

Hearing Faith: Music as Theology in the Spanish Empire

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Part I

Listening for Faith

Chapter 1

Villancicos as Musical Theology

*ergo fides ex auditu
auditus autem per verbum Christi*

Faith, then, comes through hearing,
and hearing, by the word of Christ.

—Romans 10:17

Saint Paul wrote to the Christian community in Rome, “How are they to believe if they have not heard?” since “faith comes through hearing, and hearing, by the Word of Christ” (Rm 10:16–17).¹ Sixteen centuries later, amid the ongoing reformations of the Western Church, Catholic Christians were seeking ever new ways to make faith audible. Poets and composers of the Spanish Empire expanded a genre of sung poetry in the vernacular—the *villancico*—into large-scale choral and instrumental performances that could appeal to the ears of elite and common people alike.²

1. This is my own translation from the Latin Vulgate used by Spanish Catholics, in the modern edition, Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, eds., *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 4th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994). The original Greek is *ara ē pistis ex akoēs, ē de akoē dia hrēmatos Xristou*: Barbara Aland et al., eds., *The Greek New Testament*, Fourth revised edition (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft/United Bible Societies, 2001) The word *akoē* can mean “the faculty of hearing,” “the act of hearing,” “the organ with which one hears,” or “that which is heard”: 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). The New Revised Standard Version translates this “So faith comes from what is heard, and what is heard comes through the word of Christ.” Early modern Catholic discussions of faith and hearing depend on the range of meanings of *auditus* in Latin (as in the underlying Greek), including both “hearing” and “what is heard.”

2. The major studies of the villancico as a musical and poetic genre are, in chronological order, Samuel Rubio, *Forma del villancico polifonico desde el siglo XV hasta el XVIII* (Cuenca: Instituto de Musica Religiosa

With the Church's active patronage, villancicos became a central activity in religious festivals throughout the year, particularly at Christmas, Corpus Christi, and the Immaculate Conception of Mary. Church ensembles performed these pieces, with their motet-like refrains or *estribillos* surrounding a set of strophic verses or *coplas*, as an integral part of Matins and other liturgies. Festival crowds from Madrid to Manila also heard villancicos in public processions and in conjunction with mystery plays.

A large number of villancicos begin with calls to listen—*escuchad*, *atended*, *silencio*, *atención*. Because so many villancicos explicitly address concepts of music, sensation, and faith, these remarkable but understudied pieces offer us unique insights into Spanish beliefs about music. Much of the valuable new scholarship on Spanish colonial music, and on sound and sensation, focuses primarily on social and institutional history, and on verbal discourse *about* music.³ This book provides a necessary complement to these studies, by analyzing how people expressed and shaped beliefs about music through the medium of music itself.

de la Excma. Diputación Provincial de Cuenca, 1979); Paul R. Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1997); Álvaro Torrente, “The Sacred Villancico in Early Eighteenth-Century Spain: The Repertory of Salamanca Cathedral” (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1997); Martha Lilia Tenorio, *Los villancicos de Sor Juana* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1999); Bernat Cabero Pueyo, *Der Villancico des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in Spanien* (Berlin: Dissertation.de, 2000); Bernardo Illari, “Polychoral Culture: Cathedral Music in La Plata (Bolivia), 1680–1730” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2001); Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente, eds., *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800: The Villancico and Related Genres* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007); 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; Andrew A. Cashner, “Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music in Hispanic Villancicos, 1600–1700” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2015).

3. Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); Geoffrey Baker and Tess Knighton, eds., *Music and Urban Society in Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); David Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Jesús A. Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral: Music, Race, and Status in New Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Andrew Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

Chapter 2

Making Faith Appeal to Hearing

*Yo no te alcanzo ni tu enigma sé,
porque a la Fe he escuchado sin la fe.*

I cannot comprehend you nor solve your puzzle,
because I have listened to Faith without faith.

—“Judaism,” in Calderón, *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*

Churchgoers in the Hispanic world of the seventeenth century were familiar with many kinds of stock characters who appeared alongside the shepherds and kings in the devotional music performed at Christmas. One of the most intriguing of these recurring characters in villancicos is the *sordo*, a deaf or hard-of-hearing man. Poets placed the *sordo* character in dialogue scenes opposite a friar or catechist, in which the religious teacher attempted in vain to overcome the impediment of hearing and communicate his message. In 1671, one such villancico was performed by King Philip IV’s own ensemble, the Royal Chapel, for the feast of Christmas at Madrid’s Convent of the Incarnation. The music was composed by Matías Ruiz, chapelmaster at the convent, to an anonymous poem, *Pues la fiesta del niño es*.¹ The singers and players of the royal ensemble presented a dialogue between a catechist and “deaf” man. This is how the two men meet:

1. E-E: Mús. 83-12.

SORDO: Éntrome de hoz, y de coz.	DEAF MAN: Here I come, like it or not.
PREG.: ¿Quién llama con tanto estruendo?	CATECHIST: Who's that making such a ruckus?
S: Hablen alto, que no entiendo, sino levantan la voz.	D: Speak up, for I don't understand unless you raise your voice.
P: Bajad la voz, que a Dios gracias no soy sordo.	C: Lower your voice, for I am not deaf, thank God.
S: ¿Dice que está el niño gordo? pues de eso me alegro mucho.	D: Are you saying the baby is fat? well, that sure makes me happy.

The deaf man is not the only object of humor here: the catechist completely fails to accommodate the other man's impairment, and the garbled echoes of misheard teaching threaten to make the churchman the more absurd of the two characters.

In fact, the *sordo* follows this introductory dialogue by declaring his love for the baby Jesus. The full eight-voice chorus joins him in affirming a maxim that could be interpreted as a critique of hearing and deaf people alike:

SORDO: Pues vaya de viestas al niño que adoro que está como un oro, y el coro sonoro responda veloz, que sordos son los que no escuchan ni entienden el son.	DEAF MAN: So on with the festivities for the Christ-child I adore, since he is like a gold coin, and let the resounding choir respond quickly, for the deaf are those who do not listen nor understand the sound.
CORO: Que sordos son los que no escuchan ni entienden el son.	CHORUS: For the deaf are those who do not listen nor understand the sound.

If, theologically speaking, the truly deaf are those who do not listen or understand, then both characters in this scene are deaf to each other. This gives added meaning to the title written

in Ruiz's manuscript performing parts, *Villancico de los sordos*—using the plural for *deaf* even though there is only one character labelled *sordo* in the piece.

This scene of mishearing and misunderstanding is emblematic of the central problem of the Roman Catholic Church in the new religious landscape after Columbus and Luther. The Church faced the challenges on every front: in Europe, to defend its teaching and regulate its practice in the face of Protestantism; and overseas, to convert natives to Christianity and build a Catholic civilization in the colonized lands. Whether the church's teachers were trying to speak to “heretics” or “pagans”; whether their quest was to defend the traditional meaning of *faith* against Lutheran reinterpretation, or to find a suitable translation for *God* to communicate with Mexica peasants and Mandarin philosophers in their own languages, Catholics found themselves, knowingly or not, in “dialogues of the deaf.”²

If faith came through hearing, as Saint Paul wrote, then church leaders needed to find a way to engage the auditory sense, some way not only to make faith heard but actually to make it understood, and to enable people to put this faith into practice. For this purpose Catholics embraced music as a supernaturally powerful means of making faith appeal to hearing. Music was at the center of all these evangelizing and civilizing efforts: Jesuits in Europe used music and theater to train the youth of the nobility to follow in the Catholic flock, while their missionary brothers in Brazil and Japan adapted Iberian folk songs to indigenous languages; the Franciscans in New Spain formed choruses of indigenous boys and established the foundation of a rich musical culture in the new colony.³ But the same problem of communication depicted *within* the villancico about deafness also affected the

2. The English expression is borrowed from the French *dialogue de sourds* to mean “a discussion, meeting, etc., in which neither side understands or makes allowance for the point of view of the other” (*Oxford English Dictionary [OED]*, s.v. *dialogue*, <http://www.oed.com/>). See Wyatt MacGaffey, “Dialogues of the Deaf: Europeans on the Atlantic Coast of Africa,” in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 249–267.

3. Paolo Castagna, “The Use of Music by the Jesuits in the Conversion of the Indigenous Peoples of Brazil,” in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O’Malley S.J. et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 641–658; David Waterhouse, “The Earliest Japanese Contacts with Western Music,” *Review of Culture* 26 (1996): 36–47; Lorenzo Candelaria, “Bernardino de Sahagún’s *Psalmodia Christiana*: A Catholic Songbook from Sixteenth-Century New Spain,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67, no. 3 (2014): 619–684.

music of the villancico itself: what if the music failed to communicate? Given the potential for misunderstanding and confusion, how could anyone know that “what was heard” in a musical performance actually led to faith?

The church’s answer, explained in the official Roman Catechism and echoed across the genres of theological literature and devotional art, was to accommodate the sense of hearing and train it at the same time.⁴ Accommodation meant adapting the method of communication—but not, ideally, the message—to compensate for the weakness of the senses and the obstacles to intelligibility caused by differing language, culture, education, and personal temperament. Training meant exercising the senses, sensitizing and disciplining them to create the capacity to perceive the church’s teaching rightly and live accordingly. Devotional music might even be considered as a kind of prosthetic device to overcome the disability of the spiritually deaf. Hispanic villancicos, I argue, functioned both to make faith appeal to the ears of a wide range of hearers, and to cultivate disciplines that would turn hearers into listeners—people who heard the message of faith *with* faith, and who lived out their faith together as part of a harmonious society.

Villancicos were the most widespread form of religious music with words in vernacular languages in the Catholic world after the Council of Trent, and they provide evidence for a sustained endeavor by church leaders to establish conventions of communication with ordinary people. The creators of villancicos drew on common experiences of everyday life and linked them to the sacred in inventive ways that met the devotional needs of specific communities. Each piece provides a new answer to Christ’s question, “With what can we compare the kingdom of God, or what parable will we use for it?” (Mk 4:21). Villancicos thus represent a key component of the Hispanic church’s effort to use music to make faith appeal to hearing. They are evidence of the church working to accommodate hearing and train it at the same time.

This type of devotional music spoke to a variety of people at different levels of understanding. They were a central part of the celebrations of Christmas, Corpus Christi,

4. Catholic Church, *Catechismus Ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini, Ad Parochos Pii V. Pont. Max. iussu editus* (Cologne, 1567).

the Conception of Mary, and feasts of the saints across the Hispanic world, performed both inside and outside the church, at Matins and Mass, in a multitude of public and private contexts. Villancicos were composed in sets of eight or more pieces, most commonly interspersed between the readings of the Matins liturgy and replacing or supplementing the Responsory chants according to local practice. Each of these cycles includes an array of subgenres that would speak to different portions of the congregation. These range from silly dialogues of Christmas shepherds that would have entertained children and their parents alike to sophisticated meditations on metaphorical conceits, such as the pieces based on musical terminology that will be studied in part II of this book.

Even the structure of individual villancicos reflects the effort to communicate on multiple levels. The *estribillo* section of a typical villancico was scored for full ensemble and performed at the beginning and then repeated at the end of the piece; composers usually set this in relatively complex polyphony similar to what they would use for a motet. In the center of the piece, the *coplas* or verses were usually set strophically for solo singers or a reduced ensemble with accompaniment. As Bernardo Illari argues, the *copla* settings are probably based closely on oral traditions for singing poetry, especially in the *romance* meter, to stock melodic formulas; and it would have been easier for common listeners to make sense of the words that were sung to the simple, repeating melodies.⁵ The *estribillo*, by contrast, is often much more complex and draws on traditions of learned counterpoint; composers often invoke a variety of stylistic registers and styles to convey the meaning of the words and heighten their rhetorical impact.

But though villancicos have these aspects that seem designed to engage a wide popular audience, they differ from other dominant forms of vernacular religious music in this period—Lutheran chorales and Reformed psalms—in that they were not sung by ordinary parishioners. Rather, more like Anglican anthems and German sacred concertos, they were performed by professional church musicians for the benefit of the congregation. The printed

5. Illari, “Polychoral Culture.”

commemorative leaflets of villancico poetry, and the manuscript performing parts of the musical settings preserve only one side of the church's dialogue. Hispanic Catholics did not, generally speaking, cultivate a society of literate, self-advocating lay people who would have left behind traces of their personal beliefs and devotional practices. For the Spanish Empire, then, we know what people heard, but not what they understood or how they responded.⁶ And when villancicos represent types of people—whether catechists, deaf men, black slaves, or Indians—they leave us only with conventional caricatures, not ethnohistorical descriptions.⁷

All the same, the devotional music that survives from imperial Spain can still open a fascinating window into the process of religious communication. First, villancicos should not be understood as an exclusively top-down communication, and certainly not as a simple mode of religious indoctrination. The creators of villancicos were not always members of the most elite strata, and their readers and hearers included commoners. The cultivated poet Francisco de Quevedo was credited with mocking “the whole caste of villancico poets” as hacks, saying that “the poor are drowning in poets, continually hearing their braying.”⁸ If there is any truth to the critique of villancico poets as stringing together clichés to satisfy the tastes of a lower-class market, then the same low-class elements that those poets disdained can provide us with insight into culture at a more common level. On the musical side as well, some villancico composers were not prestigious cathedral chapelmasters and we know of at least one who was of indigenous ancestry, Juan de Araújo in Boliiva.⁹ Besides, regardless of their personal background, villancico poets and composers were following the demands of their local congregation, who according to contemporary accounts turned out in droves to hear the annual

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

7. Geoffrey Baker, “The ‘Ethnic Villancico’ and Racial Politics in 17th-Century Mexico,” in Knighton and Torrente, *Devotional Music in the Iberian World*, 399–408; Geoffrey Baker, “Latin American Baroque: Performance as a Post-Colonial Act?,” *Early Music* 3, no. 36 (2008): 441–448; Drew Edward Davies, “Finding ‘Local Content’ in the Music of New Spain,” *Early Music America* 2, no. 19 (2013): 60–64.

8. Diego de Torres Villarroel, *Sueños morales, visiones y visitas de Torres con D. Francisco de Quevedo por Madrid* (Madrid, 1786), 37: “Toda la casta de Poetas villanciqueros, que surtian de coplas de Gil y Menga las navidades; y los que escribian jacarandaynas para los ciegos se han arrimado á los cómicos, y se ahogan los pobres en Poetas, oyendo continuamente sus rebuznos; y si no los confundiera la grave y sonora armonía de la música moderna, fuera los mismo que escuchar los alaridos de la tortura.”

9. 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.

villancico performances. Somewhat like mass-mediated popular music today, this music was not typically created by common people themselves, but it both reflected and shaped popular tastes and attitudes.

Moreover, the poetic and musical texts of villancicos themselves may be read as discourses on the process of using music to make faith appeal to hearing. Many villancicos explicitly treat this theme, overtly asking hearers, “Listen!” “Pay attention!” and even (in the words of a piece set by Joan Cererols) *Callar y creer*—literally, shut up and believe.¹⁰ As demonstrated in chapter 1, people used metamusical villancicos to articulate their theological beliefs about music through the practice of music itself. A large proportion of the repertoire presents scenes of dialogue, such as most of the examples in this chapter.¹¹ These dramatized conversations paint colorful pictures of the sometimes bumbling and misguided conversations between church leaders and their parishioners.

As the “villancicos of the deaf” demonstrate, problems could arise at every stage of the effort to communicate. Spanish devotional music manifests widespread anxieties about how people could acquire the capacity to listen with faith. Spaniards and their colonial subjects worried about how to listen faithfully, about the role of subjective experience and cultural conditioning, and about the possibility that some listeners might lack the capacity to hear music rightly. Above all these is the danger that both the teacher and the pupil, performer and audience, might be deaf to each other; that neither one could truly know whether their communication had been successful.

This chapter explores the theological climate in which villancicos were created and heard, analyzing and interpreting villancicos that focus on the link between faith and hearing, in the context of theological literature, religious drama, and music theory. We will begin by

10. *Serrana, tú que en los valles*, in Joan Cererols, *Joan Cererols III*, ed. David Pujols, Mestres de l’Escolania de Montserrat 3 (Monestir de Montserrat, 1932), 205–212.

11. Villancicos may sometimes have been staged, even with costumes, but the practice varied locally and more research is needed into this question. It is possible that the performance practice depended on the venue: for example, we might speculate that Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, chapelmaster at Puebla Cathedral and also a priest of the Oratorian Society, presented his pieces unstaged at the cathedral, but might have repeated them at the *Oratorio* in a more theatrical manner. If so, then villancico cycles would need to be reconsidered as an important early form of Spanish musical theater.

discussing theological and literary sources that shaped and reflected widespread notions about faith, hearing, and music, while also revealing tensions in those understandings. Then we will look at a group of related villancicos, never previously edited or studied, that present musical discourses on the links between faith and hearing, and manifest similar tensions. The first two pieces stage allegorical contests of the senses in which hearing is the favored sense of faith. Other pieces deliberately confuse the senses to point to a higher truth that is beyond sensation. The last two pieces are “villancicos of the deaf,” the one already discussed by Ruiz and an earlier example from Puebla by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla. They represent characters whose impairments of hearing render them unable to understand religious teaching, all the while poking fun at the futile communication of some churchmen.

