bajón part. This writer ascribes the piece to “Master Miguel Ambiela, who was from Lérida and before that from Daroca, where the wall is big and the city is small.”³⁹ The same hand has written at the top of the accompaniment part: “Acompa[ñamien]to Continuo a 6 Vozes del Maestro Miguel Ambiela año 1689 a 24 8°re,” thus specifying the date as October 24, 1689—an unusual level of specificity.

The date in the manuscript is more likely the date of copying than a performance or composition date. October 24, 1689 was the feast of St. Raphael, Archangel, but the villancico is clearly intended for the Assumption of the Virgin on August 15. In any case, the date provides a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of this villancico.

In 1689 the 23-year-old Ambiela was chapelmaster in Lleida (Lérida in Castilian), halfway between Zaragoza and Barcelona. The final obstruent devoicing in the copyist’s phonetic spelling “ciutat” for “ciudad” suggests he spoke Catalan, which makes sense if he was a member of Ambiela’s chapel in Lleida. The joke disparaging Daroca (a small town surrounded with huge medieval walls) also suggests the copyist was in a larger, more prestigious city. It is notable that the copyist points out Ambiela’s previous position in Daroca, given the work’s connection with Pablo Bruna.

6.2.1 Poetic and Theological Themes: Mary in Music

The poem set by Ambiela is clearly based on that set by Bruna. The relationship between them is more similar to that between Jalón’s *Cantores* and Padilla’s *Voces* (chapter 3) than the different versions of *Suspended, cielos* (chapter 4). With *Suspended, cielos* all the versions are similar enough to be considered variants of the same poem: some add verses or remove them, some alter a word

39. “Del Maestro Miguel Ambiela/ q[ue] fue de Lerida y despues de daroca en donde el muro/ es Grande y la Ciutat es Poca”

Table 6.1
Suban las voces, Comparison of estribillos set by Bruna and Ambiela

BRUNA	AMBIELA
Suban las voces al cielo y digan que en esta mesa fénix se abrasa un alma de amores llena. Y mudando el aire en veloces corcheas, vuelen, vuelen juntas en síncopas que elevan y en bemoles blandos, trinados que suspendan, digan en paso todas:	<u>Suban las voces al cielo</u> <u>y diga Capilla Regia</u> <u>que María al cielo parte</u> <u>pero nunca más entera.</u> <u>Y digan mudando el aire</u> <u>en veloces corcheas,</u> <u>vuelen, vuelen juntos,</u> <u>en síncopas que elevan</u> <u>con bemoles blandos,^a</u> <u>trinados que suspendan,</u> <u>sigan sus pasos todos</u> hasta la esfera
Ay, que se abrasa un alma, ay que se quema.	donde María goze glorias eternas.

a. When this part of the estribillo is repeated, some of the voices in the Ambiela manuscript have the underlay “en bemoles blandos,” suggesting perhaps some confusion between the two versions of the poem.

here or there, but the basic structure and hematic content remain the same. The Jalón and Padilla villancicos, by contrast, are clearly derived from the same textual tradition, but are distinct poems with different poetic conceits and literary aesthetics.

There is an even greater contrast between Ambiela’s villancico and Bruna. Bruna’s theme was the Eucharist as a site for mystical communion between the ardent soul and an all-consuming God. Ambiela’s theme is the Assumption of the Virgin Mary into heaven. The underlined phrases in table 6.1 are those taken from Bruna’s setting, but it should be clear how different the new context is from the original.

The musical references in Bruna’s poem are now put to a new ritual function. Rather than drawing a comparison between the transformative power of fire and that of music, now music’s power to “transform the air” is connected to the Blessed Virgin’s translation from the realm of earth to that of Heaven. “Cielo” here primarily means “cielo Empyreo,” God’s Heaven: this is the

singular “esfera” where Mary will enjoy eternal glories. All the same, Mary must pass through the worldly domain of the sky in order to be assumed into the sphere beyond the physical realm. And it is in that wordly sphere of air that human *musica instrumentalis* can resound in praise of Mary and in imitation of her miraculous transformation.

For Catholic devotion, The miracle of Mary’s assumption was that, as the villancico says, she remained “entera”—her body and soul were not separated as those of other humans are at death, but rather ascend to heaven integral and whole. Mary at her death remains “intact” not only as a perpetual virgin but as a human body and soul in perfect harmony. Indeed, not only is Mary transformed from a mortal woman to an eternally living heavenly saint, in her new domain she is crowned as Queen of Heaven, as she was praised in the ubiquitous *Salve Regina* chant and many others. Much of the Assumption liturgy concentrates on Mary’s new role as heavenly Queen and intercessor for humanity.

In this way some of the same aspects of musical theology that we have seen in Christmas villancicos and in Bruna’s Eucharistic villancico can be applied to Mary. Instead of music pointing to the harmony between Christ’s dual natures, here it points to the unity of Mary’s body and soul, not separated in death. In Catholic devotion, Mary brings together human and divine worlds in harmony as the one who bore God into the world in Christ, and as the first of the saintly intercessors in heaven. Mary can even be represented as a chapelmaster (as in Sor Juana’s villancico *Silencio, que canta María*, discussed in chapter 1), leading the song of all the saints.

The villancico connects human music-making to Mary’s role as heavenly intercessor. The coplas depict the world left behind by Mary, which cries out to her in her new role as mediator through voices of music. The music that thus ascends to heaven follows the path Mary followed: “sigan sus pasos todos hasta la esfera.” Thus human music is presented as a form of intercessory prayer, of which Mary is the chapelmaster because she is the chief intercessor among all the saints. All the other saints follow Mary’s example and harmonize with her faith.

Like Bruna’s *Suban las voces*, then, Ambiel’s villancico performs a theology of music as a

form of prayer ascending to heaven. The musical language in Ambiela's poem serves as metaphor both for Mary's immaculate nature and for Mary's role as queen of the saints and principal intercessor.

6.2.2 Imitation and Homage

Calahorra sees a "great similarity" between Ambiela's setting and that of Bruna, but it would be better to think of Ambiela's piece as an homage rather than a parody.⁴⁰ Obviously, both pieces begin with four voices in an upward-leaping gesture high in their tessituras. Both composers set the words "Suban las voces al cielo" as a musical phrase three compases (nine minims) long. Bruna, in his work for a single chorus, accomplishes *anaphora* by repeating this first phrase transposed up a third. Ambiela does Bruna one better with his stretto entrance of the second chorus, as though he has taken Bruna's two opening phrases and superimposed them. Next in Bruna's setting (Bruna mm. 6–9), a solo voice sings the beginning of the phrase and the full chorus joins for the end. Ambiela again expands on Bruna's approach for his second phrase (Ambiela mm. 3–9): he begins not with a single voice but with two, and then expands these into a fugato.

Ambiela begins the next section with a motive identical to one used by Bruna: Ambiela m. 10 (F–E–D–C♯–D–C♯); Bruna m. 6 (B♭–A–G–F♯–G–F♯). Like the similar passage in Bruna, Ambiela writes this motive for highest voice with only continuo accompaniment (example 6.2). As Calahorra points out, Ambiela follows Bruna in switching to C meter for the "mudando el aire" passage (with the same symbolism of "changing"), and in using an imitative texture in "flying corcheas," moving "together" in pairs of voices.⁴¹ Like Bruna, Ambiela also uses the predictable syncopated figures where the text requires it, though in distinction to Bruna he introduces this line of text while the one before it is still being repeated, creating a rich texture of flying eighth-notes

40. Calahorra Martínez, "'Suban las voces al Cielo,'" 18.

41. Ambiela's fugato in mm. 11–16 is also strikingly similar to the fugato in Cererols *Suspended cielos*, because Ambiela's subject begins with the same descending fifth from A to D that Cererols used, and Ambiela uses many of the same contrapuntal techniques (such as the inversion in m. 12, Ti. II).

and syncopated figures in tension with each other. And in the last section, like Bruna, Ambiela illustrates “pasos” with imitative counterpoint, though his double fugato is considerably expanded compared to the short passage in Bruna.⁴²

These connections suggest strongly that Ambiela could have known Bruna’s piece. It is very likely Ambiela had access to Bruna’s score or even performed it. Whoever provided Ambiela’s poetic text, if not Ambiela himself, certainly knew the other text and deliberately adapted it for a new purpose. The surviving manuscript lesson books from apprentice musicians in seventeenth-century Spain demonstrate that students did learn by copying older examples. One such notebook (E-Bbc: M/732/15), written in Catalan, concludes with a section on “Some Rules about Counterpoint observed from the Method of Some Masters in Girona.”⁴³ The notes appear to represent lessons learned not from a course of theory training, but from studying manuscripts in the archive.

Even aside from the direct connection to Daroca, the two composers appear to have been part of the same network of composers we have been tracing, or at least their works were collected by those who valued composers within that network. Copies of both Bruna and Ambiela villancicos are present in the Biblioteca de Catalunya’s collection. Though the two settings of *Suban las voces* are not now in the same archival signature (that is, they are in different boxes of villancicos), each piece is gathered with pieces by some of the same composers. These composers include most notably Joan Cererols and one of the Cásedas (probably the elder, Diego), including a setting by Cáseda of a text also set by Cererols, *Pues que para la sepultura*. It seems possible that Ambiela was acquainted with Cererols personally, if not only by reputation; and it is almost certain that he knew one or both Cásedas in Zaragoza, since he succeeded their successive tenures as chapelmaster of El Pilar. Ambiela was also connected to Madrid composers from at least the time of his position at Las Descalzas; indeed immediately adjacent to Ambiela’s *Suban las voces* in E-Bbc: M/733 is a villancico by the influential Madrid composer Sebastián Durón along with works by Carlos Patiño.

42. The Calahorra edition misplaces one of the fugal entries by two compases.

43. “Algunas Reglas sobre els Contrapunts observadas del metodo de alguns mestres en Gerona.”

C

Ti. I-1 Y di-gan mu dan do el ai - re en ve - lo - ces corche-as, vuelen, vue-len jun - tos,

Ti. I-2 vuelen, vue-len

T. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

Ac.

14

vuelen, vuelen jun - tos, vuelen, vuelen, vuelen jun - tos

jun - tos en sín - co - pas que e - le - van,

⁸ tos vuelen, vuelen, vuelen jun - tos vuelen jun - tos en sín -

vuelen, vuelen, vuelen, vuelen jun - tos, vuelen, vuelen jun - tos

⁸ vuelen jun - tos en sín - co - pas que e - le -

en sín - co - pas que e - le -

⁸ en sín - co - pas que e - le -

Example 6.2
Ambiela, *Suban las voces*, mm. 9–16: Compare Bruna, example 6.1

On the other hand, aside from the opening and the motivic similarity, many of the similarities between pieces could be explained simply as two composers setting the same words according to similar musical-rhetorical conventions. The poetry includes highly specific references to musical practice that demand a certain setting in music. Most of the similarities between settings are structural or procedural, rather than being on the level of quotation or literal adaptation. In fact the two pieces differ strongly in character. In contrast to Bruna's intimate, chamber-style piece in mystically tinged *cantus mollis*, Ambiela's villancico is a large-scale polychoral piece in a public, celebratory manner, set in mode 9 (the authentic mode with an A final).

Paradoxically, though, it is actually in the ostensible differences between the settings where it becomes clearest that the piece probably is an homage. Ambiela takes Bruna's model, and expands it and increases its complexity in every way he can. Since any Spanish composer would have, for example, set "bemoles blandos" (mild flats) with added flats, it is all the more striking when Ambiela breaks with the expected. For "bemoles blandos," Ambiela does not write a single flat (example 6.3); in fact, he writes an extended passage loaded with sharps. For "trinados que suspendan," Ambiela does not write the classical suspensions that Bruna does (which by rule always resolved downward by step). Instead he writes an chromatic line that does nothing but ascends (mm. 27–29, Ti. I-2). The flats and classic suspensions only come after this passage, on "sigan sus pasos" (m. 33); but the added B flats are constantly juxtaposed against F sharps.⁴⁴

Why, when Ambiela sets the rest of the text so literally, would he resist the impulse to write flats on "bemoles" and descending suspensions on "suspendan?" One explanation is that Ambiela made these choices deliberately in response to Bruna's setting. Bruna did the obvious thing and used flats; to outdo his model Ambiela had to illustrate the idea of flats ironically by using sharps. Ambiela seems to reflect a different type of confidence in music's power to represent: for Bruna,

44. Ambiela's unique treatment of the repeat of the estribillo after the coplas deserves to be noted. Each copla is sung by a soloist and then leads into a repeat, not of the whole estribillo, but only of a portion. The first copla leads into a repeat of the opening section (mm. 1–9); the second copla, into the middle section (mm. 10–25), and the last copla, into the concluding section (mm. 25–67).

Example 6.3

Ambiela, *Suban las voces*, poetry about “flats” set in sharps

the mirror-in-a-mirror effect of singing flats while singing about flats was enough; for Ambiela, one must sing sharps.

Here we see a central theme of the case studies in part II: a tradition formed through composerly homage and competition is mapped against changing notions of music’s role (and humanity’s role) in the cosmos. As Calahorra also observes, Ambiela’s free-wheeling or even reckless approach to counterpoint is worlds apart from the more traditional style of Bruna. Bruna’s work is relatively intimate, subtle, contemplative; Ambiela’s is extroverted, exuberant, even ostentatious.⁴⁵ For example, in Ambiela’s first section in imitative texture, mm. 3–6, the

45. Some of this difference, it should be noted, stems from the pieces’ differing liturgical functions. One is a chamber piece for Eucharistic devotion while the other is a calenda-type celebration for one of the highest feasts of the Spanish church year.

29

Ti. I-1
mo - les blan - does que sus-pen - dan, tri - na - dos que sus - pen - dan:
Ti. I-2
dan, con be - mo - les blan - dos, tri - na - dos que sus - pen - dan:
T. I
dan, tri - na - dos que sus - pen - dan, tri - na - dos que sus - pen - dan:
Ti. II
dos, con be - mo - les blan - dos, con be - mo - les blan - dos, sus - pen - dan:
A. II
dos, tri - na - dos que sus - pen - dan, tri - na - dos que sus - pen - dan:
T. II
con be - mo - les blan - dos, tri - na - dos que sus - pen - dan:
Ac.

Example 6.3
Continued

voices fly past each other almost as though they are not all singing the same piece, creating frequent F \sharp /C \sharp sonorities, and for one brief moment (m. 4, third minim) only the pitches A, G, and D are sounding. Calahorra provides an analysis of Ambiel's abruptly shifting cadences and pervasive use of seventh chords on the first beat of the compás. It is certainly possible that these are the marks of an inexperienced, twenty-three-year-old composer, especially one trying to do something impressive without having yet achieved the technical means to do it well.

But it is also possible that the effect of wild, heedless rejoicing, or of mysterious music that defies earthly rules, is exactly what Ambiel wanted, in line with the Neoplatonic theology seen developing in the other examples of part II, but now part of an emerging high-Baroque aesthetic. The difference may be compared to the distance between *Las meninas* of Velázquez (1656), in

which the painter paints himself painting; and an extravagant *trompe-l'oeil* like the *transparente* of Toledo Cathedral—which was completed by Narciso Tomé and his sons only a year before Ambiela's death in 1733. A decreasing confidence in music's power of representation, of music's faithfulness to the real world, results in a continuously escalating demand for self-conscious artifice. The emphasis shifts from imitating heavenly music to representing earthly music, and the functional goal of the music, theologically speaking, shifts from a primarily contemplative one toward a more affective, expressive one.

In the final case study of part II, José de Cáseda's *Qué música divina*, one can hear echoes from this whole tradition. And as we will see, this villancico demonstrates what happens when imitation—both the musical tradition of metamusical villancicos and the philosophical concept of music's power to represent theological truths—is stretched to its limit.

6.3 CHRIST AS A VIHUELA IN *QUÉ MÚSICA DIVINA* BY JOSÉ DE CÁSEDA

José de Cáseda's Eucharistic villancico *Qué música divina* represents Christ as a *vihuela*, or a *vihuela* as Christ. The piece evokes instrumental music vocally in order to use music to symbolize not heavenly perfection, but instead to evoke the human suffering of Christ on the cross as a result of humankind's sinful nature. Cáseda forces his singers to make untuneful music that both highlights the imperfection of human music (as in previous metamusical examples) and also provides a vehicle for dramatic, affective human expression. Thus the piece forms a good endpoint to the trajectory we have traced from music functioning as a reflection of heaven to music expressing human affections. Since this villancico survives in a manuscript from a convent in Puebla, it also demonstrates the global reach of this kind of music (yet another result of the interconnections among Hispanic musicians), and raises questions about the effect of performing venue and audience on the piece.

The musical oddities of Cáseda's villancico may reflect the strain of continuing the metamu-

sical villancico tradition. This piece thus represents the limits of imitation, in both the difficulty of outdoing previous compositions in the same musical tradition, and in the increasing struggle to accommodate musical aesthetics to the old cosmology even as belief in the old system was eroding.

The composer José de Cáseda (fl. 1691–1716) was raised and trained within a closely integrated network of composers, centered in the Zaragoza region of Aragon but with ties all across Spain and the New World.⁴⁶ José’s father Diego has already appeared several times in these case studies; in Zaragoza he was chapelmaster first at the Basilica de El Pilar and then later at the Cathedral of La Seo. José first served as chapelmaster of cathedrals in Calahorra and Pamplona. After Diego’s death in 1695, José was appointed to succeed him as chapelmaster at La Seo in Zaragoza, where he remained until at least 1705. Possibly through a connection with Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana (who emigrated from Seville to Puebla), music by both Cásedas made it across the Atlantic to New Spain, where it became part of the repertoire at the Conceptionist Convento de la Santísima Trinidad in Puebla. Today that convent’s collection survives as the Colección Jesús Sánchez Garza at the Mexican national music research center (CENIDIM) in Mexico City. The collection includes eight villancicos attributed to a Cáseda, with three clearly credited to José (MEX-Mcen: CSG.151, 154, 155).⁴⁷

The cheap paper and unprofessional handwriting of the manuscript (CSG.154) suggest that *Qué música divina*, like most of the other villancicos in the collection, was copied by the sisters of La Santísima Trinidad for their own use in the convent. Indeed, their names are written into the parts—the same names that may be seen in many other Sánchez Garza manuscripts from the same period. The Tiple I part belonged to “Tomasita,” the Tiple II to “María de Jesús,” the Alto part to “Me. [Maestra?] Besona,” and the Tenor part to “Rosa María de Jesús.” The instrumental bass

46. For what little is known of his biography, see Pedro Calahorra Martínez, *La música en Zaragoza en los siglos XVI y XVII: II, Polifonistas y ministriales* (Zaragoza, Spain: Institución “Fernando el Católico,” 1977), 120–121; and *Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Cáseda, Diego de,” by Robert Murrell Stevenson.

47. The numbers are from the still-unpublished catalog edited by Aurelio Tello.

part is not attributed. The paper's watermarks and the handwriting are consistent with a copying date around 1700. The handwriting may not be of professional quality, but it is no worse than the Barcelona manuscript of Bruna's *Suban las voces* or the Canet manuscript of Cererols's *Suspended, cielos*. The sisters of La Santísima Trinidad must have had quite a high level of musical ability, as this is a difficult piece, both in its performance demands and its aesthetic character.

The musical style and poetic themes suggest a function for Eucharistic devotional services, like Bruna's *Suban las voces*. The condition of the partbooks suggests that Cáseda's piece was performed frequently in the Puebla convent. In fact, a sewn-in line of music in the Tenor part, which may have served as a way to abridge the coplas or adapt the villancico for solo performance, shows that later convent sisters valued this work highly enough to adapt it for new performative or liturgical demands.

6.3.1 Metamusical Tropes in the Poetry: Experiencing a Higher Music

The poetry of the estribillo reads like a catalog of the metamusical tropes we have been tracing in these case studies of "singing about singing" (poem 6.6). The terms used in Cáseda's villancico to describe music are all familiar by now from the vocabulary of this tradition: "acorde," "soberana," "tiernas," "armoniosas." The key terms "consonancia," "quiebros," and "accentos," are common to all the pieces studied previously. The term "cláusulas" specifically recalls *Suspended, cielos*, as set by Cererols. Like Irízar's *Qué música celestial* and the variant settings of *Suban las voces al cielo* by Pablo Bruna and Miguel Ambiel, the poem also connects music with the element of air through reference to the winds.

Cáseda's poem begins with a rhetorical exclamation of wonder about a mysterious higher form of music, as did Irízar's *¿Qué música celestial es la que hoy el aire altera?* and Jerónimo de Carrión's *Qué destemplada armonía de confusas voces varias*. Irízar's opening uses the same term ("el oído eleva"), which like Carrión, rhetorically presents dismay at the power of a strange, unexpected kind of music. This emphasis on the human sensory and affective response to music

Poem 6.6

Qué música divina, poem as set by José de Cáseda, estribillo

[ESTRIBILLO] a 4

Qué música divina,	What divine music,
acorde y soberana,	tuneful and sovereign,
afrenta de las aves	shows up [that of] the birds
con tiernas armoniosas	with tender, harmonious
consonancias,	consonances,
5 en quiebros suaves,	in trills mild,
sonoros y graves,	sonorous, and solemn;
acordes acentos	it offers tuneful accents
ofrece a los vientos,	to the winds,
y en cláusulas varias,	and in varying cadences
sentidos eleva,	elevates the senses,
10 potencias desmaya.	confounds the [mind's] powers.

fits with the general trend we have seen (in Irízar and Carrión) away from music as a reflection of heaven, such as the music of the spheres, and toward the evocation and incitement of human affects.

The final lines of Cáseda’s estribillo describe the “divine music” as elevating the senses and dismaying the body’s powers: here the poet distinguishes between two technical terms for human faculties, the “sentidos” and “potencias.” As explained in chapter 2, early modern physiology distinguished between the exterior senses, which Fray Luis calls “sentidoes exteriores,” and the interior senses (the imaginative, cogitative, and other faculties), which Fray Luis describes as “potencias.” In Cáseda’s villancico, the “divine music” “elevates the senses” but “confounds the powers.” Cáseda’s “sentidos” would most likely refer to the exterior senses—hearing in particular—and “potencias,” to these mental faculties, what might be called “powers of reason.” Coplas 5 and 6 (poem 6.7) expand on this idea: the divine music “is not to the senses” (l. 28), but its “excellence” or virtuosity (“primor”) “elevates to the heavens the one who reaches it” (l. 32). Here copla 6 connects the divine music to the Eucharist: the mystery of either is more than the exterior senses perceive

Poem 6.7

Qué música divina, coplas

COPLAS a 4 y solo

- 11 1. Suenen las dulces cuerdas
de esa divina cítara y humana,
que aun sol que es de los cielos,
forma unida la alta con la baja.
- 15 2. De la fe es instrumento
y al oído su música regala
donde hay por gran misterio
en cada punto entera consonancia
- 20 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.
- 25 4. Misteriosa vihuela,
al herirle sus cuerdas una lanza,
su sagrada armonía se vió allí
de siete órdenes formada.
- 30 5. No son a los sentidos
lo que suenan sus voces soberanas
porque de este instrumento
cuantas ellos percibían serán 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.
1. 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 voices/notes sound,
for, of this instrument
as many notes as they perceived will be false.
6. Your mysterious excellence, which
elevates to the heavens him who reaches it:
sensation does not eat it, for your music
is fodder for the soul.
-

it to be, and therefore “sensation does not eat it, for your music is fodder for the soul” (ll. 31–34).

The basic concept of “sentidos” and “potencias” in this villancico, then, seems to be that the divine music defies the external senses but elevates the internal powers of the mind/soul. This idea seems to fuse the Neoplatonic contemplative function of music with affective experience: perhaps rational/spiritual reflection on the divine mysteries is achieved not through ignoring the senses, but through an experience of the senses being confounded. Such a theology of sensory experience would align closely with that of St. John of the Cross, in which affective experience functions like “mother’s milk,” leading the contemplative toward a higher plane of spirituality in which that sensory experience is no longer necessary.

To describe this dismaying higher form of music, the coplas of Cáseada’s villancico, contrasting with all the generic tropes in the estribillo, center on the theological-musical conceit of Christ as a “divine and human *cítara*.” The villancico uses this musical instrument—whose ambiguous definition led to a rich range of symbolic meanings—as a metaphor for the highest form of Music.

In this poem, Christ unites the high and low like two strings of the *cítara* tuned to each other at the octave (copla 1). Christ unites these extremes as the strings are stretched between the two ends of a *cítara* (“lazo” also calls to mind the lash used on Christ in his crucifixion). This is fitting, since Christ was stretched out on the cross just as the strings are stretched over the bridge, and the three nails put in his hands (“clavos”) are the pegs (“clavijas”) that hold the strings in place (copla 3). The lance pierced his innards as a plectrum plucks strings (“herir” being the same word for both “pluck” and “wound”). And as, according to John’s Gospel (19:34) blood and water flowed from Christ’s wound, which in Tridentine theology were understood as the fountainhead of the seven sacraments, these are compared to the “seven orders” or strings of a *vihuela*.

6.3.2 Theological Tropes of the Cithara and Vihuela

But if Christ is a musical instrument, is he a *cítara* or a *vihuela*? The specific reference in copla 4 and other details make clear that the metaphor in this villancico is specific to the Spanish

“seven-order” vihuela. But the symbolic use of the vihuela is piggybacking on a millenium of allegorical treatments of the other instrument. The meanings of the *cithara* in early modern Latin and its Spanish cognate *cítara* developed from a long practice of interpreting an ancient musical term of unclear meaning through the lens of familiar contemporary practice.

The Jewish translators of the Septuagint a century before Christ used κιθάρα (*kithara*), the term for some kind of lyre or harp used in ancient Greek writings, to translate several ancient Hebrew terms whose precise meanings in some cases remain unclear today.⁴⁸ Tracing the use of *cithara* in the Vulgate back through the corresponding passages in the Greek (the original text of the New Testament and the Septuagint translation of Old), through the Hebrew Scriptures, the most common Hebrew word standing in the same place as the Vulgate *cithara* is קִנּוֹר, transliterated *kinnôr*. The *kinnôr* was some kind of lyre with plucked or strummed strings; Josephus said it had ten strings.⁴⁹ In Gen. 4:21 this is one of the first instruments ever invented by “Jubal, the ancestor of all those who play the lyre and pipe” (NRSV).

In the Septuagint, the names of these two instruments are translated as the ψαλτήριον (*psalterion*) and κιθάρα (*kithara*). St. Jerome rendered this passage in the Latin Vulgate with the words *cithara et organo*, transliterating the Greek κιθάρα and perhaps trying to recuperate the sense of a wind instrument in the other Hebrew word, which the Septuagint translators had turned into a stringed instrument, the *psalterion*.

This example is one of several that demonstrate how the precise meaning of a musical term could be lost in the transfer between Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In the Vulgate, the instrument David plays for Saul in 1 Sam. 16:16 is a *cithara*. In Hebrew this was again *kinnôr*, rendered in the Septuagint with another frequently used translation, κινύρα (*kinura*).⁵⁰ The same transfer of

48. For a full discussion of the different terms in ancient Near Eastern languages and the archeological and iconographic evidence for their meaning, see Bo Lawergren, “Distinctions among Canaanite, Philistine, and Israelite Lyres, and Their Global Lyrical Contexts,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 309 (1998): 41–68.

49. *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, ed. Geoffrey William Bromiley (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans, 1979–1988), s.v. “Music: Strings.”

50. This Greek word may be a loanword from the Hebrew: *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, ed. Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, Based on the lexicon of William Gesenius as translated by

terms happens in the descriptions of worship in the Davidic tabernacle (1 Chron. 15:28, 16:4–6): in Hebrew David’s temple musicians play the *kinnôr*; in Greek, the *kinura*, and in the Vulgate they play *citharae*.

For Christian theology, the most prominent Biblical locus for the Greek κινύρα and Latin Vulgate *cithara* is in the New Testament Revelation to John. In Rev. 14:2–4, John hears a chorus of 144,000 virgins singing “a new song before the throne,” and both the Greek and the Latin onomatopoetically echo their sound, “sicut citharoedorum citharizantium in citharis suis” (“harpers harping on their harps” in the King James), a passage whose meaning Craig Monson has already elucidated.⁵¹

Many medieval exegetes commenting on the Latin Vulgate likely had no idea (or desire to know) what actual instrument the term *cithara* referred to, and concerned themselves instead with analogical interpretations. By the seventeenth century, the term had become a rich node of allegorical connections. In a 1603 commentary on the Apocalypse, the Jesuit Francisco Ribera draws on the venerable Bede to interpret the cithara played by the saints in Rev. 14 as symbolic of the saints’ bodily mortification: “Counted among the cithara-players of God are all the saints, who, having crucified their flesh with its vices and sinful desires praise God with the psalter and cithara.”⁵²

Cornelius a Lapide takes the connection between cithara and crucifixion farther. In his commentary on 1 Sam. 16, when David (in the Latin version) plays the cithara to drive the demons away from King Saul, Lapide gives an epitome of the whole patristic and medieval tradition regarding the power of music over the affects. Surveying the exegetical tradition to its earliest and most obscure sources—Lapide cites Angelomus of Luxeuil, Prosper of Aquitaine, Eucherius of

Edward Robinson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), s.v. “כִּנְуָר”.

51. Craig Monson, *Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music, and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 88–95.

52. Francisco Ribera, *Francisci Riberæ Villacastinensis Presbyteri Societatis Iesu, Doctorisque Theologi, In sacram beati Ioannis Apostoli & Euangelistæ Apocalypsin Commentarij* (Antwerp, 1603), 429: “Cum citharista Dei omnes sancti sint, qui carnem suam crucifigentes cum vitijs & concupiscentiis laudenteum in psaltero & cithara.” This is probably the symbolism behind the use of this reading for the Mass of the Feast of Holy Innocents (Jan. 28).

Lyon, and Ambrosius Ansbertus—Lapide summarizes a traditional interpretation of the cithara: “Allegorically, the cithara represents the cross of Christ; for just as the strings of a cithara are stretched out, thus Christ was stretched out on the cross.”⁵³ Lapide cites Augustine (*Sermo 3 de tempore*) to say that “the cithara represents the flesh of Christ”: speaking apparently of the Greek three-stringed lyre, Augustine makes this a metaphor for the unity of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity, incarnate in the body of Christ.⁵⁴ Once again it is apparent how the ambiguous meaning of the instrument name gave theologians great flexibility in interpreting the instrument symbolically.

Lapide joins Ribera in citing the Venerable Bede for the allegorical reading of the cithara.⁵⁵ Indeed, in a commentary on 1 Sam. 19:10 (in which Saul attacks David with a lance while David is playing music), Bede uses language strikingly similar to that of Cáseda’s villancico, as shown in the added emphases:

The cithara [citara] of David especially may figuratively demonstrate the cross of the Lord, the lance [lancea] of Saul may be compared to the nails [clavos] of the cross, as well as the soldier’s lance, by which the Lord’s side was opened.⁵⁶

Note Bede’s use of the terms “clavos” (the exact cognate is used in the Spanish villancico) and “lancea” (“lanza” in the Spanish).

All of these sources manifest a strong theological tradition behind the use of the cithara in Cáseda’s villancico as an allegory for Christ’s incarnate body and his crucifixion. Moreover, Craig Monson has traced how this symbolic tradition was applied specifically to female monastics, citing St. Bonaventure for “this relationship between Christ’s suffering body, the kithara, and the

53. Cornelius a Lapide, in *Commentaria en Librum Primum Samuelis sive Regum*, vol. 3 of *Comentaria in scripturam sacram*, ed. J. M. Peronne (Paris, 1891), 370: “Allegorice, cithara repräsentat crucem Christi; sicut enim chordæ in cithara distenduntur, sic Christus distensus fuit in cruce.”

54. Ibid.

55. Bede’s complete works had been published in Basel in 1563 (preserved in Madrid, E-Mn: M/1069); they were newly published in Cologne in 1688 (preerved in Puebla’s Biblioteca Palafoxiana, MEX-Ppx: BS535-B4).

56. The Venerable Bede, *Commentaries on the Scriptures*, in *The Complete Works of Venerable Bede, in the i Original Latin*, ed. J. A. Giles, vol. 8 (London: Whittaker / Co., 1844), 123: “Potest specialiter citara David crucem Domini, lancea Saul in pariete clavos crucis, velipsam militis lanceam, qua latas ejus apertum est, figuraliter ostendere.”

female monastic”—which would give the piece a special resonance in the context of the Puebla convent community.⁵⁷

By the time Lapide’s allegorical reading of the cithara was published, humanist research was already beginning to uncover the original meanings of the cithara and the Hebrew instruments given that Latin name. Athanasius Kircher, dedicated separate chapters of the *Musurgia* to the musical instruments of the ancient Hebrews and Greeks, and attempted to clarify the differences between the various Hebrew and Greek terms used for stringed instruments. Kircher cites the same passage from Gen. 4:21 discussed above, printing both the Hebrew and Greek versions, and noting the variance in translation of the instrument names. Kircher says that *cythara* is the translation for the Hebrew words (in his transliteration) “Assur, Neuel, Kinnor, Maghul, Minnim.” The “Kinnor,” Kircher says, “is in fact of a similar character to the *Cytharæ* of today,” and provides an illustration of what he thinks the Hebrew instrument looked like (figure 6.2).⁵⁸ Note how the Latin term constrains Kircher: though he is attempting to compare the Hebrew instrument to a modern one, his use of the ambiguous Latin *cythara* works against him—what was “the cithara of today”? In his discussion of Greek music, Kircher speaks of “cytharæ” without giving a clear definition. Comparing of ancient and modern music, Kircher boasts that the “cytharoedi” of today (cithara players, using the same term from Rev. 14:2) are as superior to their ancient Greek counterparts as their modern instruments are superior to the ancient ones.⁵⁹

Kircher does attempt to define the “cythara” as a term for modern plucked string instruments, though again the Latin word leaves his definitions ambiguous. In his illustrations of modern “cytharæ” (figure 6.3), the “common Cythara” has a round body and seventeen strings; the “German and Italian Cythara” has a pear-shaped body and four double courses (possibly a mandolin). Most significantly, Kircher’s “Spanish Cythara” appears to be a vihuela with five double courses.

57. Monson, *Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music, and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century Italy*, 93–94.

58. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis, sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X. libros digesta* (Rome, 1650), I: 44–49: “Instrumenta verò Neghinoth fuerunt Psalterium Nablium, Cythara, siue quod idem est Assur, Neuel, Kinnor, Magul, Minnim [...] Kinnor verò ad instar hodiernæ Cytharæ similitudinem.”

59. *Ibid.*, I: 548.

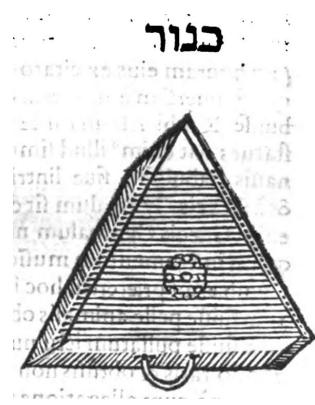


Figure 6.2
The Hebrew *kinnôr*, according to Athanasius Kircher

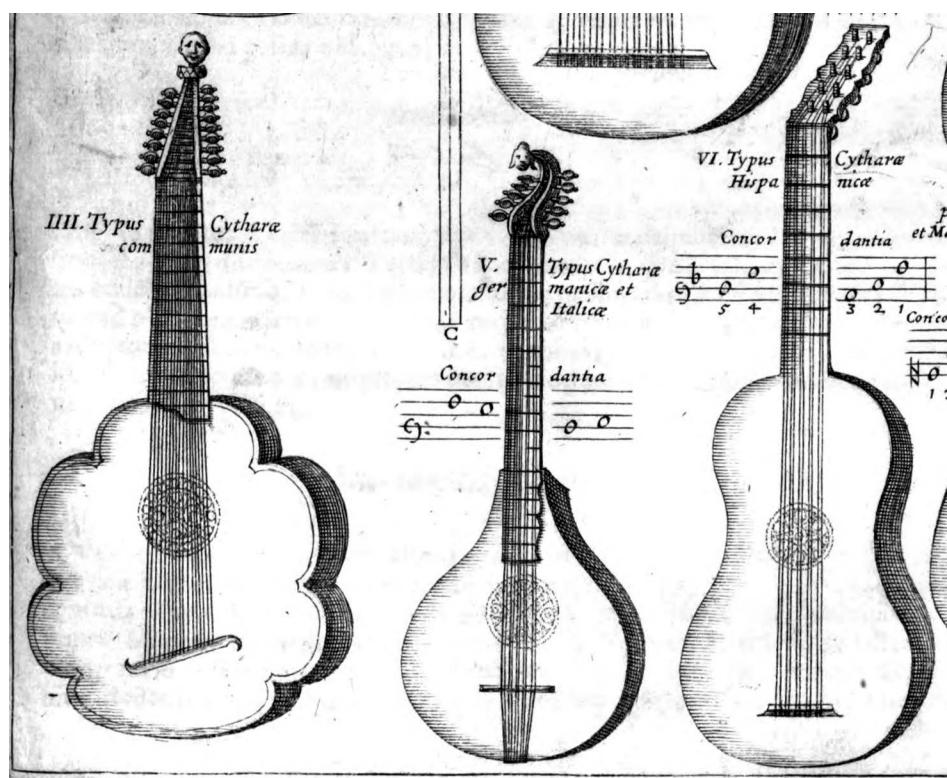


Figure 6.3
Modern “cytharæ,” according to Kircher

In describing modern instruments, using vernacular names would have increased the accuracy of his descriptions but diminished its universality, and all the rich associations of the cithara would have been lost. There is a pronounced tension throughout the *Musurgia*—and throughout early modern Catholic culture—between the desire to preserve the Latin Catholic traditions, with their analogical ways of thinking, and the desire to investigate the modern world scientifically and empirically. Kircher presents “scientific” knowledge about the ancient world and encyclopedic descriptions of modern practice, but he also wants to preserve the allegorical traditions of Catholic theology and speculative music theory. For example, the entire second book of the *Musurgia* is based on a sustained metaphor comparing all of creation to a Greek four-stringed lyre, another instrument often grouped with the cithara as a source for allegory.

John Hollander appraises the early modern situation similarly, seeing the substitution of modern instruments for the cithara in the early modern period (“apparently based on the notion that any obsolete instrument is the equivalent of any other”) as emblematic of how poets struggled to accommodate musical concepts from the ancient world to modern reality. Hollander describes a symbolic “lute-harp-lyre’ constellation, uniting the contemporary instrument with those of David and Orpheus.”⁶⁰ Hollander argues that by this point in the seventeenth century, the interest of poets and musicians writing on musical subjects turned away from musical philosophy (music of the spheres and so on) and toward actual musical practice. In a similar way, the poet of Cáseda’s villancico takes the cithara, with all the analogical possibilities connected to it, and maps it onto a specific modern instrument—the distinctly Spanish seven-course vihuela.

Spanish church music was distinctive among European traditions in its widespread inclusion of several plucked stringed instruments not used elsewhere, primarily, the harp, guitar, and vihuela. The terminological and symbolic ambiguity of the cithara allowed Spanish artists considerable license in connecting their contemporary musical practice to the ancient sources. Many Spanish

60. John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500–1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 44–51.

cathedral Choirs include depictions of King David with his cithara (or harp, or lyre) as a way of demonstrating continuity with the music of the ancient Hebrew Temple (a concept also expressed through the “Solomonic columns” built into the high altar of Puebla Cathedral in 1649, and thereafter widely imitated).

On the walls and ceilings of the cathedrals of Puebla and Mexico City, these instruments may be seen in the hands of angelic musicians. The Chapel of the Rosary (Capilla del Rosario), built in Puebla around 1680, also includes a *Glorification of the Virgin* amid an angelic ensemble that includes either a vihuela or a guitar. Juan Correa’s painting of the same subject in the sacristy of Mexico City Cathedral (ca. 1685) specifically includes a vihuela in a heavenly consort of harp, lyre, lute, and viols (to mention only the stringed instruments). In this painting (figure 6.4), it is as though Correa takes the Biblical passage about “citharoedorum citharizantium in citharis suis” (Rev. 14:2) and, drawing on the diverse interpretations of the cithara, includes in the heavenly ensemble every instrument used in contemporary cathedral practice that could possibly be considered a cithara.

Most of what is known about the vihuela comes from Fray Juan Bermudo’s 1555 *Declaración de instrumentos musicales*.⁶¹ In his opening explanation of the Boethian three-fold division of music, the vihuela is the first instrument Bermudo lists as an example of “artificial” *musica instrumentalis*. Though the more common type of vihuela had six orders (that is, six pairs of strings), Bermudo also describes a “vihuela de siete órdenes,” as mentioned in Cáseda’s villancico.⁶² This instrument (figure 6.5), Bermudo says, was particularly suited to playing polyphony, such as five-voice works by Gombert (this is notable because the Cáseda villancico is scored for five voices).

Indeed, vihuelas were an important part of the Spanish royal musical ensemble from the days of Charles I. Vihuela intabulations survive of masses by Cristóbal de Morales and Francisco

61. Juan Bermudo, [*Declaración de instrumentos musicales*] Comienza el libro llamado declaracio[n] de instrume[n]tos musicales [. . .] examinado y aprouado por los egregios musicos Bernardino de figueroa, y Christoual de morales ([Madrid], 1555).

62. See *ibid.*, 90v–110r.



Figure 6.4
A heavenly consort of “citharoedorum” in Correa’s *Glorification of the Virgin* (ca. 1685), sacristy of Mexico City Cathedral

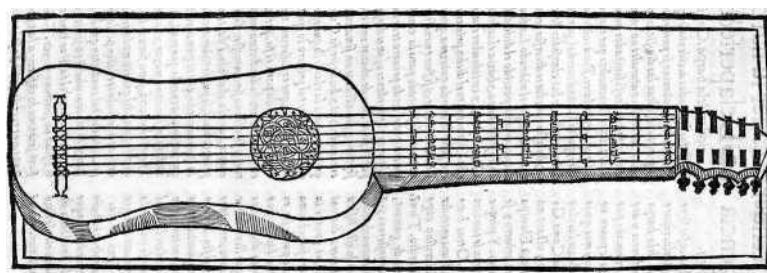


Figure 6.5
The seven-course vihuela, in Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos musicales*, 110r

Guerrero.⁶³ Vihuelas were almost certainly part of José de Cáseda's ensemble in Zaragoza, since the instrument is mentioned frequently in the cathedral chapter acts.⁶⁴ In Puebla, the cathedral chapter paid 100 pesos to one Diego de León in 1676 for playing the *vihuela de arco*,⁶⁵ demonstrating the use of vihuelas in the cathedral and suggesting their use as well in the closely related musical ensemble of the Convento de la Santísima Trinidad.

We know that women religious played the vihuela because one of the two surviving vihuelas from this period, in the church of La Compañía de Jesús in Quito, Ecuador, is believed to have been the possession of the nun Santa Mariana de Jesús (1618–1645). According to contemporary accounts, Mariana was especially skilled on the instrument. The theological worth then attributed to the vihuela is shown in an account of one Christmas night (probably during the Matins service, when villancicos were performed), when Mariana “sat down to make music playing a vihuela, and she said that she wanted to offer this music among the angels who were attending there.”⁶⁶ This form of devotional performance fits well with the original meaning of the κιθαρόδος (*kitharōdos*) in Rev. 14, “lyre-player, harpist who plays an accompaniment to his own singing.”⁶⁷ It is quite likely that the nuns of La Santísima Trinidad in Puebla also included at least one vihuela in their musical ensemble—and it would certainly seem strange for them not to use that instrument in performing a villancico that used it as a metaphor for Christ.

In the case of Cáseda's villancico, the specific details of the vihuela—its construction, tuning, playing technique, and typical stylistic idioms—provide new analogical possibilities for the poet to extend the cithara tradition. More importantly, this poetic conceit of Christ as vihuela also provides Cáseda as a composer with possibilites for actually representing the cithara symbol

63. Diana Poulton and Antonio Corona Alcalde, “Grove Music Online.”

64. Multiple citations in Calahorra Martínez, *La música en Zaragoza II*.

65. Bárbara Pérez Ruiz, “Aportes metodológicos para una investigación sobre música colonial Mexicana,” *Revista de la Sociedad Venezolana de Musicología* year 2, no. 3 (2002): 44.

66. Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, *Santa Mariana de Jesús, hija de la Compañía de Jesús: Estudio histórico-ascético de su espiritualidad* (Quito: La Prensa Católica, 1956), 275, quoted in Egberto Bermúdez, “La vihuela de la iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús de Quito,” *Revista Musical Chilena* year 47, no. 179 (1993): 73.

67. Walter Bauer and Frederick William Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

through sound.

6.3.3 Representing the Vihuela, Representing Christ

In the poetry of Cáseada's villancico, the specifications of the vihuela become symbols for Christ, particularly for his body, which suffered on the cross, was raised and made present to believers through the Eucharist. The vihuela's seven strings here symbolize the seven sacraments. According to Bermudo, the most common tuning for the seven strings was in intervals of alternating fifths and fourths starting from a lowest string on G (*gamma, ut*) (that is, G₂).⁶⁸ That would make the strings G₂–D₃–G₃–D₄–G₄–D₅–G₅. Thus the highest and lowest strings are tuned in octaves, as copla 1 says: "forma unida la alta con la baja." If this phrase referred to "that which is high" or low in general, it would have been gendered masculine, "lo alto con lo bajo"; but since it is feminine, it makes more sense as modifying "cuerdas" from the first line—the high string with the low string. Moreover, all the strings are tuned in perfect intervals, as copla 2 says: "en cada punto entera consonancia" (in each point or note a whole consonance). The "lazo" could refer either to the bow of a *vihuela de arco*, or to a plectrum that was sometimes used in place of the fingertips.

The poet has even incorporated the instrumental symbolism into the structure of the verse (here playing on the common conflation of cithara, lyre, and Greek *lira*). The poem itself is composed primarily in lines of 7 and 11 syllables, beginning with the pattern 7–7–7–11–11; this would seem to be a type of *lira* meter, like the one used in the *Llama de amor viva* of St. John of the Cross. Seven is also the number of courses on the vihuela described in the poem (l. 26). So the poem itself is a *lira*, even as it describes a cithara/lira/vihuela as symbolic of Christ.

Whether or not an actual vihuela was used for this villancico, Cáseada represents the vihuela musically through the compositional structure. First, he features the continuo section prominently, spotlighting all the cithara-like instruments that might have been played. The piece begins with the Tiple I (sister Tomasita in Puebla) singing a solo against the continuo with widely-spaced

68. Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos musicales*, 109r–109v.

open fifths and octaves between them: the vihuela or other continuo instruments filling in the intervening space would have stood out clearly. Again in m. 2, when the Tiple I makes the striking leap up to the B \flat , she is joined only by the continuo. In m. 13, there is an abrupt harmonic shift initiated by the continuo alone, which here leads the singers rather than just accompanying them.

Cáseda also gives the continuo several solos throughout the piece. The first solo comes at the conclusion of the first three lines of poetry (m. 9). Surely the composer intended for more music to sound here than simply the falling fifth of the melodic bass line. Indeed, with the vocalists having just sung that the “divine music [...] rivals that of the birds,” it would seem natural for an instrumentalist to fill in a little trilling bird music here. Cáseda allows more such possibilities in the coplas (mm. 52, 54, 57, 72, 76–77, and 80): in the first example, the ensemble sings “let the divine strings resound,” and then there are two semiminims of vocal rest while, we may assume, the continuo ensemble does just that.

Cáseda also has the singers themselves imitate the vihuela. In the opening gesture, the Tiple I sings her solo with continuo accompaniment, followed by the rest of the vocal ensemble in a homorhythmic echo (example 6.4). The “voicing” here (as in chord voicing) resembles the tuning of a vihuela, with the open fifths and fourths in the three lower vocal parts of mm. 1–2. The dotted rhythm, sung all together, and the contrary motion between voices, mimic the effect of strummed open strings on a vihuela. The general texture of soloist against a regular rhythmic, chordal accompaniment also evokes someone singing while playing (like Santa Mariana de Jesús of Quito, and the “citharoedi” of Rev. 14). This image would be even clearer in the coplas sung by soloists with only continuo accompaniment.

The vocal textures from m. 6 on are more typical of vocal music, particularly in the paired, ornament-like figures in the sections from mm. 11–15 and 19–29. After m. 18, Cáseda realizes the common villancico poetic trope of birdsong by giving the singers birdlike trill patterns. At the end of the estribillo, Cáseda returns to musically representing the vihuela/cithara trope. In the last eight compases (mm. 47–50), the rhythmic pattern in the voices—a minim rest and two

The musical score consists of five staves. The top staff (C) has two voices: Ti. 1 (treble clef) and Ti. 2 (no clef). The middle staff (A) has A. (treble clef) and T. (no clef). The bottom staff (B) has B. [instr.] (bass clef). Measure 1: Ti. 1: Qué, mū - si - ca; Ti. 2: di - vi - na, a -. Measure 2: Ti. 1: Qué, mū - si - ca; Ti. 2: di - vi - na, a -. Measure 3: Ti. 1: Qué, mū - si - ca; Ti. 2: di - vi - na, a - cor -. Measure 4: A.: cor - de; T.: y so - be - ra - na, so - be - ra - na. Measure 5: A.: cor - de; T.: y so - be - ra - na, so - be - ra - na. Measure 6: A.: cor - de; T.: y so - be - ra - na, so - be - ra - na.

Example 6.4
Cáseda, *Qüe música divina*, mm. 1–6

minims—again suggests strumming (see example 6.5 below). If this passage were played by a vihuelist in an intabulation, the player would likely use a down-up-up strumming pattern, similar to the patterns recommended for guitarists and harpists in Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz's manual *Luz y norte musical* of 1677 (figure 6.6).⁶⁹ In this rhythmic pattern, Cáseda inserts rests between syllables of the words in this passage; this rhetorical technique of *tmesis* creates the gasping effect of “dismayed,” arrested senses.

In the coplas, the homorhythmic, dotted opening phrase again seems to mimic strumming. For the phrase “forma unida la alta con la baja” (mm. 62–66), Cáseda sets the text on multiple

69. Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz, y norte musical para caminar por las cifras de la Guitarra Española, y Arpa, tañer, y cantar á compás por canto de Organo; y breue explicacion del Arte, con preceptos faciles, indubitables, y explicados con claras reglas por teorica, y practica* (Madrid, 1677), 9.

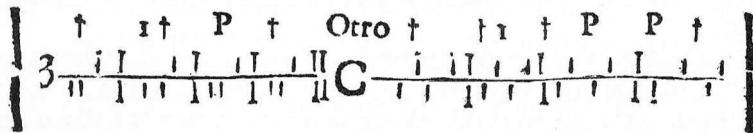


Figure 6.6

Strumming patterns in Ruíz de Ribayaz, *Luz y norte musical*

levels at once. In mm. 62–63, the Tenor sings a pedal D₄, like a droning open string, against the Alto’s moving line. Thus the “alta” Alto (with a woman singer the feminine adjective takes on an additional layer of meaning) is paired with the lowest voice. The Tenor, meanwhile, forms perfect consonances (octave and fifth) with the Bass, which (if a vihuela) would likely be playing open D and G strings here. The Tenor is thus acting like one of the strings on the vihuela. Finally, the Tenor line concludes with a minor-sixth leap down to F♯ on the word “baja,” painting the text with a traditional madrigalism. All of these ideas are then repeated in the next phrase, mm. 64–66, now with G pedals matching the highest string on the standard vihuela (G₅).

These evocations of the vihuela would seem to fit with Hollander’s thesis that early modern poets shifted their interest from speculative views of music based on ancient sources toward the details of practical contemporary music. But Cáceda’s villancico does not abandon traditional analogical thinking; if anything it makes the metaphor more specific (and therefore more powerful) by using not just the abstract term *cithara*, but a particular type of vihuela. In classic Neoplatonic fashion, the piece shows listeners how to hear *musica instrumentalis* while listening for the higher Music of Christ. The real, sounding vihuela (if indeed there was one) is only a symbol of Christ. It is Christ’s musical “excellence” that is praised, not that of any human virtuosi.

6.3.4 The Problem of Hearing and Faith

Eucharistic villancicos like this one tended to emphasize the mysterious, sense-defying nature of the holy sacrament. In the words of St. Thomas Aquinas, the fundamental doctrinal authority

on sacramental theology for early modern Catholics, “That the true body of Christ and his blood are in this sacrament, cannot be grasped by sensation [neque sensu] nor by intellect, but by faith alone, which rests on divine authority.”⁷⁰ Cáseda’s copla 5, “No son a los sentidos” (l. 27) seems to echo Aquinas’s phrase “neque sensu,” and certainly reflects the same Eucharistic theology. In Cáseda’s poem (l. 33), “sensation does not eat it”; for as Aquinas explains in the same article, Christ’s body is eaten in a sacramental, not literally physical way.

From the theology of transubstantiation it would follow that music should be especially apt for the Eucharist (both as metaphor and liturgical practice) because of the analogy between the mysterious way both appealed to the senses. Like Christ’s presence in the Eucharist, a musical voice was a kind of presence that was in the world but in a way not of it. This presence was independent of the singer’s or player’s body: it transmitted something of their essence without any physical contact. Further, the ear could be deceived by echoes, feigned voices, or false speech, as the character Hearing says of himself in Calderón *El nuevo palacio del Retiro* (discussed in chapter 2). One could even hear something said or sung with perfect clarity, but not understand it for lack of the proper disposition or intellectual preparation.

This problematic theology of faith and hearing is presented in Cáseda’s villancico through the specific metaphor of Christ as a stringed instrument. “Of faith he is the instrument,” the poem says, “and his music regales the ear [or, hearing]” (copla 2). Coplas 3 and 4, as we have seen, describe the “music” played upon that instrument: namely, Christ’s sacrificial death on the cross. But, as copla 5 says, “those things that his sovereign voices [or words] sound are not for the senses”—literally, they do not sound to the senses. In other words, this music is not something that can be heard with the ears. Indeed, the copla continues, “as many voices [or words] as the senses perceived from this instrument will be false” or out of tune. So if the ears *could* hear this music, they would perceive it as being out of tune, or it would sound otherwise false, untrue, strange. All this seems

70. *Summa theologica* III, question 75, article 1; 1859 ed. p. 274: “Respondeo dicendum, quod verum corpus Christi et sanguinem esse in hoc sacramento, neque sensu, neque intellectu deprehendi potest, sed sola fide, quae auctoritati divinæ innititur.”

to be a way of saying—in line with Aquinas—that those who rely on their senses, understood through reason alone, to grasp the mystery of Christ in the Eucharist will fail. Like Calderón’s “Judaísmo,” they would be hearing Faith without faith.

Obviously the main reason for this is that (as Aquinas explains) the eyes see only bread, the hands feel only bread, where really in Catholic belief, after the consecration the substance of the bread is transformed into that of Christ. Furthermore, in the seventeenth century, the words of consecration were either whispered by the priest or not spoken at all (as contemporary ritual books specify), and most participants in the liturgy received the bread only rarely and the cup never. Thus the Eucharist for most Catholics was something literally beyond all sensation, an utter mystery kept out of reach and mostly out of sight. But if participants in the liturgy did not have direct physical contact with Christ in the sacrament, they did have direct access—through their sense of hearing—to the liturgical music. When this music was itself about communion with Christ, it was able to serve as a kind of “sacramental,” that is, something outside the seven official sacraments that nevertheless was a means of encountering God through the material world (such as holy oil or water outside the sacraments of Confirmation or Baptism).

As the Council of Trent and the Tridentine Catechism firmly emphasized, Christ’s sacrifice on the cross was ritually enacted and made present again on the altar as an propitiatory offering to God and a means of communion for humanity. This connection between Christ’s crucifixion and the Eucharist explains the emphasis on both in Cáceda’s villancico, and it adds another dimension to the musical metaphor. According to Cáceda’s coplas 3 and 4, if Christ is a vihuela, the music played on the instrument of his body is his crucifixion. On the cross, the sinless Christ exchanged places with sinful humanity. As St. Paul puts it, “For our sake he [God] made him [Christ] to be sin who knew no sin, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God” (2 Cor. 5:21, NRSV).

We have previously seen that metamusical villancicos frequently use dissonance or being out of tune as a symbol for sin. In Jerónimo de Carrión’s *Qué destemplada armonía* (chapter 5), the fallen nature of humanity (that is, the *musica humana*) is presented as an out-of-tune or

“untempered harmony.” To read Cáceda’s villancico together with Carrión’s, then, the reason why the music played on Christ the vihuela sounds “false” is that in his crucifixion Christ is taking on humanity’s sinful nature. This villancico represents Christ taking upon himself that out-of-tune music in order to create harmony between humanity and God. Cáceda’s villancico allows listeners to contemplate that Music, the “mysterious excellence” or “virtuosity” of Christ the divine musician, that “elevates to the heavens the one who reaches it” in mystical union with Christ.⁷¹ In musical terms, then, the believer must tune himself to Christ, since Christ already harmonized himself with humanity.

6.3.5 False Music

This theology of music provides Cáceda with a license to represent musical “falsehood” to the extreme. Cáceda’s exercises in depicting discord go beyond the mild dissonance used by Cererols. In his opening (example 6.4), Cáceda writes direct octaves between the voice and accompaniment (in the leap up to B_b, m. 2), and emphasizes them by cutting out all the other voices. In the next two compases, Cáceda sets the word “acorde” (tuneful) to bald parallel fifths between outer voices. Cáceda suspends the Alto’s B_b, so that these fifths move into a dissonant seventh sonority.

These contrapuntal solecisms are what Bermudo, in his treatise on instruments cited earlier about the vihuela, called musical “falsehood.” He gives specific examples of parallel fifths and octaves, comparing them to “barbarism in grammar.”⁷² In condemning this error, which he says is common for beginners and instrumentalists, Bermudo uses some of the same key terms as Cáceda’s villancico:

I want to say that there are those taken for musicians who have learned without a teacher and with much labor, and they are faults, and they know few principles [primores]. This pestilence is especially great for keyboard players. This is what that outstanding musician of blessed memory, Cristóbal de Morales, told me once, that if

71. The term “primor” is also used in musical treatises such as that of Bermudo, as in the “primores” or basic principles (or perhaps fundamental skills) of counterpoint.

72. “barbarismo en grammatica.”

what many organists played would be written out we would find great faults. And he had good reason to say it: because they can play two octaves and two fifths and not perceive it [because of the organ's timbre]: while singing it they would recognize the falsehood [falsedad].⁷³

Thus the kind of counterpoint Cáseda has written in his opening passage is musical “falsedad,” the same term used in Cáseda’s copla 5 to describe the Music of Christ’s Passion. To depict this idea, Cáseda has his musicians create “false” music through “dangerous” and even blatantly erroneous counterpoint. Cáseda uses rhythmic “falsehood” as well: in m. 18 Cáseda switches from C meter to CZ, but never gives the listeners a chance to hear a “normal” CZ rhythmic pattern (such as the flowing three-minim groups after m. 30). Instead he uses sesquialtera to alter the rhythm, and since no normal CZ pattern has been established, the effect is not of hemiola but simply of a slow triple meter.

But it is in Cáseda’s counterpoint that the idea of “falsehood” is performed most strikingly. In the section beginning in m. 30, Cáseda tries out “cláusula varias” (various cadences), creating an effect as though all the voices were continually trying to cadence (example 6.5). Each of the voices sings a typical cadential pattern, but at different times and not quite aligning relative to the others. The chromaticism becomes more acute as the passage continues, culminating in a bizarre collision in mm. 36–37. The bottom four voices here on their own in m. 36 would appear to be cadencing on F, with the C in the bass to move up by fourth and the cadential E in the Tiple II to resolve up to F. But the top voice seems determined to cadence on G, so that in the fifth minim of m. 36 the top voice is an augmented fourth above the bass (F♯ against C), while the Alto’s E is made to seem dissonant even when by rights it should not be. In m. 37 the voices manage to cadence on D, with the top voice settling back down to F♯, though the Tenor has re-entered just at this point to sing an unprepared dissonant B♭ over the bass (making an augmented fifth against

73. Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos musicales*, f. 128v: “Quiero dezir auer algunos tenidos por musicos, y han deprendido sin maestro, y con gran trabajo: y son falto, y saben pocos primores[.] Especialmente ay este pestilencia en tañedores. Dixo me vna vez el egregio musico de buena memoria Christoual de morales. Si lo que hazen algunos tañedores de organo: se sacasse en limpio: grandes faltas hallariamos. y tuuo gran razon para dezirlo: porque pueden dar dos octauas y dos quintas, y no sentirse: como cantando se hallaria la tal falsedad.”

30

33

Example 6.5

Cáseda, *Qué música divina*, mm. 30–50: Conflicting “cadences” and false *ficta*

the Tiple I’s F♯).

The final section of the estribillo (example 6.5) continues in this direction, as Cáseda’s music evokes the poetic idea of “elevating the senses” and “dismaying the [bodily] powers.” He begins with a wedge pattern between the Tenor and the accompaniment (vihuela?), again juxtaposing B♭

36

Ti. 1 y_en cláu - su - las va - - rias

Ti. 2 - su - las va - - rias

A. rias, y_en cláu - su - las va - rias

T. δ va - - - rias, sen - ti - dos e -

B.

a espacio [more slowly]

39

Ti. 1 sen - ti - dos e - le - va, po-ten - cias des-

Ti. 2 po-ten - cias des - ma - ya, po-ten -

A. sen - ti - dos e - le - va, po-ten - cias des - ma - ya,

T. δ le - va, sen - ti - dos e - le -

B.

3

Example 6.5
Continued

43

Ti. 1 - ma - ya, sen - ti - dos e - le -

Ti. 2 - cias des - ma - ya, poten - cias des - ma - ya, po - ten -

A. sen - ti - dos e - le - va, po - ten - cias des - ma - ya, sen -

[N. B.]

T. va, po - ten - cias des - ma - ya, po - ten - cias des - ma -

B.

47

Ti. 1 vam po - ten - cias des - ma - ya, des - ma - ya.

Ti. 2 - cias des - ma - ya, po - ten - cias des - ma - ya.

A. ti - dos e - le - va, po - ten - cias des - ma - ya.

T. - ya, po - ten - cias des - ma - ya, des - ma - ya.

B.

Example 6.5
Continued

(in the bass) with F♯ (in the tenor). Cáceda brings in the next two voices, each one singing one of the two patterns already introduced: the Alto has the ascending line, and the Tiple 2 has the descending one. But their entrances are reversed from that of the bass and Tenor, so a reverse wedge is created. As this is happening, in m. 41, the Tiple I enters from out of nowhere with a high A, skipping down to what is apparently an F♯ (based on the F♯ specified at the beginning of the next compás). The A creates a $\frac{\natural}{\flat}$ ⁶₃ sonority: on its own it is an imperfect consonance with the bass, but against the Eb in the Tiple II it certainly has the effect of elevating and dismaying, amplified by the direct fifths it then forms (again) with the bass as it skips down to F. As though to ensure that listeners did not think this a mistake, Cáceda repeats the whole passage again in m. 46 (though with the voices rearranged). The estribillo ends with an alternating pattern of seventh chords over D (dominant sevenths) and minor triads on G, like the strumming of the two most common chords on a vihuela or guitar, known to us as I and V⁷.

These readings of the counterpoint have been dependent on guesses about how the singers would have inflected the written pitches using *musica ficta*. The practice of improvised accidentals appears to have remained alive in the Spanish realms longer than in other lands, and in New Spain in particular. This manuscript of Cáceda's manuscript requires many added accidentals, as those in small print above the music in the transcription demonstrate. But in a passage like the strange collision of cadences in mm. 36–37, the rules become confusing. The Tiple II might begin the last phrase (starting in m. 34 on F), singing the E as part of a cadential formula on F and therefore natural; but when the cadence comes on D, an Eb might be preferable. Either option clashes with the notated F♯ in the Tiple I.

In m. 45, on “potencias desmaya,” the ficta situation becomes actually impossible. To maintain the fugal motive, the Tiple II would have to sing three minim B flats and then a semibreve B♯, leading up to C. But in the same place as the Tiple II B flats, the Tenor has a notated sharp sign on the B (the only way of indicating B♯). The accidental in the Tenor part is clearly a sharp, written in the same hand and with the same ink as the rest of the music. This creates a cross relation—in

Spansih, a “falsa relación”—between the B flat and B natural.

Any educated musicians confronted with this score would attempt to “fix” these problems (probably by singing all B naturals in the Tiple II). But the passage is impossible to fix. One feels that any solution chosen is the wrong one. And there is now the added difficulty for the musicians of how to perform music that is supposed to sound out of tune. How to apply ficta, how to tune intervals, when the composer is forcing the musicians to break the traditional rules?

The music is false: it cannot be emended with the further falsehood of *musica ficta* or anything else. That this should happen most blatantly at the opening of the piece on the very word “acorde” is certainly meaningful. The fifths do recall the tuning of the vihuela’s strings (“cuerdas” being etymologically related to “acorde”), and of course fifths are perfect consonances. But sung in sequence they remained in Cáseda’s day the very paradigm of bad musicianship and untuneful composition.

Pedro Cerone specifically warned composers not to write passages that would tempt singers to add incorrect accidentals and “falsify” the music. Cerone uses the terms “falsa” and “falsificar” at different times to mean either *musica ficta* or “wrong” notes (as in “false relations”). In certain situations (of which he gives a notated example, shown in figure 6.7), “the singer can easily add a sharp to the fifth, thinking it to be a cadence [cláusula]: for he will see that the notes are moving in the manner of a cadence, saying *Sol fa sol, Re ut re*, and so on, and raising the note he will make it become false [falsa], and very dissonant to the ear.”⁷⁴

This is precisely the kind of passage Cáseda has written in his setting of “cláusulas varias”: the parts all have typical cadential patterns like the ones Cerone describes, and the voices would be tempted to raise certain pitches at the wrong times. As with the parallel fifths that Bermudo warned against, Cáseda appears to be breaking the rules deliberately and with symbolic intent.

74. Pedro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples, 1613), 629: “Empero se ha de aduertir, que la parte alta no tenga la nota que estuuiere delante à la Quinta, en la mesma posicion de la Octaua, que sera malo: y esto acontecera por causa que el Cantor facilmente puede añadir à la Quinta vn Sostenido, pensando sea Clausula: pues verà que los puntos procederan à veces à manera de Clausulas diciendo; Sol fa sol, Re vt re, &c. y subiendola vendra à hacerla falsa, y muy dissonante al oydo.”



Figure 6.7

Melodic patterns “in danger of being falsified” (sung with improper ficta) in Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 629

Through his musical falsehoods, Cáseda has pushed the Neoplatonic theology of music to the point where earthly music, rather than attempting to reflect heavenly perfection, even if only partially, now overtly highlights its own falsehood. The emphasis is shifting toward using music not to reflect heaven at all, but to aim primarily at “elevating the senses” and “dismaying the powers”—that is, the goal for the hearers is shifting from contemplation to affective experience.

Cáseda seeks affective impact through a new use of dissonance, in which dissonant intervals are highlighted rather than passed over, such that the emphasis of the music moves more toward creating tension than release. To give one example, in mm. 6–7, Cáseda uses the same kind of “Phrygian” cadence we have seen already in Cererols, Irízar, Bruna, and Ambiela. All these composers use the cadence (usually with the same seventh suspension as Cáseda has in the Tiple 2) at moments depicting heavenly music or music exceeding earthly understanding, and suggesting an affect of mystical transport. Cáseda spices this up further by having the Alto anticipate the E♭ triad (m. 6, third note). The senses are elevated here not by the perfection of sounding number, but by the depiction and enactment of human affects, using a developing set of affective topics.

This change need not be seen as part of a “disenchantment” process (as Hollander portrays it). Rather, in order for Cáseda’s flaunting of contrapuntal rules to have meaning, the rules must still be preserved. Breaking them for expressive purposes (whether affective expression or symbolic expression, as of the Neoplatonic imperfection of *musica instrumentalis*) actually reflects a continued faith in the validity of those rules. Cáseda is not disregarding the old musical-theological system, but rather insisting upon it so strongly that he passes over a reasonable limit and seems to contradict himself.

6.4 CONCLUSIONS TO PART II

As the tradition of metamusical villancicos developed, there was an increased demand for composers both to imitate the conventions established by predecessors and to differentiate their own works in some way. At the same time the concept of imitation itself, as a musical-rhetorical practice within a Neoplatonic framework, was changing. These chapters have argued that villancicos that featured “singing about singing” began to change in function from emphasizing human music’s similarity to heavenly music, toward emphasizing its difference; and toward a greater interest in expressing and inciting human affects rather than reflecting divine order. The three villancicos studied in this chapter demonstrate the first kind of imitation—that of influence and homage—because they manifest a certain degree of strain as each successive composer pushes the tradition of musical self-representation further towards a limit of intelligibility.

They also demonstrate the second type of imitation because their devotional topics suggest a shift in how villancicos in this subgenre functioned in religious life. The examples by Padilla, Cererols, and Irízar provided listeners an opportunity to listen for heavenly music in the music of earth. They focused on music itself as a symbol of theological truths. Carrión’s *Qué destemplada armonía*, by contrast, was less focused on abstract levels of music like the music of the spheres or the angels, and instead used human music-making as an analogy for the dynamics of repentance and faith. The pieces in this chapter go further in this direction, partly because of their differing ritual functions. Whereas the previous case studies were primarily Christmas pieces, the Bruna and Cáseda villancicos are for Eucharistic devotion, and the Ambielas are for Marian sanctoral devotion. Contemplating the heavenly spheres and divine harmonies is less important in these pieces than the actual human act of worship through music.

PART III

THE POWER OF MUSIC IN BUILDING A COLONIAL CITY

CHAPTER 7

GATHERING EVERYONE TO CHRIST'S STABLE: SOCIAL MEANINGS OF RHYTHMIC MOVEMENT IN PUEBLA DE LOS ÁNGELES

Part I raised the question of music's role in the relationship between hearing and faith, as understood by seventeenth-century Hispanic Catholics. We have seen that this relationship was a common theme in the villancico repertoire, and many pieces explicitly address the nature of hearing and faith. We have also seen many ways that villancicos appeal to the sense of hearing in order to teach the doctrinal content of "the Faith" (the mnemonic function), and to incite listeners to faith through their intellect (the contemplative function) and feelings (the affective function).

For early modern Catholics the ultimate goal of propagating faith might be summarized as restoring human beings to favor with God through Christ and ensuring them eternal life in Heaven. But that process of salvation, Catholics believed, happened not simply through what Protestants might call "saving faith," in which once one believed, one was permanently saved. Rather, faith for Catholics meant an ongoing process of faithful living. And most importantly, every part of this process was mediated through the Church. The Church preserved, proclaimed, and defended the Faith. Catholic faith meant adhering not only to Christ, but to Christ's body, the Church; and faithfulness meant not only personal virtue but social virtue as part of the faith community. Propagating faith, therefore, meant advancing the cause of the Church, and that meant building a society founded on faith in Christ and animated by Christ's presence.

Music played a key role in this process, because music appealed to individuals' senses even as

it constructed social relationships between them. Musical performance created social relationships among the performers, between performers and listeners, and between human worshippers, the communion of saints, and God. In theory at least, *musica instrumentalis* could do more than just reflect the higher forms of Neoplatonic music; sounding music could be actively employed as a way to harmonize the *musica humana* with celestial and divine order.

The affective function of villancicos would contribute the most to such efforts to build a Christian society in music. In this function, villancicos are more than objects of study or contemplation; they are physical interactions between people. Through principles of sympathetic vibration, the humors of listeners be harmonized with those of performers in a shared affective experience.

This chapter proposes a social reading of an *ensaladilla* by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Al establo más dichoso* from the 1652 Christmas cycle at Puebla Cathedral. It argues that Padilla uses the element of rhythm as a theological symbol for representing colonial society. In this piece Padilla and his ensemble presented four dramatic scenes, each depicting a distinct group of characters according to conventional stereotypes in language and music. Padilla uses rhythmic techniques to characterize each of these groups with a distinct manner of “speaking” musically and to situate each group in its proper place in colonial society. Thus rhythmic structures both reflect and perform social structures.

We may consider rhythm under the affective function of villancicos because fundamentally, rhythm is a patterned way of moving the body. This bodily movement could certainly include dancing, but it also includes the movement of voices, fingers, and keys, and of internal affects and sensations. Our concern in this case study is not to reconstruct lost dances, but simply to point to tendencies of movement that characterize distinct characters within the dramatic world of the ensaladilla. To speak of rhythm, then, is to speak of bodies. And to understand rhythm we must feel it with our own bodies and imagine how the bodies of people moved in the past. The goal is to recover some aspect of the musical experience of historical performers and listeners. This

project is necessarily speculative and reflexive. It is not so much science as imaginative encounter.

7.1 *ENSALADILLA* AS MICROCOSM; COMPARISON WITH PUEBLA HIGH-ALTAR PAINTINGS

The city of Puebla was built according to utopian ideals, originally to provide a new city for Spaniards only, not occupying the territory of any previous settlement of indigenous peoples.¹ Quickly, however, the city accumulated large populations of black slaves within it and Indians surrounding it. One sees in the villancicos of Padilla, just as in the earlier pieces by Gaspar Fernández, the desire to unite and harmonize all these groups around the church, especially at the feast of Christmas, which celebrated the humble and lowly.²

Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla's villancico cycles for the newly consecrated cathedral of Puebla de los Ángeles were part of a coordinated theological and artistic program, led by Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza.³ The goal of this program was to build a renewed, purified colonial city united around the church—meaning both the Roman Catholic Church and the specific religious center that Palafox intended the new cathedral to be.⁴ The theological concept of celestial hierarchy (the term of Dionysius the Areopagite), encompassed both a mystical spirituality in which devotees could rise through stages to divine knowledge, and an authoritative ecclesiology in which every member of society was to occupy a proper place in a chain of being that extended from the lowest

1. See Leonardo Lomelí Vanegas, *Breve historia de Puebla* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2001); Miguel Ángel Cuenya and Carlos Contreras Cruz, *Puebla de los Ángeles: Una ciudad en la historia* (Puebla de los Ángeles: Océano, 2012).

For further discussion of the colonial project in Puebla and its significance for Padilla's music, please see 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.

2. Ireri E. Chávez-Bárcenas, "Distorting Reality: Christmas Villancicos and the Culture of Sacred Immanence in Early Seventeenth-Century Puebla de los Ángeles," Paper presented at the Eightieth Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Milwaukee, WI, Nov. 8, 2014,

3. Please see the discussion of Padilla's biography and work in Puebla in chapter 3.

4. Eduardo Merlo Juárez, José Antonio Quintana Fernández, and Miguel Pavón Rivero, *La Catedral Basilica de la Puebla de los Ángeles* (Puebla de los Ángeles: Universidad Popular Autónoma del Estado de Puebla, 2006); María Gembero-Ustároz, "Muy amigo de música: El obispo Juan de Palafox (1600–1659) y su entorno musical en el Virreinato de Nueva España," in *Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla y la época Palafoxiana*, ed. Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez (Puebla de los Ángeles, Mexico: Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, Secretaría de Cultura, 2010), 55–130.

slave up to the orders of saints and heavenly beings.

Pedro García Ferrer represents this hierarchy in the high-altar *retablo* paintings completed in 1649.⁵ At the center of the complex is the Immaculate Virgin, to whom the cathedral is dedicated, being assumed into heaven (figure 7.1). Above her is a band of angelic musicians singing and playing the same instruments that were played in Puebla's actual chapel (figure 7.2). Passing beyond them, before arriving at the image of the Trinity at the summit of the arch, is a circle of baby angels dancing a ring dance.

At Mary's feet, flanking the actual altar, are two paintings of the nativity of Christ—on the left, the Adoration of the Shepherds, and on the right, the Visitation of the Kings (figure 7.3). One of the images of the shepherds is actually a portrait of Palafox himself, who had actually worked as a shepherd in his youth and who wanted to position himself as pastor of the congregation in Puebla.

Palafox had written in his devotional book *El pastor de Nochebuena* how he imagined himself as one of the shepherds in Bethlehem, and invited his readers to join with him in the journey to adore the Christ-child.⁶ The Adoration of the Shepherds and the Visitation of the Magi are images of ordinary and elevated human beings entering the presence of Christ and adoring him in his incarnate flesh and blood, just as the priest led worshippers in doing at the altar. Like the Christmas sermon of Fray Luis de Granada and other theological literature discussed in chapter 3, these images invite the congregation to contemplate the lowness of Christ in his incarnation, and to consider how God's descent to become incarnate provided the means for humans to ascend to divinity. In the Puebla altar complex, then, in order to ascend with Mary to be with God in Heaven, the Christian must encounter Christ with the shepherds and kings in the humility of the stable. The primary mode of encounter was in the sacrament celebrated on that altar, as St. John

5. Montserrat Galí, *Pedro García Ferrer: Un artista aragonés del siglo XVII en la Nueva España* (Teruel: Ayuntamiento de Alcorisa: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, Excmo. Diputación Provincial de Teruel, 1996).

6. Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, *El Pastor de Noche Buena: Practica Breve de las Virtudes; Conocimiento Facil de los Vicios* (1644; Barcelona, 1730).

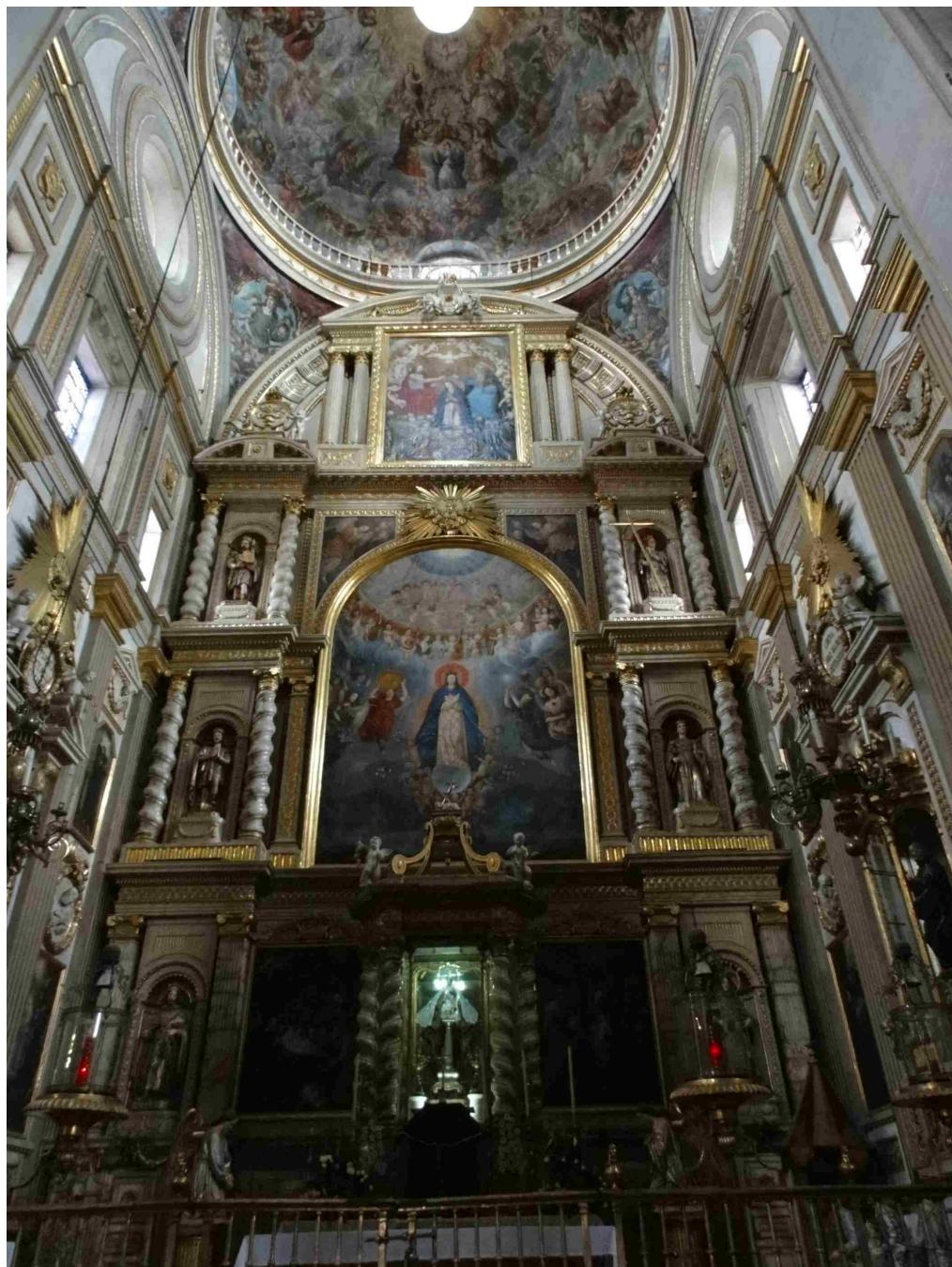


Figure 7.1

The *Altar de los Reyes* of Puebla Cathedral, designed by Ferrer and consecrated by Palafox in 1649



Figure 7.2
Ferrer, *Assumption of the Virgin*, Puebla high altar, detail with angelic musicians and dancers

Chrysostom wrote that those seeking to find Christ's stable now would find it not in Bethlehem but on the altar of the Church.⁷

As García Ferrer was charged with the visual adornment of the altar, so Padilla had the task of filling the new cathedral with music. And like the painter, the composer provided *fábrica* or furnishings for the new worship space that fit with the theological agenda set by Palafox. The feast of Christmas, as a celebration both of the incarnate Christ and his immaculate mother, provided an ideal venue for Padilla to take the theology of Palafox's pastoral agenda and the cathedral's spatial and visual objects, and turn them into sound and motion. Padilla carefully assembled the poetry of these sets, drawing from an archive of peninsular sources both new and old, and supplemented with new lyrics, possibly by Padilla himself or by another lettered member of the Puebla elite.