Villancicos on the subject of hearing and faith, I argue, provided a way for church leaders to make faith appeal to the hearing of a broad range of listeners. They thus fulfilled one of the central prerogatives of Catholic teaching after the Council of Trent, to accommodate the sense of hearing even while training it. If we listen closely to villancicos as historical sources for theological understanding, it becomes clear that they functioned as much more than tools for simplistic religious teaching or as banal, worldly entertainment. These pieces often raise as many questions as they answer, but this tension, I argue, was what enabled these to function as a kind of theological ear training. The villancicos in this chapter appeal to the ear in order to give listeners an opportunity to contemplate the challenges of faithful hearing.

2.1 Accommodating and Training the Ear

Devotional music of the Spanish Empire should be understood as part the Catholic Church’s larger endeavor to make faith appeal to hearing. Catholic theologians taught that since faith came through hearing, as Saint Paul said, ministers must accommodate their teaching to the sense of hearing of their parishioners. They did not, though, view hearing alone as completely

trustworthy. Even if faith came through hearing, one could not believe everything one heard; and thus Catholics emphasized not only accommodating hearing, but training it.

Though the Protestant reformers insisted that their teachings were a return to true biblical orthodoxy, Catholic theologians believed that the reformers had redefined faith completely. In contrast, Catholics continued to develop the theology of faith they inherited from medieval writers like Thomas Aquinas, in which faith was one of three virtues or capacities, along with hope and charity.¹² Simple belief in intellectual propositions was “unformed faith” (*fides informe*).¹³ It was essential that every Christian believe certain things, but this was not the summit of Christian life. The goal was that Christians would develop fully “formed faith” (*fides formata*), which “worked through” the two higher virtues to result in what might best be translated as “faithfulness.” True faith was a conviction that manifested itself through ethical behavior in fidelity to God’s will.

For Catholics, then, faith encompassed beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. Faith connected individual experience with ethical action as part of the community of the Church. A man of faith was a man of virtue (the root of *virtus* being *vir*), and thus faith was central to the Catholic Humanist goal of building a virtuous society. Christian disciples were required not only to “hear” the Church’s teaching and believe it (this would be unformed faith); they also had to “listen” in the sense of obeying.

The Church emphasized this theme in its official guidance for religious teachers, the new catechism “for parish priests” commissioned by the Council of Trent and first published in 1566.¹⁴ In responding to both the challenge of Protestantism and the underlying problems that had allowed heresy to take root, the council’s bishops sought to improve the education of clergy and laity in matters of faith.¹⁵ They required priests and bishops to preach on all Sundays and holy days, but they also made provision to ensure that those preaching were

12. Susan Elizabeth Schreiner, *Are You Alone Wise?: The Search for Certainty in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 130–132.

13. Catholic Church, *Catechismus ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini: iussu Pij V. pontif. max. editus* (London, 1614), s.v. *Credo in Deum Patrem*, 15–20.

14. Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, s.v. *catechism*; *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd. ed (Gale, 2003).

15. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. *Trent, Council of*.

themselves properly grounded in the faith. The Latin catechism of Trent was a model for teaching the clergy how to preach and teach—a guide both to the content of Catholic faith and to the best ways of making the faith heard and understood.

In the Roman Catechism, hearing is central to faith because the object of faith is Christ, the Word of God, and the Church’s mission is to make that Word audible. As the preface teaches, God communicated his own nature to humanity by taking on human flesh in Christ. Therefore the true Word of God was not confined to Scripture or doctrines alone—the Word was a person, Jesus Christ, to whom the prophetic scriptures testified and from whom the Church’s doctrine flowed.¹⁶ In the words of John’s gospel, Jesus Christ himself was the *logos* or *verbum* (Jn 1:1), the “Word made flesh.” Where God had previously spoken through the law and the prophets, now he had spoken through his Son (Hb 1:1). The catechism builds its ecclesiology, or its theology of the church, on this theology of the Incarnation. Christ, the incarnate Word, appointed apostles, chief among them St. Peter, to be the custodians of the true faith. The community of the Church, then, was the sacramental means through which people would come to know Christ after his resurrection. There was thus a close link in Catholic theology between hearing the Word of the Church’s teaching, obeying that Word, and encountering Christ who was the Word. The absolute center of the Church’s teaching, according to the catechism, was found in Christ’s own words in John 17:3, “This is eternal life, that you should know the only true God, and the one whom he sent, Jesus Christ.”¹⁷ All the Church’s teachers should exert themselves to the end that

the faithful should know and love from the heart Jesus Christ, and him crucified (1Co 2:2); and indeed to persuade them so that they believe with the faithfulness [*pietas*] of their inmost heart and with disciplined devotion [*religio*], that there is

16. Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, 9: “Omnis autem doctrinae ratio, quae fidelibus tradenda sit, verbo Dei continetur, quod in scripturas, traditionesque distributum est.”

17. Ibid., 6: “Haec est vita aeterna, vt cognoscant te solūm verum Deum, & quem misisti, Iesum Christum.”

no other name given to people under heaven, through whom they can be saved (Ac 4:12), since Christ is the atonement for our sins (1Jn 2:2).¹⁸

The catechism places a distinctly Catholic emphasis on obedience and faithful living—that is, on “formed faith” that manifests in love—countering the Protestant emphasis on salvation by faith alone. Since “in this we know that we know him, if he keep his commandments” (1 Jn 2:3), teachers should model faithful living, “not in leisure” but “in applying diligent effort to justice, piety, faith, charity, mercy,” having been redeemed “to do good works” (1 Tm 2:12); so that “whether one sets out to believe or hope or do anything,” the love of God should be the summit of all Christian life.¹⁹ The church’s mission was not only to instill belief but to build a community in which people could live out their faith in love for one another. Listening to Christ the Word meant joining oneself to the Church, which was Christ’s body, the physical and social manifestation of the Word in the world.

How, then, could the Church communicate the Word through the sense of hearing? Drawing on Saint Paul’s dictum from Romans, the catechism challenges the Church’s ministers to find a way to make Christ the Word audible:

Since, therefore, faith is conceived by means of hearing, it is apparent, how necessary it is for achieving eternal life to follow 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*,

18. Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, 6 (the scriptural citations are in marginal notes): “Quamobrem in eo praecipue Ecclesiastici doctoris opera versabitur, vt fideles scire ex animo cupiant, Iesum Christum & hunc crucifixum: sibique certò persuadeant, atque intima cordis pietate, & religione credant, aliud nomen non esse datum hominibus sub coelo, in quo oporteat nos saluos fieri: siquidem ipse propitiatio est pro peccatis nostris.”

19. Ibid., 6–7: “At verò quia in hoc scimus, quoniam cognouimus eum, si mandata eius obseruemus, proximum est, & cum eo, quod diximus, maximè coniunctum, vt simul etiam ostendat vitam à fidelibus non in otio, & desidia degendam esse, verùm oportere, [...] sectemürque omni studio iustitiam, pietatem, fidem, charitatem, mansuetudinem: dedit enim semetipsum pro nobis, vt nos redimeret ab omni iniquitate, & mundaret sibi populum acceptabilem, sectatorem bonorum operum [...]. Siue enim credendum, siue sperandum, siue agendum aliquid proponatur, ita in eo semper charitas Domini nostri commendari debet [...].”

so that by these [mysteries and precepts], *those who possess a well-trained sense* should be filled up by spiritual food.²⁰

To do this, pastors should consider “the age, intelligence [*ingenium*], customs, condition” of their charges, to give milk to spiritual infants and solid food to the maturing, to raise up a “perfect man [*virum perfectum*], after the measure of the fullness of Christ.”²¹

The catechism’s principle of accommodation was exemplified in vernacular expositions of the catechism, like the Spanish versions of Antonio de Azevedo, Juan Eusebio de Nieremberg, and Juan de Palafox y Mendoza.²² The Spanish versions brought this teaching down to a more colloquial level, aiming to help “laborers and simple folk” (in Palafox’s words) with earthy illustrations and paraphrases of Biblical stories. These texts come alive when read aloud, and indeed the primary goal of this type of literature was to prepare pastors to teach unlettered disciples through words and voice, whether those disciples were the “Indians” of America or Asia, or the peasants of Europe whose customs were still more pagan than Christian.²³

The Augustinian friar Antonio de Azevedo begins his 1589 *Catechism of the Mysteries of the Faith* by declaring that communicating the faith requires both trustworthy teachers and faithful listeners—a concept for which Azevedo uses music as a key metaphor.²⁴ He begins with

20. Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, 2, 8–9 (emphasis added): “Cvm autem fides ex auditu concipiatur, perspicuum est, quām necessaria semper fuerit ad aeternam vitam consequendam doctoris legitimi fidelis opera, ac ministerium [...] vt videlicet inteligerent, que ad hoc ministerium vocati sunt, ita in tradendis fidei mysteriis, ac vitae praecepsis, doctrinam ad audientium sensum, atque intelligentiam accommodari oportere, vt cūm eorum animos, qui exercitatos sensus habent, spirituali cibo expleuerint [...].”

21. Ibid., 8: “Obseruanda est enim audientium aetas, ingenium, mores, conditio [...]. sed cūm alij veluti modō geniti infantes sint, alij in Christo adolescere incipient, nonnulli verò quodammodo confirmata sint aetate, necesse est diligenter considerare, quibus lacte, quibus solidiore cibo opus sit, ac singulis ea doctrinae alimenta praebere, quae spiritum augeant, donec occurramus omnes in vnitatem fidei, & agnitiones filij Dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi.”

22. 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); 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); Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, *Bocados espirituales, politicos, misticos, y morales, Catecismo, y Axiomas doctrinales, para Labradores, y gente senzilla, especialmente; con otros Tratados* (Madrid, 1662).

23. On Europe as a mission front after Trent, see Henry Kamen, *Early Modern European Society* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 60–63.

24. Azevedo, *Catecismo*.

the image taken from Pliny of a pupil listening at the feet of a teacher who is holding a harp.

The teacher is shown, Azevedo says,

with a musical instrument which gives pleasure to the ear, so that we should understand that Faith enters through the ear [*oído*], as Saint 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 should be like.²⁵

The teacher's task, then, is not only to make the faith heard, but to make it "appeal to the ear," just as Azevedo says music does.²⁶ For Azevedo, proper teaching required a certain discipline from both the speaker and the hearer. Simply accommodating the ear was not enough, since the Roman Catechism speaks of the need to train the senses as well. With the threat of heresy all around, Catholic teachers did not want parishioners believing everything they heard. Instead, in line with the idea that faith was a virtue by which believers shaped their lives in the image of Christ the word, Catholics sought to create a community of faithful hearers—one in which both the message and the process of teaching were controlled under the authority of the Church. The hearer's role in this scenario is simply to listen: Azevedo does not make any provision for the listener as a creative participant, as a reader whose response might effect the teaching process.

How could the Church use music, then, in the effort to make Christ the Word audible? The catechism's theology might suggest that music would contribute to propagating faith because this medium could appeal in a special way to the sense of hearing. If teaching

25. Azevedo, *Catecismo*, f. 1b: "Para pintar los Romanos la Fe, lo primero que hizieron templo y altar [...] Numa pompilio [...] 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 antigue 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."

26. The Spanish word *oído* could mean both "hearing" and "ear," much like the Greek word *akoē* translated as "hearing" in Romans 10:17.

should appeal to the ear *like* music, as Azevedo says, then combining teaching with actual music would appeal all the more. Villancicos, as an auditory medium based on poetry in the vernacular, would seem like an ideal tool for accommodating the faith to Spanish-speaking listeners’ “sense and intelligence.” This music had the capacity both to propagate faith in Christ and promote faithful living in community, because of the medium’s special appeal to the sense of hearing, and because of its social dimensions. At the same time, music added its own set of challenges to the task of making faith appeal to the ear, since listeners must learn to understand not only spoken language but musical structures as well. In other words, music would seem to be a way of better accommodating faith to the sense of hearing, but it also required more training to be heard in a faithful way.

Experiencing Spiritual Truth through Music

This tension between accommodating the ear and training may be seen in one of the most serious attempts to explain music’s power in the seventeenth century, by the Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680). Kircher’s compendium of musical knowledge, *Musurgia universalis*, was published in Rome in 1650 and thence disseminated throughout the Hispanic world, with copies sent to centers of colonial culture including Puebla and Manila.²⁷ Kircher discusses the power of music several times throughout his ten-part treatise, including a detailed analysis of “whether, why, and what kind of power music might have to move people’s souls, and whether the stories are true that were written about the miraculous effects of ancient music.”²⁸ Kircher’s contribution to this favorite controversy of the Renaissance is to defend the superiority of modern music on the basis of, among other factors, its increased ability to move listeners through varieties of musical structure and style.

27. Paula Findlen, ed., *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Joscelyn Godwin, *Athanasius Kircher’s Theater of the World: The Life and Work of the Last Man to Search for Universal Knowledge* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2009); on the worldwide distribution of the book as far as Manila, see Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*, 48–50. The book may be found in historical collections in Madrid, Barcelona, Mexico City, and Puebla (two copies).

28. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis, sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X. libros digesta* (Rome, 1650), bk. 7, p. 549: “Vtrum, cur, & quomodo Musica uim habeat ad animos hominum commouendos, & vtrum vera sint, quae de mirificis Musicae Veteris effectibus scribuntur.”

For Kircher, music added such power to words, that it could move a listener not only to understand the subject of the words, but to physically experience their truth. According to legend the famed *aulos* player Timotheus aroused Alexander the Great to the furor of war through music, and Kircher says he did this by adapting his song both to the feeling of war and to the disposition of the king.²⁹ The same music, he says, would have had a different effect on someone else. To illustrate this contrast, Kircher goes on to paint a remarkable picture of how sacred music can move those who are disposed to it:

If, on the other hand, [the musician] addressed the sort of man who was devoted to God and dedicated to meditation on heavenly things, and wished to move him in otherworldly affects and rapture of the mind, he would take up some notable theme expressed in words—a theme that would recall to the listener’s memory the sweetness and mildness of heavenly things—and he would fittingly adapt it in the Dorian mode through cadences and intervals, then [the listener] would experience that what was said was actually true, those heavenly things that were made by harmonic sweetness, and he would suddenly be carried away beyond himself to that place where those joyful things are true.³⁰

Kircher says that the experience of Jesuit missionaries around the world provides ample evidence of this miraculous power of music combined with preaching. But Kircher’s depiction of music’s power in this passage goes well beyond the Jesuit formula of “teaching, pleasing, and persuading.”³¹ Music not only makes the teaching of doctrinal truth appealing and persuasive; it actually transforms listeners through affective experience.

29. Kircher is probably responding to Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo della musica* (Florence, 1581), 90, in discussing the Classical source, Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes 1 (Peri Basileias)*; a later treatment of this subject is John Dryden, *Alexander’s Feast, or the Power of Music* (London, 1697).

30. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, bk. 7, p. 550: “Sicuti contra, si quis Deo deuotum hominum rerumque coelestium, meditationi deditum in exoticos affectus raptusque mentis commouere vellet is supra insigne aliquod verborum thema, quod rerum caelestium dulcedinem, & suauitatem 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: vidi ego nonsemel in viris ordinis nostri sanctitate illustribus huiusmodi experimenta.”

31. On the Jesuit approach to religious arts, see Gauvin A. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* (Toronto, 1999), 35–51.

In this conception, music links the objective truth with subjective experience through the unique ways that music affects the human body. Kircher posits that music moves a listener's soul through the principle of sympathy.³² Just as a string plucked on one lute would cause a string tuned to the same pitch on another lute to vibrate, music created physical harmony—sympathetic vibration—between the affective content of the music and the humors of the person listening. When the music moved in the same way as the affections it expressed, this in turn moved the listener to feel the same affections. Kircher explains:

Since harmony is nothing other than the concord, agreement, and mutually corresponding proportion between dissimilar voices, this proportion, then, of numbers, sets the air in motion; the motion, indeed, is to be varied by the ratios of various intervals, ascending and descending; so that the spirits [i.e., *spiritus animales*], or the implanted internal air [in the inner ear] [...], should be moved according to the proportions of the motion of the external air, so that the spirits' motion are effected in various ways; and through this affections can be engendered in the person.³³

Kircher seems to assume that the affective properties of different modes and styles of music are inherent in the numerical proportions of the music; in other words, the affective character of the music he describes in the Dorian mode would always be the same. Music with different intervallic relationships, with the semitone placed differently in different modes, had different affective content.

32. On the links between this interest in the occult powers of music and early scientific research, see 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; 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.

33. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, 552: "Cum harmonia nihil aliud sit, quam dissimilium vocum concordia, consensus, & undequaque correspondens proportio; proportio autem numerorum in motu aeris elucescat; motus verò pro varia interuallorum, ascensus, descensusque ratione varius sit, spiritus quoque, siue aer internus implantatus, vti paulò ante ostensum fuit, iuxta proportionem motus aeris extrinseci moueatur, fit vt spiritus moti ope variae, indè in homini affectiones nascantur."

But because music's power depended on sympathetic resonance, the *effect* of music was dependent on the relationship between that objective affective content and the subjective disposition of an individual listener. The structure of the music's movements must correspond to the movements of the body's humors. Kircher theorizes that four conditions are necessary for music to achieve an effect; without any one, music will fail to move the listener in the intended way:

The first is harmony itself. Second, number, and proportion. Third, the power and efficacy of the words to be pronounced in music itself; or, the oration. Fourth is the disposition of the hearers, or the subject's capacity to remember things.³⁴

Since there must be this kind of congruence between music and listener, Kircher acknowledges that music affects different people in different ways. First, Kircher concedes that geographic and cultural factors influence music style and its effect, such that Italians and Germans are moved by different styles and therefore compose differently. These styles, he says, are the result of a national "genius" (that is, the special gift of that people), as well as environmental factors, such that Germans developed a grave style from living in a cold climate, contrasted with the more moderate style of Italians. People of the Orient who visit Rome, Kircher says, do not enjoy the highly delicate music of that city, and prefer their own strident, clangorous music. These differences of style and perception are caused by patriotism—the inordinate love of things from one's own country, as Kircher describes it; and by what each person is accustomed to hearing, which is shaped by the traditions of each country.³⁵

Moreover, "just as different nations enjoy a different style of music, likewise within each nation, people of different temperaments appreciate different styles that conform the most

34. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, 550: "Tertius purè naturalis est, per harmonicum, scilicet sonum, qui nisi quatuor conditiones annexas habeat, quarum vna deficiente, desideratus effectus minimé obtinebitur: Prima est ipsa harmonia. Secunda, numerus, & proportio. Tertia, verborum in ipsa musica prouinciandorum vis, & efficacia, siue ipsa oratio. Quarta audientis dispositio, siue subiectum memoratarum rerum capax."

35. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, 543–544; see partial translation in Oliver Strunk and Leo Treitler, eds., *Source Readings in Music History*, Revised edition (New York: Norton, 1998), 707–711.

to their natural inclinations.”³⁶ What delights a person with a sanguine temperament might enrage or madden a melancholic listener; what has a strong effect on one person may have no effect at all on another.³⁷ “Music does not just move any subject, but the one with which the natural humor of the music is congruent [...] for unless the spirits of the receiving subject correspond exactly, the music accomplishes nothing.”³⁸ Furthermore, Kircher suggests that not only humoral temperament but also training and intelligence are a factor in individual listening, since he includes the capacity of memory in his list of four conditions for effective music.

Despite Kircher’s confidence in modern musicians’ ability to make music move people, the conditions he names may not have been as easy to fulfill as he suggests. There must be congruence, first of all, between the structure of the music and subject of that music: the music must move in the same way as the affective movements it seeks to incite. Harmonic ratios, metrical proportions, verbal rhetoric—all of these must align, but they still are enough without the fourth condition, the disposition of the hearer. The listener must have a humoral temperament that is moved in the desired way by the music.

This means that the tension between accommodating hearing and training it is multiplied vastly by the addition of music. While it might seem that music would allow for greater accommodation, the number of potential obstacles is increased because the content of the music, the performance, and the listeners must all be in harmony. When Kircher compares music to preaching, he says that an effective preacher is familiar with his audience and therefore “knows which strings to pluck”—a phrase that recalls Antonio de Azevedo’s image of the religious teacher with harp in hand.³⁹ But Kircher never fully resolves the tension between the universal power of music and the variables of individual subjectivity and cultural conditioning. Music could, as Kircher describes, move someone to experience the truth of

36. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, 544: “Quod quemadmodum diversae nationes diuerso stylo musico gaudent, ita & in vnaquaque natione diuersi temperamenti homines, diuersis stylis, vnuusquisque suaे naturali inclinationi maximè conformibus afficiuntur.”

37. Ibid., 550.

38. Ibid., 550: “Musica igitur vt moueat, non qualemque subiectum vult, sed illud cuius humor naturalis musicae congruit [...] quae nisi recipientis subiecti spiritui extactè respondeant, nihil efficient.”

39. Ibid., 551: “Nouerat enim praedicator fuorum auditorum inclinationem; nouerat chordam, quam tangere debebat.”

religious teaching through affective experience, but only if the listener was “the sort of man who was devoted to God”—that is, someone who already had faith, whose temperament was already disposed to religious devotion of this kind. If, as Kircher acknowledges, people of different nations are moved by different kinds of music, and if individual people respond differently depending on their temperament as well as their intellectual capacity, how could the creators of sacred music be assured of its power? How could they know which strings to pluck?

Kircher’s theory represents a highly learned, quasi-scientific attempt to reconcile the challenges of accommodating the ear and training it. But outside the erudite realm of theoretical speculation, this was a problem that faced every Catholic church leader and musician who was serious about using music to make faith appeal to hearing. How could the Church use music to accommodate hearing, when individuals and communities did not hear the same way? The capacity to listen faithfully, and therefore music’s power to make faith appeal to hearing, would be impaired by both personal subjectivity and cultural conditioning, and these limitations created anxiety and fear about the role of hearing in faith.

Danger and Doubt

Even as Catholic leaders emphasized that faith came through hearing, they also feared that it was dangerous for individuals to trust too much in their subjective sensory experience. Reformation controversies had pushed Catholics into the awkward position of simultaneously urging people to trust what they heard from the Roman church—so as not to doubt their faith and fall away from salvation—while also actively encouraging them to doubt the voices they heard coming from heretical pulpits and pamphlets. In other words, Catholics actually had to cultivate the right kind of doubt in order to avoid the dangerous kind.

Catholic defenders like Thomas More accused Martin Luther of replacing the trustworthy institutional church with a foolhardy reliance on individual subjective

experience.⁴⁰ From the Catholic perspective, Luther was leading his flock into danger by asking common people to listen to his voice alone and ignore the chorus of church fathers who condemned his heresy. It was the work of the Holy Spirit in the divinely sanctioned hierarchy of the Roman church that gave its sacraments their objectively operating power and allowed that faithful to have certainty of faith and salvation—not personal interpretations of Scripture or some kind of inner conviction.⁴¹

The post-Reformation Catholic theology of faith and sensation, however, did not completely remove the subjective element. On the one hand, the catechism of Trent is careful to teach that the human senses alone cannot reach the knowledge of God, according to a tradition of Augustinian Neoplatonism: “in order for our minds to reach God, since nothing is more sublime than God, our mind needs to be pulled away from everything that pertains to the senses—something that we, in this natural life, do not have the capacity to do.”⁴² On the other hand, the catechism acknowledges that faith requires an individual response: it is more than having an opinion or conception of something, but rather, faith “has the strength of the most certain agreement, such that the mind, having been opened by God to his mysteries, firmly and steadfastly gives assent.”⁴³ This theology of faith begins with God’s grace opening the mind of the passive person, but ends with an act of the individual will. Though God is beyond sensation, sensation is the entrance to the path. Faith comes through “what is heard,” then, from the created world that speaks of God’s nature to those who can perceive it, from the Scriptures, and chiefly through the authoritative Roman church. Each person is still called to a process of seeking to know God, to move beyond sensory experience, and ultimately to “firmly and steadfastly give assent” to the truth of God. Moreover, reacting against the perceived “fideism” of the Lutherans, who taught that a person’s good works could not suffice for their salvation, Catholics emphasized that faith had to bear fruit in ethical action.

40. Thomas More, *Responsio ad Lutherum* (1523).

41. Schreiner, *Are You Alone Wise?*, 131–208.

42. Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, 18: “Nam vt mens nostra ad Deum, quo nihil est sublimius, perueniat, necesse est eam omnino à sensibus abstractam esse: cuius rei facultatem in hac vita naturaliter non habemus.”

43. Ibid., 15: “Igitur credendi vox, hoc loco putare, existimare, opinari, non significat, sed vt docent sacrae litterae, certissimae assensionis vim habet, qua mens Deo sua mysteria aperienti, firmè constantérq; assentitur.”

Spanish theological writers cultivated disciplines for regulating spiritual experiences and submitting individual sensation to the Church's authority. The Spanish Inquisition investigated Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582) and other mystics who claimed authority only on the basis of spiritual experiences, and most were not as successful as Teresa in avoiding punishment.⁴⁴ Teresa's student John of the Cross (Juan de la Cruz, ca. 1542–1591) taught contemplatives to pursue union with God by weaning themselves of sensory experiences in the “dark night of the soul.” The Carmelite reformer defines that union not in sensual terms but in ethical ones, as the total surrender and conformity of one's will to God.⁴⁵ Similarly, Ignatius of Loyola (ca. 1491–1556) provided Jesuits with his *Spiritual Exercises* for discerning the validity of their religious sensations, and for using those experiences to make decisive changes in life, as part of a radical commitment of the self to God.⁴⁶

In such a climate, music might be used for the purposes of cultivating faith, because of its power over the senses and affections, but this power could also be dangerous. Some Catholics such as the Jesuit missionaries, despite their founder's suspicion of music, were eager to use this power to advance the cause of the Church. On the mission field, the Jesuits were involved with subjective experience to such a degree that they even interpreted the dreams of native people in New Spain.⁴⁷ Others, though, saw the use of music as a potential distraction or distortion. For example, John of the Cross complains that even though churches would seem the ideal place for prayer, their decorations, ceremonies, and music so engage a person's senses that it can be impossible to worship God “in spirit and in truth” (Jn 4:23–24).⁴⁸

John warns that desiring “to feel some effect on oneself” in doing elaborate ceremonies “is no less than to tempt God and provoke him gravely; so much so, that sometimes it gives license to the devil to deceive them, making them feel and understand things far removed

44. 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).

45. 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), bk. I, ch. 5–7, pp. 226–248.

46. Schreiner, *Are You Alone Wise?*, ch. 6.

47. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 40–41.

48. Juan de la Cruz, “Subida del monte Carmelo,” bk. 3, ch. 39–45, pp. 415–424.

from what is good for their soul.”⁴⁹ In a strong counterpoint to Kircher’s statement about music’s power to augment preaching, John admonishes his readers to be wary of overly artful preaching which, like music, only serves to stimulate “the sense and understanding”—John uses the exact language of the Roman Catechism—but has no impact on the hearer’s will to live faithfully:

How commonly we see that [...] if the preacher’s life is better, greater is the fruit that he gains, though his style be low and his rhetoric scanty, and his teaching common, because the living spirit infuses him with ardor; but the other preacher gets very little gain, no matter how much more elevated his style and doctrine may be: because, though it is true that good style and actions and elevated doctrine and good language move and create more effect when accompanied by a good spirit, without the spirit, though the sermon may give the sense and understanding much to savor and enjoy, it infuses little or no sustenance to the spirit, because commonly it remains as lax and loath as before to labor, even though marvelous things were said in marvelous ways, which only serve to delight the ear [*oído*], like some polyphonic music [*una música concertada*] or the clanging of bells [...]. It matters little to hear someone perform one kind of music that is better than some other, if it does not move me more than the other to do works; because, although they have spoken marvels, then they are forgotten, as they do not infuse fire into the will.⁵⁰

49. Juan de la Cruz, “Subida del monte Carmelo,” bk. 3, ch. 43, p. 420: “Y lo que es peor es que algunos quieren sentir algún efecto en sí, o cumplirse lo que piden, o saber que se cumple el fin de aquellas sus oraciones ceremoniáticas; que no es menos que tentar a Dios y enojarle gravemente; tanto, que algunas veces da licencia al demonio para que los engañe, haciéndolos sentir y entender cosas harto ajenas del provecho de su alma, mereciéndolos ellos por la propiedad que llevan en sus oraciones, no deseando más que se haga lo que Dios quiere que lo que ellos pretenden.”

50. Ibid., bk. 3, ch. 45, p. 425: “Que comúnmente vemos que—cuanto acá podemos juzgar—cuanto el predicador es de mejor vida, mayor es el fruto que hace por bajo que sea su estilo, y poca su retórica, y su doctrina común, porque del espíritu vivo se pega el calor; pero el otro muy poco provecho hará, aunque más subido sea su estilo y doctrina; porque, aunque es verdad que el buen estilo y acciones y subida doctrina y buen lenguaje mueven y hacen más efecto acompañado de buen espíritu; pero sin él, aunque da sabor y gusto el sermón al sentido y al entendimiento, muy poco o nada de jugo pega a la voluntad, porque comúnmente se queda tan floja y remisa como antes para obrar, aunque haya dicho maravillosas cosas maravillosamente dichas, que sólo sirven para deleitar el

This passage of warning comes at the end of John's encyclopedic treatment of contemplative practice and mystical experience, *The Ascent of Mount Carmel*. In concluding the work the monk seems to deliberately echo the “love” chapter of 1 Corinthians in insisting that, as John says elsewhere, “a single work or act of the will done in charity is more precious before God than all the visions and revelations and communications from heaven that there can be.”⁵¹

The contrast between this passage and the quotation from Kircher shows that Catholics were not all of one mind about sensation and faith. The difference between these two descriptions of music’s power reflects a chronological change in Catholic attitudes between the late sixteenth and mid seventeenth centuries, as well as a contrast between religious orders, and differing emphases on parts of the Christian life. John’s *Ascent of Mount Carmel* was first published in 1618, though it was written some forty years earlier; his outlook reflects the hard ascetic extreme of Catholic Reformation attitudes toward music. Kircher, on the other hand, writes with the confidence of the Jesuit order at the height of its global influence, when the Society was still trying to engage with any aspect of culture that they saw as advancing their mission. Kircher is interested in music’s power to convert—not only to persuade catechumens of the truth but to enable them to experience truth. John, on the other hand, is concerned with the limiting effect of sonic pleasures on the maturity of the already converted. Both acknowledge music’s power over the individual person’s senses, but they differ in how much they trust that power to produce godly effects. Later Catholics who shared John’s ascetic bent, or his pastoral concern with spiritual growth, saw that power as a danger or even an opening for diabolical influence.

oído, como una música concertada o sonido de campanas; mas el espíritu, como digo, no sale de sus quicios más que antes, no teniendo la voz virtud para resucitar al muerto de su sepultura. Poco importa oír una música mejor que otra sonar, si no me mueve ésta más que aquélla a hacer obras; porque, aunque hayan dicho maravillas, luego se olvidan, como no pegaron fuego en la voluntad.”

51. Juan de la Cruz, “Subida del monte Carmelo,” bk. 2, ch. 22, p. 306: “[...] es más preciosa delante de Dios una obra o acto de voluntad hecho en caridad que cantas visiones y revelaciones y comunicaciones pueden tener del cielo.”

Cultural Conditioning in Hearing

If reckoning with individual sensory experience was a struggle for church leaders after Trent, their evangelistic and colonial efforts posed the even greater challenge of training entire communities to hear faithfully. Catholics at the boundaries of intercultural encounters around the globe found themselves in what Ines Županov has termed the “missionary tropics”—both a geographic zone and a process of troping or turning through cultural transformation.⁵² Some missionaries like the Jesuits in Brazil and Paraguay actively sought to accommodate local customs and music; but everywhere that missionaries brought Christian faith, the process of cultural translation inevitably transformed it into something neither they nor their converts could necessarily predict.⁵³ Half a century after the Aztec empire fell to the Spanish, the Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún was trying to provide Mexica natives with suitable Christian songs in their own language. But at the same time church leaders in New Spain complained that most places lacked linguists sufficiently skilled in Náhuatl to verify that the songs and dances of the natives were not in fact still invoking the demonic powers of the Aztecs.⁵⁴ As Lorenzo Candelaria has suggested, when the Council of Trent issued its infamous decree that music should be preserved from anything “lascivious or impure,” the bishops may have been motivated more by concern with such songs in non-European languages, not to mention other syncretic musical and ritual practices across the globe, than by any European church music.⁵⁵ In the realm of visual art, even where Jesuits wrote to their superiors in Rome praising the natives’ uncanny ability to copy European models, the actual surviving artifacts often bear strong traces of indigenous methods, aesthetics, and religious understandings.⁵⁶ Likewise, given the differing techniques and styles of vocal production between places like

52. Ines G. Županov, *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

53. Castagna, “The Use of Music by the Jesuits in the Conversion of the Indigenous Peoples of Brazil”; Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*; Cécile Fromont, “Dancing for the King of Congo from Early Modern Central Africa to Slavery-Era Brazil,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 22, no. 2, 184–208.

54. Candelaria, “Bernardino de Sahagún’s *Psalmodia Christiana*,” 637.

55. *Ibid.*, 637–638.

56. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 27–29, 34.

central Africa and south India today, the actual performance of music in mission churches and colonial cathedrals, even plainchant and polyphony imported directly from Europe, probably sounded quite different the practice of European chapels. As the Church was adapting itself to native sensibilities, or being adapted by colonial subjects in ways the Church could not fully control, how was the church to accommodate its teaching to the “sense and intelligence” of all these different people? The church could proclaim “the Faith,” but how could leaders know that people heard what they intended? And even more challenging, once these processes of cultural adaptation and exchange had begun to “turn,” what parts of Christianity constituted “the Faith” that was supposed to come through hearing? Did changing the musical style of worship, for example, mean changing the Faith as well? If ways of hearing music were culturally conditioned, then religious ear training was required. The cultural aspect of acquiring a “properly trained sense,” as the Roman Catechism puts it, is plainly stated in a Latin dialogue published by the leaders of the Jesuit mission in Japan in 1590.⁵⁷ The missionaries had taken four Japanese noble youths on a grand tour of Spain and Italy between 1582 and 1590, during which they trained in music and heard the finest ensembles of Catholic Europe. Their trip included most of the major Iberian musical centers discussed in this study: on the outgoing trip, Lisbon, Évora, Toledo, Madrid, and Alcalá; and on the return, Barcelona, Montserrat, Zaragoza and Daroca. With this trip and with the subsequent publication, the leader of the Jesuit mission to Japan, Alessandro Valignano, hoped to persuade the authorities of his order and church that (as Derek Massarella puts it) “European Jesuits must accommodate themselves to Japanese manners and customs.”⁵⁸

In Colloquio XI of the dialogue, Michael, one of the “ambassadors,” tells his friend who stayed home about European music:

57. 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).

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

You must remember [...] 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.

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 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.⁵⁹

Michael's friend Linus responds with a statement that surely understates the attitude of many non-Europeans whose ears had not yet been trained for European music:

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.⁶⁰

59. Sande, *Japanese Travellers in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, 155-156.

60. Ibid., 156.

Obstacles to Faith and Mistrust of Hearing

How, then, could the Church overcome such an impediment? Would music's power be lost on a person who simply lacked the proper disposition to hear the Word with faith? These doubts were displayed vividly in a sacred drama performed before King Philip IV, *El nuevo palacio del Retiro* by court poet Pedro Calderón de la Barca.⁶¹ This Corpus Christi mystery play (*auto sacramental*), was staged in Madrid in 1634 to inaugurate the Spanish monarch's new palace-retreat, the Buen Retiro. Like most *autos* this one was performed in the context of a whole day of liturgical and processional music, probably including numerous villancicos; and the drama includes texts to be sung, though the music is lost. Literary scholars have considered Spanish *autos sacramentales* to be "dramas of conversion" with the primary goal of teaching doctrine. Thus this literary and performative genre, which was so closely tied to devotional music, allows us to evaluate how auditory arts were used to propagate faith, and how that effort served the purposes of the Spanish state. The plays typically present allegorical characters whose conflicts dramatize theological debates in the scholastic tradition (as in Aquinas) of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis.

Calderón's play for the politically significant occasion glorifies the king as the defender of the true faith, since his name *Felipe* cannot be said without saying *Fe* (faith)—a faith that centers on the doctrine of the Eucharist.⁶² Since the Eucharist defies normal sensation and must be perceived through faith, much of the play sets up debates about the relationship between faith and the senses. By staging a contest of the senses before Faith (all personified as characters), Calderón promulgates the church's teaching that unless one possessed the divinely implanted virtue of faith to begin with, the senses could actually become obstacles to faith.

If the King was the defender of the faith, then Judaism was its enemy, as dramatized by the long portion of the play that centers on Judaism's incapacity for faith. The allegorical character *Judaísmo* becomes a chilling representation of the incapacity to acquire faith, *despite*

61. 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).

62. *Ibid.*, l. [FIX].

Poem example 2.1: Calderón, *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*, ll. 1303–1336: Judaism rejects faith

¿Quién eres, que te miro y no 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,
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
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,
porque tu oscura cifra no alcancé
porque a la Fe he escuchado sin la fe.

Tocan todos los instrumentos musicales, chirimías y atabalillas, cajas y trompetas, y salen coronados con hojas todos, y lanzas, como de ristre, al compás del clarín [...].

Who are you, that I see you and I do not 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,
dangling serpent, fire that showed the way,
forbidden fruit, rejected honey,
I cannot comprehend you nor solve your riddle,
because I have listened to Faith without faith.

And so, let him run to your singular goal
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,
because your dark cipher I did not comprehend,
because I have listened to Faith without faith.

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. [...].

the sense of hearing. Judaism is forcefully excluded from the festivities celebrated within the play, which culminate in the consecration of the Eucharist. Instead Judaism stands to the side and asks the character Faith to explain each event to him (poem example 2.1). But despite trying to connect Faith's message with what he knows of the Hebrew Scriptures, Judaism cannot accept any of these explanations. In fact he is unable to believe what Faith has said, because, as he says in an increasingly embittered refrain, "I have listened to Faith without Faith."

Judaism's eloquent confession of unbelief is immediately drowned out by music, as clarion fanfares announce a royal procession. 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 speech. The feeling of doubt about the senses, however, pervades the entire play.

Two other sections of the play dramatize a contest of the senses, in which Hearing prevails—but only after confessing to his own incertitude. Each personified sense competes for a laurel prize awarded by Faith (poem example 2.2). Each sense in turn boasts of his powers, but Faith rejects each one. Hearing is the last sense to present himself, and in contrast to the other senses, he speaks of his weakness, and how easily he can be fooled by echoes or feigned voices. Since he cannot trust his own powers, he must rely on faith. In response, Faith crowns Hearing precisely because of his *desconfianza*—a term that can mean humility as well as lack of confidence and even mistrust.

What would it mean, then, for hearing to be the favored sense of faith not just because of its humility, but because of its actual weakness? Dominique Reyre interprets the play as a straightforward medium for “transmission of dogma,” and Margaret Greer analyzes it anthropologically as a ritual that reinforced the king’s power; but neither scholar accounts sufficiently for the high degree of uncertainty expressed on stage.⁶³ Greer: Retiro Calderón presents one character, Judaism, who hears what Faith says but lacks the faith to believe it; and another, Hearing, who admits that he cannot trust his own sense but for that very reason receives Faith’s favor. In Calderón’s play, the mysteries of the Eucharist are beyond physical sensation: vision, taste, touch, and smell would not lead to the truth of Christ’s presence in the host, but only hearing and believing Christ’s words “This is my body” as spoken by the priest. Fully in line with the discourse on sensation and faith in the Roman Catechism, Calderón advises his listeners to trust some senses while distrusting others; to seek God through sensation while purging themselves of reliance on the senses.

The dialectic of trust and doubt in the senses urged Catholics to rely on the Church community and not their own experience. The senses were powerful, and thus sensory art was powerful; but this power had to be harnessed to serve the purposes of the Church. Simply put, faithful hearing required listeners to doubt their own sensation.

63. 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.

Hearing the Word in Community

Catholic devotional music provided a practical medium for both appealing to the ear and training it, though music amplified the challenges of acquiring faith through hearing. Catholic listeners were encouraged to doubt their senses as much as to trust them; and church leaders struggled with the frightening possibility that some people might simply lack the capacity for hearing with faith. Religious ear training required individual discipline to avoid the danger of over-reliance on subjective sensory experience and to learn to discern the spiritual truth communicated through musical patterns. This training would also need to discipline the whole community to overcome misunderstandings based on cultural conditioning.

Propagating faith, then, meant trying to establish not just individual Christians, but also building a Christian society as the body of Christ. Faithful Catholics had to learn to submit their sensory experience to the authority of the Church as the source of certainty, as the living, communal embodiment of Christ the Word in the world. For Roman Catholics, the Church *was* the gospel, and the task of building the Church could not be separated from the work of building an empire.

As Catholics worked to create Christian communities, music was a potent tool for creating harmony, for instituting social discipline as a reflection of the heavenly hierarchy.⁶⁴ The virtue of man as Neoplatonic microcosm was reflected in the broader society and in turn depended on it. Spanish political thinkers conceived of the colonial project in terms of establishing harmony in society.⁶⁵ Most educated Spaniards were familiar with the medieval philosopher Boethius (either directly or through expositions of his ideas in contemporary music treatises like that of Pedro Cerone) and his concept that there were three kinds of music: *musica instrumentalis*, sounding, playing music; *musica humana*, the harmony of the individual in body and soul, reason and passion, and the concord of human society; and *musica mundana*,

64. Baker, *Imposing Harmony*; Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*; Illari, “Polychoral Culture.”

65. Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, 22–31.

the music of the celestial spheres.⁶⁶ The proper performance of *musica instrumentalis*, they believed, could actually attune the *musica humana* on individual and social levels, bringing human society in concord with the order of the cosmos, and beyond it, with the mysterious harmonious of the triune God.

Catholic music, then, was not *about* society; it was a form *of* society. This is why the Franciscan friars in New Spain and the Jesuit priests in Brazil not only started parishes, but also trained choirs. Forming choirs of boys and training ensembles of village musicians in colonial Mexico were practical means of establishing the Church and propagating faith on individual and communal levels. The musical ritual of the seventeenth-century Church involved a large number of community participants, for whom performing music with the body and hearing it were inextricably linked. The musical efforts of the colonizing church concretely built social relationships through musical training.⁶⁷ For this reason, we cannot fully understand the faith of early modern Catholics on the basis of verbal formulations alone; we need to see and hear how communities practiced their faith through coordinated action—such as in devotional music.⁶⁸

2.2 The Primacy of Hearing in Villancicos

Villancicos provide evidence for a broad public discourse about sensation and faith that manifests these same theological preoccupations and anxieties. Through vernacular poetry and likely also through musical style, the creators and performers of villancicos addressed hearers of multiple social stations and levels of education. These pieces often represented complex

66. Pedro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples, 1613), bk. 2, pp. 187–189; Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius, “De institutione musica libri quinque,” in *Boetii de institutione arithmeticata libro duo De institutione musica libri quinque*, ed. Godofredus Friedlein (Leipzig: Teubner, 1867), 203–208.

67. Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral*.

68. The Lutheran hymn composer Johann Crüger advocated a similar concept of “the musical practice of piety” (*Praxis pietatis melica*, 1647 and many later editions), coming out of the Lutheran “new piety” movement of the seventeenth century, whose proponents (Martin Moller, Johann Arndt) were inspired by much of the same medieval devotional literature as their Catholic counterparts.

theological concepts, but they made these concepts accessible in quite a different way than a theological treatise or even a sermon.

Certainly it is legitimate to ask, as José María Díez Borque has done for Calderonian drama, how much listeners could actually hear and understand of these complex performances—a question that would also apply to other vernacular music like Italian oratorios and German Lutheran sacred concertos.⁶⁹ How much of the poetic text could be perceived by listeners outside the walls of the cathedral choir or on the other side of convent partitions? Factors of acoustics, vocal performance practice, and instrumentation (such as the balance between singers and players), would all come into play, in addition to the problems of individual training already discussed. Educated people who possessed the means and connections to acquire printed pamphlets of villancico poetry would doubtless have understood more in the moment of performance and in reflection on the text before or after. But even common people may have had the aural capacity to perceive the gist of what these pieces were trying to communicate. Margit Frenk argues that Spanish literature of this period was written for the ear and that reading in most cases meant one person reading out loud to an audience of illiterate family and friends, whose auditory comprehension and memory would probably astound us today.⁷⁰ As individual villancicos were repeated, and as conventional villancico types were performed at multiple festivals each year in public settings where many kinds of listeners were present, these pieces must have shaped attitudes and beliefs in the broader community.

Contests of the Senses at Segovia Cathedral (Irízar, Carrión)

Two villancicos from Segovia in the later seventeenth century demonstrate that devotional music could present a sophisticated discourse on sensation and faith, one that not only

69. Jose Maria Diez Borque, “El auto sacramental calderoniano y su público: Funciones del texto cantado,” in *Calderon and the Baroque Tradition*, ed. Kurt Levy, Jesus Ara, and Gethin Hughes (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1985), 49–68.

70. Margit Frenk, *Entre la voz y el silencio: La lectura en tiempos de Cervantes* (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005).

Table 2.1: Order of the senses in versions of *Si los sentidos*, correlated with Calderón, *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*, and Veracruce, *Phisica, speculatio*

Veracruce	Calderón	Sánchez	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

educated hearers about doctrine but actually challenged them to listen with new ears. The contest of the senses in Calderón’s play is echoed in villancicos by successive chapelmasters at Segovia Cathedral. In the 1670s, Miguel de Irízar set the villancico *Si los sentidos queja forman del Pan divino*, later attributed to the Zaragozan poet Vicente Sánchez, for eight voices and instruments in grand polychoral style (E-SE: 18/19, 5/32).⁷¹ Irízar was born in 1634 and served at Segovia from 1671 until his death in 1684. A few decades later Irízar’s successor, Jerónimo de Carrión (1660–1721), set the same text as a solo continuo song (E-SE: 28/25).⁷²

The poem invites hearers to imagine the senses “filing a complaint” against the bread of the Eucharist because “what they sense is not by faith consented” (*porque lo que ellos sienten no es de fe consentido*, poem examples 2.3 to 2.4).⁷³ In a motto that is repeated after each copla, the poem admonishes, “let the senses not resent it” (*no se den por sentidos los sentidos*)—playing on the word for *sense* in several ways. Each of the coplas treats a different sense, following nearly the same order as in Calderón’s play: Sight comes first, followed by Touch; next are Taste and Smell, and Hearing comes last and wins the day (table 2.1).

The two surviving settings of *Si los sentidos* by Irízar and Carrión stage this contest of the senses in sound. The Segovia Cathedral archive preserves manuscript performing parts

71. José López-Caló, *La música en la Catedral de Segovia*, 2 vols. (Segovia: Diputación Provincial de Segovia, 1988).

72. Andrew A. Cashner, ed., *Villancicos about Music from Seventeenth-Century Spain and New Spain*, Web Library of Seventeenth-Century Music 32 (Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, 2017), 133–152, <http://www.sscm-wlscm.org/>.

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

for both settings along with Irízar's draft score for his version.⁷⁴ As rare as composers' scores of villancicos are, Irízar's manuscripts are doubly valuable because this economical composer drafted his music in makeshift notebooks stitched together from piles of his received letters, fitting up to twelve staves of music in the margins and unused sides of the paper.

The letters reflect a correspondence with a broad peninsular network of musicians, often about exchanging villancico poetry (see chapter 5).⁷⁵ Olarte:IrizarRodriguez:Networks Irízar probably received this poem through such correspondence with a colleague in Zaragoza. Carrión likely knew (and probably performed) Irízar's setting from the archive, but the differences between his text and that of Irízar suggest that Carrión had a separate source for the Sánchez poem, one that was closer to the poem published in Sánchez's 1688 posthumous works.⁷⁶

In the earlier setting, for Corpus Christi 1674 at Segovia Cathedral, Miguel de Irízar creates a musical competition in festival style by pitting his two four-voice choirs against each other in polychoral dialogue (music example 2.1).⁷⁷ This kind of dialogue between separate choirs in one ensemble is typical of large-scale villancicos, but Irízar has the choirs interrupt each other in ways that create not just a dialogue, but a debate. Like a film editor creating a fight scene, Irízar builds intensity by cutting the text into shorter phrases to be tossed back and forth between the two choirs: *no se den por sentidos* becomes *no se den* and then *no, no*.

Irízar creates a steadily increasing sense of excitement through shifts of rhythmic motion and style. The setting of the opening phrase suggests a tone of hushed awe: the voices sing low in their registers, with a slow harmonic rhythm, and pause for prominent breaths (mm. 1–9). The harmonies here change less frequently than in the following sections, creating a relatively static feeling for this introduction. In m. 10 Irízar has the ensemble switch to ternary meter and increases the rate of harmonic motion. The sense of antagonism is

74. The performing parts for Irízar's setting are in E-SE: 5/32 (in a copyist's hand), and E-SE: 18/19 contains the score in the composer's own hand. Carrión's performing parts are in E-SE: 28/25.

75. José López-Caló, "Correspondales de Miguel de Irízar," *Anuario musical*, no. 18 (1963): 197–222.

76. Sánchez, *Lyra Poética*, 171–172.

77. Cashner, *Villancicos about Music*, 133–148. The score includes the heading, "Fiesta del SSantissimo de este año del 1674."

heightened when one choir interrupts the other with exclamations of *no* on normally weak beats (mm. 16–17). When Irízar returns to duple meter in m. 25, the voices move in smaller note values (*corcheas*) and exchange shorter phrases, so that the tempo feels faster (and the actual tempo could certainly be increased here in performance). Each choir's entrances become more emphatic, repeating tones in simple triads, and Irízar adds more offbeat accents and syncopations, particularly for *no se den por sentidos los sentidos* in mm. 32–53. The estribillo builds to a climactic *peroratio* (the rousing conclusion of an oration) with the voices breaking into imitative texture in descending melodic lines.