7. See chapter 3, note 174.



Figure 7.3

Ferrer, *Adoration of the Shepherds* with Palafox as one of the shepherds (left); *Visitation of the Kings*, including one from Africa (right)

Padilla crafted musical settings not just for singular occasions; he built them to last, and indeed they were regularly performed throughout the rest of the century. From year to year Padilla developed certain poetic and musical concepts as he shaped the cycles as a whole to incorporate certain subgenres and topics each year.

Each of Padilla's cycles creates a microcosm of colonial society, with different styles and subgenres that appealed to listeners at different strata of society. In Padilla and Palafox's probable ideal, people at each level of society could find something in the cycle that spoke to them or represented them, whether in cultivated metamusical pieces like *Voces, las de la capilla* of 1657, in the simple pieces about shepherds, or in the playful *jácaras* (which purported to represent low-register society but also presented complex musical puzzles for more learned hearers).

As an Oratorian, Padilla would have had a special interest in using music's affective and dramatic qualities to reach out to a broad public. The Oratory of San Felipe Neri in Puebla was consecrated one year earlier in 1651.

The comic and dramatic subgenre of *ensaladilla*, a specialty of this composer cultivated in each of his cycles, functioned like another microcosm nested within the set of villancicos. Each ensaladilla represents multiple types of people, with their own characteristic forms of music—especially dance music—with one piece. Thus our final analysis will focus on the ensaladilla from Padilla's 1652 cycle, *Al estable más dichoso*, in which Padilla, like García Ferrer, “paints” into the nativity scene not only the conventional shepherds, but also a buffoon candy salesman and his mule, a group of Indian agricultural workers, and black slaves from Angola, whose song Padilla explicitly links to the music of the angels. Padilla represents people who are humble and of low station, and gathers them at the stable as an idealized community.

7.2 FUNDAMENTALS FOR RHYTHMIC ANALYSIS OF VILLANCICOS

As a genre of sung poetry, villancicos are a combination of poetry that was written specifically to be set to music and music that was written specifically to project a poetic text. Composers of the more learned subtypes of villancico like the *conceptista* pieces studied in part II emphasized the clear presentation of the poetic text—a good example is the homorhythmic declamation at the beginning of Padilla's *Voces, las de la capilla*—as well as the symbolic and affective representation of the text's meaning and mood, as in the dynamic of “high” and “low” stylistic topics in Cererols's *Suspended, cielos*.

In the more comic and dramatic subtypes like the *ensaladilla*, *negrilla*, *gitanilla*, or *jácaro*, poets and composers added to these emphases an additional element of including or evoking pre-existing metrical and rhythmic forms from popular traditions. Those traditions include improvisational techniques of singing poetry in the *romance* metrical form to set melodic formulas, and many

other types of song and dance like the *jácaro*, which have only begun to be identified.⁸ This element of villancicos is elusive because there are so few sources documenting the oral traditions from which villancicos may be drawing.⁹

Therefore a basic approach to analyzing the rhythm of a villancico of this type would require evaluating the relationships between poetic meter and accentuation, musical declamation and expression, and evocations of set musical forms. As a highly literate composer, Padilla creates rhythmic patterns or uses existing ones to evoke song and dance while also presenting the poetry in a way that the text demands. That means in some cases deliberately creating an awkward text-setting in order to represent a character as not speaking well or with a good accent.

Much more research will be required both in philology and musicology before it will be possible to understand fully how Spanish verse prosody shapes lyrical expression and dramatic characterization, and how musical settings add their own layers of rhythmic emphasis to that implied by the poetry. The studies of Navarro Tomás, among others, established the common metrical terminology used today, based partly on poetic treatises of the Spanish “Golden Age” and partly on the poetic texts themselves. Of course that meant, and still largely means, poetic texts by the canonical “Golden Age” authors Lope de Vega, Quevedo, Góngora, Calderón, and Sor Juana; so these studies were not informed by the vast corpus of anonymous villancicos. Spanish music theorists did not discuss the rhythmic aspects of text setting in detail, other than to say that the music should be suited to the words and should make it possible to hear and understand the words. The primary source on music and poetic prosody for a Hispanic musician and churchman like Padilla would probably have been Augustine’s *De musica*, though it is difficult to make any concrete connections with the technique of villancico composers. Salinas does discuss the meter of

8. Thomas Binkley and Margit Frenk, *Spanish Romances of the Sixteenth Century* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995); Álvaro José Torrente, “¿Cómo se cantaba al ‘tono de jácaro’?”, in *Literatura y música del hampa en los Siglos de Oro* (Madrid: Visor Libros, 2014).

9. On the relationship of villancicos to popular oral traditions, see Bernardo Illari, “The Popular, the Sacred, the Colonial and the Local: The Performance of Identities in the Villancicos from Sucre (Bolivia),” in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*, ed. Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), 409–440.

Table 7.1
Rhythmic elements of villancico poetry and music

Element	In Poetry	In Music
Meter (small-scale)	Syllable count + rhyme/assonance	Pulse + beat + subdivisions (<i>compás</i>)
Metrical form (large-scale)	Pattern of verses in stanzas	Groups of <i>compases</i> : hypermeter, phrasing
Rhythm	Accentuation of syllables (long/short, strong/weak)	Accentuation of notes: combination of note values, melodic contour, harmonic rhythm, texture
Style/Diction	Character implied by vocabulary, register	Character implied by tempo, stylistic topics, existing musical forms

Spanish vernacular songs, and in a forthcoming work Álvaro Torrente is building on his theories in the first systematic attempt to connect poetic and musical structures of meter in villancicos.¹⁰

The goal of this chapter, though, is not to construct a full theory of rhythm, but simply to analyze how the poetic and musical rhythm in a specific case establishes character, particularly regarding social position. For that purpose we may distinguish some fundamental rhythmic elements of poetry and music, as shown in table 7.1. Meter in Spanish poetry (similarly to Italian poetry) is determined by a combination of syllable count and rhyme or assonance. Larger-scale metrical form arises from groupings of lines into stanzas according to set patterns that govern both assonance and syllable count. For example, octosyllables with assonance in every second line are *romance*; the same pattern of assonance with six-syllable lines in *romancillo*; octosyllables with a full rhyme in the pattern *abba* are *redondillas abrazadas*.

A meter like romance does not require any particular pattern of accentuation within each line, and so that element provides another aspect to analyze. Philologists call the accent or stress pattern the “rhythm,” and categorize different patterns with the traditional terms from Latin prosody (as

10. Draft manuscript, courtesy of the author.

Table 7.2

Poetic accentuation patterns used in *Al estable más dichoso* (adapted from the metrical tables of Robert Lauer)

Rhythmic Type	Accent Pattern	Example from Ensaladilla
<i>Octosyllabic</i>		
Trochaic	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	Prologue, l. 1: “Al es- tab- lo más di- cho- so”
Dactylic	˘˘˘ ˘˘˘	Arriero, l. 39: “Pa- ra que _en- tien- de que ven- go”
Mixed A	˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘	Negrilla, l. 95: “De- jan- do _el tum- ba- ca tum- ba”
Mixed B	˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘	Arriero, l. 71: “Y co- mo can- te- mos to- dos”
<i>Heptasyllabic</i>		
Dactylic	˘ ˘˘ ˘	Negrilla, l. 125: “Man- te qui- ya con me- le”
<i>Hendecasyllabic</i>		
Dactylic	˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘	Papalotillo, l. 75: “Ven- y ve- rás un do- no- so chi- qui- to”

in Augustine), such as trochaic, iambic, and dactylic. Compared to the meters of English poets of the same period (for example, Shakespeare's iambic pentameter), Spanish accentuation patterns are more free and less regular. Nevertheless, villancico poems do imply patterns of stress, and one of the main points of this inquiry will be to hear a composer's musical rhythm relates to the implicit rhythms of the poetry alone. The philologist Robert Lauer has identified several typical rhythmic patterns of "Golden Age" Spanish poetry, which we will see employed in this villancico, shown in table 7.2.¹¹

11. A. Robert Lauer, *Spanish Metrification*, Website, University of Oklahoma (2002), <http://faculty-staff.ou.edu/L/A-Robert.R.Lauer-1/METRIFICATION.html>. Lauer mixes Spanish and English metrical terms; all are given here in English wherever the Spanish is a cognate form (as in "octosilábico," "trocáico," "mixto").

One final rhythmic element of the poetry to consider is the style and diction. This includes the previous elements but adds also the type, register, and connotations of the vocabulary used, and the general flavor of the language that all these elements together creates. These combine to give the reader or performer a sense for how quick of a pace with which pronounce the words, whether to emphasize certain words or phrases, whether the language should sound rough or gentle, and so on.

We may make similar distinctions in the musical setting. The equivalent of poetic meter on the small scale in villancicos is the *compás*, which is a particular way of subdividing the fundamental pulse. The meter signature (in this piece CZ, except for one section, mm. 9–50, in C time) determines which note value counts as a compás or tactus (the semibreve in both meters) and whether that fundamental pulse is to be divided into two parts (C) or three (CZ). As Lorente describes it, the hand falls and rises once per compás.¹² In C it rises and falls in equal time-units (down for the first minim, up for the second), while in CZ the rising is unequal (usually down for the first minim, and up for the next two). The conducting pattern Lorente describes for CZ fits perfectly with the short–long (minim–semibreve) rhythm Padilla uses at the beginning of this piece.

It should be noted that *compás*, somewhat like poetic meter, refers to groupings of durations, and does not necessarily dictate any particular beat or pattern of stresses. The barlines in composers's draft scores and in the modern transcriptions do not always correspond to stressed "downbeats," but often they do.

The treatises leave open the question of hypermeter or phrasing—that is, larger patterned groups of compases. Cerone does say, in explaining how to transcribe partbooks into score format, that the student should add barlines every two compases in any meter, since within those groupings, the composer should resolve all of his rhythmic and contrapuntal figures.¹³ This is one

12. 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, 165.

13. Pedro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples, 1613), 745–747.

reason why the transcriptions in this dissertation put CZ into modern $\frac{6}{2}$ notation, with barlines every two compases. In CZ especially, this instruction makes sense because villancico composers frequently use sesquialtera or hemiola, to fit three imperfect, colored semibreves in the space of two perfect ones. Barring every two compases in most cases allows these syncopations to be fit between barlines rather than across them. But whether the music should be “felt” in groups of two pulses, like modern $\frac{6}{8}$, or whether there are larger hypermetrical patterns or phrase groups, the theorists do not say. All the same, such patterns may be observed in this music, and they constitute an important aspect of the piece’s rhythmic character.

The perception of rhythm in music is of course produced by more than just note values, but rather emerges from a combination of melodic accentuation (as in high notes for stressed syllables), “harmonic rhythm,” and, especially important for this ensaladilla, texture—such as the homorhythmic declamation of the Greek chorus as opposed to the melody-and-accompaniment counterpoint of the *arriero*’s song. In vocal music we must also analyze the relationship of all these musical constructions of rhythm to the prosody of the words, considering the ratio of notes to syllables, and the relationship between musical pulse, musical accent, and verbal accentuation.

Finally we must also attempt to consider the general style and “diction” of the musical setting. Is it possible to distinguish and isolate discrete sub-elements of the music that may be mapped to other music as markers of a specific style, register, or genre. In other words, can we identify musical topics or tropes, and if so, can we determine what kind of connotations they would have given the music for listeners of the time? The study of musical topics in early modern Hispanic music is not yet in its infancy; not enough music is known to enable the extensive cross-referencing that would be necessary to begin to say with any certainty that a particular piece of music indexes or alludes to a common musical trope. This dissertation, nevertheless, does attempt to point toward such connections as can be identified within the limited repertoire under study.

The most pressing question here is not identifying the tropes, however, but determining their

historical cultural register and significance as markers of social position. Configuring rhythmic patterns means shaping how the musicians' bodies move, individually and in relationship to each other. Therefore rhythm can be a way of disciplining the body to play a particular role in society. The social meanings of rhythmic movement will be found at the intersection of musical rhythmic technique and social structures. The following analysis elucidates the musical techniques Padilla uses to represent different groups of people in colonial society, based primarily on analysis of the poetic and musical text. A comprehensive view would connect this textual study closely to the specific social history of these groups in Puebla, but a full treatment must remain the task of a separate future project. For the present we will focus on what is known of Padilla's own connections to the different groups he represents.

Even this limited study, though, demonstrates that the Puebla elite attempted to use the power of music to build a society that was grounded in faith. This music makes social differences audible through stylized musical tropes—especially through the interaction of poetic and musical rhythm—and create a sonic picture of an ideal colonial society.

7.3 SCENES AND SOCIAL GROUPS

Padilla stages four “scenes” in the ensaladilla, each one bringing a distinct character or group of characters to the stable (see table 7.3). Three of the scenes are introduced by the four voices of the first choir, functioning like a Greek chorus. The first scene features the Christmas *zagales* or shepherd boys; a soloist alternates with the four voices of Chorus I “to sing the *Nuevo Troyano*”—possibly the name of an existing dance or song type—and play his “panpipes.”

The second scene is a “duo con bajón”: that is, a solo for the Tenor of Chorus II with bajón accompaniment. The Tenor plays the Quijotesque character Bartholo, a former swordsman turned mule-driver (“arriero”) and street vendor, whose mule has run away from him and found its way into Christ’s stable.

Table 7.3

Structure of “scenes” and characters in Padilla, *Al estable más dichoso* (1652)

Mm.	Scene	Characters	Subsection	Voicing
1–8	Nuevo Troyano	Shepherds	Prologue	SATB I
9–50			Song/Dance	SI solo, SATB I
51–58	Arriero	Bartholo, mule	Prologue	SATB I
59–66			Song/Dance	TII solo, BII <i>bajón</i>
67–90	Papalotillo	(Indian) farm workers	Song/Dance	SI, TI solo, SATB I
91–98	Negrilla	Angolan slaves	Prologue	SATB I
99–134			Introducción	SI, TI solo; SATB I/TB II
130–134		Angels	“Gloria”	SAI + SAII here only
135–142			Estríbillo	SATB I/TB II
143–154			Coplas	TI, TII solo; SATB I/TB II
155–162			Estríbillo	(After each copla)

The mule-driver introduces the third scene, which he explicitly names as a “a dance that they call *papalotillo*,” performed by a group of “serranos,” literally mountain people. Their speech suggests they are agricultural workers, and in the social world of seventeenth-century Puebla, laborers from the mountains would have been Indians. The papalotillo is sung by the solo Tiple I and Tenor I in alternation with the full Chorus I (possibly all individual singers), similarly to the scoring for the shepherds.

After the papalotillo, the Greek chorus (SATB, Chorus I) returns and introduces the final group, “El Angola Minguelillo”—that is, little Miguel from Angola in southwest Africa—who comes “leading his troop,” and who “does not want to be the last one at the party.” In other words, as the title “Negrilla” in the partbooks indicates, Miguel and his troop are black people, and in the music that follows, they sing and dance a kind of lullaby for baby Jesus, using the characteristic mangled “black Spanish” along with pure nonsense syllables. The Negrilla is built as a self-contained villancico within the larger structure, so it contains its own introducción, estríbillo, coplas, and repeated estríbillo. The negrilla scene is presented as a parody of the visitation of the Magi (one

of whom was traditionally black, as portrayed in the painting to the right of the high altar in Puebla). The blacks bring not the exalted gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh, but humble gifts from everyday life. The blacks want to sing and dance for the baby—as black characters in villancicos always do—but they must continually restrain themselves so as not to upset the baby. The typical negrilla manner of lively dance rhythms sung to nonsense syllables becomes an attempt at dancing a lullaby, as the characters keep telling each other “hush, hush” even while they continue to celebrate. In the midst of the blacks’ celebration, one final group makes a brief but dramatically and theologically profound appearance, and that is the angels.

Thus Padilla gathers to the manger several groups that represented the lower tiers of his own society: hired agricultural laborers (which is what shepherds were in both Padilla’s day and that of Luke the evangelist); an independent merchant (the mule-driver, one step up from a beggar); a group of rustics from the mountains, most likely Indians; and a group of blacks who were either still enslaved or at least recently enough arrived from West Africa that they could still be described as “from Angola.” These scenes are framed by the commentary of a “Greek” chorus, which—based on its comic/disparaging comments about each new guest—would seem to represent the perspective of the *español/peninsular* and *criollo* Spanish elite. Above and around all this, by its position within the 1652 Christmas cycle as a whole and its relationship to the images and devotional culture of Puebla Cathedral, the ensaladilla puts all these groups within a larger frame of heavenly music—which also breaks into this piece when the angels themselves are heard to sing.

In his musical dramatization, Padilla marks each character and each group for his audience by giving each one a distinctive musical manner of “speaking,” like the exaggerated accent of a comic character-actor. In this way Padilla’s ensaladilla, not just in the *negrilla* section, overlaps with the villancico *de naciones* or multi-ethnic villancico, a genre which was predominantly concerned with cultural differences as expressed through linguistic variation. Padilla brings the element of rhythm to the forefront in his characterizations, fitting for a piece that apparently includes

established dances or dance types.

7.3.1 Prologues: The Greek Chorus

The poetry of the “Greek chorus” prologue sections (ll. 1–12, 25–36, and 91–98) is in the metrical form of quatrains of (octosyllabic) *romance* in *-o -a*. Maintaining this same metrical form in all of the Greek chorus sections, with the same assonance in the final vowels of the even lines, is one of the ways the poet unifies the ensaladilla’s structure. The poetic rhythm or accentuation pattern is in the main Trochaic, but other patterns are mixed in as well: the Mixed A pattern in ll. 3–4, Dactylic in l. 6, and Mixed A again in ll. 7 and 10–11. Padilla’s musical setting fits quite closely with the rhythm of the first quatrain and more loosely with those that follow (a general compositional pattern in strophic portions of villancicos).

A poetic rhythm like the Trochaic pattern is binary in that it only specifies accented and unaccented syllables—that is, it is a qualitative stress pattern rather than the quantitative one of Latin.¹⁴ When a composer like Padilla maps a binary pattern onto the three-part subdivisions of triple meter, he is able to play with both quantity and quality—length and accent. So the trochees of the first three words are set in minim-semibreve patterns: in quality, this rhythm, sung at a brisk tempo by all the voices together, creates an accentual stress on the first of each pair of syllables, which projects the trochaic pattern musically; but in quantity, each second syllable is actually longer than the first. Padilla reverses this on the last two syllables of “di-CHO-so,” which he sets as a semibreve and then a minim—so the quantitative and qualitative align (example 7.1). In other words, after establishing a general pattern of trochaic stresses, Padilla also highlights the most important syllable of the most important word by creating both quantitative and qualitative rhythmic emphasis.

14. Trochaic meter and others that group syllables in twos only regarding the pattern of accentuation; of course, in oral performance of any poem, the skilled reader can apply an infinite variety of quantities and qualities to the text. A musical setting actually limits this range of possibilities by fixing the poetic meter within a musical one. At the same time it heightens and exaggerates the stress patterns of the poetic text.

Example 7.1
Padilla, *Al estable más dichoso*, mm. 1–8: “Greek chorus”

For the remaining three lines of the quatrain, Padilla uses sesquialtera abundantly: in fact, after “donde” in m. 3, everything up to “gracia” in m. 6 is based on the 3 : 2 proportion, and then again from “noche” to the end of the section. In each sesquialtera unit, the three imperfect semibreves in place of two perfect ones create three heavier stresses (in both quantity and quality) in a temporal space that would normally only have two stresses. So this is another way that Padilla can uses the liberties of CZ to expand on the binary system of the poetic meter. Within these irregular rhythmic patterns from mm. 3–8, the syllables that would normally be stressed in the poem are also stressed in the music.

Padilla has all the voices move in the same rhythm, creating a style of emphatic declamation. The vocal parts sing on repeated “reciting tones” that move only by second, while the instrumental Bassus I (played on bajón with other instruments) moves in fourths and fifths to articulate $\frac{5}{3}$ chords on C, F, and G.

The general style is bold, presentational, a bit rough around the edges. The repeated homorhythmic chords would have invited aggressively strummed chords in the plucked-string

continuo instruments. The principal function of this music in the drama is to call the audience to attention and depict the scenario for them in vivid and exciting narration.

The Greek chorus plays the role of presenter or ringmaster, announcing each new “act.” This chorus stands between the audience and the imagined drama of the four scenes. They frame the scenes and comment on them but do not participate in them. Their text and music are “normal,” and those of the characters in each scene are then marked by their deviations from that norm. As such the Greek chorus would seem to represent the perspective of the “white” elite (the *españoles*, *peninsulares*, and *criollos*).

7.3.2 “El Nuevo Troyano”: The Shepherds

Next come the shepherds (poem 7.1). While the “Greek chorus” music was a form of heightened recitation, the shepherds’ music is, in the world of this musical drama, actually a song, and probably a dance as well (in style if not in physical actuality). As noted in chapter 3, it was a standard trope of Catholic Biblical exegesis that the shepherds to whom the angel choirs appeared in Lk 2 were adolescent boys, and that they were also musicians. They played music on “reeds or flutes” for their flocks, Lapide says; so it was a typical scene in villancicos to have the shepherds bringing these instruments with them to the manger and playing for the infant Christ.¹⁵ Thus the Greek chorus introduces the listeners to “a *zagal* from that band”: on his tuneful or tempered panflutes (*zampoña*) he plays something called “the New Trojan” and sings “in the straw-filled hut.” The “Nuevo Troyano” sounds like the name of a specific song, dance, or a generic dance type, though the name has not been found among contemporary sources for Hispanic dance music. Whether this was a recognizable title or not, the idea of a “Trojan” will resurface in the next scene, when the driver finds himself in the stable only because his mule, like the Trojan horse, “sneaks in” ahead of him. But the shepherds’ song does not mention any of that, but rather develops the

15. Cornelius a Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, in *Commentaria in scripturam sacram* (London: J. P. Pelagaud, ca. 1868), on Lk. 2.

poetic conceit of Christ as a flame among the straw, and perhaps the idea of fire is connected to the burning of Troy.

Padilla's music for the three poetic verses is strophic from the perspective of the bass line, rhythm, harmony, but in each verse a different soloist is featured, and each one (first the Tiple I, then Altus I, both Tiple and Altus I together) sings a different melody over the same bass pattern. Padilla uses a call-and-response texture, where each phrase of the soloist is then echoed by the other voices in harmony. In the manuscripts, the music of these responses is notated only as required for the first strophe, which ends on an accented syllable (*verso agudo*, oxytonic, counted as two syllables); but the other verses end with unaccented syllables (*verso llano*, paroxytonic). That means that the performers of the answering sections would have to adjust the notated rhythm to fit the subsequent verses (in the transcription the repeats and adjustments are fully notated). The varying melodic and rhythmic patterns over the same bass pattern contribute to the feeling that this is an actual song or dance. To borrow jazz terminology, the “changes” are the same for each verse—a fundamental pattern of chords and harmonic rhythm—but the rest of the music is varied each time. Each verse reinforces the impression that this is just one version of a song that could take on many other forms, and be sung to many other verses in different textures.

Rather than being defined by a specific melody, the music is defined by its rhythm (example 7.2). The poetic meter is romance in *-e -o*, and the poetic rhythm is consistently trochaic, with few of the rhythmic variants we saw in the prologue verses. Padilla's musical meter is *compasillo* (C), and Padilla realizes the implications of the meter signature by creating a regular pattern of minim stresses in groups of two.

The shepherds' phrasing is hierarchical based on these duple groups. In each group of two semiminims, the first is strong and the second is weak. The same pattern is replicated at the level of minims and semibreves. In more modern terminology, Padilla creates two-compás phrases.

The whole strophe divides into two larger phrases: first, the call and response in the first four compases (mm. 9–12), and second, a more elongated call and response in the next ten compases

Poem 7.1

Al establo más dichoso, poem set by Padilla: Greek chorus prologue and shepherds' "Nuevo Troyano"

[PART I: EL "NUEVO TROYANO"] [THE "NEW TROJAN"]

[PROLOGUE (Chorus)]

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Al establo más dichoso,
donde triunfa la victoria,
principio a siglos de gracia,
la noche más venturosa, | 1. At the most blessed stable,
where victory triumphs,
the beginning/prince of the centuries of grace,
the happiest night, |
| 5 2. Buena noche y la más buena,
pues a pesar de las sombras
en su mitad amanece
quién con tanta luz entolda. | 2. A good night, and the best, ^a
since despite the shadows
at its midpoint dawns
one who with so much light overwhelms it. |
| 10 3. Un zagal de aquel contorno,
en su templada zampoña,
tocando el nuevo troyano,
cantó en la pajiza choza. | 3. A shepherd-boy from that scene,
on his tempered panpipes,
playing the "New Trojan,"
sang in the straw-filled hutch. |

[SONG/DANCE] Solo y a 4

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. En Belén cantando están,
todo es gloria, todo es cielo,
15 y en un portalico pobre
se ha estrechado él que es inmenso. | 1. In Bethlehem they are singing,
All is glory, all is heaven
and in a poor little stable
he who is immense has confined himself. |
| 2. Fuego derrite la nieve,
y entre tanta nieve el fuego
a cada llama bosteza,
20 lo acendrado deste estremo. | 2. Fire melts the snow,
and among so much snow, the fire
yawns with each flame,
having refined it from this extreme. |
| 3. Míranse por todos lados,
en cada paja un lucero,
una antorcha a cada viso
y un Dios grande aunque pequeño. | 3. They are seen on all sides,
in each piece of straw there is a lantern,
a torch at each spark
and a God who is great, though little. |
-

^a. A play on "la Nochebuena," the Spanish idiom for Christmas Eve.

Example 7.2
Padilla, *Al establo más dichoso*, mm. 9–22: “El Nuevo Troyano”

(mm. 13–22). The first phrase divides into two subphrases of two compases each (that is, first the call of the Tiple I, then the choral response). Though the “changes” are the same in both phrases, the choral phrase functions like a consequent phrase to the soloist’s antecedent. The harmonic pattern is a simple fifth motion in the bass articulated a center on A; each phrase begins with a minor third over A and ends with a major third. In the second large phrase, the solo singer begins with a two-compás antecedent subphrase modeled on those just sung, but transposed up to C (mm. 13–14). A listener might expect another choral response here, but instead the singer continues with an expanded consequent phrase that stretches across four compases, beginning

over a bass on G, and moving through chords on F and D to a cadence by fifth on A (m. 18). The quality of the third above A here is up to the continuo players, but since the next phrase follows the model of the first call and response by ending with a major third, it would make sense to play the third minor in m. 18. In the last four compases the chorus repeats the soloist's consequent phrase but ends with a major third in the Tiple.¹⁶

This phrasing perfectly matches the lyrics of the first strophe. The first two poetic lines (ll. 13–14) are independent clauses, but the last two (ll. 15–16) run together as a single sentence. Not only does the poet blur the line division; he also packs a surplus of vowels into the last line, which all must be elided to maintain the meter. In order to say, therefore, that “he who is immense has confined himself in a poor little stable” (a classic trope of the Christmas theological literature), the reader of the poem must struggle to fit what might otherwise be twelve consonants into the space of eight, like so:

se	ha	es-	tre-	CHA-	do	él	que	es	in-	MEN	so
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8				

Padilla's phrase structure, then, matches the grammatical structure of the quatrain, since he sets the last two lines as a single extended phrase; and both structures illustrate the verbal image “se ha estrechado él que es inmenso” (he who is immense has confined himself). For that particular line of text, Padilla creates a syncopated rhythm (mm. 17–18), which forces the singer to elide the vowels quickly, and punctuates the phrase with a final flourish that breaks the square patterns of the rest. One might imagine a corresponding flourish in the (real or imagined) dance movements.

Throughout the first strophe and in most of the remaining strophes the rhythm of the text setting fits naturally with the poetic rhythm. Padilla “reads” the first two syllable of each line like an anapest; in contemporary musical terms, a “pickup.” The strophe ends with a rhythmically weak, “upbeat” note (m. 2, on “inmenso”), followed by a rest and then the “pickup” into the next

16. On a large scale, having a section centered on A fits within Cerone's recommendations for interior cadences in mode 11 (that is, with a C final and authentic ambitus in the Tenor). But the section is so set apart from the rest that it feels more like a local shift to mode 9 (with an A final).

strophe. With these weak notes on either side, the semiminim rest sounds in place of the downbeat, which increases the suspense in waiting for the weight to fall on the next big stress, which comes on “nieve.”

Considering the style in general, then, the shepherd’s song contrasts strongly with the choral prologue, which was vigorous, exciting, and designed to grab the listener’s attention. The shepherds’ song by comparison feels plain and square. Their song is strongly rhythmic, but the nature of the rhythmic movement suggests a simple back-and-forth or side-to-side shuffle, at a modest walking tempo. If the feet might move at the pace of the minim, the upper body might move at the pace of the semibreve. Alternately we might imagine a pattern of movement in the feet, such as the left foot stepping back, then forward in alternation with a stable right foot; so the feet move every minim but the body’s weight swings back and forth every semibreve. In any case, the rhythm calls for movements that stay close to the earth, like the shepherds themselves. The call-and-response texture suggests a corresponding pattern of interchange between groups of dancers in traditional dances.

The recurring patterns in twos, the harmonic movement back and forth from A (and back and forth from the minor and major third above it), the swing of rhythmic emphasis from phrase to phrase, and the repetition both within the strophes and between them—all these factors contribute to a cyclical feeling, always moving but never going anywhere. Mary Channen Caldwell identifies the circle as a characteristic shape, movement, and symbol for Christmas devotion in medieval Latin refrain songs, and the shepherds’ dance fits within that circular concept.¹⁷

7.3.3 “El Arriero”: The Mule-Driver and His Mule

At the end of the shepherds’ song, the Greek chorus (most likely the same singers as in the preceding section) abruptly cuts back in to introduce the next scene: the mule driver Bartholo

17. Mary Channen Caldwell, “Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing in the Round: Latin Sacred Songs with Refrains, circa 1000–1582” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2013).

and his disobedient mule (poem 7.2). Bartholo is a character of the *gracioso* (buffoon, clown) type, familiar from both Spanish minor theater (*teatro breve*) and novels. The name is a stock name used in many *entremeses*, such as the *Entremés de los romances*, from which the villancico *Anton Llorente y Bartolo* was taken (discussed in chapters 1 and 3).

On a dramatic level, this is a scene of low-register comedy. Bartholo is flustered and outraged, “braying” more loudly than his mule to protest the beast’s insubordination. Bartholo, the chorus tells us, is a former swordsman (“espadachín”) who for some reason is now forced to suffer the indignity of selling molasses candies from a mule-drawn cart.¹⁸ If Bartholo was an “espadachín,” then the character is probably a Spaniard, either a *peninsular* or *criollo*.¹⁹ One wonders if this is supposed to be an absurd character type, or if there really were former adventurers in central Mexico who had been forced to turn to more civilized pursuits as New Spain became more settled. In any case, in Padilla’s nativity tableau, this character may be taken to represent both the soldier and merchant classes.

Bartholo still thinks like an authority-oriented military man: he cannot abide that his mule “should go first without even carrying the cart”; and that—even worse—Bartholo should now find himself in the presence of royalty under such embarrassing circumstances. He addresses his speech to “Señor Niño” (Sir Baby), using the formal inflections of “Usted” or “your highness,” but in the same breath begins to swear (“voto a San—”); and the rest of the speech similarly vacillates between attempting to pay respectful homage (or perhaps flattery, *lisonjería*) to the Christ-child and expressing his frustration at the mule using salty colloquialisms. The language he uses is full of double meanings, some that we might imagine the dramatic character intends, and some perceived by the audience at Bartholo’s unwitting expense.

18. While the term *panocha* in Spain refers to an ear of corn, in Mexico it denotes a type of brown-sugar or molasses candy (related to Italian *panucci* and the *panoche* of the southeastern United States). Puebla has been celebrated from colonial times for its candies. The center of production is the “Calle de los dulces” only a few blocks from the cathedral.

19. This description of Bartholo may have metatheatrical import as well, since there were many Bartholos in minor theater and villancicos, as if to say, “Last time you saw Bartholo he was a swordsman, but see what part he’s playing today.”

Poem 7.2

Al estable más dichoso: “El Arriero”

[PART II:] EL ARRIERO

[PROLOGUE (Chorus)]

- 25 1. Despúes Bartholo, él de marras,
arriero de cala y gorra,
que fue espadachín de antaño,
y hoy mercader de panochas.
2. En busca de una mulilla
- 30 3. Al portal con los pastores
se entró arrojando bramonas
- 35 y a quién ocupa el pesebre,
dice como que se entona:

THE MULE-DRIVER

1. Next Bartholo—you know the one—
a mule Skinner of the finest pedigree,
who was a swordsman in days gone by,
and now, a vendor of candies.
2. En search of a little mule
who went off from him in a scheme
to give himself a good night
in the mysterious straw.
3. 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 entoned:

[SONG/DANCE] Responsión Duo
[Solo with acc.]

1. Señor niño, voto a San—
ya lo dije, y esto sobrá
para que entienda que vengo
40 puesto a lo de aquí fue Troya.
2. No se me asuste le digo
ni de inocente se ponga,
cuando me dicen que sabe
lo que su padre no ignora.
- 45 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.

1. Mr. Baby, I swear to Saint—
well now I said it, and it's more than enough
for you to understand that I come
on account of all this “Troy”/mess.^a
2. Don't be afraid of me, I tell you,
or play innocent
when they tell me that you know
whatever is not unknown to your father.
3. It's good that of [all] my mules,
the dirtiest and the fattest
should bring me to this manger
without as much as opening his mouth.

a. “Algo fue Troya” is an idiom for “it was a hell of a fuss!” (as the *Oxford Spanish Dictionary* puts it); here it is has double meaning as an allusion to the Trojan horse.

Poem 7.2

Continued

	4. Y yo sin haber vendido	4. And I, without having sold
50	las cargas de mis melcochas, ande en flores y con flores pregonándola a mi costa.	all my stock of candies, should give up the struggle, carrying these flowers ^a hawking it at my own expense.
	5. Si arrobar viene a los hombres, paréceme cosa impropia	5. If you come to enrapture men it seems to me an improper thing
55	dar principio con mi mula, si no ha de ocupar carroza.	to have my mule go first, if she's not going to carry the wagon.
	6. Pero ya he considerado, si mi decir no le enoja, que por la escarcha pretende	6. 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
60	el aliento de su boca.	the feed from her mouth.
	7. Y por vida de Bartholo, que en aquestas y en esotras, cuando por esto la quiera, que aquí se las traiga todas.	7. And upon the life of Bartholo, whether in these things or those others, if you should want anything, they should all be brought here for you.
65	8. Abra esa boca de perlas con que tanto me enamora, y pida que estos serranos no pretendan otra cosa.	8. Open that mouth of pearls, with which I am so enamored, and request that these mountain folk don't try another thing.
	9. Un baile quieren hacerle,	9. They want to do a dance for you,
70	que "papalotillo" nombran y como cantemos todos, más que rueden las panochas.	named the "papalotillo," ^b and so, let us all sing, more than the candies should turn.

a. "Andar en flores": An idiom for refusing to get into an argument.

b. The word is the diminutive of "papalote," which is derived from the Nahuatl "papalotl" (RAE). In modern Mexico the term could mean "little kite" or paper toy. In this usage, Bartholo says the word is the rustics' name for their dance.

He begins by attempting to excuse himself for the mule's mess (idiomatically, "for all this Troy"—an expression with multiple meanings here), seeming to hope that Christ will also recognize the injustice of the situation. But by the end of the speech, Bartholo seems to have had a change of heart: he expresses pity for Christ having to lay in the cold straw that his mule is trying to eat, and he even vows to provide anything the child should need. Though at first (ll. 65–68) Bartholo begs Christ not to let the country people ("serranos") perform another song, in the end Bartholo relents and bids everyone to join in the song and (it seems) have one of his candies as well.

Padilla dramatizes this scene musically as a solo for Tenor II with bajón accompaniment. Differing from modern usage of the term, the copyist of Padilla's partbooks generally describes the texture of a solo voice plus accompaniment as a "Duo" (occasionally "Duo con bajón").²⁰ This label both distinguishes from a true unaccompanied vocal solo (as in the papalotillo, still to come) and emphasizes the importance of the accompaniment—the bajón in particular. The copyist writes in the partbook of the Bassus I (who did not play in the Arriero section), "Before the Papalotillo the Arriero speaks with the other bajón" ("antes del papalotillo dice el harriero con el otro bajon").

One of these bajón players was probably Simón Martínez, who had been Padilla's partner in a business to produce and distribute wind instruments in the 1630s.²¹ This section is the first entrance of the Bassus II in this piece.

The Tenor II vocal solo was almost certainly performed by "Sr. Nicolas Griñón," whose name is thus inscribed in the partbook several times. Griñón had been hired in year 1643 as a harpist and singer in the cathedral ensemble.²² His name appears on a variety of vocal parts in different cycles: in other words, he did more than just play harp and sing tenor—he appears to have been one of the "stars" of the Puebla ensemble. Griñón was a "regular cast member" of the cathedral chapel, like a member of the dramatic companies that put on *entremeses*.

20. As in the "deaf" villancico *Óyeme Toribio* from 1651, discussed in chapter 2.

21. 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.

22. Bárbara Pérez Ruiz, "Aportes metodológicos para una investigación sobre música colonial Mexicana," *Revista de la Sociedad Venezolana de Musicología* year 2, no. 3 (2002): 21–79.

This section, then, offered two expert performers a chance to use their skill and creativity to fashion a dramatic and comic scene, and we should expect that the performance involved a considerable amount of freedom and spontaneity in every aspect of the performance. Griñón, we might imagine, would have been free to vary the rhythm and phrasing (to use the term as it is used in jazz) of the vocal solo, and to use his vocal timbre and style of delivery to shape Bartholo's character—perhaps performing parts of the solo in a manner closer to speech than song, with a rough and “mulish” tone color and suited to this ruffian and buffoon. Indeed, after the first copla, the verses require more adjustment to fit the notated melody than is common even for the other strophic settings in the same piece.

At the same time, part of the reason the verses seem to require adjustment is because Padilla has written a setting that deliberately goes against the rhythm of the poetry. The poetry on its own is metrically rather irregular. The meter is (like the choral prologue just preceding) romance in *-o -a*, but the accentual rhythm changes frequently and cannot always be reliably scanned. In the first stanza, the first two and last lines are trochaic, but the third is clearly dactylic; the second stanza is entirely dactylic; the third stanza begins with Lauer's Mixed A pattern but the remaining lines follow no clear pattern; and so on.

Padilla fits this already irregular poetic rhythm to an even more irregular musical rhythm (example 7.3). Bartholo (that is, Sr. Griñón) begins with an anapest of two “upbeat” minims, then launches immediately into a sesquialtera group. We have seen that Padilla, in the choral prologue setting, plays with the tension between quantitative and qualitative stress in setting duply-divided poetry to triply-divided music. In the choral prologue, Padilla uses this to match the poetry closely (using short-long patterns for the ordinary trochaic stresses but a long-short group to place a quantitative stress on the most important of the stressed poetic syllables). Here, however, Padilla (it would seem) deliberately misplaces these stresses in his setting of l. 38. The line should be accented trochaically, “YA lo DI- je, y_UES- to SO- bra.” Padilla sets this phrase to a short-long pattern (minim-semibreve), but unlike the similar pattern in the choral prologue, here the combination of

melodic direction and harmonic rhythm shifts the emphasis to be (most likely) perceived on the semibreve instead of the minim. Melodically, the second note of each group is higher than the first, leading up to a high G₄ on the second syllable of “esto.” Harmonically and contrapuntally, the bajón at first follows the voice upward in parallel, then leaps by fourth up into the second note on “dije,” jumps a fourth down for the second note of “esto,” and moves down a fifth in a clear cadential gesture on the second note of “sobra.” Padilla thus creates a musical stress on the second of each group, so that in effect the musical setting of this trochaic line is actually iambic. The Tenor, then, must accent all the unaccented final syllables on “dije,” “esto,” and “sobra.” Though Griñón and later singers may have adjusted the subsequent coplas freely, Padilla makes it rather difficult for them to actually fit the text stresses correctly in any of the lines (for example, it is hard to imagine how “que de inocente me ponga” or “con que tanto me enamora” might be fit to this melody in any way that would put the accents in the right places).²³ As a result, in the middle of this line (mm. 21–22) the sense of downbeat or *ictus* for many listeners would shift to the semibreves.

In m. 63, however, Padilla affirmatively shifts the stresses back to the beginning of the compás for “para que entienda que.” The Tenor sings the remainder of the line (mm. 64–65) in sesquialtera, up to the last compás (m. 66), and then this phrase is repeated.

Padilla uses the dual, mismatched poetic and musical irregularities to dramatize Bartholo’s character and situation. First, since Bartholo’s poetic speech is rough and uncouth, so is his musical speech. Padilla ensures that Bartholo does not “speak right” musically; he has a “bad accent”—possibly a marker of vulgar character or lower-class station. The frequent but irregular use of sesquialtera in CZ meter suggests the raucous style of Padilla’s jácaras (though this is not a jácara); and most likely the style indexed aspects of low-register popular music. The chorus says Bartholo is “braying up a storm,” and Padilla provides the raw material for the singer-actor Griñón

23. The prosodic situation is the same or worse for other parts of the setting, for example “Un baile quieren hacerle” in copla 9 requires an extra note somewhere (probably by dividing the perfect semibreve at the end of m. 20).

Musical score for mm. 59-68:

T. II

59. Se - ñor Ni - ño, vo - to a San - ya lo di - je y es - to so - bra

B. II [Bajón]

63. pa - ra que en-tien - de que ven - go pues - to a lo de a-quí fue Tro - ya, pa - ra que en -

67. tien - de que ven - go pues - to a lo de a-quí fue Tro - ya.

Example 7.3

Padilla, *Al establo más dichoso*, mm. 59–68: The Mule Driver

to embody that description musically. The high melodic tessitura, the emphatic and poetically wrong accents, the shifting meters, all lend themselves to a strident, intentionally clumsy and graceless performance style.

The musical rhythm and phrasing works dramatically on a slightly more symbolic level as well. Bartholo is a man who likes to be in charge, but whose mule has gotten the better of him. The metrical discombobulation of the first two subphrases (mm. 19–20 and 21–22) aptly represents a character being yanked this way and that by a disobedient mule. In the second phrase (mm. 63–66), Bartholo reasserts his control over both the mule and the meter with the insistently regular m. 63, and the even more emphatic sesquialtera in the next two bars. Bartholo repeats the last phrase in the attempt to re-establish his authority definitively. The triple-minim groups in m. 63 and the heavy accents on the blacked semibreves in mm. 64–65 might even suggest the action of whipping

the mule to bring it back in line. Of course, after each copla, the mule reasserts its independence in the repeat of the first phrase.

We might even take the bajón in this “duo” to represent the mule itself. The Bassus II part begins with the bajón in a relatively high register (the E₄ is rarely seen in any other Padilla villancico). As Stravinsky would later use the high bassoon at the start of *Rite of Spring*, Padilla may be trying to get a pinched, even “braying” sound out of the bajón. In the second phrase, as the mule’s master establishes rhythmic control, the bajón-mule sinks subserviently back down to its more habitual register.

Fools and Beasts

Could there be any theological import to this comic scene? First, having fun was theologically meaningful at the feast of Christmas, which centered on tropes of affective wonder and joy. Second, the theology of Christmas focused on God revealing himself in humility as a child to lowly stable animals and shepherds of no reputation. Bartholo carries himself like a man of power, but is in fact a lowly fool. His animal knows better than him where to find a “Buena Noche”—in the “pajas misteriosas” of Christ’s stable. So as we trace the theme of “bringing everyone to the stable,” of the ensaladilla as gathering a menagerie of animals, humans, and angels to worship Christ, we must consider the theological place of both the mule and his foolish master.

For the beast’s part, Fray Luis de Granada writes that animals, lacking the human faculty of reason, do whatever they do sheerly as an expression of their inherent, created nature.²⁴ The mule’s nature in this scene is to seek food and warmth, just as Fray Luis marvels at the ways that God has given each animal to provide for itself the food and shelter it needs. The mule has no need of redemption from sin, as his human master does, but the animal is part of the whole creation which has been “subjected to futility” as a result of human sin. So it is right that the mule

24. Fray Luis de Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, Biblioteca de autores españoles 6 (1583; Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1871).

should seek out not only the straw of Christ's manger, but Christ himself; and this is perhaps one way to read Bartholo's sixth copla (ll. 57–61), that the nourishment the mule is seeking is actually Christ. Christ is the mule's true master, and the animal recognizes it.

For Bartholo's part, this scene dramatizes in comedic form the struggle to believe in Christ and offer him the devotion he is due. Bartholo is a fool, not just in terms of the comic character types of Spanish minor theater, but as a theological category. The second villancico in this cycle began, "Al portal venimos todos,/ parecemos bobos"—Let us all come to the stable, we look like fools; or, let us (choose to) look like fools. As a theological figure, the fool could represent humanity's "strong-necked," wayward nature, or the fool can stand ironically as a symbol of childlike faith in that which defies reason, and of simple devotion to a Savior whose ignoble birth, life, and death upset social propriety. Faith in Christ, St. Paul says, is "foolishness" to the nations (1 Cor. 1:23). Bartholo begins as a fool of the first kind, obsessively concerned with his the welfare of his business and the maintenance of his reputation—he is presented, after all, as "un arriero de cala y gorra," a mule-driver of real quality and class. But when his mule brings him to encounter Christ, Bartholo in his own uncouth way turns his heart to become "enamored" with the child and even in the end condescends to join in the song of the classless mountain people. Unlike Calderón's unbelieving "Judaísmo," Bartholo is able to receive faith. The mule found his way to God without even knowing why, but for Bartholo the path is harder and requires submission to a higher authority.

Bartholo begins as an independent travelling salesman and ends up joining all the others on the pilgrim path to Bethlehem. The scene recalls the passage in Isa. 35:8, "And there will be in that place a path and a highway, and it shall be called the holy highway, and no unclean person shall travel on it, and this will be for us a direct path there, so that fools [stulti] shall not go astray on it."²⁵ The cast of characters travelling on that holy highway, Isaiah says, include the deaf, blind,

25. "et erit ibi semita et via/ et via sancta vocabitur/ non transbit per eam pollutus/ et haec erit nobis directa via ita ut stulti non errent per eam"

and mute, healed from their disabilities, and on that path shall be no “wicked beast” (*mala bestia*). Bartholo then would seem to join with the other typical villancico characters of deaf, blind, and mute people, and his mule would be the “good beast” who leads him on the path so that though a fool, he does not fail to reach the holy destination. Though Bartholo is surely meant to be laughed at, it is easy to imagine that his situation (struggling with a willful animal, being embarrassed in the presence of higher social classes) is one that many listeners could have identified with.

As part of the whole ensaladilla and the whole villancico cycle, the Arriero scene invites worshippers to choose to play the fool at Christmas, to willingly believe the impossible regardless of how they are perceived, to adore the most high God “confined” in the most lowly form. Finally, on a more practical level, we should also note that this crowd-pleasing scene lightens the tone of the ensaladilla and contributes to making the whole piece more appealing to the ears of hearers. Affectively it provokes laughter and sympathy with this foolish character and with his lively song.

7.3.4 “El papalotillo”: *Serranos*, Indian Farm Workers

Bartholo yields the stage to a group of “serranos” who, he says, want to sing and dance a “pa-palotillo” (poem 7.3). From the characters’ language, we may deduce that these “mountain people” are agricultural laborers. They speak of Christ as a “seed,” who will give a “fertile harvest.” He is both “pasto” and “pastor,” “feed” and “shepherd” (and “pastor”); he is also the “little lamb.” Though Christ may be a “tiny pastor/shepherd” now, “when he is big he will be a laborer”—a phrase that perhaps expresses some antagonism between pastoralists and farm workers, and the desire of the rustics, as they repeat in the responsión, to see themselves reflected in Christ’s eyes.

In central Mexico, such “mountain people” or rural villagers would most likely have been indigenous peoples. The word *palotillo* was probably derived from the Nahuatl word “papalotl,” possibly referring to some kind of children’s toy. Covarrubias says “labrador” is synonymous with “aldeano” or villager, “not only the one who actually works [labra] the earth, but also the one who lives in the village; because the villages were made so that in them could be gathered, with their

Poem 7.3

Al estable más dichoso: “El Papalotillo”

[PART III:] PAPALOTILLO

SOLO

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

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

RESPONSIÓN a 4

- 75 *Ven y verás un donoso chiquito.* [same]
 Míralo bien, que en sus ojos me miro.

COPLAS

1. Míralo bien, como llora y suspira,
siendo del padre la misma alegría.
2. Míralo bien entre pobres alajas,
grano fecundo escondido entre pajas.
3. Míralo bien que aunque
 agora se estrecha,
nos ha de dar una fertil cosecha.
4. Míralo bien con ternura y cuidado,
que ha de ser pasto y pastor desvelado.
5. Míralo bien, corderito amoroso,
que ha de huir de las garras del lobo.
6. Míralo bien, pequeño pastor,
pues cuando grande será labrador.
1. Look on him well, how he cries and sighs,
which at the same time is his father's joy.
2. Look on him well: jewels among poor things,
a fertile seed hidden in the straw.
3. Look on him well, for though
 now he confines himself,
he will give us a fertile harvest.
4. Look on him well, with tenderness and care,
for he will be revealed as both pasture and pastor.
5. Look on him well, a little lamb full of love,
for he will flee from the claws of the wolf.
6. Look on him well, the tiniest shepherd/pastor,
since when he is big he will be a laborer.

RESPONSIÓN

- 90 *Ven y verás un donoso chiquito.* *Come and you will see a genteel little boy.*
 Míralo bien, que en sus ojos me miro. *Look on him well, for in his eyes I see myself.*
-

cattle [bueyes], mules, and feed [haro], those who worked the neighboring lands.”²⁶ Azevedo in his *Catecismo de los misterios de la fe* states that in his days one could find ignorance and heresy “not just in the mountains” but even in the cities—“serrano” for him was synonymous with a rural, uneducated person.²⁷

The poetic speech of Padilla’s *serranos* is in dactylic hendecasyllables (11 syllables), in verses paired by assonance in the last two vowels of each line, and every line ending in *-a*. The poetic rhythm is completely regular, and so is Padilla’s setting. The CZ meter has a profoundly different feeling in the papalotillo than it did in the arriero’s song or in the Greek chorus. Now the dactylic poetic rhythm is matched by a musical phrasing in groups of two compases or six minims—in other words, it actually feels like modern $\frac{6}{2}$, with the primary stress on the beginning of each pair of compases (each bar in the transcription). Padilla sets the couplet in two identical phrases with bass movement from C to G. As in the shepherds’ song, there is a call-and-response pattern between the soloist and the rest of Chorus I, but the pattern of repetition is now as simple as possible.

If “papalotillo” is related to the modern term “papalote,” a toy made out of paper, like a kite floating in the air, then the gentle lilting movements of this dance-song would be well suited to the name. Even more than the shepherds’ dance, the papalotillo would seem to fit within medieval traditions of the carol danced in the round.

Compared to Bartholo’s “duo” with bajón, the first part of the papalotillo is marked “solo,” which may mean that this was a true, unaccompanied vocal solo (example 7.4). Thus the first four bars of the papalotillo would have been sung by a single boy soprano (Tiple I). His melody stays within the hard hexachord and moves only by step—one could imagine it being played on a simple woodwind instrument (like the shepherds’ *zampoña*).

26. Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid, 1611), s.v. “labrador.”

27. Fray Antonio de Azevedo, *Catecismo de los misterios de la fe, con la exposicion del Simbolo de los Santos Apostoles. A do se enseña, todo lo que vn fiel Cristian esta obligado a creer, y vn cura de almas a saber, para enseñar a sus ouejas* (Barcelona, 1589).

Example 7.4
Padilla, *Al estable más dichoso*, mm. 70–77: “Papalotillo”

Thus the papalotillo characterizes the rustics as simple, innocent, and child-like. They are plain, like the shepherds, but more graceful. The shepherds were more course but also more clever, with their oscillations between C and C \sharp , and the hidden significance of their phrasing. The music of the serranos, in contrast, is completely diatonic, predictable, pure, and unassuming.

All of this fits with contemporary notions of the character of Indians. If the characters are Indians, then Padilla paints them in an idealized light, in keeping with the church doctrine that gave Indians the status of children. Bishop Palafox maintained a benevolent attitude toward the Indians, as demonstrated in his defense of the Indian character, *Las virtudes del indio*.²⁸ Palafox mandated that Puebla’s seminaries teach pastors the indigenous languages. Palafox sought to regulate but not absolutely control the practices in the native peoples’ own worship communities. These parroquial churches in the countryside had their own musical *capillas de indios*. In a decree for pastors visiting these Indian parishes, Palafox ordered them to instruct the Indians that in their dances, at least they should refrain from dressing men in women’s clothing, from using crosses,

28. Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, *Virtudes del indio* (Valladolid: Quirón Ediciones, 1998).

and from dancing directly on the altar.²⁹ Like most such decrees, the prohibition probably proves that these practices were actually common. It is notable, though, that Palafox does not forbid their dancing outright, but only seeks to determine acceptable limits for it. That he allowed the Indians to dance in their parish churches either suggests that Palafox set a double standard, or that there was also dancing in the cathedral (which, being more closely supervised, surely would have been kept within limits as well).

Of course, if Padilla's papalotillo is meant to portray an Indian dance, it bears no resemblance to these practices, and would seem quite idealized. Padilla's musical characterization of Indians as gentle and simple, and as sympathetic to the Christ-child, fits with the way his predecessor Gaspar Fernandes portrayed Indians in his villancicos "de indio."³⁰

Padilla worked closely with one indigenous man, and this relationship may have shaped his portrayal of Indians. Padilla shared his house for at least two years with an Indian instrument-maker named Pedro Martín, according to a 1639 contract discovered by Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez.³¹ Martín is described as a native of the city of Oaxaca, by occupation a maker of *tudeles* (part of the *bajón*), *sacabuches* (sackbutts), and trumpets. The Indian craftsman agreed to "enter into service" of Padilla for two years (May 1639–1641). Martín was to set up a workshop to build these wind instruments Padilla's house, which was diagonally across the street from the cathedral archive and sacristy, today Avenida 2 Sur 300. Martín supplied his "hands, labor, tools, and water for soldering" and Padilla supplied the brass, silver, and other materiel. The craftsman was also charged with "traveling outside the city to tune those instruments that they had gone to sell," so the two apparently worked together in Padilla's business to sell and maintain instruments throughout the region (the same business in which he collaborated with the cathedral chapel's *bajón* player Simón Martínez). In exchange, Padilla pledged to pay Martín a salary for his work and teach him musical fundamentals:

29. Manuscript in MEX-Ppx.

30. Chávez-Bárcenas, "Distorting Reality."

31. Mauleón Rodriguez, "Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla desde el ámbito civil."

In addition to this, he shall teach him to play bajón and chirimía, and to sing polyphony correctly [cantar diestro canto de órgano]; so that at the end of the aforementioned two years, he will know that which is necessary in order to be a *ministril* and cantor, and to give him good treatment and not dismiss him; otherwise he [Padilla] shall pay him the aforementioned salary as if he had served him, and the Indian may study with another teacher the aforementioned polyphony and playing the aforementioned instruments.³²

Martín thus pledged himself to be both Padilla's assistant and apprentice. The contract describes Martín as a “ladino en lengua castellana,” and Covarrubias says the term is used for “the Morisco, and the stranger who learns our language with such care, that we can hardly differentiate him from ourselves.”³³ But Martín used an interpreter named Jusepe Baptista at the contract signing, who vouched for both the Indian's abilities in Spanish and in instrument building. So we might imagine that for Padilla, teaching the Spanish language was part of teaching Martín “all that is necessary to be a *ministril* and cantor”; and at the same time it is difficult to imagine that Padilla would not have had to learn at least some of Martín's native words to communicate, at least in the early days.

No record has yet been found that Martín later made good on his instruction and entered the employ of an ecclesiastical chapel, but it is certainly possible that he became a *ministril*, if not in Puebla, then in Oaxaca. This may have been in a “capilla de indios,” but the language of the contract suggests that Padilla trained Martín not just to have certain skills but to be able to possess a certain office, as in a cathedral. Indians frequently served as *ministries* in Spanish America, as Bernardo Illari has shown for La Plata (Sucre, Bolivia).³⁴

If the characters in this scene of the ensaladilla are Indians, then there is special theological

32. Mauleón Rodríguez, “Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla desde el ámbito civil,” 221–223. Note that the legal language of the notary, Antonio Gómez de Escobar, treats musical instruction and even “canto de órgano” (polyphony) itself like a material good that Martín is purchasing from Padilla, which, if Padilla should dismiss him, he could purchase from someone else.

33. Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, s.v. “ladino.”

34. Bernardo Illari, “Polychoral Culture: Cathedral Music in La Plata (Bolivia), 1680–1730” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2001). The ministries played a similar role to that of the *Stadtpfeiffer* in Lutheran Germany of the same era.

import to their depiction. The singers of the papalotillo bid listeners to look to Christ, “for I see myself in his eyes.” The characters identify with Christ, and, speaking in the informal second person reserved for social equals, inferiors, and family members, the *serranos* urge listeners to join them. If indeed these characters are meant to represent Indians, then the scene suggests that perhaps the Indians saw Christ as one of them, and that Palafox and the other Spanish-descended elite wanted to see the Indians integrated into their own society. Even if the *serranos* were not Indian characters, but simply “rustics” or peasants, Padilla treats them humanely if paternalistically. This contrasts strongly with the highly caricaturized, mocking portrayal of people of African descent in the following section.

7.3.5 “La Negrilla”: The Angolan Slaves

The Greek chorus now returns to announce the arrival of one more group to the manger: a “troop” of black people, led by “El Angola Minguelillo,” or little Miguel from Angola. Many of the slaves in central Mexico came from Angola through the Portuguese slave trade. Starting from the diminutive used for the main character Miguel, Padilla has his chorus position these black slaves in a demeaning light that is intended to be comic. Minguelillo “does not want to be the last [or least] one at the party,” but of course he is, both dramatically and socially.

The second strophe of the choral prologue mocks Minguelillo’s voice in racialized terms, “groaning [or grunting] in the Angolan style” (poem 7.4). “Leaving the tumbacatumba” most likely also refers to the action of drumming which the sounds also seem to imitate. The image seems to be that the slaves normally prefer to play percussion, but will now attempt to sing since that is more appropriate for the sleeping child.³⁵ The sounds are probably imitations of south-central African languages (the ancestors of modern Kikongo and Kimbundu) of Angolan slaves as heard by the Spanish. “Tizona” means a sword, after the name of the Cid’s weapon, and plays on the

35. Metatheatrically the phrase may also refer to the previous year’s negrilla, since the nonsense refrain of that piece was “tumbucutu, cutu, cutu,” as if to say that the blacks are doing something new this year.

Poem 7.4

Al estable más dichoso: “La Negrilla”

[PART IV:] NEGRILLA

[PROLOGUE (Chorus)]

1. El Angola Minguelillo,
acaudillando su tropa,
no quiere ser el postrero
en la fiesta en que se goza.
- 95 2. Dejando el tumbacatumba,
y gruñendo a lo de Angola,
desenvainó con la voz,
de su tizón la tizona.
1. Little Miguel from Angola,
marshalling his troop,
does not wish to be the last one
at the party that is being enjoyed.
2. Leaving the “tumbacatumba”
and groaning like the Angolans do,
he unsheathed his voice,
like pulling a sword from his charred log.

[INTRODUCCIÓN] Duo y a 6

- 100 Diga plimo, ¿dónde sa
la niño de nacimiento?
pluque samo su palenta
y la venimo a busca.
- Ayta, aytá, cundiro entle pajita,
su ojo como treyita,
105 y uno buey y una mulita
con su baho cayenta.
- Turturuyegá, aytá, aytá.^a
- Tell me, cousin, where is
the baby who was born?
for we know his relatives
and we come to seek him.
- Ayta, a fire among the straw,
his eye like a little star,
and an ox and a little mule
with his belly/bass to warm him.
- [Nonsense lullaby words]

a. Perhaps, “ahi está” (there he is).

idea of Minguelillo “acaudillando su tropa” like a military leader. “Tizón” means a charred log or a piece of coal, an emblem not only of blackness but here of Minguelillo’s throat. The verse seems to mock the sound of black singers’ voices as being as dark as their skin, as coming from a deep place in their bodies, and therefore, raspy, guttural, earthy. These stereotypes of black voices are unfortunately still in common currency today.

Now the black characters enter and sing a *negrilla*, structured as a full villancico in itself. In Padilla’s *negrilla*, Minguelillo and his “troop” speak in a way that the poet has deliberately garbled.

Poem 7.4
Continued

-
- 110 Caya, caya, mila no panta
 que duelme la siguetito,
Sesu, Sesu, que bonito,
 sucuchá, que cantamo lo angelito:
Gloria en las alturas y en la tierra paz.
[ESTRIBILLO]
- 115 Vala mindioso que lindo canta,
 aytá, aytá,
Sucuchá sucuchá,
 aytá, aytá, aytá.
- COPLAS a 6
1. Caya, caya, chiquito, *aytá*,
que tlaemo plecente, *aytá*,
mantiya pañalito, *aytá*,
y uno papagayito, *aytá*,
que savemo habra.
[NEGRILLA: ESTRIBILLO rep.]
2. Mi siñol Manuele,
ese papa he sablosa
pluque sa linda cosa
mantequiya con mele,
ay, Sesu, le, le, le, le,
ro, ro, ro, ro, caya.
[NEGRILLA: ESTRIBILLO rep.]
- Hush, hush, look, don't startle him,
for the tiny boy is sleeping,
Jesu, Jesu, how lovely,
listen, we are singing like the angels:
Glory in the heights and on the earth, peace.
- For my God, O, how prettily he sings,
[Lullaby words]
- Hush, hush, baby boy,
for we are bringing you a present:
a little blanket, a diaper,
and a little parrot [toy?],
for we know how things go [with babies].
- My lord Manuel/Emmanuel,
this potato, how tasty,
since this is a nice thing,
butter with honey,
ay, Jesu, lulla, lulla,
ro, ro, ro, ro, hush.

They speak in the typical “black Spanish” or *jerga* used in negrillas and also in Spanish minor theater, such as the *Entremés de los negros*.³⁶ The text in appendix B includes this “black Spanish” with the original orthography alongside an attempt to translate it first into proper Spanish and then into English.

Recent scholarship has demonstrated that this form of language was an artificial creation of Spaniard and *criollo* poets. The linguist John Lipski writes that Mexican “Baroque *villancicos*, following Peninsular patterns,” “represent at best a highly exaggerated version of the Spanish pidgin spoke by *bozales* in seventeenth-century Mexico.”³⁷ Lipski does note the prevalence of Portuguese influences in the Mexican evocations of “black Spanish,” which makes sense if many of the slaves came via the Portuguese slave-trade in southwest Africa. The language probably sounded like the speech of African slaves to the ears of Spanish mother-tongue speakers, and it may reflect patterns of their actual dialect, but only as distorted through the ears of colonial masters. Negrillas make fun of black speech; they do not ethnographically document it.

The choral introduction to Padilla’s negrilla of the previous year (1651) makes it quite evident that the representation of black speech in *villancicos* is based on demeaning assumptions and is not even meant to be understandable (poem 7.5). In that piece the Greek chorus invites the audience to “hearken to the brown nation” as they sing “in half-formed languages” that “no one understands, and they don’t even understand themselves.” The term “medias lenguas,” literally “half tongues,” suggests several meanings:

- a physical speech impediment leading to defective speech,
- something in between two languages, as between Spanish and African languages, and
- something in between language and another, less articulate, type of utterance.

36. Geoffrey Baker, “The ‘Ethnic Villancico’ and Racial Politics in 17th-Century Mexico,” in Knighton and Torrente, *Devotional Music in the Iberian World*, 399–408; Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, ed., *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVIII ordenada* (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliére, 1911).

37. John M. Lipski, *A History of Afro-Hispanic Language: Five Centuries, Five Continents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Note that *bozal* was used both for blacks and for unlettered people in general.

Poem 7.5

Padilla, *Quedito señores, ensaladilla* for Christmas 1651: Introduction to the *negrilla*
(MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/2)

Atentos al baile: la nación morena tambien se combidan y todos se alegran.	Pay attention to the dance: the brown nation also gathers [at the banquet] and they all rejoice.
Esdrújulos cantan en sus medias lenguas, que ni ellos se entienden, ni hay quién los entienda.	They sing <i>esdrújulos</i> ^a in their half-formed languages, which they don't even understand themselves, nor is there anyone else who would understand them.

a. That is, verses ending with proparoxytonic accents, where each line ends with a dactylic word like “plántano.”

The last meaning would position their speech as actually closer to song—an idea that at first might seem to elevate black language—or that their speech is closer to animal sounds than to human language. The 1651 negrilla simultaneously makes both comparisons explicitly, when the black characters sing, “Venimo como unos paxalos” (We are coming like birds). Fray Luis de Granada, as we have seen, taught that whereas humans may choose their actions according to reason, animals do as an expression of their inherent nature (as in the case of Bartholo’s mule); and therefore that birds are musicians “by nature.” In a similar way, black characters in villancicos are represented as perpetually singing and dancing, as though it is an expression of their inherent nature rather than a form of art. Saying that black characters sing “like birds” is a dehumanizing gesture that lowers the characters’ position on the Neoplatonic chain of being. They become part of the “book of nature” rather than people who can read that book in contemplation.

The notions that black speech is more “musical” than white speech, and that black people have a more innate sense of music—especially rhythm—than white people do, are still alive in contemporary Western culture. These racialized notions of musicality also have a long heritage in musicology. Guido Adler’s *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* grouped the world into *Kulturvölker* and *Naturvölker* (peoples of culture and peoples of nature), and presented the language of *Naturvölker*

as inherently musical.³⁸ This idea is echoed, perhaps unawares, even in some recent studies of preaching in North American black churches.³⁹ In the case of Angolan slaves, this stereotype may have partly developed from the way Spaniards perceived the tonal languages of Kikongo and Kimbundu.

In his musical setting, Padilla has his black characters sing in a musical “language” that is as intentionally garbled as their words. The introducción (poem 7.4) is sung by the Tiple I solo with bajón accompaniment, in a style that recalls the mule-driver’s song, but is even more jumbled (example 7.5).

The soloist representing Minguelillo sings irregular, jerky rhythms, composed from uneven groupings of sesquialtera, dotted patterns, and short-long (minim-semibreve) trochaic groups. The Tiple’s melody moves repetitively within a narrow range, suggesting an unsophisticated, or unintelligent, character; and he keeps alternating between C♯ and C♮ in a way that could either represent confusion or perhaps simply mark him as a silly, clownish character. The Tiple ends his first phrase on an abrupt C♯, but then switches back to C♮ for the beginning of the next phrase (m. 102); and then repeats the pattern in the middle of that phrase (m. 104).⁴⁰

Padilla creates these rhythms by using ample black notation, with obvious symbolism. The obscurity of the singing style, like its colored notation, marks the characters as unsophisticated and malformed, but in a way that is supposed to be comic.

The scene is a parody of the visitation of the Magi, one of whom was traditionally black, as painted just to the right of the Puebla Cathedral high altar. The first speaker (Tiple I) asks where the Christ-child is, and the second speaker (Tenor I) describes the manger scene, with Christ as a

38. Guido Adler, ed., “Die Musik der Natur- und Orientalischen Kulturvölker,” in *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, 1924).

39. The ethnomusicologist Thérèse Smith “transcribes” sermons and spontaneous prayers into musical notation in *Let the Church Sing!: Music and Worship in a Black Mississippi Community* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004).

40. The naturals are not notated in the manuscript, but normally in passages like these the copyist would write another sharp at the beginning of the next compás, as sharps in Padilla’s manuscripts do not generally carry across compases unless they are part of a colored sesquialtera group.

Example 7.5

Padilla, *Al establo más dichoso*, mm. 102–109: “Negrilla,” introducción

“fire among the straw,” nestled among the animals, one of which is a little mule, possibly the one belonging to Bartholo. The coplas will develop the parody further, as the black characters bring their own gifts for the baby: not the kingly gifts of gold and frankincense, but the common, and more practical, offerings of diapers, toys, and simple foods. As they explain, “we know how things will go”; in other words, they understand what it is like to care for a baby—as perhaps might be expected if slaves were used as nannies.

In m. 106 the Tenor I soloist introduces the primary nonsense word that will be repeated throughout the negrilla—“aytá”—in a characteristic offbeat rhythm that will be associated with it. In the context of the dialogue, this word might mean “ahí está” (there he is), especially since there is a pattern in the fake black dialect of omitting S sounds in plosive combinations (*st, sp*): “treyita” in l. 104 apparently stands for “estrellita” and “panta” in l. 108 would seem to mean “espanta.” By the end of the piece, the word is repeated so many times that whatever meaning it had hardly matters. It is always sung to a distinctive rhythm and melodic gesture: the descending third is sung on a semibreve and minim displaced from the start of the compás by a minim. Among all the quantitative and qualitative patterns in triple meter that Padilla has used thus far, this rhythmic

pattern is new. The quantities are long-short, but the offbeat placement of the long note creates an accent on both syllables. The gesture practically demands that the singer breathe in sharply (even audibly) on the minim rest, then sing the two notes on “aytá” legato, perhaps softening for the second note, like a sighing gesture that suggests the characters’ fussy concern for the baby.

The Tenor II part (probably performed by Nicolas Griñon) introduces the main dance theme, singing the nonsense refrain “turuturuyegá” on a descending stepwise fifth that recalls the stepwise descending theme of the Papalotillo (example 7.6). The other voices burst out with their response, in another example of call-and-response texture. The Bassus II inverts the Tenor II’s “turuturuyegá” theme, while the other voces all move obliquely relative to each other. The voices do not form acceptable contrapuntal relationships until they arrive on “-ga” (m. 116). In between they move recklessly—on the last minim of m. 115 the pitches C, D, E, F, and G all sound together. At a lively tempo, this unorthodox dissonance would fly by almost unnoticed, but would contribute to an effect of wild, exuberant rejoicing.

Padilla uses this unruly counterpoint (within a strong rhythmic framework in groups of six minims) to characterize the black slaves. Within the dramatic world of the piece, the Angolans are actually singing, and though they are “unlettered” in music they are eager to dance and sing nonetheless. In their excitement they are not governed by normal constraints; though they do resolve together on the last note and at all the cadences on bright major triads. The solecisms in their music are not *musica reservata* such as we saw in Cáseda’s *Qué música divina*; within the dramatic world the blacks’ style of singing is not intentionally or artfully wrong. Rather, Padilla represents the blacks as simply expressing their own inherent nature.

It is not clear at first, then, whether the black characters’ enthusiasm to sing and dance is based on love for the Christ-child, or whether they are simply (like birds) doing what they naturally like to do. But the characters do come to realize that raucous celebration might not be appropriate before the sleeping newborn. On the final chord in m. 120, Padilla writes a fermata in only one voice part, the Tenor I, who had earlier sung the solo in the introducción (see the “N. B.”

Musical score for Example 7.6, showing two staves of music for voices and instruments. The top staff starts with a fermata over a note, followed by a bassoon part with a fermata. The vocal parts (Tenor I, Alto I, Tenor II, Bass I, Bass II) enter with lyrics in 6/2 time. The bottom staff continues with the bassoon part and other voices joining in. Measure 121 begins with a forte dynamic and a change in tempo, followed by a section where voices sing "ay-tá" and "ca-ya".

Example 7.6
Padilla, *Al estable más dichoso*, mm. 116–124: “Negrilla,” choral entry

in example 7.6). It is unusual to see fermatas in the middle of a section, and normally whenever there are fermatas on final chords they will be in all the voices, sometimes inadvertently omitting one or two. The single fermata here suggests the dramatic “staging” of this scene as performed in the Benjamin J. Echenique’s recording with the Angelicum de Puebla: the director cuts off the other voices as notated in tempo, but has the Tenor I soloist hold his note after the others have stopped, even adding a few intentionally self-indulgent trills.⁴¹ Echenique has the ensemble

⁴¹ Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Maitines de Navidad*, 1652, México Barroco/Puebla VII, Angelicum de Puebla, directed by Benjamín Juárez Echenique (Mexico City: Urtext (CD UMA-2011), 1999).

cut the Tenor off with a “shh”—and then the Tiple I (Minguelillo?) chastises him, singing “caya” (“calla”), “hush, look, don’t scare [him], for the tiny boy is sleeping.” Tenor II now turns to sing a lullaby to Jesus, calling him “Sesu,” and repeating the word “sucuchá,” which may be a version of *escuchar* (listen), or may function as a nonsense lullaby or baby-talk word. The rest of the piece becomes an attempt to sing a lullaby or *roro* that keeps verging on a dance; the singers (it seems) keep reminding one another to be quiet, as in the interjections of “ayta” in the coplas, as they sing consoling nonsense to the baby.⁴²

Padilla’s music for the Negrilla, after the jaunty opening solos, implies a fast tempo, moving regularly in leaping circular gestures. This version of CZ meter does not lilt floating lightly above the ground like the Papalotillo; rather it suggests a heavy downward impulse at the beginning of the compás and leaps and turns on the mid-compás syncopations.

This is not African music. Just like the falsified dialect used in the poetry, this is a caricatured representation of black music-making composed by a Spaniard. By contrast, John Walter Hill summarizes the conventional wisdom when he writes that not only does the piece reflect African spoken dialect, but the musical style has characteristics that can be traced back to West African origins.⁴³ But the style of music in this section is typical for villancicos, though Padilla adds a few twists to give the black characters a strange accent in their musical speech.

We may learn about the actual music of seventeenth-century Angolans from the chronicles of two separate missionaries who wrote rather detailed description of the music and dancing they witnessed on their expeditions up the Congo River.⁴⁴ But aside from the fact that Angolans did sing and dance, there are few concrete connections to any specific musical features of Padilla’s representation.

42. On *roros*, see Illari, “Polychoral Culture.”

43. John Walter Hill, *Baroque Music: Music in Western Europe, 1580–1750* (New York: Norton, 2005).

44. Giovannio Antonio Cavazzi, *Istorica Descrizione de tre Regni Congo, Matmba et Angola* (Bologna, 1687); Girolamo Merolla, *Breve, e succinta Relatione del Viaggio nel regno dei Congo nell’Africa Meridionale* (Naples, 1692). See *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, ed. Bruno Nettl and Ruth M. Stone (New York: Garland, 1998–2002), vol. 1, s.v. “Central Africa, Zone H”; Walter Hirschberg, “Early Historical Illustrations of West and Central African Music,” *African Music* 4, no. 3 (1969): 6–18.

Contemporary ethnomusicology of Angolan musical cultures could offer more insight into what historical Angolan music might have been like. For example, in eastern Angola, mnemonic phrases are used to teach rhythmic patterns, such as “mu- ca- na ka- ca- pe ku- la.”⁴⁵ These phrases are not nonsense in their original languages, but the nonsense refrains of negrillas like “sucuchá, sucuchá” and “turuturuyegá” could conceivably be the result of a Spanish musician overhearing Angolan slaves using this kind of mnemonic phrase repeatedly. Again, if this music represents African diasporic culture at all, it is only through the distorting lens of the colonialist.

Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla did have close contact with at least one Angolan slave, because he owned one. At one point Padilla traded slaves with another citizen, purchasing an Angolan called Juan.⁴⁶ His relationship with his slave would have been markedly different from his relationship with the Indian Pedro Martín, who was his assistant in business and his music student. Any notions of Padilla’s villancicos as representing a black ethnic heritage must be predicated on the fact that this composer and priest was himself a slave owner.

Nevertheless, in writing his exuberant music for the Angolans, Padilla does more than just make fun of these characters. Though the villancico does not identify the blacks with the Christ-child as it does with the singers of the papalotillo, still it represents the slaves as having sincere love and devotion for the baby Jesus. These figures know what it means to be born in poverty, in a place that belongs to someone else. They give Christ the kind of gifts they would give their own children, and it seems that this is meant to be touching as well as comic. The Angolans in Padilla’s portrayal may not know how to sing well, but still they sing for the Christ-child with raw joy and unbridled enthusiasm.

45. *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, vol. 1, s.v. “Central Africa, Zone H” By coincidence this pattern happens to match Lauer’s Mixed B rhythmic type.

46. Mauleón Rodríguez, “Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla desde el ámbito civil.”

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Example 7.7

Padilla, *Al establo más dichoso*, mm. 133–137: “Negrilla,” polymetrical *Gloria*, concerted between black slaves below (Chorus I) and angels above (Chorus II)

7.4 SINGING WITH THE ANGELS: THE NEOPLATONIC PARADOX

Despite the racial ideology that shapes this negrilla, Padilla grants the Angolans a privileged position in his social and musical microcosm, because it is in the midst of their song that he stages a miracle—an apparition of the angels. Padilla stages this miracle through a trick of rhythm. The most important moment in the piece theologically comes just before the estribillo, after Minguelillo (Tiple I) has reminded his “troop” to quiet their loud singing. In mm. 127–129 the Tenor II instead bids his fellows to join in a different kind of song: “let us sing,” he says, “like the angels” (*cantamo lo angelito*). The Tiple I and Altus I heed the suggestion, singing the Christmas angels’ song *Gloria in excelsis* in vernacular translation (mm. 130–134). They continue in CZ meter, the Alto moving in typical ternary patterns, and the Tiple using sesquialtera (example 7.7).

At this same moment, they are suddenly joined by two voice parts who have kept silent throughout the entire ensaladilla, the Tiple and Altus of Chorus II. Both parts were probably sung by boys (soloists or in ensemble), and Padilla casts them in the role of the angels just like the baby

angel musicians above the Puebla high altar.⁴⁷ While the black characters performed by Tiple I and Altus I sing “Gloria” in triple time, the new voices sing the same words—in C duple meter. In this exceptional polymetrical passage, the parts can only be aligned if the singers maintain the theoretical proportion of sesquialtera between the meters of three minims of CZ to two minims in C.⁴⁸ The Tiple II’s melody quotes the common intonation of the *Gloria in excelsis* of the Mass. The Altus II sings mostly the same pitches as the Altus I, with the polymeter creating an effect of heterophony between the two parts.

The notation of this passage in the four partbooks manifests either a copyist’s confusion or—if these partbooks are in Padilla’s own hand, which is possible—the composer’s effort to construct the right effect here (figures 7.4 and 7.5). The Tiple II and Altus II partbooks show first a setting in CZ, which is crossed out and supplanted by the one in C meter. Perhaps to accommodate this change, the triple-meter parts (Tiple I and Altus I) been scratched out and corrected. The Tiple and Altus I both bear the marking “a 3” here, and while normally that would refer to the number of voices performing, here it most likely is a reminder to the singers to continue singing in three even as the other Chorus sings against them in two.