The distinguishing stylistic characteristics of the setting suggest that Irízar is evoking a musical battle topic, a style one may find in *batallas* for organ as well as other villancicos on military themes.⁷⁸ Battle pieces typically feature a slow, peaceful introduction followed by sections in contrasting meters and styles and a texture of dialogue between opposing groups (as in between high and low registers on the keyboard). Typical of the style is the reiteration of $\frac{5}{3}$ (“root position”) chord voicings, with the bass moving by fourths and fifths, and the syncopated 3–3–2 groupings of *corcheas* (eighth notes) on *no se den por sentidos los sentidos* as in mm. 31–33.⁷⁹

Irízar sets the coplas, by contrast, in a sober and deliberate style. The melody moves more calmly in duple meter with melodic phrases that fit well with the rhetorical structure of the poetic strophes. Irízar has the treble soloist sing the third and fourth lines of each strophe in short paired phrases; each time the second phrase repeats the first, transposed down a fifth. This creates a feeling of a teacher saying “on the one hand” and “on the other hand” that suits the general philosophical tone of the strophes and matches the specific poetic phrasing of

78. *Grove Music Online* [Grove], Oxford Music Online (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), s.v. *battle music*; Mary Ellen Sutton, “A Study of the Seventeenth-Century Iberian Organ Batalla: Historical Development, Musical Characteristics, and Performance Considerations” (DMA thesis, University of Kansas, 1975) discusses examples including those in Martín y Coll’s *Huerto ameno de flores de música* (Madrid, 1709). Another villancico in this style is Antonio de Salazar’s *Al campo, a la batalla* (MEX-Mc: A28).

79. Compare, for example, the anonymous *Batalha* in P-BRad: Ms.963, fol. 56; Pedro de Araújo (attrib.), “Batalha de sexto tom. compendiária da primeira,” in *Pedro de Araújo (17. Jahrhundert): Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. Gerhard Doderer, *Organa Hispanica: Iberische Music des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts für Tasteninstrumente* 9 (Heidelberg: Willy Müller/Süddeutscher Musikverlag, 1984).

these lines. To recall the Jesuit formula, Irízar's estribillo seems more designed to delight, while the coplas provide more of an opportunity to teach.

Irízar's villancico seems to speak to a large crowd through bold, unsubtle gestures and sharp contrasts of bright colors. Jerónimo de Carrión's later setting of the same poem invites a more personal reflection (music example 2.2).⁸⁰ Carrión was capable of the festival style, as in his *Qué destemplada armonía* (E-SE: 20/5), which almost takes on the dimensions of a *cantada*. But this setting fits more in the subgenre of *tono divino* or chamber villancico, a continuo song used in more intimate settings like Eucharistic devotion.⁸¹ The style is similar to the “high Baroque” music of contemporary Italy, with a tonal harmonic language, a running bass part in the accompaniment, and a single affective manner throughout.

The dialogue and rivalry of the poetic text is embodied now not through polychoral effects but through motivic exchanges between voice and accompaniment. Instead of metrical contrasts from one section to the next, Carrión creates rhythmic contrasts between simultaneous voices. Carrión dramatizes *queja* (mm. 3–4) with a metrical disagreement between the two voices (normal ternary motion versus the voice's sesquialtera). The descending pattern of leaps for *porque lo que ellos sienten* perhaps evokes the sense in tumult, and it creates a certain amount of rhythmic confusion as it moves between voices. Carrión creates a climax through a series of phrases in close imitation between soloist and accompaniment in mm. 18–32 that leads the singer to the top of his register in mm. 35–37. The upward leaps in the last line on *no se den* (mm. 41–42) contrast with the downward leaping motive of the opening gesture on *sentidos* (m. 1). The solo setting allows the singer and instrumentalists much more expressive freedom than is possible in a large-ensemble texture, and likewise the individual voice of the singer might encourage a more subjective response in individual listeners.

80. Cashner, *Villancicos about Music*, 149–152.

81. See, for example Luis Robledo Estaire, ed., *Tonos a lo divino y a lo humano en el Madrid Barroco* (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto/Fundación Caja Madrid, 2003).

Ranking the Senses in Early Modern Philosophy

The treatment of the senses in this villancico family reflects a common physiological model of sensation and perception, as educated Spaniards would have learned from the kind of scientific and theological treatises available to them in seminary and convent libraries in Spain and Mexico.⁸² Spanish philosophers taught that vision, not hearing, was the first and highest of the five exterior senses; but hearing superseded the other senses in matters of faith. A typical example is the 1557 natural-philosophy textbook *Phisica, Speculatio* by an Augustinian friar in New Spain, Alphonsus à Veracruce.⁸³ Veracruce summarizes the traditional Catholic teaching, which drew on Aristotle as interpreted by Thomas Aquinas. Veracruce's Latin treatise accords with the Dominican friar Luis de Granada's widely read Spanish *Introduction to the Creed* of 1583.⁸⁴

As Fray Luis explains this widespread understanding of perception, the five exterior senses were linked to a set of interior senses or faculties, including the affective faculty, in which the sensory stimuli interacted with the balance of bodily humors (table 2.2).⁸⁵ The five exterior senses mediated between the outside world and the interior senses by means of the ethereal *spiritus animales*, which were something like invisible beams of light that flowed through the nerves. The cerebrum housed the internal faculties, which “made sense” of what the external senses told them—first the “common sense,” a kind of reception area where the exterior senses met the interior faculties; and next the imagination, the cogitative faculty, and memory. All of these exterior and interior senses were part of the *ánima sensitiva*, the sensing, reasoning soul. In addition to these senses the *ánima sensitiva* possessed an affective faculty, in which the balance of humors in the body interacted with the interior and exterior senses to

82. Some of these libraries are still preserved in their original location, such as the Monastery of the Escorial in Spain; others are now kept in the state libraries or form the core of smaller rare-book collections like those in Puebla (see table 3.2).

83. Alphonsus à Veracruce, *Phisica, Speculatio* (Mexico City, 1557).

84. Luis de Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, Biblioteca de autores españoles 6 (1583; Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1871); Luis de Granada, *Introducción del Símbolo de la Fe [Pt. 1]*, ed. José María Balcells (Madrid: Cátedra, 1989).

85. Granada, *Introducción del Símbolo de la Fe [Pt. 1]*, ch. 27–35, pp. 439–494.

Table 2.2: The senses and faculties of the sensible soul (*ánima sensitiva*), according to Fray Luis de Granada

Faculty Category (location)	Receive From	Transmit To	Senses or Faculties (order of importance)
Exterior senses (sense organs)	External world	Cerebrum via <i>spiritus animales</i>	Sight, Hearing, Smell, Touch, Taste
Interior senses (cerebrum)	Exterior senses	Rest of body	Memory, Affection, Cogitation, Imagination, “Common” sense
Affective faculty (cerebrum)	Movements of humors from exterior, interior senses	Rest of body	Passions (Dualities) Love Hate, Desire Fear, Joy Sadness

produce different “passions” or “affects” (Fray Luis uses *pasiones* and *afectos* interchangeably). Based on a fundamental dichotomy like magnetism between attraction and repulsion, this “concupiscible” part of the soul experienced three primary pairs of passions: love and hate, desire and fear, joy and sadness.

The act of sensation, then, involved the entire body and soul, in a holistic model that Descartes would later challenge. The external senses differed, though, in how they connected the external world to the internal faculties and passions. The hierarchy of the senses was determined by 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. The most powerful sense was sight, since it enabled a person to perceive objects a great distance away without any direct contact.

Hearing stood out from the other senses because for it alone, the object of perception was not identical with 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 proximate [immediate] to the action.”⁸⁶ But Hearing hears a person’s voice, not the person directly, as Calderón’s text continues: “But what Hearing hears/ is only a fleeting echo,/ born of a distant voice/ without

86. Calderón, *El nuevo palacio*, ll. 577–582.

a known object.”⁸⁷ 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.

The poetic contests of the senses thus rearrange the traditional scholastic hierarchy by putting Hearing at the end for a dramatic climax. Sight comes first, but Hearing, the underdog competitor, triumphs at the last.⁸⁸ In the Sánchez villancico, each of the coplas highlights the failure of one of the senses to rightly perceive the sacrament. For example, 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). Similarly, Touch may make contact with the host, but not with the “mystery” hidden within (copla 3). Taste and Smell (coplas 5 and 6) are similarly hindered by their ability only to perceive material accidents and not spiritual substance.

The Sánchez villancico presents hearing in the last copla, through the conceit of music. The senses are “five instruments” like a musical consort, which must be “tempered” by faith. Without Faith, sight is actually blind, and touch, taste, and smell are fooled; but when properly attuned by Faith, the senses can be harmonized into a pleasing concord. Here Faith is not the object of sensation, but the subject, who delights in hearing the music of properly tuned senses.

While the poem speaks of Faith listening to the music of the senses, the musical settings allow humans to listen in as well. The musical discourse adds its own layer of meaning to the poetic discourse, both by helping listeners imagine the contest of the senses (each setting in its own way), and by turning the poem into an object of sensory perception. The similarities between the settings of *Si los sentidos* by Irízar and Carrión demonstrate the persistence of concerns about the hearing’s role in faith. Meanwhile the differences between versions reflect different styles not only of composition but of devotional practice in public and private settings.

87. Calderón, *El nuevo palacio*, ll. 583–586.

88. Irízar alone (perhaps working from an earlier version of the text later attributed to Sánchez), puts Hearing in its traditional position, though this goes against the spirit of the poetic text. Perhaps he was influenced by a scholastic training to “correct” the philosophical order.

Irízar and Carrión take a verbal discourse on sensation and faith, in which music is the paradigm of something that pleases the ear, and bring it to life through actual music. Thus the pieces seem designed to teach listeners how to hear music even as they are listening—as the catechism advises, they accommodate hearing while training it.

Sensory Confusion

While the *Si los sentidos* villancicos may not project as much uncertainty about sensation and faith as does Calderón's *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*, they still emphasize the need for all the senses to submit to faith, which means that listeners should not trust their senses alone. Some villancico poets and composers go further than stating that senses can be deceitful; they use paradox to deliberately confuse the senses for pious purposes. We have already seen in chapter 1 that many villancicos feature auditory “special effects” like echoes, voices imitating instruments, and voices imitating birdsong. Such pieces might be compared to the contemporary rise of *trompe l'oeil* effects in visual art, like the illusion of the heavens opening in the *Transparente* of Toledo Cathedral (by Narciso Tomé, 1732) or the false domes painted by Andrea Pozzo and his students on Jesuit church ceilings from Rome to China.⁸⁹

Villancicos with “synesthetic” topics mismatch the senses in the spirit of paradox and enigma.⁹⁰ Cristóbal Galán juxtaposes hearing and vision in a villancico for the Conception of Mary.⁹¹ Galán was master of the Royal Chapel from 1680 to 1684, and to judge from copies of his works in multiple archives, his works were performed all across the empire and likely served as models for provincial composers who wanted to stay current with trends in Madrid. He had actually preceded Irízar as chapelmaster at Segovia Cathedral from 1664 to 1667.⁹² Galán's text exhorts listeners to “hear the bird” and “see the voice.” The visual language in

89. *Grove Art Online*, *Oxford Art Online*, s.v. Tomé, Narciso; Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 110.

90. 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) explores connections between poetic “synthesis of the senses” in Spanish verse and the actual neurological phenomenon of synesthesia. For example, sight and hearing are the principal objects in the anonymous Marian fragment *Porque cuando las voces puedan pintarla* (If voices could only paint her, E-Mn: M3881/44).

91. D-Mbs: Mus. ms. 2893, edition in Cabero Pueyo, *Der Villancico*, 567–568.

92. *Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Galán, Cristóbal,” by John H. Baron and Jack Sage.

this villancico evokes the common iconography of the Holy Spirit as a dove surrounded by golden rays, such as may be seen in the Monastery of the Encarnación in Madrid, where the Royal Chapel frequently performed.⁹³ The poem makes *equivocación* (confusion) of sight and hearing, which is projected partly through irregular poetic meter (poem example 2.5).⁹⁴ In his musical setting for eleven voices in three choirs, Galán creates *equivocación* through rhythm, notation, and texture. Galán juxtaposes the three voices of Chorus I against the other two choirs by having Chorus I sing primarily in a normal triple-meter motion (with dotted figures intensifying the ternary feeling), while the other two choirs interject *Oigan!* and *Miran!* in sesquialtera rhythm.

To notate these rhythms, Galán must use white notes for the regular ternary motion in Chorus I, but blackened noteheads (mensural coloration) to indicate the hemiola pattern in the other choirs. But when each voice in Chorus I sings the synesthetic phrase “the light is heard to shine,” Galán turns the lights out—on the page at least—by giving each voice a passage in all black-note sesquialtera (figure 2.1). They return to white notation again for the following phrase, “while the voice is seen in purity.” Any attentive listener could hear these juxtapositions and abrupt shifts in rhythmic patterns, though only the musicians themselves would likely have recognized the dark–light symbolism in the notation.⁹⁵

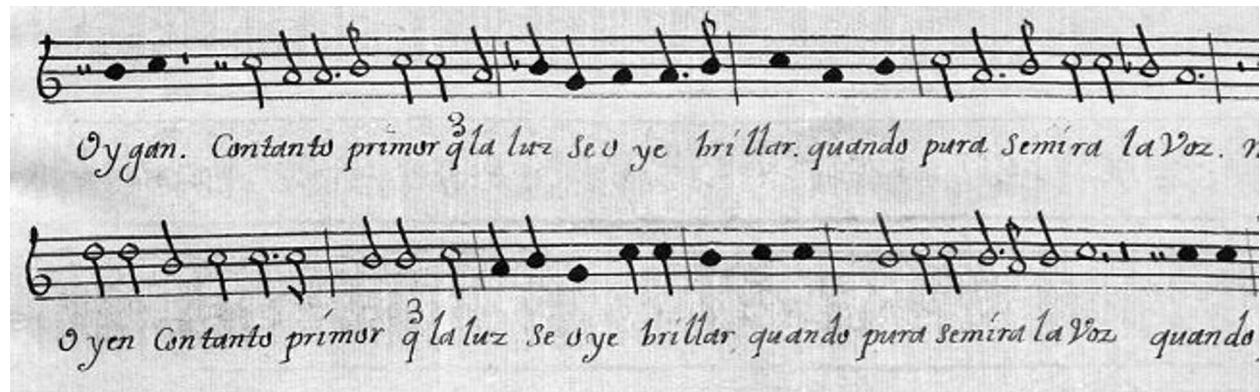
For *qué equivocación* (“what confusion!”) Galán creates a sudden flurry of contrapuntal motion: the sudden outburst of polyphonic texture in the midst of primarily homophonic polychoral dialogue could create an affective sense of confusion. The fugato here also paints the word *equivocación* in a literal way—by having “equal voices” sing a long ascending scalar figure in imitation (starting with the Tiple II’s stepwise ascent A₄–G₅). As the estribillo

93. Ana García Sanz and Leticia Sánchez Hernández, *Monasterios de las Descalzas Reales y de la Encarnación* (Madrid: Palacio Real de Madrid, 2011), 69–70, 81. The image was painted on the ceiling of the monastery’s Capilla del Cordero and when a new church building was added later, this image was incorporated as the central element atop the high altar.

94. The division into lines is speculative, but the syllable counts and line groupings in this arrangement could be scanned as 10, 6 10, 8 7 6, 6, 6 10, 10.

95. Robert L. Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2014), 36.

Figure 2.1: Galán, *Oigan todos del ave* (D-Mbs: Mus. ms. 2893), Tiple I-2, end of estribillo: Ironic play of coloration



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.

Pieces like this 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. Such pieces provide further evidence that Catholic religious arts could not be reduced to the function of simply teaching doctrine; these pieces train the senses by appealing to them directly. They seem intended to provoke listeners to a higher form of sensation, to a holy dismay and wonder that would lead to true, faithful perception.

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

In the terms of Athanasius Kircher, such pieces would incite “otherworldly affects and rapture of the mind,” and they would seem to share Kircher’s ideal that a listener who was “carried away beyond himself” in this way would actually move beyond sheer sensory overload and come to “experience the truth of what was said.”⁹⁶ It seems reasonable to assume that those

96. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, bk. 7, p. 550.

who paid repeatedly for the creation and performance of this kind of villancico believed that this music had the power to overwhelm the senses with poetic and musical ingenuity, and that they saw this kind of “dazzlement” as contributing positively to the goals of church and state (to borrow Olivier Messiaen’s term from a later stage of Catholic musical evangelism). At the same time, though, we might wonder how the creators of this devotional music responded to the other strain of post-Tridentine thought about music, more in the ascetic line of leaders like John of the Cross, who were suspicious of music’s powers over the senses and expressed concern that such music would produce no actual fruit, no increase of faith working through hope and charity to contribute to building a virtuous society. As it turns out, villancico poets and composers addressed this topic as well. Several villancicos represent characters who are deaf or hard-of-hearing, creating comic dialogues between these figures and a religious teacher who fails to find a way to make them hear the Word.

The final section of this chapter presents two of these *villancicos de sordos*—villancicos of the deaf—which dramatize the limitations of hearing, and poke fun at the difficulty some religious teachers faced in making faith appeal to this sense. Similar pieces from both sides of the Atlantic use hearing disability as a symbol of spiritual deafness: the first is by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla from Puebla Cathedral in New Spain, and the other is by Matías Ruíz for the Royal Chapel in Madrid. Both pieces present mock catechism scenes with a friar and a “deaf” man.

Laughing at the Deaf (Gutiérrez de Padilla, Puebla Cathedral)

In 1651, only two years after the reforming bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza had consecrated a new, but still unfinished, cathedral in Puebla de los Ángeles, the cathedral’s chapelmaster included a “villancico of the deaf” among the villancicos for Christmas Matins. In a piece that begins *Óyeme, Toribio* and is labeled *sordo* in the partbooks, Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla created a comic dialogue between a religious teacher and a “deaf” man named Toribio (poem

example 2.6).⁹⁷ This villancico is part of Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla's earliest surviving complete cycle of Christmas villancicos, and the first extant musical compositions that is known to have been performed in the new space.⁹⁸ Since Padilla was a member of the Congregation of the Oratory of Philip Neri, whose building in Puebla was consecrated in 1651, these villancicos may have been performed at the *oratorio* as well. In that venue, dramatic elements like costumes, gestures, and even choreography might have been more likely than in the cathedral; and the group of listeners likely included a broader mixture of people of different social status, who would have listened with somewhat different expectations than those participating in the Christmas Eve liturgy before the new high altar, or those straining to listen in from surrounding spaces. Both the cathedral and the oratorio were designed as spaces in which colonial residents could hear the Word through Scripture, liturgy, preaching, and music. Padilla's comic "deaf" villancico explicitly plays with the challenges of hearing the faith and making it heard.

Padilla sets the anonymous poem as a dialogue between two soloists, each accompanied by a bass reed instrument (Padilla calls the texture of soloist and accompanying instrument a *dúo con bajón*); followed by a five-voice choral section. Though two key partbooks are missing, including the Tenor I part who played the deaf man, the dialogue can be reconstructed because the lyrics of the deaf man's part were written in the surviving bass part.⁹⁹ The lyrics

97. MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/2; E. Thomas Stanford, *Catálogo de los acervos musicales de las catedrales metropolitanas de México y Puebla y de la Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia y otras colecciones menores* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2002); Lincoln B. Spiess and Thomas Stanford, eds., *Archivo de música sacra de la catedral de Puebla*, microfilm (Mexico City, 1967).

98. Cashner, "Playing Cards at the Eucharistic Table"; Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez, ed., *Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla y la época Palafoxiana* (Puebla: Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, Secretaría de Cultura, 2010).

99. In Padilla's manuscripts, *dúo* means a single voice at a time with a single instrumental bass line, in this case specified to be played on *bajón*. The surviving parts for this section are Altus I and Bassus II; the Tenor I and Bassus I partbooks are lost. The Altus I includes the friar's part, which was probably accompanied by the Bassus I on *bajón* (lost). The deaf man was played by the Tenor I (lost), accompanied by Bassus II on *bajón*. Though the Tenor I solo music is missing, the lyrics for the vocal part are written in above the accompaniment in the Bassus II part. Thus we have the music for the friar without its accompaniment, and the accompaniment for the deaf man and most of the lyrics, but not the deaf man's music.

are preserved in one of the few imprints of villancico poetry from Puebla to match up with surviving music, from Christmas 1651.¹⁰⁰

Playing with a conventional villancico type of a dialogue between a *docto* and a *simple*—a learned man and a simpleton—Padilla’s villancico stages a parody of catechism instruction. The friar’s attempts to communicate with the “deaf” man fail, and this prompts the chorus to warn the congregation against spiritual deafness.

Padilla dramatizes the two characters’ unsuccessful attempts to communicate through disjunctions of rhythm and mode (music example 2.3). Rhythmically, Padilla gives the friar relatively refined and elegant musical speech, while the deaf man’s speech is halting and clumsy, as in the offbeat figure on *¿Eh? ¿eh? que no te oigo* (Huh? huh? I can’t hear you). The two men interrupt each other and cannot follow each other’s train of thought.

Padilla illustrates the men’s disagreement by having them fail to concur on where to cadence. Given the one-flat *cantus mollis* signature, the cadence points articulated by the extant bass part, and the final on F, Padilla probably would have categorized this piece as mode 11 or 12.¹⁰¹ Thus the friar appropriately sings an opening phrase that surely would have cadenced on F; but the deaf man responds with a phrase that cadences on C. At one point the friar moves to a cadence on A, but the deaf man, responding that he can’t hear out of that ear, cadences on D. The friar says he will try the other ear; as though trying to meet Toribio on his level, he moves to cadence on the same note. But no sooner has the friar moved to D, than Toribio, saying, “Out of that ear I hear even less!” moves to a cadence on C. This pushes the friar over the edge. He bursts out, “You are a sheer idiot!”—mimicking the deaf man’s halting short-long rhythms, and returning to his own final of F.

100. Thanks to Gustavo Mauleón for making available scans of a few pages of this imprint, held in an anonymous private collection in Puebla.

101. Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 873–882; 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.

Next the Altus I singer, who has been representing the friar, addresses the congregation like a preacher: “The laughter of the dawn will turn to sobs,” he says—referring to the Virgin Mary—when, having given birth to the Word Incarnate, “her eyes see deaf men.” Padilla sets the final phrase about deaf men with ten blackened notes in mensural coloration. Where Galán used musical coloration as a symbol of blindness, here Padilla would seem to use the same symbol to point to a deficit in hearing. When the rest of Chorus I joins in for the responsión, their repeated dotted rhythm suggests vivacious laughter and comic offbeat sobs on *sollozos* (music example 2.4). The descending figure is passed through all the voices in imitation, leading to a harmonic form of descent when the Tiple I adds E flat—shifting further away from the “natural” into the “weak” realm of flats. The heavy syncopation in each voice creates rhythmic confusion that is not sorted out until the final cadential flourish on F, validating the friar’s initial choice of mode.

Padilla uses his characteristic mixture of sophisticated musical technique, high-minded theology, and low caricature to exploit the deaf for the amusement of the hearing, making them into a warning against spiritual deafness. The “deaf men” that will make Mary weep are all people whose ears have been stopped by sin and cannot hear the divine Word of Christ with faith. This concept recalls the definition of *sordo* in the 1611 Spanish dictionary of Sebastián de Covarrubias, who defines the *sordo*, not as one who is *unable* to hear, but rather as “he who does not hear.” He adds, “There is no worse kind of deaf man than the one who is unwilling to hear.”¹⁰²

Learning from the Deaf (Ruiz, Madrid Royal Chapel)

For the last example we return to the piece discussed at the outset of the chapter, the *Villancico de los sordos* by Matías Ruiz. This piece invites more sympathy for the deaf and extends its parody to the catechist as well (poem examples 2.7 to 2.8).¹⁰³ The poetry imprint survives from

102. 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.”

103. E-E: Mús. 83-12.

the first performance by the Royal Chapel at Madrid’s Convent of the Incarnation in 1671, where Ruiz was chapelmaster.¹⁰⁴ Here the *sordo* is a hard-of-hearing man, “very learned in humane letters”—a doddering old university professor, or perhaps a street sage. The piece mocks his impairment while contrasting true faith with the book learning of this would-be humanistic scholar. But the biggest laughs come at the expense of the friar, as the deaf man mishears his rote teaching formulas in increasingly absurd ways.

The piece begins with soloist and chorus gleefully crying “On with the deaf man!” rather like a bunch of high-school bullies, telling everyone to speak up so he can hear. When the catechist and the *sordo* enter, Ruiz illustrates their inability to understand each other with contrasting styles. The deaf man’s musical speech is abrupt, uncouth, and loud, fitting with the friar’s mockery of the deaf man’s unmodulated voice (music example 2.5). The deaf man bursts on the scene with a scale from the top of his register to the bottom (F₄ to G₃). The descent across the registers or *passaggi* of the voice would encourage the singer to bawl the phrases in a coarse tone of voice, so that ironically, a character who cannot hear is marked for the audience by the sound he makes.

Unlike in Padilla’s villancico, here the deaf man has a lesson of his own to teach. He may not be able to hear well but he has come with love to adore the Christ-child. Acting as a kind of holy fool, and echoing Covarrubias’s definition of deafness, he reminds everyone within the sound of his voice that the truly deaf are “those who neither listen nor understand the sound.”

In the parodied catechism lesson presented in the coplas, the friar quizzes his pupil on the same key doctrines of Christmas emphasized by contemporary theological writers both scholastic and pastoral.¹⁰⁵ Tell, *sordo*, he asks, how did God fulfill his word to the prophet-king David? What motivated Christ to become incarnate? But the deaf man mishears

104. 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; *Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Ruiz, Matías,” by Robert Stevenson.

105. Cashner, “Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music,” ch. 3.

every statement: he mistakes *sordo* for *gordo* (chubby), and hears *profeta* (prophet) as *estafeta* (mailman).

His supposed learning in the humanities leads only to confusion. When the friar says *el portal es nuestro alivio* (the stable is our remedy), the deaf man thinks he is citing *Tito Libio*. Since the catechist has just been lauding the *bailes* (dances) of Christmas, the humanist is puzzled: he has read the Classical historian Livy, he says, but Livy doesn't say anything about *frailes* (friars).

Hearing that the child Jesus is shivering with cold, the deaf man suggests he drink hot chocolate. The friar reassures him, “the Queen”—the Virgin Mary—is keeping the child bundled, such that he glows (*arde*) with warmth. The deaf man now seems to feel that at last he has figured out what they are talking about, and sums up with satisfaction, *Esta es, por la mañana y tarde, la Reina de las bebidas* (Chocolate is, morning and evening, the Queen of beverages).

We can imagine that Ruiz's deaf man would invite the sympathies of listeners. He is an earthy, common character, keenly aware of the chill, as many older men are. The deaf man even explicitly asks not to be mocked: since he cannot hear the nine choirs of Christmas angels, he asks them to “sing out loudly”—“as long as they don’t say anything bad about me.” The deaf man’s bumbling but endearing statements contrast strikingly with the friar’s abstract theology and clichéd poetic language. The characters represent contrasting types of learning: the churchman who repeats the same teaching points in every catechism class, versus an ersatz humanist who has read Livy and perhaps Ovid but may not understand them at all. Ruiz’s hard-of-hearing humanities scholar demonstrates a central tenet of Reformation-era Catholicism: that Classical learning alone is not enough to understand Christianity.¹⁰⁶ What the man lacks in knowledge, though, he makes up in heartfelt devotion, doting on the baby Jesus.

On the balance, though, the piece still uses deafness as a negative symbol. When the chorus sings that “the deaf are those who neither listen nor understand the sound,” they use the

106. Desiderius Erasmus, *The Essential Erasmus*, ed. John P. Dolan (New York: Meridian, 1993), 206: “Erasmus perceived in the paganistic trends of the Renaissance a greater threat to religion than the theological squabbles he was so reluctant to participate in.”

term *son*, which the dictionary of Covarrubias defines as a kind of dance. Indeed, this villancico features a distinctive harmonic and rhythmic pattern with alternating ternary and sesquialtera groupings, which are most clear on the phrase *los que no escuchan ni entienden el son* (music example 2.6). This pattern bears a close resemblance to dance forms known as *son* today—most obviously, the Mexican *huarache* familiar from the song “America” in Leonard Bernstein’s *West Side Story*.¹⁰⁷ Just as in the contests of the senses, then, music is the paradigm of faithful hearing; those who can’t pick up the tune, spiritually speaking, are the truly deaf.

Where did this theology of hearing leave actual people with hearing disabilities? At the same time as these caricatures of the deaf were performed, the Spanish churchman Juan Pablo Bonet was laying the foundations of modern deaf education.¹⁰⁸ These villancicos, though, do not offer much hope for actual people with disabilities. While Calderón’s Judaism heard Faith without faith, the deaf men in villancicos cannot even hear Faith to begin with.

Whether these pieces accomplished anything more than amusing hearers by reinforcing their prejudices is a question that haunts the whole repertoire of Spanish devotional music—and one that should give modern performers pause before reviving some villancicos.¹⁰⁹ This problem is especially vexing in the “ethnic” villancicos, still frequently performed by early-music groups today, which represent Africans and other non-Castilian groups through caricatured deformations of speech and music.¹¹⁰ These pieces appear to welcome people from the margins of society to Christ’s stable, or around his altar, and thereby raise their status; but the stereotyped representation actually reinforces their position at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

107. Grove, s.v. *huarache*; Elizabeth A. Wells, *West Side Story: Cultural Perspectives on an American Musical* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2011).

108. Juan Pablo Bonet, *Reduction de las letras y Arte para enseñar a ablar a los mudos* (Madrid, 1620), cited and discussed in Susan Plann, *A Silent Minority: Deaf Education in Spain, 1550–1835* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997).

109. Cashner, *Villancicos about Music*, 7.

110. Baker, “The ‘Ethnic Villancico’”; Baker, “Latin American Baroque.”

2.4 Failures of Faithful Hearing

These villancicos depict failures of faithful hearing as a call for disciplined listening. The villancicos of the deaf fit in with a characteristic tendency of Roman Catholics after Trent to critique the poor level of theological knowledge among the lay people and the low quality of teaching among the clergy.¹¹¹ In the vernacular catechism discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the Augustinian friar Antonio de Azevedo 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 would 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."¹¹²

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

111. Kamen, *Early Modern European Society*, 56–57.

112. 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 boçales 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 [...]. 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.¹¹³

The friars of Padilla's and Ruiz's villancicos seem to fit with Azevedo's description of "lordly orators" who delight in lofty language and fail to adapt their disciples' capacity, rather than motherly teachers who spell out the fundamentals of Christian faith. Both pieces illustrate the difference in language and understanding through appropriate contrasts of musical style.

What does it mean, then, that this music invites hearers to laugh at the Church's incompetent teachers? After all, the friars are caricatured just as much as the deaf men are. Padilla's piece was performed at the epicenter of religious reform in the New World, and Ruiz's piece may have been heard by the royal defender of the faith Charles II. The function of villancicos must be more complex than the imposition of dogma. Few villancicos of the seventeenth century would satisfy Azevedo's call to teach the "*b, a, ba* of Christianity." As the severity of the years after Trent gave way to Baroque aesthetics that valued more elaborate forms of expression, even the comic villancicos involved 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. Composers of villancicos in the seventeenth century seem to have followed an ideal closer to Kircher's Jesuit ideal of affectively powerful sacred music attuned to the varying desires of a broad audience. The depictions of imperfect hearing in the villancicos of the deaf, in fact, depended on the attention of listeners with well-trained ears.

113. 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 predicen declaren 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."

“Make a Hedge around Your Ears”

To understand the role of villancicos in the dynamics of hearing and faith, then, we must consider these performative texts as more than just one-way transmissions of religious teaching from the Church to listening worshippers. The creators of these pieces seem to expect listeners to be active, attentive, and intelligent. Indeed, Catholic listeners in this period had to pay attention, because as multiple examples have demonstrated, hearing was “the sense most easily deceived” and Catholics were not expected to believe everything they heard. Hearing with faith meant questioning anything that contradicted true faith and accepting the true faith even when it contradicted the senses.

It is clear from a rare listener’s account of a villancico that not everyone felt adequately trained to appreciate this music. The chronicler of a Zaragoza festival in 1724 praises the performance by the musicians of the city’s two principal churches, El Pilar and La Seo, leaning heavily on a stock vocabulary for musical encomium:

During the whole event, the senses were enchanted with an imponderable spell by the sweet, solemn, and sonorous harmony, with which the two chapels, 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 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 [included in the chronicle], which were part of the design of the chapter’s order.

“The two villancicos were sung nobly, and were heard with pleasure,” he writes, but, truth be told, “it would have been even better, if every ear was intelligent in points of consonance.”¹¹⁴

114. *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*

Moreover, in the anxious theological climate of early modern Spain, not even an aural-skills course would meet the more pressing demand for spiritual discipline in listening. A moral emblem from 1610 by dictionary author Sebastián de Covarrubias shows two fragile human ears, protected from the four winds by a crown of thorns (figure 2.2). Its Latin motto, from Ecclesiasticus 28:28, reads, “Make a hedge around your ears with thorns.”¹¹⁵ In the double explanation of the emblem, first in vernacular poetry, then in prose, readers who contemplated this image and its possible interpretations were advised to shield their ears “from hearing flattery, gossip, lies, and false doctrines; and so that these things will not reach our ears we must put a strong fence around them, and protect it with thorns.”¹¹⁶ “In this life, which is a battle,” he warns, “if you wish to keep yourself safe, take refuge in Christ and his crown.”¹¹⁷

Spanish devotional music of the seventeenth century appealed to the ears of diverse people at different levels; but it challenged all of them to “temper” their own hearing, as the Segovia villancicos say, lest the Church’s musical proclamation of faith fall on “deaf ears.” The fundamental Tridentine problem, of making faith appeal to hearing by both accommodating the senses and training them, remained a challenge for Catholics, both those who would teach through speech or song and those who would listen.