In this moment may be seen the crystalization of Neoplatonic thought about music and society. Padilla creates a polystylistic contrast between earthly and heavenly music, just as Cererols did around the same time in *Suspended, cielos*. The sudden apparition of plainchant in the context of a pseudo-African dance creates an effect as though the heavens suddenly open and the congregation can hear the true angelic music to which the villancico is pointing.

47. The dramatic use of choirboys to represent angels is in line with similar practices in other places, such as Monteverdi’s “Duo seraphim” from the 1610 Vespers, and most notably the actual staging of angelic voices in the upper balconies in Schütz’s 1636 *Musikalische Exequien*. On the latter see Gregory S. Johnston, “Rhetorical Personification of the Dead in 17th-Century German Funeral Music: Heinrich Schütz’s *Musikalische Exequien* (1636) and Three Works by Michael Wiedemann (1693),” *The Journal of Musicology* 9, no. 2 (1991): 186–213, and on the theological function of the Lutheran boys’ choir as imitating the angels, see Andrew A. Cashner, “The Reception of Paul Gerhardt’s Hymns in the Seventeenth Century” (Master of Sacred Music thesis, University of Notre Dame, 2009), 119–132. Padilla might likewise have put the boys in a place where their entrance at this point in the piece would be a surprise.

48. It should be noted again that the theoretical proportion is distinct from any tempo relationship between the meters, and that in order to align the voice parts, the music in C meter must be sung about half as fast as would be suited to the other sections of the ensaladilla in C meter.

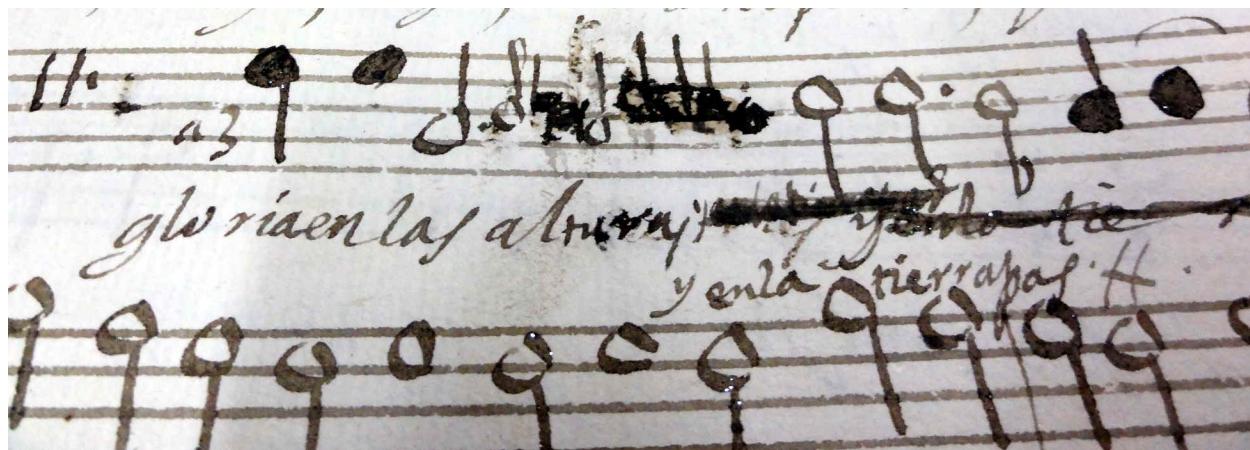


Figure 7.4
Padilla, *Al estable más dichoso*, Tiple I partbook: *Gloria* passage with corrections

This image shows a page from a handwritten musical score for 'Al estable más dichoso'. It features two staves of music. The top staff is in common time and starts with a forte dynamic (ff). The lyrics 'de la ensaladilla' are written above the notes, and 'gloria en las alturas, y en la tierra paz.' are written below. The bottom staff begins with a forte dynamic (ff) and a tempo marking of az . The lyrics 'de la ensaladilla' are written above the notes, and 'gloria, en las alturas, y en la tierra paz' are written below. The notation on both staves includes various note heads and stems.

Figure 7.5
Padilla, *Al estable más dichoso*, Tiple II partbook: *Gloria* passage with original version in CZ and new version in C

The black characters want to sing “like the angels,” but what they actually sing is an imperfect reflection of what the true angels sing on high. The blacks sing in the triple meter typical of vernacular villancicos, while the angels sing in the duple meter that was more commonly used in Latin-texted polyphony.⁴⁹ The angelic voices move in textbook contrapuntal motion, with mostly perfect consonances; while the human parts include dissonant suspensions and ligatures, and conclude with an imperfect consonance. The angels alone sing the plainchant cantus firmus; the humans are singing counterpoint to the chant seemingly without knowing it. The angels sing in white notes; the slaves, in black.

And thus the passage manifests the central paradox of Christian Neoplatonism. The music of the black slaves reflects, imitates, points to the music of the angels. But in this system one cannot emphasize the similarity between the music of earth and heaven without at the same time emphasizing their difference and the distance between them. Padilla’s polymetrical Gloria in one way creates harmony between the human characters and the angelic ones, but the contrast between the two rhythmic systems also casts the imperfection of the black singers’ music into stark relief.

All the same, Padilla, though he was a slaveholder, does demonstrate a certain degree of sympathy for the black characters. In his drama it is the song of the slaves that the angels choose to join in with, not that of the proud mule-driver or even of the pure-hearted mountain folk.

7.5 CONCLUSIONS: THE UTOPIAN STABLE

Padilla creates a social microcosm in his ensaladilla in which the people in each category move their bodies to a distinctive rhythm. The Angolans, along with the Indians, shepherd boys, mule-driver, and mule, seek their Lord and find him. Each one has his own voice and character that identifies him and situates him in the social order. This is a kind of utopian vision, according to

49. Cererols contrasts the two metrical systems in a similar way in *Suspended, cielos*.

Neoplatonic social thought.

Padilla could be seen as celebrating the humble and lowly of society, gathering them all to the manger and including them all in the worship of God. This is a kind of inclusive gesture within the tight limitations of the age, and there may be a personal aspect to it, since Padilla had living under his own roof at different times the Angolan slave Juan, the Indian Simón Martín, and the boys from his choir. In his house Padilla taught Martín and the boys how to sing “*lo angelito*.” And Padilla himself was a “mercader,” not of candies like Bartholo but of musical instruments and of villancicos.

At the same time, though, the vision of the world reflected in this piece is profoundly hierarchical. Everyone may be gathered at the stable, but they are not all equals. Neither were any of Padilla’s “houseguests” on the same social plane. This Neoplatonic view of society is based on the same paradox that was manifested in the meeting of earthly and heavenly music in the polymetrical Gloria: the piece is as much about emphasizing the distinctions between groups as it is about bringing them together in harmony.

This view of society may be seen from one perspective as repressive, even dehumanizing. As Todd Olson argues about the depiction of people of low social standing by Caravaggio, controlling the representation of a group was a way of controlling that group.⁵⁰ Padilla depicts an immobile society of caricatured types, not individuals. The characters in his drama may bear little correspondence to real human beings in the Puebla community. Not all the groups represented in the ensaladilla could have fully participated either as performers or as listeners. Black slaves may have been present in the cathedral, as part of their masters’ retinue; but Indians had their own separate parishes. These groups did not have power to represent themselves in the cathedral’s worship, and instead the chapel choir portrays them in a kind of minstrel show.⁵¹ Padilla’s ensemble made

50. Todd P. Olson, “The Street Has Its Masters: Caravaggio and the Socially Marginal,” in *Caravaggio: Realism, Rebellion, Reception*, ed. Genevieve Warwick (Cranbury, NJ: Rosemont Publishing, 2006), 69–81.

51. The comparison to minstrelsy is Geoffrey Baker’s: Baker, “The ‘Ethnic Villancico’ and Racial Politics in 17th-Century Mexico.”

black voices audible in the congregation in the only way that was possible, but by doing so they silenced actual black voices and replaced them with white caricatures. Modern performing groups should think very carefully about why they wish to perform such music and in what context they can ethically present it.

“Ethnic villancicos” are not about representing black people—they are about establishing “white” identity, by creating Others against which the *españoles* and *criollos* could define themselves. It is this kind of hierarchical society that Padilla was building with his social representations.

Though Padilla represents the lowest levels of society, his music is lofty in its ambitions, both compositionally and theologically. Even the most comic scene has a learned element, and there is a deep theological background behind this music that makes it more than just entertainment.

Padilla and his chorus were working to further the Palafoxian agenda of uniting the colonial city around the Church. They used the power of *musica instrumentalis* to discipline the body and put *musica humana* in tune with higher forms of music. This music structures society according to a hierarchical utopian vision.

Padilla’s music formed part of the *fábrica* or furnishings for the new cathedral and became part of the chapel’s standard repertoire—as evidenced by the heavy wear on the performing parts. As these pieces were repeated year after year, and as they formed models for younger composers like Juan García de Céspedes and Antonio de Salazar (and as the poems served as exemplars for later authors like Sor Juana), the performance of Padilla’s villancicos shaped the values of Puebla’s local devotional culture.

Padilla not only furnished the cathedral with music; he also built up an ensemble to perform it, and this constituted a tangible way of building colonial society. The personnel of the chapel itself constituted an important part of the city’s social structure, including boys, adult clerics, and lay instrumentalists (*ministriiles*) who, like Padilla’s assistant Pedro Martín, may have included indigenous peoples. The hearers who gathered around the images of Christ’s stable at Puebla’s high altar included a wider range: from wealthy landholders and merchants with their black slaves

in attendance to common folk like street vendors and perhaps actual shepherds.

Padilla's villancicos invited all these worshippers to listen for the unhearable music of a higher truth, which moved in the sophisticated rhythms and echoed through the carefully constructed harmonies of the ensemble's performance. Only by listening with ears attuned by faith could listeners connect to the power to which this music pointed. Whether any of them heard this higher music, and whether music's power shaped colonial society for the better, is not altogether clear; but this music certainly formed part of the vision painted above Puebla's high altar, presenting hearers with the ideal of a heterogenous but harmonious society, centered on the Church and united in worshipping God together with the angels.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS AND CHALLENGES

Charles Seeger wrote that the goal of any musicological inquiry should be to pursue the question, What is music?¹ This study has explored that question within a particular historical and cultural frame. The object of study has been the practice of “musicking about music” within the villancico tradition of Spanish religious music in the seventeenth century.² The central question has been to consider what this poetic and musical discourse on music could reveal about how Hispanic Catholics understood music’s role in the relationship between hearing and faith.

Part I demonstrates the richness of “metamusical” villancicos as sources for this kind of theological understanding. Catholics on the mission field and on the fronts of reform and civilization-building after Trent faced the paradoxical challenge of making faith appeal to the sense of hearing while also training the sense of hearing for faithful perception. Individual sensation and feeling were viewed as potentially dangerous, and cultural variability made the challenge of communication even greater. Moreover, there was the frightening possibility that some people may lack the capacity for faith—like Calderón’s “Judaism,” who cannot “listen to Faith with faith,” or like the “deaf” characters in villancicos by Padilla and Ruiz. But at the same time, villancicos on sensation emphasize that hearing was the first of the senses because it alone gave access to the mysteries of Faith, though even then, sensation must be tempered by faith to begin with.

1. Charles Seeger, “Toward a Unitary Field Theory for Musicology,” in *Studies in Musicology, 1935–1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 102–138.

2. The term *musicking* is from Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1998).

Villancicos provided one way to appeal directly to a wide range of listeners, in a language they understood, and using music that in its huge variety of styles, textures, and registers offered something for everyone. Villancicos could help people remember sacred concepts and texts, in a mnemonic function. They could enable properly disposed listeners to hear the book of nature read aloud, in a contemplative function, disclosing the mysteries of creation and pointing upwards to the higher music of Heaven and of God. And in an affective function, villancicos could directly move the bodies of participants and shape them into a worshipping community.

The case studies in part II exemplify different ways of reading villancicos on the subject of singing and heavenly music. The study of Padilla's *Voces, las de la capilla* untangles the arcane conceits of poetry and music by exploring their place in exegetical and homiletical traditions. It shows how the concept of the voice was closely linked with the theology of the Incarnation, how human singing was tuned to "the sign of A (*la, mi, re*)" which was Christ, the *Verbum infans* or unspeaking/infant Word. The dense exegesis of this villancico should dispel the stereotype that villancicos are all light, popular, and occasional. Padilla's piece reflects and demands deep thought. It comes from highly erudite traditions of both theological and musical learning, which Padilla may have been trying to emphasize by setting a text previously set by the esteemed Francisco de Santiago, after Santiago's own successor set an inferior, simplified version of the same poem.

The tradition of pieces related to *Suspended, cielos* by Joan Cererols further shows the continued importance of concepts of heavenly music and music of the spheres, even throughout a century in which the old cosmology was being challenged. The genealogy of poems and musical settings shows how related composers placed themselves within a tradition of composition and of "musical theology." The poem in its setting by Cererols manifests a Neoplatonic theology of music in which paradox is the key to faithful listening. Cererols must evoke the whole chain of musical being using only the lowest form of music, *musica instrumentalis*. To do this he creates a hierarchy of earthly musical styles that maps onto the greater hierarchy of Boethian and divine music, and setting up a dialectic between two motives that correspond to earthly and heavenly music.

Cererols uses dissonance to express “the new consonance” which is Christ, in a paradoxical passage with many possible meanings. By emphasizing the imperfect artifice of his own music, Cererols challenges hearers to listen for an unhearable higher music of true perfection, not governed by earthly rules.

The tension between opposites in this Neoplatonic paradox increases through the later seventeenth century, as shown in the remaining case studies. From emphasizing that earthly music reflects heavenly proportions, poets and composers shift toward emphasizing the difference between earthly and heavenly music. For Jerónimo de Carrión in Segovia, human music is an “untempered harmony”; for José de Cáceda in Zaragoza and the nuns who performed his music in Puebla, that out-of-tune music is the tune played on the body of the suffering Christ like “false” notes on a *vihuela*.

At the same time, the weight of the metamusical tradition increases, so that successive composers feel a greater pressure to outdo other composers in representing music through music itself. Miguel de Irízar maintained a busy correspondence across the Iberian peninsula to exchange villancico poems, music, and musicians, and his 1678 Christmas cycle shows how he drew on what he received from others but also added elements of his own to craft a coherent set. In the versions of *Suban las voces al cielo*, Pablo Bruna could set a phrase about “mild flats” literally with flats, a generation later Miguel Ambiel is compelled to set the same phrase in sharps. To evoke his concept of “false” music, Cáceda goes well beyond the ironic dissonance of Cererols to write music that cannot actually be sung in tune; and by playing on conventions of *musica ficta* to create passages in which it is difficult even to establish what actual pitches should be sung, and one feels that any choice made is not the correct one.

The pieces studied in part II all come from distinct traditions of devotion, inflected by local customs, shaped by particular communities, and informed by different intellectual contexts. Irízar worked under tight constraints of money, time, and personnel, and his manuscripts reveal how diligently he labored to meet his community’s devotional needs in an environment of scarcity. The

villancicos for San Blas in Segovia exemplify a local tradition that shaped the demand for villancico composition and performance. José de Cáseda's music would have had quite different functions in the public churches of Zaragoza as opposed to the cloistered realm of a Conceptionist convent in colonial Puebla. The emphasis on affective, personal devotion in several of the Eucharistic pieces—the burning heart offered up in worship—makes a contrast with the public, festive function of many Christmas villancicos. And the different approaches to reading these pieces together with emblem books, mystical literature, and music theory show how closely linked villancicos were to these other intellectual contexts.

Finally the study of social meanings of rhythm in colonial Puebla suggests that villancicos could play an active role not only in representing society but even in shaping it. Once again, Padilla's utopian musical world centers on Neoplatonic paradox, which is realized most keenly when Padilla juxtaposes the lowest level of society, the black slaves, with the highest created beings, the angels, in a polymetric *Gloria*. Heavenly and earthly music are revealed to be in harmony but not unison, dancing together but not in the same meter. One can listen for the music of heaven even in the music of the lowliest people, Padilla's villancico suggests, but only if one can discern the essential difference between them in a Neoplatonic listening practice.

This study of villancicos should make evident that this repertoire of poetry and music demands and rewards serious study at a detailed, specific level. This music affords unique insights into historical beliefs about music's power which can only be learned by understanding the details of musical practice.

At the same time, there needs to be a continual dialectic between focusing on individual pieces and considering broader tropes and topics in this highly conventional genre. Further, the close reading of these texts must be balanced with a wide-ranging inquiry into possible related contexts in theological and philosophical literature, visual art, and social history. This dissertation only sketches the beginnings of how such a study could proceed. It has focused primarily on texts, though it has attempted to keep always in view the social meanings of those texts. Much more

research is needed into the particular local contexts of villancicos, for example the economics and devotional culture in Segovia, and the social history of ethnic groups and Palafoxian reform in Puebla. Collaboration between disciplines and across geographical and cultural borders will be necessary to gain a full sense of what this genre can teach us.

The question of music's role in the relationship between hearing and faith is not just of concern to those interested in Christian theology or in Hispanic culture. It is a question about how people in a particular place and time used music to connect with each other and with something higher than themselves. It is a question about how musical performance both reflects and enacts beliefs about the structure of the world.

CHAPTER 9

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
PRIMARY SOURCE TEXTS

A.1 PUEBLA CATHEDRAL CHAPTER, DECREE ON VILLANCICOS AT CHRISTMAS MATINS

Source: MEX-Pc: AC 1633-12-30

Translation

[Be it resolved] that at Matins of Christmas of this year and those following there shall be a [bell ringing] from ten to eleven at night, ringing at the half hour, and the bell absolutely must be rung so that punctually at eleven the aforesaid Matins shall begin, and in [that service] all the Lessons shall be sung in their entirety without leaving out any part of them, and that the chansoneta [villancico] shall serve for the Responsory which shall be prayed speaking while while the singing is going on. And that on the first day of Christmas [Pascua] [the bell] shall be rung for the High Mass [missa mayor] from nine thirty until ten, and [everyone] shall enter at this hour; let all of this be observed and maintained from here forward in the said Matins and High Mass of the said day, since there have been very great problems in keeping the custom as it has been kept up till now. The head sacristan of this church is to be informed of this.

Original

que a los maitines de nauidad dese año y de los venideros se llame desde las diez a las onze de la noche repicando la media ora y en lastra se toque la esquila para que puntualmente a las onze se enpiesen los dichos maitines y en ellos se canten todas las lições yn totum sin dejar cossa alguna dellas y que la chansoneta sirba de Responsorio el qual se diga resado mientrass se estubiere cantando. y que el primer dia de pascua se repique a missa mayor de las nuebe y media a las diez y se entre a esta ora lo qual se obserue y guarde de aqui adelante en los dichos maitines y missa mayor del dicho dia por [h]allarse muy grandes ynconuenientes de guardar la costumbre que hasta aqui y dello se de noticia al sacristan mayor desta yglesia.

A.2 FRAY LUIS DE GRANADA, SERMON FOR CHRISTMAS (1595)

Sources

1. Original edition: Fray Luis de Granada, *Compendio de Dotrina Christiana*, Translated, from the Portuguese, by Fray Enrique de Almeyda (Madrid, 1595), 729–750
2. Modern edition: Fray Luis de Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, Biblioteca de autores españoles 11 (1595; Madrid, 1945), 36–41

Sermon en la Fiesta del Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Jesu Cristo,
sobre el Evangelio de san Lucas 2 que dice así.

1. En aquel tiempo se publicó un edicto de César Augusto, en el cual mandaba que se encabezase todo el mundo. Este primer encabezamiento fue hecho por Cirino Presidente de Siria. Mandábase que todos fuesen cada uno a su tierra, a escribirse, y pagar cierta moneda, y profesar obediencia al Imperio Romano. Pues conformándose con esta ley, subió Ioseph de la provincia de Galilea, y de la ciudad de Nazareth a la provincia de Judea, y a la ciudad de David, que se llamaba Bethleem; porque era de la casa y familia de David, para protestar allí con María Esposa suya, que iba preñada. Y acaeció que estando allí, se cumplieron los días de su parto, y parió a su Hijo primogénito, y envolvióle en pañales, y acostóle en un pesebre, porque no había otro lugar en aquel mesón.

2. Había en aquella region unos pastores, que a la sazon estaban velando, y guardaban las vigilias de la noche sobre su ganado; y el Angel del Señor vino a ellos, y la clardidad del Señor los rodeó, y temieron con gran temor; y díjoles el Angel: No querais temer; mirad que os denuncio unas nuevas de grande alegría, que será para todo el pueblo, que os es nacido hoy un Salvador, que es Cristo, nuestro Señor, en la ciudad de David. Y esta señal os doy, que hallaréis al Niño envuelto en pañales, y puesto en el pesebre. Y luego a deshora se juntó con el Angel una muchedumbre del ejército celestial, que alababan a Dios, y decían; Gloria sea a Dios en las alturas, y paz a los hombres de buena voluntad.

3. Y como los ángeles se apartaron dellos, y se fueron al cielo, los pastores hablaban entre sí, diciendo: Pasemos hasta Bethleem, y veamos este misterio que el Señor ha obrado, y nos ha revelado. Y vinieron a grande prisa, y hallaron a María y Josef, y al Niño puesto en el pesebre; y viéndolo, conocieron lo que les había sido revelado acerca deste Niño; y todo los que lo oyeron se maravillaron; y de las cosas que les habían sido dichas por los pastores; y María guardaba todos estos misterios, confiriéndolos en su corazón. Y los pastores se volvieron, alabando, y glorificando a Dios, por todo lo que habían oído y visto, según que les había sido revelado.

Hasta aquí son palabras del Evangelista. Síguense algunas consideraciones.

I.

4. Vengamos agora al misterio. Uno de los mas dulces pasos de toda la vida de nuestro Redentor, es este, y más lleno de maravillas, y doctrinas. En este día (dice la Iglesia) [Matins Resp. 2], los cielos

destilan miel;¹ y en este nos amaneció el día de la redención nueva, de la reparación antigua y de la felicidad eterna.

5. Salid pues agora hijas de Sion (dice la Esposa en los Cantares),² y mirad al Rey Salomón con la corona con que le coronó su madre en el día de su desposorio, y en el día del alegría de su corazón. O ánimas religiosas, amadoras de Cristo, salid agora de todos los cuidados, y negocios del mundo; y recogidos todos vuestros pensamientos, y sentidos, poneos a contemplar a vuestro Salomón, pacificador de los cielos, y tierra; no con la corona que le coronó su Padre cuando lo engendró eternamente, y se le comunicó todo, sino con la que le coronó su Madre, cuando le parió temporalmente, y le vistió de nuestra humanidad. Venid a ver al hijo de Dios, no en el seno del Padre, sino en los brazos de la Madre; no sobre los coros de los Ángeles, sino entre viles animales; no asentado en la diestra de la Majestad en las alturas, sino reclinado en un pesebre de bestias; no tronando y relampagueando en el cielo, sino llorando y temblando de frío en un establo. Venid a celebrar este día de su desposorio, donde sale ya del tálamo virginal, desposado con la naturaleza humana, con tan estrecho vínculo de matrimonio, que ni en vida ni en muerte se haya de desatar. Éste es el día de la alegría secreta de su corazón, cuando llorando exteriormente como niño, se alegraba interiormente por nuestro remedio, como verdadero Redentor.

6. Mas para proceder en este misterio ordenadamente, considera primero los trabajos que la sacratísima Virgen pasaría en este camino que hizo de Nazareth a Bethleem; porque el camino era largo, los caminantes pobres y mal proveídos, la Virgen muy delicada, y vecina al parto; el tiempo áspero para caminar; y por el mal aparejo de las posadas; a causa de ser tantos los huéspedes que de todas partes acudirían. Camina tú en espíritu esta santa Romería, y con pureza y simplicidad de niño, y con humilde, y devoto corazón sigue estos pasos piadosos, y sirve en lo que pudieres a estos santos peregrinos, y escucha cómo en todo este camino unas veces hablan de Dios, otras van hablando con Dios; unas veces orando, y otras dulcemente platicando; y así trocando los ejercicios, vencían el trabajo del caminar. Camina pues tú hermano con ellos, para que siendo compañero en el camino, y en el trabajo, lo seas después del alegría, y de la gloria del misterio.

7. Considera la estrema pobreza, y humildad que el Rey del cielo escogió en este mundo para su nacimiento: pobre casa, pobre cama, pobre madre, pobre ajuar, y tan pobre aderezo, que la mayor parte de lo que allí sirvió, no solo fue pobrísimo y bajísimo, sino tambien (como dice S. Bernardo), prestado, y prestado de bestias.³ Tal fue la posada que escogió el Criador del mundo, y tales los regalos y deleites temporales que tuvo aquel sagrado parto, y aquella Virgen parida.

8. Estando pues en esta posada, dice el Evangelista que se cumplieron los días del parto de la Virgen, y llegó aquella hora tan deseada de todas las gentes, tan esperada en todos los siglos, tan prometida en todos los tiempos, tan cantada y celebrada en todas las Escrituras divinas. Llegó aquella hora de la cual pendía la salud del mundo, el reparo del cielo, la vitoria del demonio, el triunfo de la muerte, y del pecado; por la cual lloraban, y suspiraban los gemidos, y destierro de todos los Santos. Era la media noche, más clara que el mediodía (cuando todas las cosas estaban en silencio, y gozaban del sosiego, y reposo de la noche quieta), y en esta hora tan dichosa, sale de las entrañas virginales a este nuevo mundo el unigénito Hijo de Dios, como Esposo que sale

1. Matins Resp. 2.

2. S. of S. 3.

3. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Serm. de Passion. post init.*

del tálamo virginal de su purísima madre. Mas ¿de qué manera salió? Como lo canta la Iglesia, diciendo: Como sale el rayo de la estrella, sin que pierda de su entereza ni hermosura; así la sacratísima Virgen nos parió la luz eterna, la cual más sanctificó a su purísima Madre.⁴

9. Pues en esta hora tan dichosa, aquella omnipotente palabra de Dios descendió de las sillas reales del cielo a este lugar de nuestra miserias,⁵ y apareció vestido de nuestra carne, y acompañado de todas aquellas penas, y miserias (excepto las de ignorancia, y malicia), con que nacen los otros hombres. De suerte, que ya puede él decir por sí aquellas palabras del Sabio: Soy yo también hombre mortal como los otros, del linaje terreno de aquél que primero que yo fue formado; y en el vientre de mi madre tomé sustancia de carne; y después de nacido recibí este aire común a todos, y caí en la misma tierra que todos; y la primera voz que di, fue llorando, como todos los otros niños; porque ninguno de los Reyes tuvo otro origen en su nacimiento; todos tienen una misma manera de entrar en la vida, y una manera de salir della.⁶

10. Considero yo en estas palabras, que si se cuenta por grande humildad en éste que habla en persona de Rey, contar de sí estas bajezas que tenía communes con los otros hombres; ¿cuánto será mas maravillosa la humildad, que haya querido bajar a ellas el Criador de todo? Cuánto mayor maravilla es, que se quisiese hacer otro segundo Adam, y que dél se puedan decir entre los hombres aquellas palabras, que por ironía, y manera de escarnio se dijeron del primero Adam. Veis aquí a Adam como uno de nosotros, que sabe de bien, y de mal.⁷ Veis aquí al Salvador del mundo, a la gloria del cielo, al Señor de los Ángeles, a la bienaventuranza de los hombres, y a la sabiduría eterna engendrada ántes del lucero de la mañana, que por boca de Salomón tan magníficamente se gloría, diciendo: No estaban aún criados los abismos, y ya yo era concebida; aún no habían brotado las fuentes de las aguas, aún no se habían asentado todos los montes en sus lugares, ante todos los collados, ya yo era engendrada.⁸ Veis aquí con principio al que era sin principio. Veis aquí hecho al que era Hacedor de todas las cosas; que sabe ya de bien, y de mal; sabe de lágrimas, y de penas, sabe de trabajos, de dolores, ansias, y gemidos. De todo sabe, y no poco, sino mucho: pues, como dice Isaías, él es varon de dolores, y que sabe de enfermedades.⁹

11. ¿Pues qué cosa puede ser de mayor maravilla? ¡O Señor Dios nuestro (dice san Cipriano), cuán admirable es vuestro nombre en toda la tierra!¹⁰ Verdaderamente vos sois Dios obrador de maravillas; ya no me maravillo de la figura del mundo, ni de la firmeza de la tierra (estando cercada de un cielo tan móvil), no de la sucesión de los días, ni de la mudanza de los tiempos (en los cuales unas cosas se secan, otras reverdecen; unas mueren, y otras viven), de nada desto me maravillo; sino maravillome de ver a Dios en el vientre de una doncella; maravillome de ver al todopoderoso en la cuna; maravillome de ver como a la palabra de Dios se pudo pegar carne, y cómo siendo Dios sustancia espiritual, recibió vestidura corporal. Maravillome de tantas expensas, y de tan largo proceso, y de tan grandes espacios, como se gastaron en esta obra. En mas breve tiempo se pudiera concluir este negocio, y con una palabra de Cristo se pudiera redimir el mundo,

4. This and subsequent paragraph breaks follow source 2.

5. Wisd. 18.

6. Wisd. 7. Paragraph break added in source 2.

7. Gen. 3.

8. Prov. 8.

9. Isa. 53.

10. Ciprian, *Serm. de Nativ. Christ. per tot.*

pues con una se crió. Mas bien parece, cuánto mas noble criatura sea el hombre racional que este mundo corporal; pues tanto más se hizo para su remedio.

12. En los otros misterios todavía hallo salida; mas en este la grandeza del espanto roba todos mis sentidos, y con el Profeta me hace clamar: Señor, oí tus palabras, y temí; consideré tus obras, y quedé pasmado.¹¹ Con mucha razón, por cierto, os espantáis Profeta; porque, ¿que cosa más para espantar, que la que aquí en pocas palabras nos refiere el Evangelista, diciendo: Parió a su unigénito, y envolvíole en unos pañales; y acostóle en un pesebre, porque no halló otro lugar en aquel establo? ¡O venerable misterio, mas para sentir que para decir; no para explicarse con palabras, sino para adorarse con admiración en silencio! ¡Qué cosa mas admirable, que ver aquel Señor, a quien alaban las estrellas de la mañana, aquel que está asentado sobre los Querubines, que vuela sobre las plumas de los vientos, que tiene colgada de tres dedos la redondez de la tierra; cuya silla es el cielo, y estrado de sus pies, es la tierra, que haya querido bajar a tan grande extremo de pobreza, que cuando naciese (ya que quiso nacer en este mundo), le pariese su Madre en un establo, y le acostase en un pesebre, por no tener allí otro lugar mas cómodo? ¿Qué persona tan baja llegó jamás a tal extremo de pobreza, que por falta de otro mejor abrigo se entrase a parir en un establo, y a poner su hijo en un pesebre? ¿Quién juntó en uno dos extremos tan distantes, como Dios, y pesebre? ¿Qué cosa mas baja, que pesebre, que es lugar de bestias? Y ¿qué cosa mas alta que Dios, que está asentado sobre los Querubines? Pues ¿cómo el hombre no sale de sí, con la consideración de dos cosas tan distantes, Dios en un establo, Dios en un pesebre, Dios temblando de frío, Dios envuelto en pañales, Dios llorando?

13. ¡O Rey de gloria! ¡O espejo de inocencia! ¿Qué a ti con estos cuidados? ¿Qué a tí con el frío, y desnudez? ¿Qué a tí con las lágrimas? ¿Qué a tí con el tributo, y castigo de nuestros pecados? ¡O caridad! ¡O piedad! ¡O misericordia incomprendible de nuestro Dios! ¿Qué haré, Dios mio? ¿Qué gracias te daré? ¿Con qué responderé a tantas misericordias? ¿Con qué humildad serviré a esta humildad? ¿Con qué amor a este amor? ¿Cómo agradeceré tal beneficio? Véome por todas partes cercado de tantas obligaciones, véome como anegado debajo de las olas de tanto beneficios, y no veo cómo salir de la obligación de tan grande cargo. Antes se me figuraba, que merecía mil infiernos él que te ofendía; mas agora, después de tan nuevos, y tan grandes beneficios, ya no hay pena que baste para castigo del que no te ama. Bendito seas para siempre Dios mio, que con tales cadenas me prendiste, y tales pesas echaste a mi corazón, para llevarlo a tí, y con tales beneficios, y misterios quesiste encenderme en tu amor, y confirmarme en tu esperanza y aficionarme al trabajo, y a la pobreza, y a la humildad; al menosprecio del mundo, y al amor de la cruz. El Señor (dice el Profeta), está en santo templo: el Señor tiene en el cielo su silla.¹² Pues ¿cómo se trocó el templo por establo? ¿Cómo se mudó el cielo en pesebre? Creo cierto, que cuando los santos en la contemplación salían de sí, y quedaban enajenados y transportados en Dios, era, considerando esta tan grande maravilla, y esta tan grande muestra de la divina bondad, y caridad.

14. Y no solamente los hombres, mas si fuera posible salir Dios de sí, dijéramos que en este caso había acaecido. A lo méno los Filósofos deste mundo así lo sentían, cuando decían que la predicación del Evangelio era locura,¹³ pareciéndoles, que no era posible, que aquella altísima,

11. Hab. 3.

12. Ps. 10.

13. 1 Cor. 1.

y simplicísima sustancia, quisiese infacionarse (como ellos hablan) y sujetarse a tan grandes miserias, y penas. Pues hasta aquí llegó la bondad, y misericordia, y el amor de Dios para con los hombres, que hizo tales cosas por ellos, que los hombres las tuvieron por locura. Elegantemente dijo un sabaio: Amar, y tener seso, apenas se concede a Dios. Así vemos aqui a Dios (ya que no era posible caer este desfallecimiento en él) como salido de sí (a juicio de los hombres), y trasportado ó transformado en el hombre: tomando lo que no era, sin dejar de ser lo que era, por la grandeza del amor. Plantó Noe una viña despues del diluvio, y bebió tanto vino della, que vino a salir de sí, y quedar desnudo, y hecho escarnio de su mismo hijo.¹⁴ Pues así tú, Dios mío, plantaste los hombres en este mundo como vides de una viña, y fue tan grande el amor que les tuviste, que por ellos veniste, como a salir de tí, y a quedar muerto y desnudo en una cruz, hecho escarnio de tu pueblo.

II.

15. Perseverando más en la consideración deste sagrado pesebre, hallarás en él motivos, no solo para el conocimiento de aquella soberana bondad y amor de Dios, sino también para toda virtud. Aquí aprenderás humildad de corazón, aquí menosprecio del mundo, aquí aspereza de cuerpo, aquí aquella desnudez, y pobreza de espíritu tan celebrada en el Evangelio.¹⁵ Sabía muy bien este Médico, y Maestro del cielo, cuánta inocencia, y paz mora en la casa del pobre de espíritu, y cuántas guerras, y desasosiegos, y cuidados trae consigo el desordenado amor de las riquezas: y por esto luego desde la cuna, y del pesebre (como de una cátedra celestial), la primera lición que leyó, y la primera voz que dió, fue condenando la codicia, raíz de todos los males; y engrandeciendo la pobreza de espíritu, y la humildad, fuente de todos los bienes. Ésto, dice un doctor, nos predica aquel pesebre, aquellos pañales, aquella pobre casa, y aquel establo.¹⁶ ¡O dichosa casa! O establo más precioso, que todos los palacios reales, donde Dios asentó la cátedra de la Filosofía del cielo, donde la palabra de Dios enmudecida, tanto más claramente habla, cuanto más calladamente nos avisa.

16. Mira pues, hermano (si quieres ser verdadero Filósofo) no te apartes deste establo; donde la palabra de Dios callando llora; mas este lloro es mayor elocuencia que la de Tulio, y aun que las músicas de los Ángeles del cielo. Aquel resplandor de la gloria del Padre es envuelto en pañales; mas con que se hayan de limpiar las manchas de nuestros pecados. Aquí la hartura de los Ángeles es sustentada con un rayo de leche; mas leche que cria la simplicidad de los humildes, hasta llegar a su madura perfección. Aquí se nos vuelve en cebada el pan de los Ángeles, con que sustente los piadosos jumentos, y se esfuercen a llevar la carga de los mandamientos divinos.

17. Todos estos bienes, con otros innumerables, nos representa, y communica este glorioso misterio: por lo cual con mucha razon exclama un religioso doctor, diciendo [Guarrico Abad]: O cuán glorioso, y cuán amable es tu nacimiento, Niño Jesu, que santifica el nacimiento de todos, reforma la naturaleza dañada, deshace los agravios del enemigo, rompe la escritura de nuestra condenación, para que él que tiene dolor de haber nacido condenado, pueda ya si quiere volver a

14. Gen. 9.

15. Matt. 5.

16. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Serm. 5 de Nativ.*

renacer salvo.¹⁷ Verdaderamente tú eres, Niño misericordioso, a quién sola la misericordia hizo niño: aunque la misericordia, y la verdad juntamente se encontraron en ti.¹⁸ Verdaderamente tú Niño misericordioso, naciste, no para tí, sino para nosotros: pues naciendo, buscaste nuestro remedio, y no tu acrecentamiento. Por eso es dulce cosa contemplar a Dios niño, y no solo dulce, sino poderosa y eficaz para curar nuestras llagas.

18. Mas con todo esto siempre vuelvo a aquello que mas dulcemente sabe: conviene a saber, que por eso se quiso hacer semejante a los hombre, po ser mas amable a los hombres: porque la semejanza es causa de amor. Y por esto no puedo caber en mí de alegría, cuando veo que aquella soberana Majestad vistió la naturaleza divina de mi carne; y me admitió, no para una hora, sino para siempre, a las riquezas de su gloria. Hízose hermano mío el Señor mío: ya el temor que tenía a mi Señor, es vencido del amor de mi hermano. Y por esto, Señor mío, de buena gana oigo decir que reinas en el cielo; mas de mejor, que naces en la tierra; porque esta consideración arrebata mi afición, y la memoria deste beneficio enamora, y enciende mi corazón.

19. Estábase mi Señor en el cielo oyendo las alabanzas y músicas de su gloria, haciendo maravillas en lo alto, y en lo bajo, y en los abismos; yo estaba atollado en el cieno, lleno de miserias, y trabajos, y perdida la esperanza de verme libre. Él en la gloria, y yo en la miseria; él admirable, y yo miserable. Pues aquel que era admirable a los Ángeles, inclinó los cielos, y descendió, y hízose consiliario de los hombres. Trocóse el nombre de Majestad en nombre de piedad; y él que era admirable en el cielo, viene a ser consiliario en la tierra. Escondió su púrpura real debajo del saco de mi miseria, e inclinóse al lado donde yo estaba, sin que le pasase. Estaba yo en el profundo del cieno, y él estendió su brazo a la obra de sus manos, y sacóme del profundo de las aguas; y sacado, lavome; y lavado, vistiome; y vestido, reparome; y reparado, confirmome; y del todo me dejó remediado. Diome la mano, cuando nació; sacóme, cuando predicó; lavome, cuando murió; vistiome, cuando resucitó; reparome, cuando subió al cielo; y confirmome, cuando envió al Espíritu santo; y así del todo me remedió.

20. Inefable es la suavidad y misericordia del Salvador, que señaladamente resplandece en su infancia, y ternura de sus miembros, y en esta figura de niño. Está Dios colgado de los pechos de una doncella, liado con una faja; y cuando le desenvuelve su Madre, estiende sus bracitos, y pies, sonríese como niño, y con sus alegres ojos mira a la Madre, halagándola con su semblante; y con ser él un piélago de suavidad, aquí lo hace más suave la ternura de sus miembros. Esta dulcedumbre es incomparable, y esta piedad inefable: ¡que vea yo a Dios que me crió hecho niño por amor de mí! Y a aquél de quien antes se decía: Grande es Dios, y muy loable;¹⁹ agora se diga dél: ¡Niño es Dios y muy amable!

III.