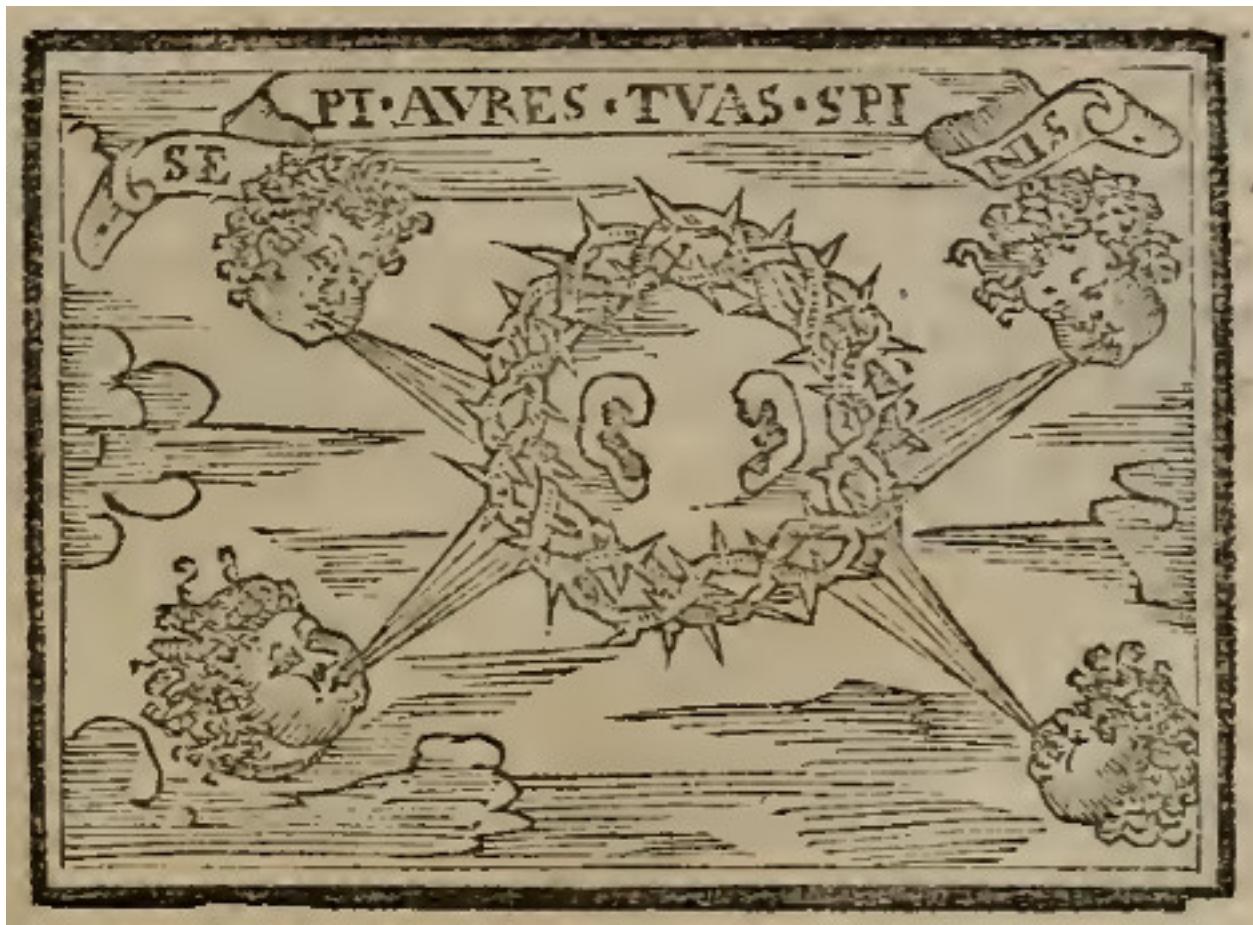
edition (1724; Zaragoza: Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, 1990), 97: “Todo el rato que durò la Funcion, tuvo en imponderable embeleso à los sentidos, la dulce, grave, y sonora harmonia, con que oficiaron la Missa las dos Capillas, unidas à este fin por el Cabildo, y prevenidas de que en el corto plazo que se diò 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”. The language used to describe music reiterates a set of key vocabulary that appears in most of the texts of villancicos about music in this study—*dulce, grave, y sonora armonía, primor, destreza, puntos de consonancia*.

115. Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Emblemas morales* (Madrid, 1610), 202: “SEPI AVRES TVAS SPINIS.”

116. Ibid., 203: “Esse mesmo peligro tienen las orejas, sino las apartamos de oir lisonjas, murmuraciones, mentiras, y falsas doctrinas: y para que no lleguen a nuestros oydos deuemos hecharles van fuerta cerca, y vardarlas con espinas.”

117. Ibid., 202: “En esta vida, que es vna milicia,/ Si asegurar quisieres tu persona,/ Amparate de Christo, y su corona.”

Figure 2.2: "Make a hedge around your ears with thorns," from Covarrubias, *Emblemas*, 202



Poem example 2.2: Calderón, *El nuevo palacio*, ll. 593–602: Faith crowns Hearing

Oído: Temblar su semblante es justo,
y así, torpe, humilde y ciego,
a ofrecerme a mí no llego,
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
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
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
que nace de ajena voz
sin objeto conocido.
Luego bien estoy corrido,
pues no tienen mis errores,
como la Vista colores,
como el Tacto variedades,
como el Gusto suavidades,
ni como el Olfato olores.
FE: En esa desconfianza
más hallado está el amor
de la Fe; aqueste favor
solo el Oído le alcanza.

Dale el ramillete

FE: No se rinda la esperanza
ni el temor se dé a partido;
desde hoy, humano Sentido,
serviréisme vos, porque
los favores de la Fe
sólo son para el Oído.

HEARING: It is right to tremble before you,
thus, lame, humble, and blind,
I can hardly present myself,
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
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
what he touches, and Taste tastes
what he tastes, since the object
is proximate to the action;
but what Hearing hears
is only a fleeting echo,
born of a distant voice
without a known object.
Thus I am quite hemmed in,
for they do not have my errors,
not as Sight has its colors,
as Touch has its varied textures,
as Taste has its subtle delights,
nor as Smell has its aromas.

FAITH: In this mistrust
all the more Faith's love
is found; this favor
is earned by Hearing alone.

She gives him the wreath

FAITH: Do not give up hope,
nor suddenly take afright;
from today forward, human Sense,
you shall serve me, because
the favors of Faith
are only for Hearing.

Poem example 2.3: *Si los sentidos queja forman del Pan divino*, attr. Vicente Sánchez, *Lyra Poética* (Zaragoza, 1688), 171–172, first portion

ESTRIBILLO

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

COPLAS

1. Si en ellos va el no ver bien
los ojos de que se admirán,
pues mal verán lo que miran
si no miran lo que ven,
si su ceguedad es quien
los tiene impedidos,
no se den por sentidos los sentidos.
2. Entre velos transparentes,
no se ve Dios Encarnado,
que el color se la ha mudado,
y lo hacen sus accidentes,
si en nubes rayos lucientes
están escondidos,
no se den por sentidos los sentidos.
3. Toca el tacto pero yerra
que si en que es pan se equivoca,
aunque todo un Cielo toca,
no toca en Cielo, ni en tierra,
toca misterio, y si encierra
portentos no oídos,
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 resent it.

1. If in them the eyes that admire
cannot see well,
since they shall see poorly what they see
if they do not look at what they see,
if their blindness is what
keeps them impaired,
let the senses not resent it.
2. Within transparent veils,
God Incarnate is not seen,
for the color has been changed,
and its accidents are doing it.
If in the clouds flashing rays
are hidden,
let the senses not resent it.
3. Touch touches but it errs,
for if in what is bread it is mistaken,
even though it touches all of Heaven,
it touches neither Heaven nor earth,
it touches a mystery, and if it encloses
unheard portents,
let the senses not resent it.

Poem example 2.4: *Si los sentidos queja forman del Pan divino*, conclusion

4. Que tenga voto, no es justo,
el gusto en este Manjar,
que el gusto en él no ha de entrar
aunque el Manjar entre en gusto:
mas si les causa disgusto
no ser admitidos,
no se den por sentidos los sentidos.

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

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

7. Porque a Dios puedan gustar,
en los puntos sus concuentos,
todos sus cinco instrumentos
la Fe los ha de templar,
sino los puede ajustar
para ser oídos,
no se den por sentidos los sentidos.

4. It is not fair that Taste
should have a vote on this Morsel,
for Taste shall not come into this,
though the Morsel may come into Taste,
but if it causes distaste
that the senses are not admitted,
let the senses not resent it.

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

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

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

Poem example 2.5: *Oigan todos del ave*, from setting by Cristóbal Galán, 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.

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!
for voices and lights
are seen, are heard
with such virtuosity
that the light is heard to shine,
while in purity the voice is seen.

Music example 2.1: Miguel de Irízar, *Si los sentidos queja forman del pan divino* (E-SE: 18/19, 5/32)

Ti. I-1
Ti. I-2
A. I
T. I
Ti. II
A. II
T. II
B. II
Ac.

-dos, hoy to - dos con la fe se - an o - í - dos, no se den por sen - ti - dos los _ sen - ti - dos,
-dos, hoy to - dos con la fe se - an o - í - dos, no se den por sen - ti - dos los _ sen - ti - dos,
-dos, hoy to - dos con la fe se - an o - í - dos, se - an o -
no, no, no se den por sen - ti - dos los _ sen - ti - dos,
se - an o - í - dos, no, no no se den por sen - ti - dos los _ sen - ti - dos,
-í - dos, no se den por sen - ti - dos los sen - ti - dos, no, no, se - an o -

Music example 2.2: Jerónimo de Carrión, *Si los sentidos queja forman del pan divino*
(E-SE: 28/25)

SOLO

ACOMP.

Si los sen - ti - dos que - ja for - man del Pan Di - vi - no,
por - que lo que e - llos sien - ten no es de Fe con - sen - 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.

Poem example 2.6: *Óyeme, Toribio (El sordo)*, from setting by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, Puebla, 1651 (MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/2), excerpt

[INTRODUCCIÓN] Dúo

1. Óyeme, Toribio.
2. ¿Hablas me, chamorro?
1. Gloria es todo el valle.
2. ¿E? ¿E? que no te oigo.
1. Ya es la tierra cielo,
y hasta él, llanto es gozo.
2. No oigo de ese oído.
1. Pondréme desotro.
2. Desotro oigo menos.
1. Tú eres lindo tonto,
yo más que te escucho...
2. ¿Si tengo bochorno?
- ¿Qué es lo que me dices?
1. que me vuelves loco.
2. [Text missing]

[ESTRIBILLO] SOLO, RESPONSIÓN A 5

De la aurora la risa
serán sollozos
si ven sus ojos,
al nacer la palabra,
los hombres sordos.

1. Listen to me, Toribio.
2. Are you talking to me, baldy?
1. Glory is in all the valley.
2. Eh? Eh? I can't hear you.
1. Behold, the earth has become heaven,
and toward heaven, the only crying is for joy.
2. I can't hear from that ear.
1. I'll try the other one.
2. From the other one I can hear even less.
1. You are a sheer idiot!
the more I listen to you...
2. Am I embarrassed?
What is it you are telling me?
1. you are driving me crazy!
2. [Text missing]

The laughter of the dawn
will become sobs
if her eyes see,
upon the birth of the Word,
deaf men.

Music example 2.3: Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Óyeme, Toribio (El sordo)* (MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/2), introducción, extant parts (missing Tenor I, Bassus I)

A. I

B. II
[Bajón]

8

to - do el va - - lle. Ya es la tie - rra cie - - lo,

17

y has - ta él, llan - to es go - zo. Pon - dré - me des - o -

25

- - tro. No oi - go de e - se o - í - do.

34

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

42

vuel - ves lo - co. ¿Si ten - go bo - chor - no? ¿Qué es lo que me di - ces?

Music score for the introduction of Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla's 'Óyeme, Toribio (El sordo)' (MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/2). The score includes two staves: A.I. (Tenor II) in treble clef and B.II. (Bassus II) in bass clef. The lyrics are as follows:

- Measures 1-7: A.I. lyrics: "Ó - ye - me, To - ri - - bio." B.II. lyrics: "[T. I Lyrics] ¿Hab - las me, cha - mo - rro?"
- Measure 8: A.I. lyrics: "to - do el va - - lle." B.II. lyrics: "Ya es la tie - rra cie - - lo,"
- Measure 17: A.I. lyrics: "y has - ta él, llan - to es go - zo." B.II. lyrics: "Pon - dré - me des - o -"
- Measure 25: A.I. lyrics: "- - tro." B.II. lyrics: "No oi - go de e - se o - í - do."
- Measure 34: A.I. lyrics: "Des - o - tro oi - go me - nos." B.II. lyrics: "...que me"
- Measure 42: A.I. lyrics: "vuel - ves lo - co." B.II. lyrics: "¿Si ten - go bo - chor - no? ¿Qué es lo que me di - ces?"

Music example 2.4: Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Oyeme, Toribio (El sordo)*, responción a 5, extant voices

De la au - ro - ra la ri - sa, de la au - ro - ra la ri - sa, la ri - sa,

Ti. I A. I

De la au - ro - ra la ri - sa, la ri - sa, la ri - sa, de la au - ro - ra la

B. II [Bajón]

De la au - ro - ra la ri - sa, de la au - ro - ra la

se - rán so - llo - zos, se - rán so - llo - zos, so -

ri - sa, se - rán so - llo - zos, se - rán so - llo - zos,

ri - sa

- llo - zos, si ven sus o - jos, si ven sus o - jos, sus o - jos, al na-

so - llo - zos, si ven sus o - jos, si ven sus o - jos, si ven sus o - jos, al na-

- cer la pa - la - bra, los hom - bres sor - dos, los hom - bres sor -

- cer la pa - la - bra, los hom - bres sor - dos, los hom - bres sor - dos, los hom - bres

- dos, los hom - bres sor - dos, sor - dos, los hom - bres sor - dos.

sor - dos, los hom - bres, los hom - bres sor - dos.

Poem example 2.7: *Pues la fiesta del Niño es (Villancico de los sordos)*, from setting by Matías Ruiz, Madrid, 1671 (E-E: Mús. 83-12, E-Mn: R/34989/1), first portion

INTRODUCCIÓN SOLO

Pues la fiesta del niño es,
y es el día de tanto placer,
de todo ha de haber.
Un sordo, muy noticioso
de letras de humanidad,
con otro que le pregunta,
viene a alegrar el portal.

Since it is the Christ-child's festival,
and 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
porque oiga a todos.

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

SORDO: Éntrome de hoz, y de coz.
PREG.: ¿Quién llama con tanto estruendo?

DEAF MAN: Here I come, like it or not.
CATECHIST: Who is calling out with such a ruckus?

S: Hablen alto, que no entiendo,
sino levantan la voz.
P: Bajad la voz,
que a Dios gracias no soy sordo.
S: ¿Dice que está el niño gordo?
pues de eso me alegro mucho.

D.: Speak up, for I don't understand
unless you raise your voice.
C.: Lower your voice,
for by God's grace I am not deaf.
D.: Are you saying the baby is fat?
well, that sure makes me happy.

Pues vaya de viestas
al niño que adoro
que está como un oro,
y el coro sonoro
responda veloz,
que sordos son
los que no escuchan
ni entienden el son.

So on with the festivities
for the Christ-child I adore,
since he is like a gold coin,
and let the resounding choir
respond quickly,
for the deaf are those
who do not listen
nor understand the sound.

COPLAS EN DIÁLOGO, Y SOLO

PREG.: 1. Di, Sordo, si Dios cumplió

CATECHIST: 1. Tell, Deaf Man, if God fulfilled
the Word to the prophet-king?

la palabra al rey profeta?

DEAF MAN: The mailman has not arrived;
he was delayed because of the season.

SORDO: No ha venido la estafeta,
por el tiempo se tardó.

C: 2. That the Omnipotent should cry,
has anyone in the world ever heard this?

P: 2. Que llore el Omnipotente,
nadie en el mundo lo ha oído?
S: Es la verdad: De este oído
estoy un poco teniente.

D: It's true: in this ear
I am a little hard of hearing.

Poem example 2.8: *Pues la fiesta del Niño es (Villancico de los sordos)*, conclusion

P: 3. A ver al Niño, pastores
vienen hoy con gran decoro.

S: No hay cosa peor que ser moro,
di tú, Gil, lo que quisieres.