21. Habiendo así mirado al Hijo, pongamos también los ojos en la Madre, que no es la menor parte deste misterio. Considera pues el alegría, la devoción, las lágrimas, y la diligencia desta Señora; y mira cuán perfectamente ejercitó aquí ambos oficios de Marta, y de María. Mira con cuánta

17. Guarrico Abad; John 3.

18. Ps. 84.

19. Ps. 47

solicitud, y diligencia sirve en todo lo que pertenece a este Niño; pues ella lo toma en sus brazos, envuélvelo, desenvuélvelo, apriétalo, abrázalo, adóralo, bésalo, y dale la teta. Todo este negocio para ella es lleno de gozo; porque ningún dolor ni injuria hubo en aquel parto.

22. No hubo allí, dice Cipriano, necesidad de baños, ni lavatorios que se suelen aparejar a las paridas; porque no había recibido ninguna injuria la Madre del Salvador; la cuál parió sin dolor, porque la concepción no fue obra de varón ni con deleite dañoso.²⁰ El fruto maduro, y sazonado, soltóse del árbol que lo traía, y no fue necesario arrancar con fuerza lo que voluntariamente se nos ofrecía. Ningún tributo se pagó en este parto, y como no precedió deleite en la concepción, no hubo usura de dolor en el parto. No convino que la que era inocente fuese afigida de balde. No consentía la divina Justicia, que aquél sagrario del Espíritu santo, fuese agraviado con las injurias de las otras mujeres, pues en sola la naturaleza comunicaba con ellas, y no en la culpa.

23. Los aderezos de casa que allí faltaban, aunque los hubiera, no hubiera ojos que los miraran; porque la presencia del Niño así ocupaba los ojos de los que entraban, que en solo él se veía la suma de todos los bienes, y no había para qué mendigar de las criaturas, lo que en sí sola representaba la omnipotente niñez. Mas no faltaba allí el servicio de los Ángeles, ni tampoco la presencia del Espíritu santo. Allí (sin duda) estaba, allí poseía su palacio, allí adornaba el templo que para sí había dedicado, y allí guardaba su Sagrario, y honraba aquel tálamo virginal, y alegraba con inestimables consolaciones aquella scratísima ánima, y ojeaba della las injurias de todos los peregrinos pensamientos: de manera que no estaba allí la ley de la carne, contradiciendo a la ley del espíritu; ni había cosa que turbase la paz de su corazón con alguna repugnancia. El Niño mamando a los pechos de la Madre gozaba de aquella leche proveída del cielo; infundiendo la fuente del sagrado pecho purísimo licor. El corazón de la Madre estaba lleno de tales deleites, que sobrepujaban su entendimiento, creciendo por ambas partes una maravillosa alegría; cuando por un cabo la devoción y humildad de la Virgen; y por otro la benignidad, y suavidad de Dios, se encontraban, y juntaban en uno. Hasta aquí son palabras de Cipriano.

IV.

24. Despues de la vista devota del pesebre, abramos los oídos para oír las músicas de los Ángeles: de los cuales dice el Evangelista, que acabando uno dellos de dar estas tan alegres nuevas a los pastores, se juntó con él una muchedumbre de ejército celestial, y que todos a una voz cantaban por aquellos aires alabanzas a Dios, diciendo: Gloria sea a Dios en las alturas; y en la tierra paz a los hombres de buena voluntad. ¿Quién jamás vió juntarse en uno, por un cabo tanta humildad, y por otro tanta gloria? ¿Cómo dicen entre sí, estar entre bestias, y ser alabado de Ángeles? ¿Estar en un establo, y resplandecer en el cielo? ¿Quién es éste tan alto, y tan bajo; tan grande, y tan pequeño? Pequeño en la carne, pequeño en el establo, y pequeño en el pesebre; mas grande en el cielo, a quién las estrellas servían; grande en los aires, donde cantaban los Ángeles; grande en la tierra, donde Herodes y todo Jerusalém temía. ¿Pues qué quiere decir en un mismo misterio, por un cabo tanta humildad, y por otra tanta gloria? ¿Qué altibajos son estos, que juntó en uno la sabiduría de Dios?

20. Ciprian, *Serm. de Nativ. Crist. cir. init.*

25. Oye agora, hermano, la cause deste misterio. Dos cosas debes considerar siempre en la persona de Cristo; conviene saber, quién era, y a lo que venía. Si miras quién él era, a él convenía toda gloria y toda honra; porque era Hijo de Dios natural único; mas si miras a lo que venía, a él convenía toda humildad, y toda pobreza, porque venía a curar nuestra soberbia. Por esto, si miras atentamente, hallarás en todos los pasos de su vida santísima, juntas en uno siempre dos cosas: por una parte grande humildad, y por otra grande gloria. Grande humildad es ser Dios concebido, y estrecharse en el vientre de una mujer; mas grande gloria, que sea la concepción por obra del Espíritu santo, y la Madre virgen antes del parto, y en el parto, y después del parto. Grande humildad es nacer en establo; mas grande gloria es resplandecer en el cielo. Grande humildad es estar entre bestias; mas grande gloria es ser cantado, y alabado por los ángeles. Grande humildad es ser cirucidado, como pecador; pero es grande gloria el nombre de Salvador. Grande humildad es venir al Bautismo entre publicanos, y pecadores; mas grandísima es la gloria de abrírsele los cielos, sonar la voz del Padre, y verse sobre él el Espíritu santo en figura de paloma: y los pregones y temores de san Juan Bautista. Finalmente, grandísima humildad fue padecer, y morir en una cruz; pero grandísima gloria fue escurecerse el cielo, temblar la tierra, despedazarse las piedras, abrirse las sepulturas, aparecer los difuntos, hacer sentimiento todos los elementos.

26. Todo esto era razón que así fuese, porque lo uno convenía para curar la grandeza de nuestra soberbia; y lo otro convenía a la dignidad de la persona que la curaba: lo uno para quién el era, y lo otro para el negocio a que venía. Por lo uno dijo san Juan: Vimos la gloria deste Señor (esta fue la grandeza de sus maravillas) conforme a quién él era, unigénito del Padre, y así hacía obras de Dios.²¹ Y por lo otro dijo Isaías: Vímosle, y no tenía figura de quién era: y deseámosle ver el mas despreciado de los hombres, varón de dolores, y que sabe de trabajos.²²

27. Y puesto caso que lo uno pertenezca a su gloria, y lo otro para nuestro ejemplo, si bien lo miras, verás que así lo uno como lo otro, era todo para nuestro bien; porque en lo uno se edifican nuestras costumbres, y con lo otro se confirma nuestra Fe. Y por esto si te escandaliza la humildad de Cristo, para no creer que es Dios él que ves tan humillado, mira la gloria que acompaña a esa humildad, y verás que no es indigna cosa de la majestad de Dios humillarse con tanta gloria. Indigna cosa parece el nacer Dios de mujer; mas no lo es, si miras la gloria con que nace. Indigna cosa parece morir; mas no el morir con tan gloriosas señales. El morir descubrió la grandeza de su bondad, y el morir con tales señales descubre la gloria de su poder. Con lo uno (según dijimos), edifica nuestras costumbres, y nos enciende en su amor; y con lo otro alumbría nuestros entendimientos, y nos confirma en la Fe. Y por esto no es menos hermoso este Señor, a los ojos de quien lo sabe mirar en su bajeza, que en su gloria. Hermosísimo es en el cielo, y hermosísimo en el establo; hermosísimo en el trono de su gloria, y hermosísimo en el pesebre de Bethleem; hermosísimo entre los coros de los Ángeles, y hermosísimo entre los brutos animales.

28. Considera mas, que si los Ángeles en tal día cantaron, y solemnizaron este misterio con glorias y alabanzas, dando gracias por la redención que nos vino del cielo, no siendo ellos los redimidos, ¿qué deben hacer los redimidos? Si ellos así dan gracias por la gracia, y misericordia ajena, ¿qué deben hacer los que fueron redimidos, y reparados por ella?

21. John 1

22. Isa. 54

A.3 BIOGRAPHY OF JOAN CEREROLS FROM MONTSERRAT CHRONICLE

Source: *Catálogo de los Monges que, siendo niños, sirvieron de Escolanes y Pages a la Reyna del cielo, la Viregn de Montserrat en esta su santa Casa*, Arxiu de Montserrat, entry no. 75.

Edited by Gregori Estrada with his notes in Catalan, 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, note 2. The underlined and struck-through words are in the original, as transcribed by Estrada.

A.3.1 Translation

Father Master Brother [“Padre Maestro Fray”] Joan Cererols, native of the town of Martorell of the bishopric of Barcelona: He was one of the greatest Chapelmasters that there were in his time, very esteemed and respected by so many Master musicians that there were in Spain, and by these called for short the Master, the Musician, the Composer.

He had the gift and talent of teaching and thus had so many students that there was hardly a church in this principality [i.e., Catalonia] whose Chapelmasters and Organists were not his students, aside from the many others that he had in other provinces of Spain, all of whom manifested the excellent qualities [“prendas”] of their Teacher, as the reverend Father himself also demonstrated those of Father Master Márquez, of whom he [Cererols] was a student. He was in addition a great player of the violin violin.†

[Marginal note:] †Harp, organ, archlute, and every string instrument, trumpet marine, and violón.

Aside from these so capable qualities that he had in the faculty of Music, he was not lacking in those of letters, for without having gone to any higher schools [“Colegios”], he came to be quite knowledgeable in that domain: he was a good moralist and he used to speak Latin as fluently as if it were his mother tongue.

[Marginal note:] He was an excellent poet.

He left behind many written [i.e., manuscript] books of music. He was Chapelmaster and master of the choir-school boys [“escolanes”] for more than thirty years. He was chief sacristan and it was he who began to adorn the Shrine [“Camarín”] of Our Lady. Finally, full of virtues and merits, he died on the day of St. Augustine, in the year 16— [completed later, but erroneously, “76”; corrected in the twentieth century, “1680”], and, in memory of such a great Master, on the day every year the boys of the Escolania sing him a Responsory.

He took the holy habit the sixth of September 1636. He was so respected and esteemed by the Convent, that they wanted to make him abbot, but the reverend Father, who was quite resigned to the glory of this world, did not wish to accept the charge, saying that he did not have the strength to bear it, and when the Community saw that the reverend Father did not wish to consent to being their Prelate, they laid hands, together with the reverend Father, on the person of Father Brother Luis Monserrate.

A.3.2 Original (edited by Gregori Estrada)

El P[adr]e Maestro Fr. Juan Cererols, natural de la villa de Martorell del obispado de Barcelona. — Fué uno de los mejores Maestros de Capilla q[ue] ubo en su tiempo, muy estimado y respetado de quantos Maestros músicos avía en España, y de los tales llamado como por antonomasia el *Maestro*, el *Músico*, el *Compositor*; [else subratllats són del manuscrit]. Tuvo don y gracia para enseñar y assí tubo tanto discípulos q[ue] apenas avía Iglesia en este principado q[ue] sus Maestros de Capilla y Organistas no fuesen discípulos suyos, sin otros muchos q[ue] tubo en otras provincias de España en que manifestaron las excelentes prendas de su Maestro, como su P[aternida]d mostró también las del P[adre] Maestro Márquez, de quien era discípulo. Fué juntamente gran [ratllat] tocador de violín [corregit: violón. Al damunt i al final del mot *violón*, una † remet a una nota marginal, que diu:] Arpa, órgano, Archilaùd y todo instrumento de cuerda, trompa marina, y violón. [Al mateix marge, a continuació, tres línies ratllades i:] fué excelente Poeta. [Continua dintre el text:] Sin las prendas tan cabales q[ue] tubo en la facultad de la Música no le faltaron las de las letras, pues sin aver hidio a los Colegios, llegó a tener mucha inteligencia de ellas, fué muy buen moralista i hablaba el latín tan corriente como si fuera su lengua natural. Dexó muchos libros de música escritos. Fué Maestro de Capilla y de escolanes más de treynta años. Fué sacristán mayor y el q[ue] empezó adornar el Camarín de N[uest]ra S[eño]ra. Finalmente, lleno de virtudes y méritos, murió dia de S. Agustín, año de 16.. [escrit després, ..76]. [Una correcció del s. XX, escriu: 1680], y en memoria de tan gran Maestor, en ese dia le cantan todos los años los niños Escolanes un responso. — Tomó el S[an]to hábito a 6 de 7^{bre}. [septiembre] de 1636 [subratllat de l'original]. Fue tan respetado y estimado del Convento, q[ue] le quiso hacer Abad, pero su P[aternida]d, q[ue] estaba muy despegado de la gloria de este mundo, no quiso admitir la carga, diciendo no tenía fuerzas para llevarla, y viendo la Comunidad como su P[aternida]d no quería consentir en ser su Prelado, hecharon mano, con su P[aternida]d, de la persona del P. Fr. Luis Monserrate.

A.4 *HA DE LOS COROS/SUSPENDED,CIELOS*, COMPARISON OF SOURCE TEXTS

Source 1	Source 3	Source 7	Source 8
Madrid 1651	Alcalá 1675 (in León Marchante 1733)	Madrid 1689	Cererols (CAN) ²³
Textual Family A	Textual Family B	B + A	A
ROMANCE			
Ha de los coros del cielo? [etc.] ²⁴			
ESTRIVILLO.	<i>Estriuillo</i>	<i>ESTRIVILLO.</i>	a 8
Suspended cielos vuestro dulce canto, tened, parad, y escuchad la mas nueva consonancia, que forman en su distancia, lo eterno, y lo temporal. Escuchad, que cantan los Serafines esta noche los Maytines en el Coro del portal. Escuchad, que entonan las Gerarquias contrapunto celestial.	SUSpended, Cielos, Vuestro dulce Canto: Parad, escuchad, La mas nueva consonancia Que forman en su distancia Lo Eterno, y lo Temporal. Escuchad, Que cantan los Serafines Esta Noche los Maytines En el Coro del Portal. Escuchad, Que entonan las Gerarquias, <i>Contra-punto Celestial.</i> Escuchad, ay, ay,	SVspended Cielos Vuestro dulce canto, Parad, y escuchad La mas nueva consona[n]cia Que forma[n] en su distancia Lo eterno, y lo temporal. Escuchad Que cantan los Serafines Esta noche los Maytines En en Coro del Portal, Escuchad	Suspendet cielos vuestro dulce canto tened parad escuchad la mas nueva consonancia q[ue] forman en su distancia lo eterno y lo temporal escuchad que entonan las gerarquias en sonoras armonias contrapunto celestial
Y con solloços tiernos vn Niño soberano, à los Angeles lleva el canto llano	Y con sollozos tiernos Un Niño Soberano, A los Angeles <i>lleva el Canto Llano.</i>	Y con sollozos tiernos Vn Niño Soberano A los Angeles lleva el canto llano.	y con sollosos tiernos vn niño soberano ²⁵ a los angeles lleva el canto llano

23. The text for source 8 is transcribed with original orthography from the Tiple I-1 partbook of the Canet de Mar manuscript, and, where chorus I does not sing, from the Tiple II. Variants in source 9 (E-Bbc) are noted below.

24. In S1 (and S2) the romance precedes the estribillo and coplas. Sources 3–7 move adapt the S1 romance as part of the coplas (see the full text in appendix A).

25. Source 9 (E-Bbc) substitutes this for the preceding two lines: “y desde vn pan diuino/ vn hombre soberano.”

Source 1 (Textual Family A) Madrid 1651	Source 3 (Textual Family B) Alcalá 1675, in León Marchante 1733	Source 7 (Hybrid B + A) Madrid 1689	Source 8 (Family A) Cererols, CAN only
ROMANCE. ²⁶	ROMANCE.	COPLAS.	coplas a 4 y a Duo
Ha de los Coros del cielo? cuyo misterioso canto sagrada cancion entona por los siglos de los Astros.	Ha de los <i>Coros del Cielo</i> , Cuyo misterioso <i>Canto</i> , Sagrada <i>Cancion entona</i> , Por los <i>Signos</i> ²⁷ de los Astros.	Ha de los Coros del Cielo, Cuyo misterioso canto Sagrada cancion entona Por los signos de los Astros.	
Quien interrompe lo acorde deste sagrado Palacio? que la celeste harmonia pendiente està de su labio.	Quien interrumpe lo <i>acorde</i> Deste Sagrado <i>Palacio</i> , Que la Celeste <i>armonia</i> , Pendiente està de su <i>Labio</i> ?	Quien interrumpe lo acorde Deste Sagrado Palacio, Que la Celeste armonia Pendiente està de su labio?	
Vna novedad suspenda vuestros Musicos sagrados, pues suspende à las esferas lo voluble de sus arcos.	Una novedad suspenda Vuestros <i>Musicos Sagrados</i> , Pues ²⁸ suspende à las Esferas, Lo voluble de sus Arcos. ²⁹	Vna novedad suspenda Vuestros musicos sagrados, Pues suspende à las Esferas Lo boluble de sus arcos.	
Hagan pausa los zafiros deste quaderno estrellado, dexen doblada la hoja los açules cartapacios.		Hagan pausa los Zafiros Dest Quaderno Estrellado; Dexen doblada la hoja Los azules cartapacios.	
La consonancia mas nueva escuchad, que la han formado, hombre, y Dios en vn pesebre, cielo, y tierra en vn establo;	La <i>consonancia</i> mas nueva, Escuchad, que la han formado, Hombre, y Dios en un Pesebre, Cielo, y Tierra en un Establo.	La consonancia mas nueva Escuchad, que la han formado Hombre, y Dios en vn Pesebre, Cielo, y Tierra en vn Establo.	
Despueblense las esferas de celestes ciudadanos, pues baxan á ser sus glorias alegrias de los campos.		Despúeblesc las Esferas De celestes Ciudadanos, Pues baxan à ser sus glorias Alegria de los campos.	

26. The romance of S1, which precedes the estribillo in that source, is transposed here to allow comparison with the later sources.

27. Variants in other sources of B family—S4, S6: “signos”; S5: “siglos”, as in S1.

28. S4, S5: “que”.

29. S4, S5: “astros”.

Source 1 (Textual Family A) Madrid 1651	Source 3 (Textual Family B) Alcalá 1675, in León Marchante 1733	Source 7 (Hybrid B + A) Madrid 1689	Source 8 (Family A) Cererols, CAN only
[COPLAS]			
Las fugas que el primer ho[m]bre formò en desatentos passos, al compas ajusta vn Niño de las perlas de su llanto.	Las <i>fugas</i> , que el primer Hombre Formò en desatentos <i>passos</i> , Al <i>Compás</i> ajusta un Niño, De las Perlas de su llanto. ³⁰	Las fugas que el primer ho[m]bre Formò en desatentos passos, Al compàs ajusta vn Niño De las perlas de su llanto.	las fugas del primer hombre formo en desatentos passos al compas ajusta vn niño de las perlas de su llanto
Que mucho si à los despeños que le ocasionó vn engaño bella corriente de aljofar grillos le previene blandos.		Què mucho si à los despeños Que le ocasionò vn engaño, Vella corriente de aljofar Grillos le previene blandos.	que mucho q[ue] a los despeños q[ue] le ocasiono vn engaño bella corriente de aljofar grillos le preuiene blandos
Vna voz que ha dado el cielo del metal mas soberano à ordenar entra sonora las dissonancias del barro.	<i>Una voz</i> , que ha dado el Cielo; Del <i>Metal</i> mas Soberano, A ordenar entra <i>sonora</i> Las <i>disonancias</i> del <i>Baxo</i> . ³¹	Vna voz que ha dado el Cielo Del metal mas soberano, A ordenar entra sonora Las disonancias del barro.	vna vos que a dado el cielo del metal mas soberano a ordenar entra sonora la disonancia ³² del barro
	Quiebros de otra <i>voz</i> soberbia, Que igualar quiso al mas <i>alto</i> <i>Templa</i> un Infante en arrullos, Con mas tiernos <i>Bemolados</i> .		
	De los Angelicos <i>Types</i> , Que en el Ayre <i>resonaron</i> , Hizo Amor el <i>Contra-punto</i> , Padeciendo <i>contra-baxo</i> . ³³		

30. S5: Text ends here.

31. S4, S5: “barro”, as in S1.

32. Altus I only: “las disonancias”.

33. S4, S5: “con-trabajo”; S6: “contravajo”.

Source 1 (Textual Family A) Madrid 1651	Source 3 (Textual Family B) Alcalá 1675, in León Marchante 1733	Source 7 (Hybrid B + A) Madrid 1689	Source 8 (Family A) Cererols, CAN only
Esse sagrado concierto solo pudo ser reparo con vna voz tan humilde de vn desentono tan vano.		Esse sagrado concierto Solo pudo ser reparo, Con vna voz tan humilde de vn desentono tan vano.	Concierto tan soberano solo pudo ser reparo con vna voz tan humilde de vn desatento ³⁴ tan gra[n]de
En las pajas subtenido, dulcemente se ha escuchado, ligar en pajas lo eterno, reducir lo inmenso á espacio	En las Pajas <i>sostenido</i> , Dulcemente se ha escuchado, <i>Ligar</i> en faxas lo Eterno, Reducir lo Inmenso à espacio.	En las pajas sustenido Dulcemente se ha escuchado, Ligar en fajas lo eterno, Reducir lo inmenso à espacio.	En las pajas susteniendo ³⁵ dulcemente se ha escuchado, ligar en pajas lo eterno reducir lo inmenso espacio
De ese sonoro misterio sea eterno canto llano, quien forma en su movimiento de cada punto vn milagro.		De ese sonoro Misterio Es eterno canto llano, Quien forma en su movimiento De cada punto vn milagro.	Diuina clausula sea deste esterno canto llano q[ue] forma en su mouimie[n]to de cada punto vn milagro

34. Tiple I-2 only: “desentono”.

35. Tiple I-1 and I-2: “susteniendo”; Altus I, Tenor I: “sostenido”.

APPENDIX B
POETIC TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

B.1 ANGÉLICOS COROS CON GOZO CANTAD (PUEBLA, C. 1680)

Source: (Music) Setting by Antonio de Salazar, from Puebla, Convento de la Santísima Trinidad (MEX-Mcen: CSG.256)

ESTRIBILLO a 8

- Angélicos coros con gozo cantad
la gloria a Belén, que es casa de pan.
Celestes esferas, estrellas y luces,
bajad,
5 y el cielo de la tierra
de gloria llenad.
que solo aquel lugar
que el mundo desprecia
de Dios es capaz.
- Angelic choirs, joyfully sing
“Glory” to Bethlehem, the “House of Bread.”¹
Celestial spheres, stars and lights,
descend,
and fill earth’s heaven
with glory,²
for only that place
which the world discounts
is spacious for God.³

COPLAS a 4

1. Para nacer Dios hombre,
escoge este portal,
10 que él sólo es digno alcázar
de tanta majestad.
2. No puede en los palacios
nacer su inmensidad,
porque Dios sólo cabe
15 en él de la humildad.
3. Aquestas ruinas quiere
porque con caridad
lo derribado busca,
quién viene a edificar.
- 20 4. Naced, Señor divino,
que la justicia ya
del cielo está mirando,
que nace la Verdad.
- [ESTRIBILLO rep.]
- For God to be born as man
he chooses this stable,
for it alone is a worthy palace
for such great majesty.
- Not in the palaces
can his immensity be born,
because there is only room for God
in the one that is humble.⁴
- He favors these ruins
because with compassionate love
he seeks that which is torn down,
since he comes to build.⁵
- Be born, divine Lord,
for lo, justice
is looking down from heaven,
for the Truth is born.

1. “Bethlehem” means “House of Bread” in Hebrew, and has Eucharistic symbolism here.

2. “El cielo de la tierra”: The sky, as opposed to God’s Heaven (*cielo Empyreo*).

3. “Capaz”: Capable, having room for, being prepared for.

4. Literally, “because God only fits in him of humility,” where “él” could refer to the stable or to a Christian.

5. Contemporary paintings depict Christ’s stable as stone ruins, which here stand for the humble Christian.

B.2 SI LOS SENTIDOS QUEJA FORMAN DEL PAN DIVINO

Sources

- S: (poetry imprint) Vicente Sánchez, *Lira Poetica* (Zaragoza, 1688), 171–172
(posthumous poetic works)
- I: (music manuscript) Miguel de Irízar, musical setting (estribillo *a 8*, coplas *a solo* with continuo), Segovia Cathedral (E-SE: 5/32)
- C: (music manuscript) Jerónimo de Carrión, musical setting (solo with continuo), Segovia Cathedral (E-SE: 28/25)

Text based on S with variants in I and C noted. The differing order of coplas is shown in the numbering before each one. For example, “S2/I/_C_” indicates that what follows is the second copla in Sánchez, but is not included in either Irízar or Carrión.

Capitalization and punctuation as in S; orthography and accentuation modernized.

Al Santísimo Sacramento

ESTRIBILLO

- Si los sentidos queja
forman del Pan Divino,
porque lo que ellos sienten
no es de fe consentido,
5 hoy todos con la fe sean oídos.⁶
*no se den por sentidos
los sentidos.*
- If the senses make
a complaint about the divine bread,
because what they sense
is not by faith consented,
today let them all with faith be heard.
*let the senses not
consider themselves senses.*

COPLAS

- S1/I1/C1.
Si en ellos va el no ver bien
los ojos de que se admirán,
pues mal verán lo que miran
10 si no miran lo que ven,
si su ceguera es quien
los tiene impedidos,
*no se den por sentidos
los sentidos.*
- [SIGHT 1]
If in them there is no good seeing
from the eyes that admire,
since they shall see poorly what they see
if they do not look at what they see,
if their blindness is the one
who keeps them impeded,
*let the senses not
consider themselves senses.*

6. C: “todos hoy con la fe.”

S2/I₁/C₁.

- Entre velos transparentes,
15 no se ve Dios Encarnado,
que el color se le ha mudado,
y lo hazen sus accidentes,
si en nubes rayos lucientes,
están escondidos,
20 *no se den por sentidos
los sentidos.*

S3/I₅/C₂.

- Toca el tacto pero yerra⁷
que si en que es pan se equivoca,⁹
aunque todo un Cielo toca,
no toca en Cielo ni en tierra,
25 toca misterio y si encierra
portentos no oídos,
*no se den por sentidos
los sentidos.*

S4/I₄/C₃.

- Que tenga voto no es justo,
el gusto en este Manjar,
30 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.*

S5/I₆/C₁.

- Para que el Manjar alabe
llevé el gusto con afán,¹⁰
que al que sabe que no es pan¹¹
sabe a más de lo que sabe,¹²
mas si en su esfera no cabe
40 y se hallan perdidos,
*no se den por sentidos
los sentidos.*

[SIGHT 2]

Within transparent veils,
God Incarnate is not seen,
for the color has been changed,
and it is its accidents that do it,
if in the clouds flashing rays
are hidden,
*let the senses not
consider themselves senses.*

[TOUCH]

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
consider themselves senses.*

[TASTE 1]

It is not fair that taste
should have a vote on this Morsel,
for taste shall not enter in this food,
although the food might enter in taste:
but if it causes distaste
that the senses are not admitted,
*let the senses not
consider themselves senses.*

[TASTE 2]

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
consider themselves senses.*

7. I: “ierra”; C: “hierra.” The most reasonable reading is “yerra” as a variant of “erra” (errs, misses). See⁸

9. I, C: “pues en que es pan se equivoca” (since in what is bread it is mistaken).

10. I: “llegue el gusto con afán” (let taste arrive eagerly).

11. I: “que aunque sabe que no es pan” (for even though he knows that it is not bread).

12. I: “sabe más de lo que sabe.”

S6/I3/C4.

Si el olfato se le humilla
con Fe a entenderle la flor
le maravilla su olor
45 porque huele a maravilla¹³
mas si para percibilla¹⁴
no llegan rendidos,
no se den por sentidos
los sentidos.

S7/I2/C5.

Porque a Dios puedan gustar,¹⁵
50 en los puntos sus concertos,
todos sus cinco instrumentos
la Fe los ha de templar,
sino los puede ajustar
para ser oídos,
55 *no se den por sentidos*
los sentidos.

[SMELL]

If smell humbles himself,
with Faith to make him understand the flower,
its aroma makes him marvel
because he smells a marvel
but if in order to perceive it
the sense do not come submitted,
let the senses not
consider themselves senses.

[HEARING]

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
consider themselves senses.

13. I: “por guele a maravilla.” C: “porque guele a maravilla.”

14. “Percibilla”: percibirla. I: “percebilla.”

15. I: This line of text appears to have been squeezed in between copla 1 and 3 after the other lyrics were underlaid.

B.3 ÓYEME, TORIBIO (EL SORDO)

Source: (Music) Setting by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (fragment), in *Navidad de 1651*, Puebla Cathedral (MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/2)

[INTRODUCCIÓN] duo

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 1. | Óyeme, Toribio. | Listen to me, Toribio. |
| 2. | ¿Hablas me, chamorro? | Are you talking to me, baldy? |
| 1. | Gloria es todo el valle. | Glory is in all the valley. |
| 2. | ¿E? ¿E? que no te oigo. | Eh? Eh? I can't hear you. |
| 5 | 1. Ya es la tierra cielo,
y hasta él, llanto es gozo. | Behold, the earth has become heaven,
and in view of heaven, the cry is a joy. |
| | 2. No oigo de ese oído. | I can't hear from that ear. |
| | 1. Pondréme desotro. | I'll try the other one. |
| | 2. Desotro oigo menos. | From the other one I can hear even less. |
| 10 | 1. Tú eres lindo tonto,
yo más que te escucho... | You are a sheer idiot,
the more I listen to you... |
| | 2. ¿Si tengo bochorno?
¿Que es lo que me dices? | Am I embarrassed?
What is this you are saying to me? |
| | 1. ... que me vuelves loco. | ... that you are driving me crazy. |
| 15 | 2. [text missing] | |

[ESTRIBILLO solo]

- | | |
|---|--|
| De la aurora la risa
serán sollozos
si ven sus ojos,
al nacer la palabra,
los hombres sordos. | The laughter of the dawn
will be sobs
if her eyes see,
upon being born as the Word,
deaf people. |
|---|--|

RESPONSIÓN a 5

[same as estribillo]

COPLAS¹⁶

1. En lo que teuento,
ni quito ni pongo,
que hablo de misterio,
sin ser por el Corpus.
- 25 3. Dios ha dado en tierra
y el cuento es famoso
que lo dijo un ángel
y lo saben todos.
5. Gloria es ya la tierra,
30 de Pascua está el soto,
y hasta un portalillo
es muy misterioso.
- [Estrillo, Responcion rep.]
7. El hijo del padre
sea puesto del lado,
35 bien que sobre el cielo
ya está nuestro polvo.
9. Un buey y una mamula
se llevan los ojos,
ven que por ser bestia
40 puedes ser dichoso.
11. A hacer buenas migas,
está con nosotros,
que ya dan papilla,
almas, ingenioso.
- In the story I tell you,
I neither take away nor add,
for I speak of a mystery,
though it is not Corpus [Christi].
- God has dealt on the earth
and the story is renowned,
that an angel told it,
and everyone knows it.
- Indeed, glory is [upon] the earth,
the ground is covered for the holiday,
and even a little stable
is very mysterious.
- The son of the father
is placed along the side,
so that our dust
is [raised] above the sky.
- An ox and a mule
look all around,
they see that even being a beast
you can be favored.¹⁷
- To get along well with us,
he is staying with us,
for now give him baby-food,
O souls, wisely.
- [Estrillo, Responsión rep.]

16. Because of a missing partbook, only the text for the odd-numbered coplas survives.

17. "Dichoso": Elect, chosen, lucky, fortunate, blessed.

B.4 VOCES, LAS DE LA CAPILLA (PUEBLA, 1657)

Source: (Music) *Navidad del año de 1657*, no. 4 (MEX-Pc: Leg. 3/3)

Poet anonymous; Music by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla

[INTRODUCCIÓN] a 6

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

1. Voices, those of the chapel:¹⁸
keep count with what is sung,¹⁹
for the King is a musician, and notes
even the least dissonances
in the manner of Jesus, the infant [prince]²⁰
and in that of David, the monarch.

RESPUESTA a 3 (ii.)

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

They put notes to his lyrics,
the centuries of his heroic exploits,
the key/clef that upon his shoulder
is preserved for the thirty-three.

[INTRODUCCIÓN cont.]

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

2. Years before the sign,
dexterity in hope²¹
with the sun [on *sol*] a “glory” begins,
upon me [*mi*] a “grace” is sung,
and at the half-measure, the night²²
imitates the trills of the dawn.

[Respuesta rep.] (ii.)

18. As in the “Capilla Real,” the Royal Chapel.

19. “Cuenta [...] nota”: Or, “he keeps count.” The subject could either be “el Rey” (as translated here), or “la capilla” (admonishing the chorus, “keep count ... take note of ...”).

20. “Infante” has both meanings. “A lo de”: In the style of, in that which concerns (King David was a musician and founded the first “chapel” in the Hebrew temple; his descendant, the “infante” Christ will be no less a musical taskmaster).

21. “Destreza”: literally, dexterity; in Golden Age literature the word connotes heroic dexterity in combat, particularly “esgrima” or swordsmanship. Musically, the term suggests “virtuosity.”

22. “A medio compás la noche”: That is, at midnight.

[ESTRIBILLO a 6]

Y a trechos las distancias
en uno y otro coro,
grave, suave, y sonoro,
20 hombres y brutos y Dios,
tres a tres y dos a dos,
uno a uno,
y aguardan tiempo oportuno
quien antes del tiempo fue.
25 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!
30 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 a 3

1. (i.) Daba un niño peregrino
35 tono al hombre y subió tanto
que en sustenidos de llanto
dió octava arriba en un trino.
2. (ii.) Hizo alto en lo divino
y de la máxima y breve
40 composición en que pruebe
de un hombre y Dios consonancias.

[Estrillo rep.]

And from afar, the intervals ²³
in one choir and then the other,
serious, mild, and resonant,
men, animals, and God,
three by three and two by two,
one by one,
they all await the opportune time,
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 song²⁴
to the Man, and ascended so high
that in sustained weeping²⁵
he went up the eighth [day] into the triune.²⁶
2. From on high in divinity,²⁷
of the greatest and the least,²⁸
he made a composition in which to prove²⁹
the consonances of a Man and God.

23. “Distancias”: Both musical intervals and astronomical distances between planetary spheres.

24. Or “pilgrim song,” “wandering song,” or *tonus peregrinus*.

25. Musically, “in sharps of weeping.”

26. Musically, “he went up the octave in a trill.”

27. “Alto” also denotes the musical voice part.

28. Musically, “of the *maxima* and the *breve*.”

29. “Pruebe”: Or, test.

B.5 SUSPENDED, CIELOS, VUESTRO DULCE CANTO (SETTING BY CEREROLS, PRE-1680)

Source: Musical setting by Joan Cererols (E-CAN: AU/0116); with variants noted from alternate version of estribillo (E-Bbc: M/765/25)

Poet anonymous. Orthography and punctuation modernized; poetry of coplas amended to accord with poetry imprints.

[ESTRIBILLO]

- Suspended, cielos,
vuestro dulce canto;
tened, parad, escuchad
la más nueva consonancia
5 que forman en su distancia
lo eterno y lo temporal.
Escuchad,
que entonan las jerarquías
en sonoras armonías,
10 contrapunto celestial.
Y con sollozos tiernos,
un Niño soberano³⁰
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 entoning
in resounding harmonies
celestial counterpoint.
And with tender sobs,
a sovereign baby boy
bears the plainsong to the angels.

COPLAS

1. Las fugas que el primer hombre³¹
15 formó en desatentos pasos;
al compás ajusta un Niño
de las perlas de su llanto.
2. Qué mucho si a los despeños³²
que le ocasionó un engaño,
20 bella corriente de aljófar,
grillos le previene blandos.
3. Una voz que ha dado el cielo,
de metal más soberano
a ordenar entra sonora
25 la disonancia del barro.
1. 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.³³
3. A voice that heaven has given,
of the most sovereign timbre,
to bring order, enters resounding
into the dissonance of the clay.

30. In place of *CAN* ll. 11–12, *Bbc* has “y desde un pan divino/ un hombre soberano” (and through divine bread, a sovereign man).

31. *CAN*: “Las fugas del.” Texts from *CAN* believed to be errors are amended in several places to accord with the readings from the consensus of poetic manuscripts.

32. *CAN*: “Qué mucho que.”

4. Concierto tan soberano
sólo pudo ser reparo,
con una voz tan humilde,
de un desentono tan vano.³⁴
- 30 5. En las pajas sustenido³⁵
dulcemente se ha escuchado,
ligar en pajas lo eterno,
reducir lo inmenso a espacio.³⁶
6. Divina cláusula sea
35 deste eterno canto llano,
que forma en su movimiento
de cada punto un milagro.
4. So sovereign a concord/concerto
could only be a restoration,
with so humble a voice,
of so vain a discord.
5. Upon the straw sustained/sharp
sweetly he has been heard,
binding in straw the eternal,
reducing the immense to this space/slowly.
6. Let there be a divine cadence
of this eternal plainsong,
which forms in its movement
a miracle from each point/note.

33. Translation uncertain.

34. *CAN*: Tiple I-1 has “desatento” instead of “desentono” (untunefulness); both vocal parts have “tan grande” instead of the metrically correct “tan vano” in the poetry imprints.

35. Tiple I-1 and 2: “sosteniendo” (sustaining/sharping); Altus I and Tenor I, with poetry imprints: “sustenido.”

36. All the *CAN* partbooks have “lo inmenso espacio,” most likely a contraction for “lo inmenso a espacio,” as in all the poetry imprints.

B.6 QUÉ MÚSICA DIVINA (SETTING BY CÁSEDA)

Source: Musical setting by José de Cáceda, chapelmaster in Zaragoza
(MS, MEX-Mcen:CSG.154, originally from Puebla, Convento de la Santísima Trinidad)

[ESTRIBILLO] a 4

Qué música divina,
acorde y soberana,
afrenta de las aves
con tiernas armoniosas

- consonancias,
5 en quiebros suaves,
sonoros y graves,
acordes acentos
ofrece a los vientos,
y en cláusulas varias,
sentidos eleva,
10 potencias desmaya.
COPLAS a 4 y solo

a 4

1. Suenen las dulces cuerdas
de esa divina cítara y humana,
que aun sol que es de los cielos,
forma unida la alta con la baja.

Solo

- 15 2. De la fe es instrumento
y al oído su música regala
donde hay por gran misterio
en cada punto entera consonancia

Solo

3. De el lazo a este instrumento
20 sirve la unión que sus extremos ata:
tres clavos son clavijas
y puente de madera fue una tabla.

What divine music,
tuneful and sovereign,
shows up [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.

1. Let the sweet strings sound
of that divine and human *cítara*,
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.

a 4

4. Misteriosa vihuela,
al herirle sus cuerdas una lanza,
25 su sagrada armonía se vió allí
de siete órdenes formada.

Solo

5. No son a los sentidos
lo que suenan sus voces soberanas
porque de este instrumento
30 cuantas ellos percibían serán falsas.

a 4

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.

[Estrillo rep.]

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 voices/notes sound,
for, of this instrument
as many notes as they perceived will be false.

6. Your mysterious excellence, which
elevates to the heavens him who reaches it:
sensation does not eat it, for your music
is fodder for the soul.

B.7 AL ESTABLO MÁS DICHOSO (ENSALADILLA)

Source: Musical setting by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (Puebla, Christmas 1652), MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/3

[PART I: EL “NUEVO TROYANO”] [THE “NEW TROJAN”]

[PROLOGUE (Chorus)]

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Al establo más dichoso,
donde triunfa la victoria,
principio a siglos de gracia,
la noche más venturosa, | 1. At the most blessed stable,
where victory triumphs,
the beginning/prince of the centuries of grace,
the happiest night, |
| 5 2. Buena noche y la más buena,
pues a pesar de las sombras
en su mitad amanece
quién con tanta luz entolda. | 2. A good night, and the best, ³⁷
since despite the shadows
at its midpoint dawns
one who with so much light overwhelms it. |
| 10 3. Un zagal de aquel contorno,
en su templada zampoña,
tocando el nuevo troyano,
cantó en la pajiza choza. | 3. A shepherd-boy from that scene,
on his tempered panpipes,
playing the “New Trojan,”
sang in the straw-filled hutch. |

[SONG/DANCE] Solo y a 4

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. En Belén cantando están,
todo es gloria, todo es cielo,
15 y en un portalico pobre
se ha estrechado él que es inmenso. | 1. In Bethlehem they are singing,
All is glory, all is heaven
and in a poor little stable
he who is immense has confined himself. |
| 2. Fuego derrite la nieve,
y entre tanta nieve el fuego
a cada llama bosteza,
20 lo acendrado deste estremo. | 2. Fire melts the snow,
and among so much snow, the fire
yawns with each flame,
having refined it from this extreme. |
| 3. Míranse por todos lados,
en cada paja un lucero,
una antorcha a cada viso
y un Dios grande aunque pequeño. | 3. They are seen on all sides,
in each piece of straw there is a lantern,
a torch at each spark
and a God who is great, though little. |

37. A play on “la Nochebuena,” the Spanish idiom for Christmas Eve.

[PART II:] EL ARRIERO

[PROLOGUE (Chorus)]

- 25 1. Después Bartholo, él de marras,
arriero de cala y gorra,
que fue espadachín de antaño,
y hoy mercader de panochas.
2. En busca de una mulilla
30 que se le fue por tramoya,
a darse una buena noche,
en las pajás misteriosas.
3. Al portal con los pastores
se entró arrojando bramonas
35 y a quién ocupa el pesebre,
dice como que se entona:

[SONG/DANCE] Responsión Duo
[Solo with acc.]

1. Señor niño, voto a San—
ya lo dije, y esto sobrá
para que entienda que vengo
40 puesto a lo de aquí fue Troya.
2. No se me asuste le digo
ni de inocente se ponga,
cuando me dicen que sabe
lo que su padre no ignora.
- 45 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.

THE MULE-DRIVER

1. Next Bartholo—you know the one—
a mule Skinner of the finest pedigree,
who was a swordsman in days gone by,
and now, a vendor of candies.³⁸
2. En search of a little mule
who went off from him in a scheme
to give himself a good night³⁹
in the mysterious straw.
3. Into the stable with the shepherds
he entered, braying up a storm,⁴⁰
and to the one who occupies the manger,
he says as it is entoned:

1. Mr. Baby, I swear to Saint—
well now I said it, and it's more than enough
for you to understand that I come
on account of all this "Troy"/mess.⁴¹
2. Don't be afraid of me, I tell you,⁴²
or play innocent
when they tell me that you know
whatever is not unknown to your father.
3. It's good that of [all] my mules,
the dirtiest and the fattest
should bring me to this manger
without as much as opening his mouth.

38. In Mexico today, “panocha” refers to range of candies; cf. American penuche, or brown sugar fudge, and Italian *panucci*.

39. Another play on “Nochebuena.”

40. It is ambiguous (probably on purpose) whether it is the mule or his driver that is bellowing and braying.

41. “Algo fue Troya” is an idiom for “it was a hell of a fuss!” (as the *Oxford Spanish Dictionary* puts it); here it is has double meaning as an allusion to the Trojan horse. Bartholo’s mule sneaks into the manger, and brings Bartholo with him, like the Trojan horse—a “Nuevo Troyano.”

42. Bartholo addresses “Señor niño” with the most formal “Usted” forms.

4. Y yo sin haber vendido
 50 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
 55 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
 60 el aliento de su boca.
7. Y por vida de Bartholo,
 que en aquestas y en esotras,
 cuando por esto la quiera,
 que aquí se las traiga todas.
- 65 8. Abra esa boca de perlas
 con que tanto me enamora,
 y pida que estos serranos
 no pretendan otra cosa.
9. Un baile quieren hacerle,
 70 que “papalotillo” nombran
 y como cantemos todos,
 más que rueden las panochas.
4. And I, without having sold
 all my stock of candies,
 should give up the struggle, carrying these flowers⁴³
 hawking it at my own expense.
5. If you come to enrapture men⁴⁴
 it seems to me an improper thing
 to have my mule go first,
 if she's not going to carry the wagon.⁴⁵
6. 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 feed from her mouth.⁴⁶
7. And upon the life of Bartholo,
 whether in these things or those others,
 if you should want anything,
 they should all be brought here for you.⁴⁷
8. Open that mouth of pearls,
 with which I am so enamored,
 and request that these mountain folk
 don't try another thing.
9. They want to do a dance for you,⁴⁸
 named the “papalotillo,”⁴⁹
 and so, let us all sing,
 more than the candies should turn.⁵⁰

43. “Andar en flores”: An idiom for refusing to get into an argument. “Y con flores”: Plays on the first idiom, and the idea (perhaps) that Bartholo also sells flowers from his cart, which now he reluctantly offers the Christ-child for free.

44. “Arrobar”: Clearly spelled as one word in the manuscript (“aarouar”), but possibly also a play on “a robar” (which sounds the same and is etymologically related)—this would mean “if you came to steal from men,” and would be fitting since in the previous copla Bartholo seems to be indignant at the business he has lost.

45. So not only is the “horse going before the cart,” but the animal is the first to meet Christ, even though Christ came to save men, not animals (so says Bartholo).

46. That is, Bartholo thinks Christ should have the straw (which the mule is eating) for warmth. But subject is ambiguous: “pretende” and “su” could both refer to the mule, or both to Christ, or one of each. Thus this could also mean “she intends to have the feed from your mouth”

47. Possibly a specific promise regarding the mule, that starting with the straw, Bartholo will have her bring Christ anything he needs from now on.

48. The term “baile” rather than “danza” suggests a specific, ordered dance form, rather than just dancing in general.

49. The word is the diminutive of “papalote,” which is derived from the Nahuatl “papalotl” (RAE). In modern Mexico the term could mean “little kite” or paper toy. In this usage, Bartholo says the word is the rustics’ name for their dance.

50. Or perhaps, “and let the candies go round all the more.”

[PART III:] PAPALOTILLO

SOLO

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

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

RESPONSIÓN a 4

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

[same]

COPLAS

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

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

- 80 2. Míralo bien entre pobres alajas,
grano fecundo escondido entre pajas.

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

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

3. Look on him well, for though
now he confines himself,
he will give us a fertile harvest.

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

4. Look on him well, with tenderness and care,
for he will be revealed as both pasture and pastor.⁵¹

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

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

6. Míralo bien, pequeño pastor,
pues cuando grande será labrador.

6. Look on him well, the tiniest shepherd/pastor,
since when he is big he will be a laborer.

RESPONSIÓN

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

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

51. "Pasto": Livestock feed (anagogically, the Eucharist). "Pastor": The same word for shepherd and religious minister.

[PART IV:] NEGRILLA

[PROLOGUE (Chorus)]

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

- 95 2. Dejando el tumbacatumba,
y gruñendo a lo de Angola,
desenvainó con la voz,
de su tizón la tizona.

[INTRODUCCIÓN] Duo y a 6

- 100 Diga plimo, ¿dónde sa
la niño de nacimiento?
pluque samo su palenta
y la venimo a busca.

105 Ayta, aytá, cundiro entle pajita,
su ojo como treyita,
y uno buey y una mulita
con su baho cayenta.

Turturuyegá, aytá, aytá.

[Proper Spanish equivalent]

- Diga, primo, ¿dónde está
el niño de nacimiento?
porque sabemos sus parientes⁵⁴
y lo venimos a buscar.

Ayta, candela entre pajitas,
su ojo como estrellita,
y un buey y una mulilla
con su bajo callentar.

Turturuyegá, aytá, aytá.⁵⁵

1. Little Miguel from Angola,
marshalling his troop,
does not wish to be the last one
at the party that is being enjoyed.

2. Leaving the “tumbacatumba”⁵²
and groaning like the Angolans do,
he unsheathed his voice,
like pulling a sword from his charred log.⁵³

Tell me, cousin, where is
the baby who was born?
for we know his relatives
and we come to seek him.

Ayta, a fire among the straw,
his eye like a little star,
and an ox and a little mule
with his belly/bass to warm him.

[Nonsense lullaby words]

52. The nonsense refrain of the negrilla in Padilla’s 1651 ensaladilla was “tumbucutu, cutu, cutu”; the sounds may be imitations of south-central African languages (the ancestors of modern Kikongo and Kitumba) of the Angolan slaves as heard by the Spanish.

53. “Tizona” means a sword (after the name of the Cid’s weapon), playing on the idea of Minguelillo “acaudillando su tropa” like a military leader; “tizón” means a charred log or a piece of coal, an emblem not only of blackness but here of Minguelillo’s throat. The verse mocks the perceived sound of black singers’ voices.

54. Or, “pariente”?

55. Perhaps, “ahi está” (there he is).

	Caya, caya, mila no panta que duelme la siguetito, Sesu, Sesu, que bonito, sucuchá, que cantamo lo angelito: Gloria en las alturas y en la tierra paz. [ESTRIBILLO]	Calla, calla, mira, no [le] espanta, que duerme el chiquitito, Jesús, Jesús, qué bonito, escuchar, que cantamos a lo angélico ⁵⁶	Hush, hush, look, don't startle him, for the tiny boy is sleeping, Jesu, Jesu, how lovely, sucuchá, for we are singing like the angels: Glory in the heights and on the earth, peace.
110	Vala mindioso que lindo canta, aytá, aytá, Sucuchá sucuchá, aytá, aytá, aytá.	Para mi Dios, O qué lindo canta, ⁵⁷ aytá, aytá Escuchar, escuchar, aytá, aytá, aytá.	For my God, O, how prettily he sings, [Lullaby words]
COPLAS a 6			
115	1. Caya, caya, chiquito, <i>aytá</i> , que tlaemo plecente, <i>aytá</i> , mantiya pañalito, <i>aytá</i> , y uno papagayito, <i>aytá</i> , que savemo habra. [NEGRILLA: ESTRIBILLO rep.]	Calla, calla, chiquito, que traemos un presente, una mantilla, un pañalito, y un papagayito, que sabemos habrá.	Hush, hush, baby boy, for we are bringing you a present: a little blanket, a diaper, and a little parrot [toy?], for we know how things go [with babies].
120	2. Mi siñol Manuele, ese papa he sablosa pluque sa linda cosa mantequiya con mele, ay, Sesu, le, le, le, le, ro, ro, ro, ro, caya. [NEGRILLA: ESTRIBILLO rep.]	Mi señor Manuele [Emanuel], esa papa, qué sabrosa, porque está linda cosa mantequilla con mel, ay, Jesús, le, le, le, le, ro, ro, ro, ro, calla.	My lord Manuel/Emmanuel, this potato, how tasty, since this is a nice thing, butter with honey, ay, Jesu, lulla, lulla, ro, ro, ro, ro, hush.

56. Or, “a lo del angelito”.

57. Uncertain: The manuscripts run together “mindioso” as a single word.

APPENDIX C

MUSICAL EDITIONS

C.1 *ANGÉLICOS COROS CON GOZO CANTAD*, ANTONIO DE SALAZAR

Angélicos coros con gozo cantad

De Navidad. A 8.

ANTONIO DE SALAZAR

Edited by Andrew A. Cashner

(ca. 1650–1715)

ESTRIBILLO a 8

TIPLE I-1

TIPLE I-2

ALTO I

TIPLE II

ALTO II

TENOR II

BAJO II
ÓRGANO

CHORUS I

CHORUS II

GUIÓN
[Ac.]

Source: México, D. F. (MEX-Mcen: CSG.256); orig. Puebla, Convento de la Santísima Trinidad
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4

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

Ti. I-1

can-tad, can - tad, can-tad, can - tad, can - tad la glo-ria a Be-lén, que es ca -

Ti. I-2

can-tad, can - tad, can-tad, can - tad, can - tad la glo-ria a Be-lén, que es ca -

A. I

can-tad, can - tad, can-tad, can - tad, can - tad la glo-ria a Be-lén, que es ca -

Ti. II

tad, can-tad, can - tad, can - tad, can-tad.

A. II

tad, can-tad, can - tad, can-tad, can - tad, can-tad,

T. II

tad, can-tad, can - tad, can-tad, can - tad, can-tad,

B. II

Ac.

11

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

14

Ti. I-1 les - tes es - fe - ras, es - tre - llas y lu - ces, y lu -

Ti. I-2 Ce - les - tes es - fe - ras, es - tre - las y

A. I Ce - les - tes es - fe - ras, es - tre - llas y lu - ces, y lu -

Ac.

17

Ti. I-1 - ces,

Ti. I-2 lu - ces,

A. I ces.

Ti. II Ce - les - tes es - fe - ras, es -

A. II Ce - les - tes es - fe - ras, es - tre - llas y lu - ces, es - tre - las y

T. II Ce - les - tes es - fe - ras, es - tre - las y lu - ces, y

B. II

Ac.

C

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

y el cie-lo de la tie-rra de glo-ria lle-nad, de

y el cie-lo de la tie-rra de glo-ria lle-nad, de

y el cie-lo de la tie-rra de glo-ria lle-nad, de

jad, ba - jad, y el cie-lo de la tie-rra de glo-ria lle-nad, de

jad, ba - jad, y el cie-lo de la tie-rra de glo-ria lle-nad, de

jad, ba - jad, y el cie-lo de la tie-rra de glo-ria lle-nad, de

530

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

COPLAS

47

C

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

Ac.

1. Pa-ra na-cer Dios hom - bre, es - co-ge es-te por - tal,
 3. A-ques-tas rui - nas quie - re, por-que con ca - ri - dad,

1. Pa-ra na-cer Dios hom - bre, es - co-ge es-te por - tal,
 3. A-ques-tas rui - nas quie - re, por-que con ca - ri - dad, que él
 lo

1. Pa-ra na-cer Dios hom - bre, es - co-ge es-te por - tal, que él só-lo es dig -
 3. A-ques-tas rui - nas quie - re, por-que con ca - ri - dad, lo de - rrí - ba -

52

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

Ac.

que él só-lo es dig-no al-cá - zar de tan - ta ma - jes - tad.
 lo de-rrí - ba - do bus - ca, quién vie - ne a e-di - fi - car.

só-lo es dig - no, que él só-lo es dig-no al-cá - zar de tan - ta ma - jes - tad.
 de-rrí - ba - do, lo - de-rrí - ba - do bus - ca, quién vie - ne a e-di - fi - car.

no al - cá - zar, es dig-no al-cá - zar de tan - ta ma - jes - tad.
 do bus - ca, de - rrí - ba - do bus - ca, viene a e-di - fi - car.

Ti. II

2. No pue - de en los pa - la - cios na - cer suin-men - si dad, por - que Dios
4. Na - ced, Se - ñor di - vi - no, que la jus - ti - cia ya del cie - lo es-

A. II

2. No pue - de en los pa - la - cios na - cer suin-men - si - dad,
4. Na - ced, Se - ñor di - vi - no, que la jus - ti - cia ya

T. II

2. No pue - de en los pa - la - cios na - cer suin-men - si - dad,
4. Na - ced, Se - ñor di - vi - no, que la jus - ti - cia ya

B. II

Ac.

Ti. II

só - lo ca - be, por - que Dios só - lo ca - be en él de lahu-mil - dad.
tá mi - ran - do, del cie - lo es - tá mi - ran - do, que na - ce la Ver - dad.

A. II

por - que Dios só - lo ca - be en él de lahu-mil - dad.
del cie - lo es - tá mi - ran - do, que na - ce la Ver - dad.

T. II

por - que Dios só - lo ca - be en él de lahu-mil - dad.
del cie - lo es - tá mi - ran - do, que na - ce la Ver - dad.

B. II

Ac.

C.2 *SI LOS SENTIDOS QUEJA FORMAN DEL PAN DIVINO*, MIGUEL DE IRÍZAR

Si los sentidos queja forman del pan divino

Al Santísimo [Sacramento]. A 8.

MIGUEL DE IRÍZAR

Edited by Andrew A. Cashner

(1635–1684)

[ESTRIBILLO] a 8

CHORUS I

TIPLE I-1

TIPLE I-2

ALTO I

TENOR I

TIPLE II

ALTO II

TENOR II

BAJO II

ACOMP.

Si los sen-ti - dos que-ja for-man del pan di - vi -

Si los sen-ti - dos que-ja for-man del pan di - vi -

Si los sen-ti - dos que-ja for-man del pan di - vi -

Si los sen-ti - dos que-ja for-man del pan di - vi -

Si los sen-ti - dos que-ja for-man del pan di - vi -

Si los sen-ti - dos que-ja for-man del pan di - vi -

Si los sen-ti - dos que-ja for-man del pan di - vi -

Si los sen-ti - dos que-ja for-man del pan di - vi -

Source: Segovia, Cathedral Archive (E-SE: 5/32). Lyrics: cf. Vicente Sánchez, *Lira Poética* (Zaragoza, 1689), 171–172.
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4

Ti. I-1 no, si los sen - ti - dos, del pan di -

Ti. I-2 no, si los sen - ti - dos, del pan di -

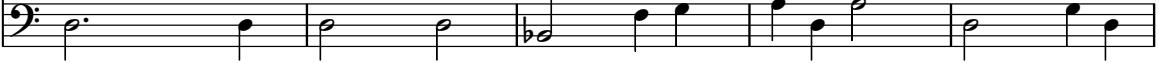
A. I no, si los sen - ti - dos, del pan di -

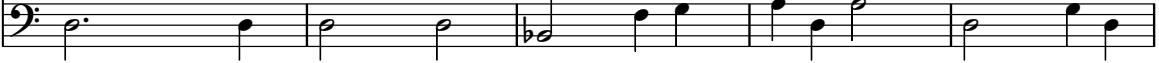
T. I ⁸ no, si los sen - ti - dos, del pan di -

Ti. II Si los senti - dos *si los sen-ti-dos* queja forman del pan di - vi-no, del pan di -

A. II Si los senti - dos *si los sen-ti-dos* queja forman del pan di - vi-no, del pan di -

T. II ⁸ Si los senti - dos *si los sen-ti-dos* queja forman del pan di - vi-no, del pan di -

B. II 

Ac. 



9

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

T. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

vi - no, por-que lo que e-los sien-ten no es de fe con-sen - ti - do, no,

vi - no, por-que lo que e-los sien-ten no es de fe con-sen - ti - do, no,

vi - no, por-que lo que e-los sien-ten no es de fe con-sen - ti - do, no,

vi - no, por-que lo que e-los sien-ten no es de fe con-sen - ti - do, no,

vi - no, no, no,

14

Ti. I-1 no, no, no hoy todos con la

Ti. I-2 no, no, no, hoy todos con la

A. I no, no, no, hoy todos con la

T. I no, no, no, hoy todos con la

Ti. II porque lo que e-los sienten no es de fe consen - ti - do, hoy

A. II porque lo que e-los sienten no es de fe consen - ti - do, hoy

T. II porque lo que e-los sienten no es de fe consen - ti - do, hoy

B. II

Ac.

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

T. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

Ti. I-1

i-dos, no se den por sen - ti-dos los sen - ti-dos, se - an o - i-dos,

Ti. I-2

i-dos, no se den por sen - ti-dos los sen - ti-dos, se - an o - i-dos,

A. I

i-dos, no se den por sen - ti-dos los sen - ti-dos, se - an o - i-dos,

T. I

^s i-dos, no se den por sen - ti-dos los sen - ti-dos, se - an o - i-dos,

Ti. II

i-dos, se - an o - i-dos, no se den por sen -

A. II

i-dos, se - an o - i-dos, no se den por sen -

T. II

^s i-dos, se - an o - i-dos, no se den por sen -

B. II

Ac.

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

T. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

T. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

40

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

T. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

T. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

T. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

COPLAS [solo y a 4]

57

Ti. I-2 

Ac. 

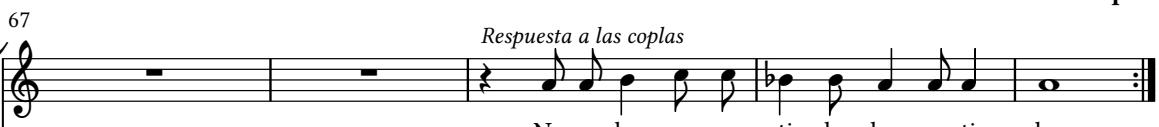
62

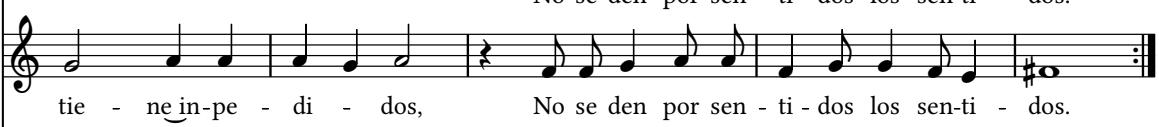
Ti. I-2 

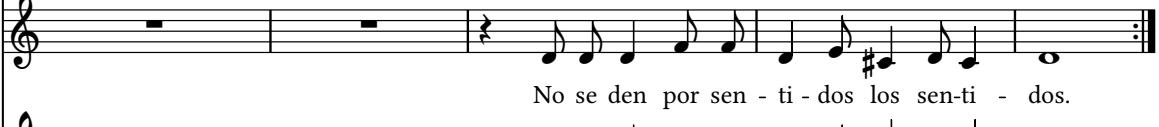
Ac. 

D.C. after last copla

67

Ti. I-1 

Ti. I-2 

A. I 

T. I 

Ac. 

2. Porque a Dios puedan gustar
en los puntos sus concientos,
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 percebillá
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 cause disgusto
no ser admitidos,
no se den por sentidos los sentidos.

5. Toca el tacto pero hierra
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.

C.3 *SI LOS SENTIDOS QUEJA FORMAN DEL PAN DIVINO*, JERÓNIMO DE CARRIÓN

Si los sentidos queja forman del Pan divino

Villancico al Santísimo Sacramento. Solo.

JERÓNIMO DE CARRIÓN

Edited by Andrew A. Cashner

(1660–1721)

ESTRIBILLO Solo

SOLO ACOMP.

5

por-que lo que ellos sien - ten no es de fe consen - ti - do, no es de

fe con sen - ti - do, to - dos hoy con la fe se - an o - í - dos,

to - dos hoy con la fe se - an o - í - dos. No se

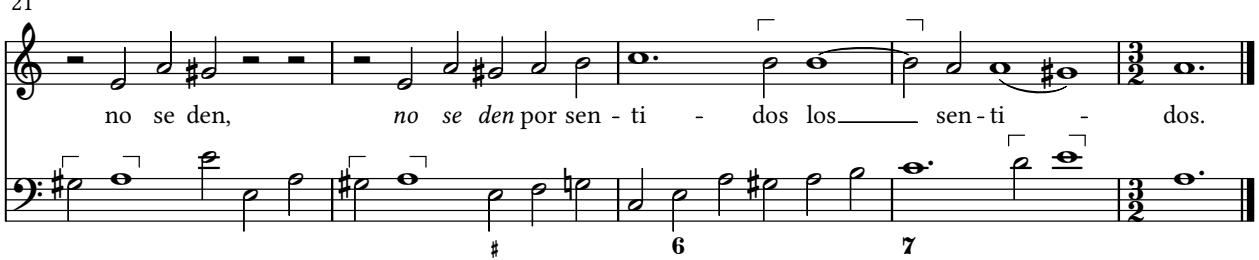
Source: Segovia, Cathedral Archive (E-SE: 28/25). Lyrics: cf. Vicente Sánchez, *Lira Poética* (Zaragoza, 1689), 171–172.
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17



den, no se den por sen - ti - dos los sen - ti - dos,

21



no se den, no se den por sen - ti - dos los sen - ti - dos.

COPLAS

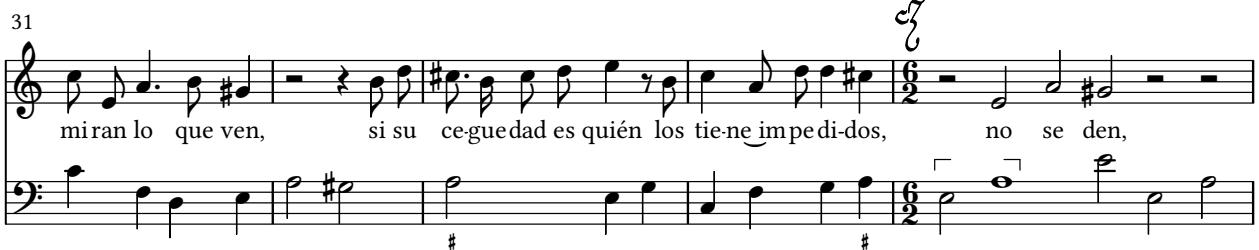
26

C



1. Si en ellos va el no ver bien los o - jos de que se admi - ran, que mal ve - rán lo que miran, si no

31



miran lo que ven, si su ceguedad es quién los tie-ne im-pedi-dos, no se den,

D.C. after last copla

36



no se den por sen - ti - dos los sen - ti - dos.

2. Toca el tacto pero hierra,
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.

3. 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.

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

5. Porque a Dios puedan gustar
en los puntos sus concientos,
todos sus cinco instrumentos
la fe los ha de templar,
sino los puede ajustar
para ser oídos,
no se den por sentidos los sentidos.

C.4 *ÓYEME, TORIBIO (EL SORDO)*, JUAN GUTIÉRREZ DE PADILLA

Óyeme, Toribio (El sordo) [Fragment]

Navidad de 1651 [A 5.]

JUAN GUTIÉRREZ DE PADILLA

Edited by Andrew A. Cashner

(ca. 1590–1664)

[INTRODUCCIÓN] Dúo con bajón

CHORUS I

TIPLE I ALTUS I TENOR I BASSUS I
[missing]

CHORUS II

BASSUS II [Bajón] [Bajón]

4

A. I B. II

8

A. I B. II

12

A. I B. II

Ó - ye - me, To - ri - bio.
¿Hab - las me, cha - mo - rro?
Glo - ria es to - do el va - lle. Ya es la
¿E? ¿E? que no te oi - go.
tie - rra cie - lo, y has - ta él, llan - to es go - zo.
No oi - go de e - se oí - do.
Pon - dré - me des - o - tro. Tú e - res lin - do
Des - o - tro oi - go me - nos.

Source: *Navidad de 1651*, Puebla de los Ángeles, Cathedral Archive (MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/2). Missing Tenor I and Bassus I parts.
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16

A. I

ton - to, yo más que te es - cicho-

B. II

¿Si ten - go bochorno? ¿Qué es lo que me di - ces?

21

A. I

-que me vuel - ves lo - co.

B. II

[ESTRIBILLO]

26

A. I

De la auro - ra la ri - sa se-rán so - llo - zos, si ven - sus o - jos, al na-

31

A. I

cer la pa-la - bra, los hom - bres sor - dos, los hom - bres sor - dos.

RESPONSIÓN a 5

37

Ti. I

De la auro - ra la ri - sa, de la au - ro - ra la ri - sa, la ri - sa, se-rán

A. I

De la auro - ra la ri - sa, la ri - sa, la ri - sa, de la au - ro - ra la ri - sa, se-

B. II

De la auro - ra la ri - sa, de la au - ro - ra la ri -

41

Ti. I so - llo - zos, se - rán so - llo - zos, so -

A. I rán so - llo - zos, se - rán so - llo - zos,

B. II sa

45

Ti. I - llo - zos, si ven sus o - jos, si ven sus o - jos, sus o - jos, al nacer la pa

A. I so - llo - zos, si ven sus o - jos, si ven sus o - jos, si ven sus o - jos, al nacer la pa

B. II

50

Ti. I la - bra, los hombres sor - dos, los hom - bres sor - dos, los hom -

A. I la - bra, los hombres sor - dos, los hombres sor - dos, los hom - bres sor -

B. II

54

Ti. I - bres sor - dos, sor - dos, los hom - bres sor - dos.

A. I dos, los hom - bres, los hom - bres sor - dos.

B. II

COPLAS [A]

58 [Bassus I accompaniment missing]

A. I

1. En lo que te cuen-to, ni qui-to ni pon-go,

que hab-lo mis-te - rio, sin ser por el Cor-pus.

COPLAS [B]

64 [Tenor I solo missing]

B. II

[To estribillo after copla 6, 12?]

67

B. II

Altus I coplas

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| 1. En lo que teuento,
ni quito ni pongo,
que hablo de misterio,
sin ser por el Corpus. | 5. Gloria es ya la tierra,
de Pascua está el soto,
y hasta un portalillo,
es muy misterioso.
<i>[Rep. estribillo?]</i> | 9. Un buey y una mula
se llevan los ojos,
ven que por ser bestia
puedes ser dichoso. |
| 3. Dios ha dado en tierra
y el cuento es famoso,
que lo dijo un ángel
y lo saben todos. | 7. El hijo del Padre
sea puesto del lado,
bien que sobre el cielo
ya está nuestro polvo. | 11. A hacer buenas migas,
está con nosotros,
que ya dan papilla,
almas, ingeniosos.
<i>[Rep. estribillo]</i> |

C.5 *VOCES, LAS DE LA CAPILLA, JUAN GUTIÉRREZ DE PADILLA*

Voces, las de la capilla

[*De Navidad.*] A 6.

JUAN GUTIÉRREZ DE PADILLA

Edited by Andrew A. Cashner

(ca. 1590–1664)

[INTRODUCCIÓN] a 6

TIPLE I

CHORUS I

ALTUS I

TENOR I

CHORUS II

ALTUS II

TENOR I

BASSUS I
[instr.]

Ti. I

A. I

T. I

Source: Puebla Cathedral Archive (MEX-Pc: Leg. 3/3), "Navidad del año de 1657," no. 4

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7

Ti. I

A. I

T. I

11

Ti. I

A. I

T. I

15

A. II

A. II

B. I

18

A. II sus ha - za - ñas, la cla - ve que so - bre el hom - bro

A. II sus ha - za - ñas, la cla - ve que so - bre el hom - bro

B. I

21

A. II pa - rael trein - ta y tres se a - guar - - da.

A. II pa - rael trein - ta y tres se a - guar - - da.

B. I

§ ESTRIBILLO a 6

24 C

Ti. I

A.I

T.I

A.II

A.II

B.I

y a

y a trechos las dis-

y a trechos las dis-

y a trechos las dis-tan-cias en u-no y otro co - ro,

y a trechos las dis-tan-cias en u - no y o-tro co-ro, en u-no y o-tro co - ro, en

Ti. I

A. II

A. I

T. I

B. I

A. I

T. I

A. II

A. II

B. I

36

Ti. I tres a tres, dos a dos, unoa u-no,

A. I dos, tres a tres y dos a dos, dos a dos,

T. I ⁸ dos, tres a tres y dos a dos,

A. II dos a dos, unoa u-no, ya-guar-dan tiem-poo-por -

A. II ⁸ tres a tres, dos a dos, unoa u-no, ya-guar-dan tiem-poo-por -

B. I

40

Ti. I por el sig - no a -

A. I por el sig - no a -

T. I ⁸ por el sig - no a -

A. II tu --no, quien an - tes del tiem - po ⁸ fue,

A. II ⁸ tu - no, quien an - tes del tiem - po ⁸ fue,

B. I

43

Ti. I la - mi - re, pues - tos los o - jos en mi, a la

A. I la - mi - re, pues - tos los o - jos en mi, a la voz del

T. I ⁸ la - mi - re, pues - tos los o - jos en mi, a la voz del

46

Ti. I voz del pa - - dre o - í can - tar por pun -

A. I pa - - dre o - í, o - í can - tar por pun - tos de

T. I ⁸ pa - - dre o - í, o - í can - tar por pun -

49

Ti. I - tos de llan - - - to,

A. I llan - - - to, de llan - - - to,

T. I ⁸ - tos de llan - - - to,

A. II - - - [- -] - - - O, qué can -

A. II ⁸ - - - [- -] - - - O, qué can -

B. I - - - [- -] - - - O, qué can -

52

Ti. I
A. I
T. I
A. II
A. II
B. I

O, qué can - to,
O, qué can - to,
O, qué can - to,
to, O, qué can - to, tan de o - ír y de ad - mi -
to, qué can - to, tan de o - ír y de ad - mi -

56

Ti. I
A. I
T. I
A. II
A. II
B. I

tan de ad - mi - rar y de o - ír, y de o - ír, y to - do en
tan de ad - mi - rar y de o - ír, to - do en el hombre es su - bir, y to - do en
tan de ad - mi - rar y de o - ír, to - do en el hombre es su - bir, y to - do en
rar,
rar,

60

Ti. I Dios es ba - jar, es ba - jar, y to - doen Dios es ba-jar,

A. I Dios es ba - jar, es ba - jar, es ba - jar,

T. I ⁸ Dios es ba - jar, es ba - jar, y to - doen

A. II to-doen el hombrees su - bir, y to - doen

A. II to-doen el hombrees su - bir, y to - doen

B. I ⁸ to - doen el hombrees su - bir, y to - doen

64

Ti. I y to - doen Dios es ba -

A. I to - doen el hom-brees su - bir, y to - doen

T. I ⁸ Dios es ba - jar, to - - does ba - jar,

A. II Dios es ba - jar, ba - jar, y to - doen

A. II ⁸ Dios es ba - jar, es ba - jar, to - doen

B. I ⁸ to - doen

67

Ti. I
jar,

A. I
Dios, y to - doen Dios es ba -

T. I
y to - doen Dios es ba - jar, es ba -

A. II
Dios es ba - jar, ba - jar, ba -

A. II
Dios es ba - jar, y to -

B. I

[Coplas/Fine]

70

Ti. I
y to - doen Dios es ba - - jar.

A. I
jar, to - doen Dios es ba - jar.

T. I
jar, y to - doen Dios es ba - - jar,

A. II
jar, to - doen Dios es ba - jar, ba - - jar.

A. II
- doen Dios es ba - - jar.

B. I

COPLAS a 3

73

Ti. I
A. I
T. I

1. Da - ba un ni - ño pe - re - gri - no to - no al hom-bre y

1. Da - ba un ni - ño pe - re - gri - no to - no al hom-bre y

1. Da - ba un ni - ño pe - re - gri - no to - no al hom-bre y

76

Ti. I
A. I
T. I

su - bió tan - to que en sus - te - ni - dos de llan - to, dió

su - bió tan - to que en sus - te - ni - dos de llan - to, dió oc -

su - bió tan - to que en sus - te - ni - dos de llan - to, dió oc -

80

Ti. I
A. I
T. I

oc - ta - va a - rri - ba en un tri - no, en un tri - no.

ta - va a - rri - ba en un tri - no, en un tri - no.

ta - va a - rri - ba en un tri - no, en un tri - no.

83

A. II

2. Hi - zo al - to en lo di - vi - no y de la má - xi-ma y bre -

A. II

2. Hi - zo al - to en lo di - vi - no y de la má - - xi-ma y

B. I

87

A. II

- - ve com - po - si - ción en que prue - be de un hom - bre y

A. II

bre - - ve com - po - si - ción en que prue - be de un hom - bre y

B. I

[Estribillo: D.S. al Fine]

90

A. II

Dios con - so - nan - cias, con - so - nan - - - cias.

A. II

Dios con - so - nan - cias, con - so - nan - cias, con - so - nan - - cias.

B. I

C.6 *SUSPENDED, CIELOS, VUESTRO DULCE CANTO*, JOAN CEREROLS

Suspended, cielos, vuestro dulce canto

[De Navidad.] A 8.

JOAN CEREROLS

(1618–1680)

Edited by Andrew A. Cashner

[ESTRIBILLO] a 8

CHORUS I

TIPLE I-1 TIPLE I-2 ALTO I TENOR I

Sus-pen-ded, cie - los, vues - tro

Sus-pen-ded, cie - los,

Sus-pen-ded, cie - los,

Sus-pen-ded, cie - los,

Sus-pen-ded, cie - los, vues - tro

CHORUS II

TIPLE II ALTO II TENOR II

Sus-pen-ded, cie - los,

Sus-pen-ded, cie - los,

Sus-pen-ded, cie - los,

Sus-pen-ded, cie - los,

ACOMP.

4

Ti. I-1

dul - ce can - - to, sus-pen - ded, cie - los,

Ti. I-2

vues - tro dul - ce can - to, sus-pen - ded, cie - los,

A. I

vues - tro dul - ce can - to, sus-pen - ded, cie - los,

T. I

⁸ dul - ce can - to, sus-pen - ded, cie - los,

Ti. II

sus - pen - ded, cie - los,

A. II

sus - pen - ded, cie - los,

T. II

⁸ sus - pen - ded, cie - los,

B. II

Ac.

*CN

8

Ti. I-1 vues - tro dul - ce can - to, tened, tened,

Ti. I-2 dul - ce can - to, tened, tened, *tened*,

A. I dul - ce can - to, tened, tened, *tened*,

T. I vues - tro dul - ce can - to, tened, tened, *tened*,

Ti. II vues - tro dul - ce can - - - to,

A. II vues - tro dul - ce can - - - to,

T. II vues - tro dul - ce can - - - to,

B. II

Ac.

12

Ti. I-1 pa-rad, es-cu-chad, es-cu-chad, te - (echo)

Ti. I-2 pa-rad, es-cu-chad, es-cu-chad, te - (falsete)

A. I pa-rad, es-cu-chad, es-cu-chad, te - (falsete)

T. I pa-rad, es-cu-chad, es-cu-chad, te - (falsete)

Ti. II te-ned, te-ned, pa-rad, es-cu-chad, es-cu-chad, te-ned, (falsete)

A. II te-ned, te-ned, te-ned, pa-rad, es-cu-chad, es-cu-chad, te-ned, (echo)

T. II te-ned, te-ned, te-ned, pa-rad, es-cu-chad, es-cu-chad, te-ned, (echo)

B. II

Ac.

17 *CN

Ti. I-1 (eco) (eco)

Ti. I-2

A. I

T. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

The musical score consists of eight staves of music. The first four staves (Ti. I-1, Ti. I-2, A. I, T. I) are in common time and have a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics for these staves include 'ned, te-ned, pa - rad, es-cu-chad' and 'la más nue - va' or 'con - so -'. The next four staves (Ti. II, A. II, T. II, B. II) are also in common time and have a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics for these staves include 'pa-rad, pa-rad, es-cu-chad'. The final staff (Ac.) is in common time and has a key signature of one sharp. It features a bass clef and includes a bracket below it with the symbol [b].

21

Ti. I-1
con - so-nan - cia, nue - va con - so - nan - - -

Ti. I-2
nan - cia, la más nue - va con - so - nan - - -

A. I
con - so-nan - cia, nue - va con - so - nan - - -

T. I
con - so-nan - cia, nue - va con - so - nan - - -

Ac.

24

Ti. I-1
cia

Ti. I-2
cia

A. I
cia

T. I
cia

Ti. II
que for - man en su dis - tan - - - cia lo e - ter - no y lo

A. II
que for - man en su dis - tan cia

T. II
que for - man en su dis - tan - - - cia lo e - ter - no y lo

B. II

Ac.

27

Ti. I-1

lo e - ter - no y lo tem - po - ral, lo e - ter - no y lo tem - po -

Ti. I-2

lo e - ter - no y lo tem - po - ral, tem - po -

A. I

y lo tem - po -

T. I

8 lo e - ter - no y lo tem - po - ral, tem - po -

Ti. II

tem - po - ral, tem - po - ral, y lo tem - po -

A. II

lo e - ter - no y lo tem - po - ral, lo temp - - - po -

T. II

8 tem - po - ral, y lo tem - po - ral, y lo tem - po -

B. II

tem - po - ral, y lo tem - po - ral, y lo tem - po -

Ac.

5

30

Ti. I-1 (eco)

Ti. I-2

A. I

T. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

34

Ti. I-1
 en so - no - ras ar - mo-ní - as, en so - no - ras

Ti. I-2
 no - ras ar - mo - ní - as, en so - no - ras ar - mo -

A. I
 en so - no - ras ar - mo-ní - as, ar - mo -

T. I
^s en so - no - ras ar - mo-ní - as, en so - no - ras

Ac.
 3

37

Ti. I-1
 ar - mo - ní - as contra-punto ce - les - tial,

Ti. I-2
 ní - - - as contra-pun-to ce - les -

A. I
 ní - - - as, contra -

T. I
^s ar - mo - ní - as contra-punto ce - les - tial, ce-les-tial,

A. II
 contra-pun-to

T. II
^s contra-punto ce - les - tial,
 *CN

B. II

Ac.
 3

41

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

T. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

The lyrics are repeated in each section: 'contrapunto ce-les - tial,' 'contra-pun-to ce - les - tial,' 'punto, contrapunto ce - les - tial,' 'contrapun - to ce - les - tial,' 'contrapunto ce-les-tial, ce-les-tial,' 'contrapunto ce -,' 'ce - les - tial,' 'contra-pun-to ce - les - tial,' 'contrapun - to ce-les - tial,' and 'contra-punto ce-les-tial, contra-.'

Ti. I-1

tial, ce-les-tial, contra-pun-to ce-les-tial,
y con so-llo-zos tier -
^{*CN}

Ti. I-2

contrapun-to ce - les - tial, y con so - llo-zos tier - nos, tier -

A. I

^{CN} contra-pun-to ce-les-tial, y con so-llo-zos tier - nos,

T. I

^{CN} ce - les - tial, ce - les-tial, y con so - llo-zos tier - nos,

Ti. II

- les - tial, contra-pun-to ce-les-tial,

A. II

contra-pun - to ce - les - tial, y con so - llo-zos tier -

T. II

^{CN} punto ce - les - tial, ce - les-tial, y

B. II

Ac.

Ti. I-1 nos, *y con so - llo-zos tier - nos,*

Ti. I-2 nos, *y con so - llo-zos tier - nos,*

A. I *y con so - llo-zos tier - nos,*

T. I *y con so - llo-zos tier - nos,*

Ti. II *y con so - llo-zos tier - nos, y con so - llo-zos tier -*

A. II nos, *y con so - llo-zos tier -*

T. II *con so - llo-zos tier - nos, y con so - llo - zos tier -*

B. II

Ac. $\frac{6}{5}$

Ti. I-1

un ni-ño so - be-ra-no el _____ can -

Ti. I-2

un ni-ño so - be-ra-no a los án-ge-les lle-va el can-to

A. I

un ni-ño so - be-ra-no a los án - ge-les

T. I

⁸ un ni-ño so - be-ra-no a los án - ge-les lle-va el

Ti. II

nos, un ni-ño so-be - ra - no

A. II

nos, un ni-ño so-be - ra - no

T. II

⁸ *nos,* un ni-ño so-be - ra - no a los án - ge-les lle-va el

B. II

Ac.

63

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

T. I

Ti. II

A. II

T. II

B. II

Ac.

Ti. I-1

a los án-geles lleva el can-to lla - no, el can-to lla -

Ti. I-2

el _____ can - - to lla - no, el can-to lla -

A. I

lla - - no, el can-to lla -

T. I

⁸ lle - va, a los án-geles lleva el can-to lla-no, el can-to lla -

Ti. II

- - no, a los án-geles lleva el can-to lla -

A. II

no, el canto lla - no, el can-to lla -

T. II

⁸ el can - - to lla - - no, el can-to lla -

B. II

Ac.

[FINE]

[Bbc]



74

Ti. I-1

no, el can-to lla-no, el can-to lla - no.

Ti. I-2

no, el can-to lla-no, el can-to lla - - - no.

A. I

(false) no, el can-to lla-no, el can-to lla - no.

T. I

^s no, el can-to lla-no, el can-to lla - no.

Ti. II

(false) no, el can-to lla-no, el can-to lla - - - no.

A. II

no, el can-to lla-no, el can-to lla - no, lla - - no.

T. II

^s no, el can-to lla-no, el can-to lla - no, lla - no.

B. II

(false)

Ac.

Musical score for eight voices (Ti. I-1, Ti. I-2, A. I, T. I, Ti. II, A. II, T. II, B. II) and basso continuo (Ac.). The vocal parts sing the phrase "no, el can-to lla-no, el can-to lla - no." in various rhythmic patterns and vocal techniques (e.g., false, falsetto). The score includes dynamic markings like [Bbc] and key changes indicated by sharps and flats. The vocal parts are in soprano range, while the basso continuo is in bass range.

COPLAS a 4 y a Duo

[COPLA 1] a 4

81

Ti. I-1
Ti. I-2
A. I
T. I
Ac.

1. Las fu - gas que el pri - mer hom - bre formó en des - a - ten - tos pa -

85

Ti. I-1
Ti. I-2
A. I
T. I
Ac.

sos al compás, al com-pás a - jus-ta un ni - ño

sos al compás a - jus-ta un ni - ño de las per-las de su

sos al com-pás a - jus-ta un ni - ño

sos al com-pás a - jus-ta un ni - ño de las per-las de

89

Ti. I-1 de las per - las de su llan - to.

Ti. I-2 llan - to, de las per - las de su llan - - - to.

A. I de las per - las de su llan - to, de su llan - - - to.

T. I su llan - to, de su llan - - - to.

Ac.

[COPLA 2] a Duo

93

Ti. I-1 2. Qué mu - cho, qué mu - cho

Ti. I-2 2. Qué mu - cho si a los des - pe - - - ños

Ac.

96

Ti. I-1 si a los des - pe - - - ños que le o - ca - sio - no un en - ga -

Ti. I-2 que le o - ca - sio - no un en - ga - - - ño,

Ac.

99

Ti. I-1
- ño, be - lla co - rrien - te de al - jó - far, be - lla co - rrien - te de al -

Ti. I-2
be - lla co - rrien - te de al - jó - far, be - lla co - rrien - te de al - jó - far, co - rrien -

Ac.

102

Ti. I-1
jó - - - far, gri - llos le pre - vie - ne blan -

Ti. I-2
- te deal - jó - - far, gri - llos le pre - vie -

Ac.

105

Ti. I-1
dos, gri - llos le pre - vie - ne blan - dos.

Ti. I-2
- ne blan - dos, le pre - vie - ne blan - dos.

Ac.

[COPLA 3] a 4

108

Ti. I-1
3. U - na voz que ha da - do el cie - lo de metal más so - be - ra -

Ti. I-2
3. U - na voz que ha da - do el cie - lo de metal más so - be - ra -

A. I
3. U - na voz que ha da - do el cie - lo de metal más so - be - ra -

T. I
3. U - na voz que ha da - do el cie - lo de metal más so - be - ra -

Ac.

112

Ti. I-1
no a or-de - nar en - tra so - no - - - ra

Ti. I-2
no a or-de - nar en - tra so - no - - - ra la di - so - nan - cia del

A. I
no a or-de - nar en - tra so - no - - - ra

T. I
no a or-de - nar en - tra so - no - - - ra la di - so - nan-

Ac.

116

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

T. I

Ac.

la di - so - nan - cia del ba - rro.

ba - rro, la di - so - nan - cia del ba - rro.

la di - so - nan - cia del ba - rro, del ba - rro.

- cia del ba - rro, del ba - rro.

Ac.

[COPLA 4] a Duo

120

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

Ac.

4. Con - cier - to, con - cier - to,

4. Con - cier - to tan so - be - ra - no

Ac.

123

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

Ac.

tan so - be - ra - no só - lo pu - do ser re - pa -

só - lo pu - do ser re - pa - ro

Ac.

126

Ti. I-1

- ro, con u - na voz tan hu - mil - de, con u - na voz tan hu -

Ti. I-2

con u - na voz tan hu - mil - de, con u - na voz tan hu - mil - de, tan

Ac.

129

Ti. I-1

mil - - de de un des - en - to - no tan va -

Ti. I-2

hu - mil - - de de un des - en - to -

Ac.

132

Ti. I-1

no, de un des - en - to - no tan va - - no.

Ti. I-2

no tan va - - no, tan va - - - no.

Ac.

[COPLA 5] a 4

135

Ti. I-1
5. En las pa - jas sus - te - ni - do dul-ce-men - te se ha es-cu - cha -

Ti. I-2
5. En las pa - jas sus - te - ni - do dul-ce-men - te se ha es-cu - cha -

A. I
5. En las pa - jas sus - te - ni - do dul-ce-men - te se ha es-cu - cha -

T. I
5. En las pa - jas sus - te - ni - do dul-ce-men - te se ha es-cu - cha -

Ac.

139

Ti. I-1
do li - gar en pa - jas lo e - ter - no,

Ti. I-2
do li - gar en pa - jas lo e - ter - no, re-du - cir lo inmen - so a es -

A. I
do li - gar en pa - jas lo e - ter - no,

T. I
do li - gar en pa - jas lo e - ter - no, re-ducir lo in-men-

Ac.

143

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

A. I

T. I

Ac.

re-du-cir lo in-men - so a es - pa - - cio.
pa - - cio, re - du - cir lo in - men so a es - pa - - - cio.
re-du-cir lo in-men - so a es - pa - cio, a es - pa - - - cio.
- so a es - pa - - cio, lo in - men so a es - pa - - - cio.
[] []

[COPLA 6] a Duo

147

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

Ac.

6. Di - vi - na, di - vi - na
6. Di - vi - na cláu - su - la se - - a

150

Ti. I-1

Ti. I-2

Ac.

cláu - su - la se - - a des-te e - ter - no can - to lla -
des-te e - ter - no can - to lla - - no

153

Ti. I-1

- no que for-ma_en su mo - vi - mien-to, que for-ma_en su mo - vi -

Ti. I-2

que for-ma_en su mo - vi - mien - to, que for-ma_en su mo - vi - mien - to en su

Ac.

156

Ti. I-1

mien - - - to de ca - da pun - to un mi -

Ti. I-2

mo - vi - mien - - to de ca - da pun -

Ac.

[D.C. al Fine]

159

Ti. I-1

la - gro, de ca - da pun - to un mi - la - gro.

Ti. I-2

- to un mi - la - gro, un mi - la - gro.

Ac.

C.7 *QUÉ MÚSICA DIVINA*, JOSÉ DE CÁSEDA

Qué música divina

[Al Santísimo Sacramento.] A 4.

JOSÉ DE CÁSEDA

Edited by Andrew A. Cashner

(fl. 1691–1716)

[ESTRIBILLO] a 4

The musical score consists of five staves. From top to bottom: TIPLE 1 (soprano), TIPLE 2 (soprano), ALTO (alto), TENOR (tenor), and BAJO [instr.] (bass). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is common time (indicated by '2'). The vocal parts sing in unison. The lyrics are: "Qué música di - vi - na, a - cor - de y so-be-", followed by a repeat sign and "Qué mú - si - ca di - vi - na, a - cor - de y so - be -". The bass part provides harmonic support with sustained notes and rhythmic patterns.

The musical score continues with five staves. The vocal parts are labeled Ti. 1, Ti. 2, A., T., and B. from top to bottom. The key signature changes to one sharp (F#). The time signature remains common time. The lyrics are: "ra - na, sobe-ra - na, a - fren - ta de las a - ves", followed by a repeat sign and "ra - na, sobe-ra - na, a - fren - ta de las a - ves con". The bass part continues to provide harmonic support.

Source: Mexico City (MEX-Mcen: CSG.256); orig. Puebla, Convento de la Santísima Trinidad
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11

Ti. 1 con tiernas, armo-niosas conso-nancias, con

Ti. 2 tiernas, armoniosas conso - nan - cias, con - so-nancias, con tiernas, armoniosas conso-

A. con tiernas, armo-niosas conso-nancias, con

T. tiernas, armoniosas conso - nan - cias, con - so-nancias, con tiernas, armoniosas conso-

B.

15

Ti. 1

tier-nas, armonio-sas conso - nancies, armonio-sas conso - nan-cias, con-so-nan - cias,

Ti. 2

nan - cias, con tier-nas, armonio-sas conso - nan-cias, con-so-nan - cias,

A.

tier-nas, armonio-sas conso - nancies, armonio-sas conso - nan-cias, con-so-nan - cias,

T.

⁸nan - cias, con tier-nas, armonio-sas conso - nan-cias, con-so-nan - cias,

B.

19

Ti. 1

Ti. 2

A.

T.

B.

en quie - bros_ su - a - ves,

en quie - bros_ su -

21

Ti. 1

Ti. 2

A.

T.

B.

so - no - - ros_ y— gra - ves,

a - ves, so - no - - ros_ y—

a - ves, so - no - - ros_ y—

so - no - - ros_ y— gra - ves,

6

23

Ti. 1

Ti. 2

A.

T.

B.

25

Ti. 1

Ti. 2

A.

T.

B.

27

Ti. 1

Ti. 2

A.

T.

B.

29

Ti. 1

Ti. 2

A.

T.

B.

32

Ti. 1 va - rias, y en cláu - su - las va - - - rias, y en cláu -

Ti. 2 va - rias, y en cláu - su - las va - -

A. va - rias, y en cláu - su - las va - -

T. — y en cláu - su - las va - - rias,

B. o. o. o. o.

35

Ti. 1 - su - las va - rias, y en cláu - su - las va - - - rias,

Ti. 2 rias, y en cláu - su - las va - - rias,

A. rias, va - rias, y en cláu - su - las va - rias,

T. — y en cláu - su - las va - - rias,

B. o. o. o. o.

38 *a espacio [more slowly]*

Ti. 1

Ti. 2

A.

T.

B.

sen -
po - ten - cias des - ma -
sen - ti - dos e - le - va, po - ten -
sen - ti - dos e - le - va,
B. 3

41

Ti. 1

Ti. 2

A.

T.

B.

ti - dos e - le - va, po - ten - cias des - ma - ya,
- ya, po - ten - cias des - ma -
- cias des - ma - ya, sen - ti - dos e -
sen - ti - dos e - le - va, po - ten -
B.

44

Ti. 1

Ti. 2

A.

T.

B.

sen - ti - dos e - le -
ya, po - ten - cias des - ma - ya, po - ten -
le - va, po - ten - cias des - ma - ya, sen -
cias des - ma - ya, po - ten - ias des - ma -

47

[Fine]

Ti. 1

Ti. 2

A.

T.

B.

va, po - ten - cias des - ma - ya, des - ma - ya.
- cias des - ma - ya, po - ten - cias des - ma - ya.
ti - dos e - le - va, po - ten - cias des - ma - ya.
- ya, po - ten - ias des - ma - ya, des - ma - ya.

COPLAS a 4 y solo

51

Ti. 1 C 

1. Suenen las dulces cuerdas, de e-sa divi-na cí-ta-ra y hu-ma-na, que aún

Ti. 2 

1. Suenen las dulces cuerdas, de e-sa divi-na cí-ta-ra y hu-ma-na,

A. 

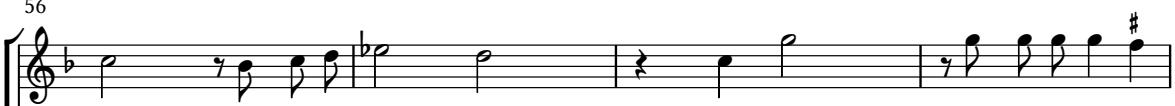
1. Suenen las dulces cuerdas, de e-sa divi-na cí-ta-ra y hu-ma-na,

T. 

1. Suenen las dulces cuerdas, de e-sa divi-na cí-ta-ra y huma-na,

B. 

56

Ti. 1 

sol que es de los cie-los, cie-los, que es de los cie-los,

Ti. 2 

que aún sol que es de los cie-los, cie-los, que es de los cie-los,

A. 

que aún sol que es de los cie-los,

T. 

que aún sol que es de los cie-los,

B. 

60

Ti. 1

Ti. 2

A.

T.

B.

for-ma uni-da la al-ta con la ba - ja, con_ la ba - ja.

for ma uni-da la al-ta con la ba - ja, con la ba - ja, con_ la ba - ja.

for ma uni-da la al-ta con la ba - ja, con la ba - ja, con_ la ba - ja.

3

COPLA 2

67

Ti. 1

B.

Solo

2. De la fe es in-stru - men-to, y al o - í - do su mú-sica re-ga - la

3

72

Ti. 1

B.

don-de hay por gran mi-ste - rio en ca-da pun-to en-te-ra con-so-nan -

76

Ti. 1

B.

cia, en ca-da pun-to en-te-ra con-so-nan - cia, con - so-nan - cia.

COPLA 3

80

[Solo]

A.

B.

3. De el la - zo a es - te in - stru - men - to sir - ve la u-nión que sus ex - tre - mos

84

A.

B.

88

A.

B.

COPLA 4

93

Ti. 1

4. Mis-te - río - sa vi - hue - la, al he - rirle sus cuer - das u - na lan - za su

Ti. 2

4. Mis-te - río - sa vi - hue - la, al he - rirle sus cuer - das u - na lan - za

A.

4. Mis-te - río - sa vi - hue - la, al he - rirle sus cuer - das u - na lan - za

T.

4. Mis-te - río - sa vi - hue - la, al he - rirle sus cuer - das u - na lan - za

B.

98

Ti. 1

Ti. 2

A.

T.

B.

102

Ti. 1

Ti. 2

A.

T.

B.

COPLA 5

109

T. *Solo*

5. No__ son a los sen - ti - dos lo que sue-nan sus vo-ces so-be - ra - nas,

B.

$\frac{3}{8}$

114

T.

por - que de es-te in-stru-men - to cuan - tas e-llos per-ci - bí-an se-rán fal -

B.

118

T.

sas, cuan-tas e-llos per-ci - bí-an se-rán fal - sas, se - rán fal - sas.

B.

COPLA 6

122

Ti. 1

6. Su primor mi-ste - rio-so, que a los cielos e - leva al que lo al - can - za, no

Ti. 2

6. Su primor mi-ste - rio-so, que a los cielos e - leva al que lo al - can - za,

A.

6. Su primor mi-ste - rio-so, que a los cielos e - leva al que lo al - can - za,

T.

6. Su primor mis-te - rio-so, que a los cielos e - leva al que lo alcan - za,

B.

127

Ti. 1 lo come el sen - ti - do, no lo come el senti - do,

Ti. 2 no lo come el sen - ti - do, sen - ti - do,

A. no lo come el senti - - - do,

T. no lo come el sen - ti - - do,

B. \flat ?

[D.C. al Fine]

131

Ti. 1 porque es pas-to su música del al - ma, de el al - ma.

Ti. 2 porque es pas-to su música del al - ma, de el al - ma.

A. porque es pas-to su músi-ca del al - ma, de el al - ma, de el al - ma.

T. porque es pas-to su músi-ca del al - ma, del al - ma, de el al - ma.

B. \flat 3

C.8 *AL ESTABLO MÁS DICHOSO*, JUAN GUTIÉRREZ DE PADILLA

Al estable más dichoso

Ensaladilla. [De Navidad. A 8.]

JUAN GUTIÉRREZ DE PADILLA

Edited by Andrew A. Cashner

(ca. 1590–1664)

[INTRODUCCIÓN: GREEK CHORUS]

CHORUS I

TIPLE I

ALTUS I

TENOR I

BASSUS I
[instr.]

TIPLE II

ALTUS II

TENOR II

BASSUS II
[instr.]

1. Al es - tab - lo más di - cho - so, don-de triun-fa la vic - to - ria,
2. Bue-na noche y la más bue - na, pues a pe - sar de las som-bras
3. Un za - gal de a - quel con - tor - no, en su tem-pla-da zam - po - ña

1. Al es - tab - lo más di - cho - so, don-de triun-fa la vic - to - ria,
2. Bue-na noche y la más bue - na, pues a pe - sar de las som-bras
3. Un za - gal de a - quel con - tor - no, en su tem-pla-da zam - po - ña

1. Al es - tab - lo más di - cho - so, don-de triun-fa la vic - to - ria,
2. Bue-na noche y la más bue - na, pues a pe - sar de las som-bras
3. Un za - gal de a - quel con - tor - no, en su tem-pla-da zam - po - ña

1. Al es - tab - lo más di - cho - so, don-de triun-fa la vic - to - ria,
2. Bue-na noche y la más bue - na, pues a pe - sar de las som-bras
3. Un za - gal de a - quel con - tor - no, en su tem-pla-da zam - po - ña

5

Ti. I

A. I

T. I

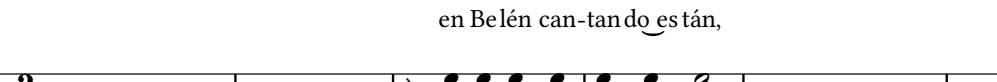
B. I

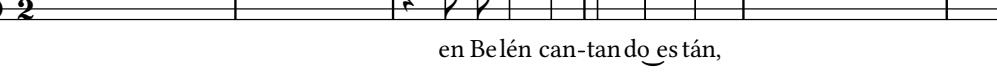
COPLAS [SHEPHERDS]

9

Ti. I C 

A. I 

T. I 

B. I 

15

Ti. I
A. I
T. I
B. I

y en un porta - li - co po-bre se ha es tre chado él que es inmenso, y en un porta - li - co po-bre
y en un porta - li - co po-bre
y en un porta - li - co po-bre

21

Ti. I
A. I
T. I
B. I

se ha es tre cha - do él que es inmenso. 2. fuego de-rri - te la nieve,
se ha es tre chado él que es inmenso. 2. Fuego de-rri - te la nieve, fuego de-rri - te la nieve,
se ha es tre cha - do él que es inmenso. fuego de-rri - te la nieve,

27

A. I
B. I

y entre tan-ta nie - ve el fue - go, a ca - da lla - ma bo - ste - za, lo a - cen - dra - do des - te es - tre - mo,

33

Ti. I

A. I

T. I

B. I

⁸ a ca-da lla-ma bo ste-za, lo acen-dra - do de-stre-mo. 3. Míranse por to-dos la-dos, míranse por

40

Ti. I

A. I

T. I

⁸ to-dos la-dos,

B. I

46

Ti. I

A. I

T. I

⁸ u-na an-tor-cha a ca - da vi - so, y un Dios gran-de aun-que pe-que-ño.

B. I

[GREEK CHORUS]

51

Ti. I

A. I

T. I

B. I

1. Des-pués Bar-tho - lo_él de ma - rras, a - rrie - ro de ca - la y go - rra,
 2. En bus - ca de u - na mu - li - lla que se le fue por tra - mo - ya,
 3. Al por - tal con los pas - to - res se en-tró a - rro - jan-do bra - mo - nas,

1. Des-pués Bar-tho - lo_él de ma - rras, a - rrie - ro de ca - la y go - rra,
 2. En bus - ca de u - na mu - li - lla que se le fue por tra - mo - ya,
 3. Al por - tal con los pas - to - res se en-tró a - rro - jan-do bra - mo - nas,

1. Des-pués Bar-tho - lo_él de ma - rras, a - rrie - ro de ca - la y go - rra,
 2. En bus - ca de u - na mu - li - lla que se le fue por tra - mo - ya,
 3. Al por - tal con los pas - to - res se en-tró a - rro - jan-do bra - mo - nas,

55

Ti. I

A. I

T. I

B. I

que fue espa - da - chín de an - ta - ño, y hoy mer - ca - der de pa - no - chas.
 a dar-se u - na bue - na no - che en las pa - jas mis - te - rio - sas.
 y a quién o - cu - pa el pe - se - bre di - ce co - mo que se en - to - na:

que fue espa - da - chín de an - ta - ño, y hoy mer - ca - der de pa - no - chas.
 a dar-se u - na bue - na no - che en las pa - jas mis - te - rio - sas.
 y a quién o - cu - pa el pe - se - bre di - ce co - mo que se en - to - na:

que fue espa - da - chín de an - ta - ño, y hoy mer - ca - der de pa - no - chas.
 a dar-se u - na bue - na no - che en las pa - jas mis - te - rio - sas.
 y a quién o - cu - pa el pe - se - bre di - ce co - mo que se en - to - na:

EL ARRIERO: Responsión dúo de la ensaladilla

59

T. II

B. II

63

T. II

B. II

66

T. II

B. II

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

7. Y por vida de Bartholo,
que en aquestas y en esotras,
cuando por esto la quiera,
que aquí se las traiga todas.

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

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

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

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

PAPALOTILLO [SERRANOS]

70

Ti. I Solo

Ven y ve-rás un do - no - so chi-qui - to. Mí - ra - lo bien, que en sus o - jos me mi - ro.

RESPONSIÓN a 4 del Papalotillo

74

Ti. I

Ven y ve-rás un do - no - so chi-qui - to. Mí - ra - lo bien, que en sus o - jos me mi - ro.

A. I

T. I

B. I

Ven y ve-rás un do - no - so chi-qui - to. Mí - ra - lo bien, que en sus o - jos me mi - ro.

Ven y ve-rás un do - no - so chi-qui - to. Mí - ra - lo bien, que en sus o - jos me mi - ro.

COPLAS del Papalotillo

78

Ti. I

1. Mí - ra - lo bien, có - mo llo - ra y sus - pi - ra, sien - do del pa - dre la misma a - le - grí - a.

82

T. I

2. Mí - ra - lo bien en - tre po - bres a - la - jas, gra - no fe - cundo escon - di - do en - tre pa - jas.

4. Mí - ra - lo bien con ter - ne - za y cui - da - do, que ha de ser pas - to y pas - tor des - ve - la - do.

86

Ti. I

3. Mí - ra - lo bien que aunque a - go - ra se estre - cha, nos ha de dar u - na fer - til co - se - cha.
 5. Mí - ra - lo bien, cor - de - ri - to a - mo - ro - so, que ha de hu - ir de las ga - rras del lo - bo.

RESPONSIÓN [rep.]

90

Ti. I

Ven y ve - rás un do - no - so chi - qui - to. Mí - ra - lo bien, que en sus o - jos me mi - ro.
 Ven y ve - rás un do - no - so chi - qui - to. Mí - ra - lo bien, que en sus o - jos me mi - ro.
 Ven y ve - rás un do - no - so chi - qui - to. Mí - ra - lo bien, que en sus o - jos me mi - ro.

[GREEK CHORUS]

94

Ti. I

1. El An - go - la Min - gue - li - llo, a - cau - di - llan - do su tro - pa,
 2. De - jan - do el tum - ba - ca - tum - ba y y gru - ñen - do a lo de An - go - la,
 1. El An - go - la Min - gue - li - llo, a - cau - di - llan - do su tro - pa,
 2. De - jan - do el tum - ba - ca - tum - ba y y gru - ñen - do a lo de An - go - la,
 1. El An - go - la Min - gue - li - llo, a - cau - di - llan - do su tro - pa,
 2. De - jan - do el tum - ba - ca - tum - ba y y gru - ñen - do a lo de An - go - la,

98

Ti. I

A. I

T. I

B. I

no quie-re ser el postre - ro en la fies-ta en que se go - za.
des - en - vai - nó con la voz de su ti - zón la ti - zo - na.

no quie-re ser el pos - tre - ro en la fiesta en que se go - za.
des - en - vai - nó con la voz de su ti - zón la ti - zo - na.

NEGRILLA Duo y a 6

102

Ti. I

B. I

Di - ga pli - mo, ¿dón - de sa la ni - ño de na - ci - men-ta? plu-que

106

Ti. I

T. I

B. I

B. II

sa - mo su pa - len - ta y al ve - ni - mo a bu - sca.
Ay - tá, ay - tá, cun -

111

T. I

B. II

119

Ti. I tu - ru - ye - ga, tu - ru - tu - ru - ye - ga, ay -

A. I tu - ru - ye - ga, tu - ru - tu - ru - ye - ga, ay -

T. I tu - ru - ye - ga, ay - tá, ay -

B. I

T. II — tu - ru - tu - ru - ye - ga, ay - tá, ay - tá, ay - tá, ay -

B. II

123

Ti. I

A. I

T. I

B. I

T. II

B. II

128

Ti. I

B. I

T. II

B. II

to.

Se - su, Se - su, qué bo - ni - to, su - cu - chá, que can - ta - mo loan - ge -

MS: Ti. II
A. II

132 a 3

Ti. I Gloria en las al-tu - ras, y en la tie-rra paz, la tie-rra paz.

A. I Glo-ria en las al - tu - ras, y en la tie-rra paz, y en la tie - rra paz.

Ti. II Glo - ria en las al - tu - ras, y en la tie - rra paz.

A. II Glo-ria en las al - tu - - - ras, y en la tie - rra paz.

T. II li - to:

B. II

[NEGRILLA: ESTRIBILLO]

138

Ti. I Su - cu - chá, su - cu-chá, ay -

A. I Su - cu - chá, su - cu-chá, ay -

T. I Va - la min-dio-so que lin - do canta, ay-tá, ay-tá, ay - tá, ay -

B. I

T. II ay - tá, ay -

B. II

142

Ti. I tá, ay - tá su - cu - chá, su - cu - chá, ay - tá, ay - tá, ay - tá.

A. I tá, ay - tá su - cu - chá, su - cu - chá, ay - tá, ay - tá, ay - tá.

T. I tá, su - cu - chá, su - cu - chá, ay - tá.

B. I

T. II tá, ay - tá, su - cu - chá, ay - ta, ay - ta.

B. II

COPLAS a 6

146

Ti. I ay - tá,

A. I ay - tá,

T. I 1. Ca - ya, ca - ya, chi - qui - to, ay - tá,
2. Mi si - ñol Ma - nu - e - le, ay - tá,

B. I

T. II 1. Ay - tá, que tla - e - mo ple -
2. Ay - tá, e - se pa - pa he sa -

B. II

149

Ti. I

A. I

T. I

B. I

T. II

B. II

ay - tá,
ay - tá,
ay - tá, pa - la que te ca - yen - te, ay - tá,
ay - tá, plu - que sa lin - da co - sa, ay - tá,
cen - te, ay - tá, ay - tá, man - ti - ya pa - ña -
bro - sa, ay - tá, ay - tá, man - te - qui - ya con
ay - tá,

153

Ti. I

A. I

T. I

B. I

T. II

B. II

ay - tá,
ay - tá,
ay - tá, y u - no pa - pa - ga - yi - to, ay - tá.
ay - tá, Se - su, le, le, le, le, ay - tá,
li - to, ay - tá, ay - tá, que sa - ve - mo ha -
me - le, ay - tá, ay - tá, ro - ro, ro - ro, ca -

[ESTRIBILLO rep.]

157

Ti. I
A. I
T. I
B. I
T. II
B. II

Su - cu - chá, su - cu -
Su - cu - chá, su - cu -
Va - la min - dio - so que lin - do can-ta, ay-tá, ay-tá, ay - tá,
ay - tá, ay - tá, ay - tá,
ay - tá.

161

Ti. I
A. I
T. I
B. I
T. II
B. II

chá, ay - tá, ay - tá su - cu - chá, su - cu - chá, ay - tá, ay - tá, ay - tá.
chá, ay - tá, ay - tá su - cu - chá, su - cu - chá, ay - tá, ay - tá, ay - tá.
ay - tá, su - cu - chá, su - cu - chá, ay - tá.
ay - tá, ay - tá, ay - tá, ay - tá.
ay - tá, ay - tá, su - cu - chá, ay - ta, ay - tá.

APPENDIX D
CRITICAL NOTES ON MUSICAL EDITIONS

D.1 SUSPENDED, CIELOS, SETTING BY JOAN CEREROLS

Sources

This critical edition is based on two manuscript sources and an early twentieth-century edition based on the first manuscript source.

1. CAN

- E-CAN: AU/0116, Canet de Mar, Arxiu parròquia de Sant Pere i Sant Pau de Canet de Mar, Bisbat de Girona, Fons capella de música
- Title page: “Villancico al SSmo. Sto. / Suspendet cielos a 8 / Cererols”
- Complete set of manuscript partbooks with estribillo and coplas, performance parts SSAT, SATB, “acompañamiento”
- See 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

2. Bbc

- E-Bbc: M/765/25, Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, previously unattributed
- Title page: “Villansico a 8”
- Incomplete set of manuscript partbooks with estribillo only (no coplas), some lyrics altered for a Eucharistic dedication
- SSA, SATB, missing TI and accompaniment

3. MEM

- Joan Cererols, *Joan Cererols III*, ed. David Pujols, Mestres de l’Escolania de Montserrat 3 (Monestir de Montserrat, 1932), xxv (lyrics), 221–236 (music)
- Based exclusively on CAN, with some errors

Editorial Policies

This new edition takes *CAN* as its primary source, since this source preserves all the performing parts and includes both coplas and estribillo, and since *Bbc* is an adaptation to fit a Eucharistic function. Both manuscripts are probably copies based with some degree of separation on an original exemplar by Cererols at his Abbey of Montserrat, which would have been lost when the library burned in the nineteenth century.

The transcription follows *CAN*, but *Bbc* provides added support for a number of the editorial *musica ficta* accidentals and text underlay. *Bbc* adds the unique dynamic markings *eco* and *falsete*; these are shown in parentheses.

Gaps and Errors

In the acompañamiento partbook of *CAN*, some of the notes written along the paper fold have eaten through the paper. In almost every case, however, the original rhythmic and pitch values are unambiguous from the shape of the hole and from the musical context. Notes supplied to fill these gaps are demarcated with square brackets. The accompaniment parts is the same for all each pair of coplas, so *CAN* only writes it out once.

Specific Editorial Notes

Estríbillo

Both *CAN* and *Bbc* contain the estríbillo, so differences between the two are noted below.

Measure 1, Alto I: *Bbc* starts coloration on C, matching other Chorus I parts.

14, *Tenor II, third note:* *Bbc* has F₄; *CAN* has A₄, which matches the contour of the Alto II (mm. 13–14), and of Tiple I-2 and Alto I in mm. 12–13.

17, *Chorus I, lyrics, second and third note:* There is disagreement between versions and between partbooks within each version regarding the lyrics. In *CAN*, Tenor I has “tened” and the other voices have repeat signs indicating the repeat of “tened.” In *Bbc*, Tiple I-1 and Alto I have “parad,” while Tiple I-1 has “tened,” and Tenor has sign for repeat of “tened.”

33, *Tenor II:* *Bbc* starts coloration in m. 33 (like the other Chorus II parts); *CAN* starts coloration on “las jerarquías” in m. 32.

40, *Bajo II, third note:* F is sharped in *CAN* only. This figure is the subject of the eight-voice fugue, and none of the other entrances have an F-sharp. The sharp is probably a cautionary accidental warning the player of the Bajo II part *not* to sharp the F.

45–46, *Tiple I-2:* *Bbc* has slur between last note of m. 45 and first note of m. 46 (D–E).

47–59, *All voices, lyrics:* *Bbc* has the following Eucharist lyrics in place of those from *CAN* in the transcription: “y desde un pan divino/ un hombre soberano.”

58, *Tenor I, first note:* *CAN* (the only source of the Tenor I voice) has B₃, which must be an error. Correction to A follows *MEM*.

77–80, *Tiple I-1:* *Bbc* has different conclusion, shown in small staff above.

78, *Tiple I-2, second note:* In *Bbc*, G is a semibreve, which does not align rhythmically with the other voices. It is a minim in *CAN*.

Coplas

Coplas are in *CAN* only. The poetic text of the coplas has been amended in several places to align with the surviving poetry imprints of the poem, wherever the change clarifies the meaning or improves the grammar of the text as given in *CAN*.

M. 81, *Lyrics:* “Las fugas del primer hombre formó” amended to “Las fugas que el primer hombre formó.”

94, *Lyrics:* “Qué mucho que” amended to “Qué mucho si.”

96, *Tiple I-2:* Third rest (beat 5) in *CAN* is semiminim rest, which must be an error. Corrected to minim rest, following *MEM*.

110, *All voices:* The rhythmic values for the first three beats of this bar in *CAN* are as follows: semibreve, semiminim rest, two flagged minims. The flagged minims are normally transcribed as seminimims or quarter notes, but with the rest this does not fit within the tactus. The copyist is apparently trying to accommodate the text to the rhythm of copla 1 (m. 83), but here there is an extra syllable. So either the flagged minims must be rendered as corcheas or eighth notes, which would be quite difficult to sing, or the flagged minims are transcribed

normally and the rest must be omitted or treated like a breath mark. This edition follows *MEM* in transcribing the flagged notes as semiminims.

116–117, *Alto I*, lyrics: “Las disonancias” amended to singular in accord with the other voices and the imprints.

131–135, *Lyrics*: Tiple I-1 “desatento” amended to “desentono,” which accords with the Tiple I-2 and with the poetry imprint S1 that contains this copla. Both voices “tan grande” amended to “tan vano,” as in all the poetry imprints; “grande” only appears in this source and breaks the metrical pattern of romance.

137, *All voices*: Same problem as m. 111.

142–146, *Lyrics*: “Lo inmenso espacio” amended to “lo inmensio a espacio” following the poetry imprints, though in practice there would be little discernible difference in pronunciation.

135–137, *Lyrics*: “Sosteniendo” in the two Tiple parts amended to “sostenido,” in accord with the Alto and Tenor parts and with the poetry imprints.

152, *Tiple I-2*: A semibreve rest is missing (compare the corresponding places in the other coplas (mm. 98, 125).

160–161, *Tiple I-2*: The notes transcribed as quarters are written (per usual practice) in *CAN* as flagged minims. The four are beamed together, which usually indicates a melisma, but the text underlay clearly places the words as shown in the transcription.

Differences from the *MEM* Edition

There is much to praise about the careful edition by Dom Pujols, which was among the first published modern transcriptions of villancicos, made at a time when almost nothing was known about the genre. The most serious error is a missing rest in the fugato section, causing one of the fugal voices to enter at the wrong moment.

MEM does not indicate rhythmic coloration, and it does not clearly distinguish editorial additions such as lyrics, accidentals, and slurs. *MEM* underlays lyrics to the Bajo II part, though only the first two words are written in the manuscripts (both *CAN* and *Bbc*). In keeping with common practice across the Hispanic world, this part was played instrumentally, probably on the bajón. *MEM* omits the figured bass in the acompañamiento part. Finally, there are discrepancies between *MEM*’s transcription of the lyrics in the text-only part of the edition and in the musical score itself; and sometimes neither corresponds to the manuscript. Specific errors are noted below (measure numbers refer to this edition, not *MEM*).

12, *Tiple I-2, first note*: *MEM* has E; both manuscripts have F.

39, *Alto I*: *MEM* omits the breve rest in m. 39, shifting the Alto fugue entrance one bar earlier through m. 47. Both manuscripts match the new edition.

39, *Acomp.*: *CAN* has sharp over B (beat 4), indicating a natural (counter to normal ficta practice). *MEM* puts the sharp on the C (beat 2) and omits the natural. The C was probably sharped, nevertheless, as the editorial accidental indicates.

61ff, *Lyrics*: *MEM* has correct text underlay in the musical score, but in the lyrics section (*MEM* p. xxv), has “el canto llano de los ángeles lleva.”

85, *Lyrics*: *MEM* score has “el compás”; *MEM* lyrics section has “al compás.” *CAN* has “al compás.”

100, *Tiple I-2, first note*: *MEM* has C♯; *CAN* does not. The note should probably be sung sharp, however.

101–103, *Tiple I-2*: *MEM* omits slur in *CAN* on last three notes of m. 102, and therefore underlays the words differently.

104–106, *Lyrics*: *MEM* has “previenen” instead of “previene,” which is clear in *CAN* and in the poetry imprint S1.

114, *Alto I*: *MEM* adds slur between first two notes, not present in *CAN*.

128–130, *Tiple I-2*: Lyric repeat signs in *CAN* are ambiguous, and *MEM* underlays the lyrics differently. That the notes transcribed as quarter notes (flagged minims in the original) are not beamed together normally would mean that different syllables were sung to each note, as in the underlay in this edition.

132–134, *Lyrics*: *MEM* has “tan grave” in score, but “grande” in lyrics section. *CAN* clearly has “grande” (though as noted earlier, this itself is probably an error).

136, *Lyrics*: *MEM* amplifies the lyrical disagreement between upper and lower voices (“sosteniendo” vs. “sostenido”) by using “sostenido” for all voices in the musical score but “sosteniendo” in the lyrics section.

141, *Alto I*: *MEM* adds slur on first two notes; no slur in *CAN*.

142–146, *Lyrics*: *MEM* changes “spacio” in *CAN* to “espacio” and changes text underlay to fit this. All the poetry imprints have “a espacio.”

148–150, *Lyrics*: *MEM* has “clausura” in score but “cláusula” in lyrics section. *CAN* has “claúsula.”

155–156, *Tiple I-2, sixth note*: *MEM* omits “en,” which is clearly indicated in *CAN*.

160–161, *Tiple I-2*: *MEM* respects the slur in *CAN* and thus shifts the beginning of “milagro” to the C♯ (beat 4). But the spacing of the text underlay in *CAN* matches the current edition, and in most other places this cadential figure is sung on one syllable (cf. mm. 91, 102, 118, 133–134, 145, 156).