P: 4. No digo, sino que amor
es quien traza tales medios.

S: Hanme dado mil remedios,
y siempre me hallo peor.

P: 5. Entended lo que os pregunto,
que no oyes hacia esta parte.

S: Y lo entiendo: que el dios Marte
tiene cara de difunto.

P: 6. Lleno de danzas, y bailes,
el portal es nuestro alivio.

S: Yo he leído a Tito Libio
pero no trata de frailes.

P: 7. Cuando el Niño nace, apenas,
duro el frío le combate.

S: Si él tomara chocolate,
sintiera menos las penas.

P: 8. La Reina, al Rey de las vidas
abriga, que tiembla, y arde.

S: Ésta es, por la mañana, y tarde
la Reina de las bebidas.

P: 9. Mira en un pobre portal
la majestad reducida.

S: La Virgen fue concebida
sin pecado original.

P: 10. De nueve coros, aquí
hacen cielo, y tierra aprecio.

S: No los oigo, canten recio,
sino dicen mal de mí.

C: 3. To see the Child, shepherds
are coming today with great respect.

D: There is nothing worse than being a Moor,
no matter what you say, Gil.

C: 4. I say nothing, except that love
is the one who traces such means.

D: They have given me a thousand remedies,
and I always find myself worse off.

C: 5. Understand what I am asking you,
since you haven't heard up till now.

D: I understand just fine: the God Mars
has a face like the dead.

C: 6. Full of all kinds of dancing,
the stable is our recreation.

D: I have read Titus Livy
but he doesn't discuss friars.

C: 7. Scarcely has the Child been born,
and the cold fights hard against him.

D: If he drank some chocolate,
he wouldn't feel the hardships so much.

C: 8. The Queen bundles up the King of life,
who is trembling, and he glows with warmth.

D: Indeed [chocolate] is, by morning or by
evening,

the Queen of the beverages.

C: 9. See, in a poor stable
his majesty, reduced.

S: The Virgin was conceived
without original sin.

C: 10. In nine choirs, here
heaven and earth render worship.

S: I don't hear them—let them sing loud,
as long as they don't say anything bad about me.

Music example 2.5: Matías Ruiz, *Pues la fiesta del niño es* (Villancico de los sordos) (E-E: Mús. 83-12), estribillo

Ti. I-2

Solo

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

B. I

Solo

8 Én - tro - me de hoz y de coz. Hab - len

Ac.

Ba -jad la voz, que a Dios gra - cias

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

no soy— sor - do.

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

Music example 2.6: Ruiz, *Villancico de los sordos*, conclusion of estribillo, mm. 76–83:
Possible evocation of son song or dance style

Musical score for Ruiz's *Villancico de los sordos*, showing the conclusion of the estribillo (mm. 76–83). The score consists of nine staves, each with a key signature of C major (indicated by a 'C' and a '3'). The voices are:

- Ti. I-1
- Ti. I-2
- A. I
- B. I
- Ti. II
- A. II
- T. II
- B. II
- Ac.

The lyrics are:

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

Part II

Listening for Unhearable Music

Chapter 3

Hearing the Christ-Child Sing in the “Voices of the Chapel Choir” (Puebla, 1657)

*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!*

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!

—Anonymous, *Voces, las de la capilla* (Puebla, 1657)

On Christmas Eve 1657 in colonial Puebla, the cathedral’s tower bells had been ringing for an hour when the first voices of the Christmas liturgy began to sing at 11 p.m. Having heard the summons, the cathedral chapter was joined in a space glowing with luminaries by other clerics, professors, landowners with their slaves, and common worshippers of every caste, from Spaniards and their descendants down to indigenous people, enslaved and free Africans,

and many degrees of mixture in between. Whether they came out of habit or obligation, or in sincere devotion, there was little else for them to do but listen. Fortunately the chapter had ensured that its chapelmaster, Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, had prepared yet another sumptuous banquet of music, including chant and Latin-texted polyphony both old and new. The main attraction for many listeners, though, was the new set of Spanish villancicos.

As a cantor in Puebla Cathedral was intoning a Latin sermon of Pope Saint Leo the Great—the first reading in the second Nocturne of Matins—the musical chapel was preparing to raise their own voices. Holding handwritten notebooks with their individual performing parts for this year’s new cycle of villancicos, they looked to Father Padilla for their cue. When the chanting concluded with a descending cadence, Padilla made sure the chorus had the right starting pitches in their ears: he may have sung an intonation, or had someone play a chord or short improvised cadence on the organ. He raised his hand and indicated the downbeat, the start of the metrical measure, and on one side of the double-choir ensemble, the three voice parts (possibly three individual singers) of Chorus I entered on the second beat, singing the word *Voces*. The boy treble, adolescent alto, and tenor all sang this word high in their registers, and the soft harmony of the opening G-minor (*mollis*) chord hung mysteriously in the vaulted space between the columns of the new cathedral’s architectural choir. Moving in the same rhythm, following the natural accents of the poetry, the voices declaimed this text like a solemn choral recitative (music example 3.1):

Voces, las de la capilla,	Voices of the chapel choir,
cuenta con lo que se canta,	keep count with what is sung,
que es músico el Rey, y nota	for the King is a musician, and notes
las más leves disonancias	even the most venial dissonances,
a lo de Jesús infante	after the manner of Jesus the infant prince
y a lo de David monarca.	just as in the manner of David the monarch.

The other choir remained silent for these lines, as their notated parts instructed them to heed the other chorus’s admonition and “keep count” of twenty-seven measures of rests until their entrance.

Music example 3.1: Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, opening

CHORUS I

Ti. I A. I

C3 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8

Vo - ces, las de la ca - pi - lla, cuen - ta con lo que se can -

T. I

C3 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8

10

ta, que es mú - si - co el Rey, y no - ta las más le - ves di - so - nan - cias,

Some of those closest to the voices had already seen the poem in the published commemorative pamphlet; some of the seminary professors, perhaps, had even spent some time with their students puzzling over its complex wordplay. A few of them recognized the poem from an earlier, but slightly different, version they had seen in an imported print of villancicos from Seville. One of them may have even heard the Seville version in person. These educated worshippers listened closely to hear how the chapelmaster, now approaching his seventieth birthday and showing signs of age, would demonstrate his mastery by realizing the poem's musical conceits in actual music.

The rest of the crowd heard and understood less, but recognized the opening conceit of *voces*, and heard distinctly the phrase *que es músico el Rey* and the references to David and *Jesús infante*. As they looked past the choir to the newly decorated Altar of the Kings, filled with images of Christ's birth and of celestial music, and as they heard the solemn dialogue between choirs give way to more lively music, they worked to imagine what sort of music the choir was singing about—the music of King David with his lyre, the song of the Christmas angels, or the music they were hearing this night in the heart of New Spain?

Thus begins a tour-de-force of music about music, in which the composer and his ensemble take a verbal discourse about music and turn it into a musical discourse about music. This meta-musical discourse uses musical means to communicate something about music itself—and here the subject is not only that made by human performance. When the first chorus refers to “what is sung,” they are referring to more than this literal level of human performance. Instead, they point to *Jesús infante*—the child who is both the *infante* or heir of the musician-king David and who is also God made flesh as an infant, a child too young to be able to speak.

The next two chapters (forming part 2) analyze and interpret two families of villancicos that represent Christ as both singer and song, inviting hearers to listen for the harmonies between earthly, heavenly, and divine forms of music. The first is *Voces, las de la capilla*, set by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla for Puebla Cathedral in 1657; this is one version of a family with evidence for at least two previous settings. The second is *Suspended, cielos, vuestro dulce canto*, one of the best-attested families of villancicos, with eight documented settings of variant poetic texts in the later seventeenth century; the one extant complete musical setting is by Joan Cererols of the Abbey of Montserrat, around 1660. These villancicos for Christmas connect incarnation, voice, and creation, as they invite hearers to contemplate human music-making as a reflection of Christ’s nature as the divine “Word made flesh” (Jn 1). Both textual traditions build on an ancient theological trope of Christ as *Verbum infans*—the infant, or unspeaking Word. Christ the Word does not need to speak because God is already communicating himself to humankind through the Christ-child’s incarnate body. The villancicos set by Padilla and Cererols turn this into musical theology by imagining the baby Jesus not speaking, but singing; and by considering Christ himself as the song being sung.

In this chapter we will listen closely to the words and music of Padilla’s *Voces, las de la capilla* to understand how the Puebla chapel choir put their beliefs about music’s power into practice through musical performance, and to learn what this piece tells us about how Hispanic Catholics listened to music. This villancico and other metamusical pieces related

to it, I argue, trained worshippers to listen past human music-making, to strain to hear the unhearable higher music of the divine, a music that defies human imagining. By representing the trope of Christ as singer and song through this genre of sung poetry, the piece challenges listeners to hear the divine voice through the voices of the chorus.

Within a Neoplatonic theological tradition, these pieces connected faith and hearing by making Christ the Word audible through poetic and musical structures. In a sense they “incarnated” the poetry and give it material form through musical performance in a specific place and time. At the same time they point beyond sounding music to higher forms of music. Moving past even the three levels of music of Boethius (*musica instrumentalis, humana, and mundana*), metamusical pieces point to the ethereal harmonies of supernatural Heaven (*cielo Empyreo*, the Empyrean), including the chorus of saints and angels, the mysterious unity of the Trinity, and the dual nature of Christ as both human and divine.

Catholics believed that singing and listening to singing in this way could unite the human community in harmony with each other and with Christ, through the ritual of the church. The ingenuity of the structures suggests that the creators and performers of these villancicos sought primarily not to teach doctrine, but to promote doxology—glorifying God through contemplative devotion. They invite listeners to respond to the mystery of the Incarnation in awe, wonder, and adoration. They do this by first inspiring listeners to marvel at the musical virtuosity of the “voices of the chapel choir.”

This chapter is a detailed study of the poetry, music, and theological context of one villancico—Padilla’ *Voces, las de la capilla*—and to a lesser degree, two other texts related to it. Some might question whether this level of attention is appropriate for a genre that many scholars have assumed functioned as little more than secular entertainment in church, a parade of stock minor-theater characters and dogmatic clichés. The more villancicos one comes to know in depth, however, the less that stereotype will seem to apply. There are just as many sophisticated villancicos as there are silly ones, and they did not serve the same functions. On

the contrary, this anonymous poem and Padilla's musical setting both demand and reward detailed analysis.

In fact, that kind of close study is an extension of the same kind of contemplative listening practice the piece was designed to inculcate. The poem is cryptic even by seventeenth-century standards, but it was printed and disseminated publicly, with the intent to communicate with some audience of readers. Most likely, the poem was written specifically to be set by music, and was designed to give a composer as many musical concepts to play with as possible. Likewise, much of Padilla's musical ingenuity would have only registered with the most well-trained listeners, but the piece was performed as part of a public liturgy that probably drew a large and varied congregation. Many people heard the piece, and even if many were puzzled by it, someone understood it—and it is possible to understand it today if we take the effort to listen closely. Modern people, though, cannot count on sharing the same conventions and understandings that the poet and composer took for granted in their readers and hearers, and so the task of the modern interpreter is also to recover the lost context on which the meaning of this performative text depended in its time.

Theology was a major intellectual pursuit of the Spanish and New Spanish elite, and as such it was a creative activity—not merely reciting dogmas approved by the church, but playfully seeking out ever-new ways of connecting revealed truth to observed experience. Thinking theologically in an early modern Catholic sense meant building endless chains of association and allusion among Biblical texts, writings of church fathers (patristics), medieval theologians, and the liturgy. It meant interpreting new texts in light of these old ones, and reinterpreting the old ones in light of the new. And it grew out of and reinforced a view of the world as a book waiting to be read (see chapter 1). One had to apply oneself to the effort of discerning how the sacred was imminent in the mundane and common.¹

1. 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,

It is the central argument of this book that devotional music provided Spanish Catholics with a way of performing theology: making and hearing music was a creative pursuit in which people sought to forge connections to God and to each other through musical structures. These same Spanish intellectuals who studied Augustine and Aquinas also learned the fundamentals of music on both theoretical and practical levels. They had read Boethius on the three levels of music described above, and they had some working knowledge of music notation—pitches and staff notation, rhythm and meter, and at least the general concept of consonance and dissonance in counterpoint. Those with more performing experience had been trained as boys in solmization in the tradition of Guido of Arezzo: they could sing the notes of the scale from *ut-re-mi* up to *la* on the three different hexachords on C (natural), F (soft/*mollis*), and G (hard/*durus*); they could name every note that could be sung by these syllables as laid out in an imagined spiral on the upraised palm of the Guidonian hand, and they could go “outside the hand” for sharp and flat notes using *musica ficta*.²

Metamusical villancicos brought these two domains of knowledge into a mutually illuminating relationship. Even in simply reading the poetic texts of these pieces, or hearing them read, a person must know a fair amount of music theory in order to understand the theological concepts, and vice versa. When someone performed the musical setting of this kind of text, or heard it performed, they faced an even greater challenge to understand the words as projected through the music and perceive the ways the music depicted the sense and affect of the text.

The reward for taking this music seriously today as a source for historical theology about music is a richer understanding of the intellectual culture of imperial Spain and a holistic sense of how devotional music served theological and social functions in Hispanic communities, even creating relationships across the Atlantic between poets, musicians, and institutions in the mainland and in the colonial viceroyalties. In the colonial context of seventeenth-century Puebla, villancicos like this catered to the religious and social demands of

2. David E. Cohen, “Notes, Scales, and Modes in the Earlier Middle Ages,” in Christensen, *The Cambridge History of Western Music History*, 307–363.

a highly literate and theologically adept circle of listeners, while also making a broader appeal to the larger public. As the case studies in part II will demonstrate, Spanish chapelmasters used metamusical villancicos socially to prove their craft as master musicians. In this way they established links of kinship to teachers and fellow musicians who set the same or similar texts and developed the same kinds of musical-theological tropes. On the artistic level composers developed tropes for using music to represent itself, vying with each other for the most overt, symbolically meaningful, and moving displays of musical artifice. As part of a theological tradition, the pieces on themes of heavenly music manifest changing ways of thinking about the relationship between earthly music and heavenly or divine music, in the midst of shifting early modern understandings of the cosmos, the human body, and society. Even as those conceptions were changing, villancicos of the Spanish Empire continued to promote and embody a Neoplatonic listening practice in which music points beyond itself to a higher, unhearable music of heavenly truth.

3.1 “Voices of the Chapel Choir” and the “Unspeaking Word”

Villancicos circulated in print and manuscript as poems, independently of their musical settings; and in the case of villancicos on the subject of music, it is necessary to understand the discourse about music that is presented in the poem alone before we can recognize the ways the composer has added meaning through actual music. The author of *Voces, las de la capilla*, as is the case for most villancicos, is unknown. As we will see there are multiple versions of this textual tradition, but since our primary goal is to understand Padilla’s setting from 1657 Puebla, it will be most productive to concentrate on the version of the poem that Padilla set to music.

The poem is so elaborately contrived that it may seem completely unintelligible at the first encounter (poem examples 3.1 to 3.2).³ The piece demands a high level of intellectual

3. Cashner, *Villancicos about Music*, 37–38, 119–132; Cashner, “Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music,” 133–203.

engagement to tease out the intricate conceit, and may thus be compared with what Bernardo Illari describes as “enigma” villancicos.⁴ Part of its difficulty comes from the influence of the poetry of Luis de Góngora (1561–1627), who cultivated a new aesthetic that emphasized learned artifice and highly wrought dramatic effects, a style referred to as *barroco* by Spanish literary scholars.⁵ Góngora’s role in Spanish literature is similar to that of Giambattista Marino in Italian letters, with the difference being that Góngora had a much more widespread global influence, especially in New Spain.⁶ Poets writing after the manner of Góngora reveled in arcane plays on words, contorted Latinate syntax, and multiple levels of meanings. This poem exemplifies the tradition of Spanish *conceptismo*, in which the poet creates a sustained analogy between at least two different things such that the understanding of each one informs the other. Here the two elements in the conceit are music—specifically the voices of choral singing—and the Incarnate Christ at his birth.

The first of the two coplas provides a clear example of this technique:

Daba un niño peregrino	A baby gave a wandering song
tono al hombre y subió tanto	to the Man, and ascended so high
que en sustenidos de llanto	that in sustained weeping
dió octava arriba en un trino.	he went up the eighth [day] into the triune.

One can read this strophe solely on the one plane referring to Christ’s Incarnation and Passion, however elliptically. In the first copla, the Christ-child gave a “wandering song” to the Man—referring to the first man, Adam, being cast out of Paradise. Christ “went up so high” in “sustained tones of weeping”—suffering on the cross for human redemption. The poem says Christ “arose on the eighth” day, a traditional way of referring to the Resurrection on Easter Sunday. He ascended “into the triune,” the Godhead of three persons in one being.⁷

4. Illari, “Polychoral Culture,” vol. 2, 304–308.

5. Mary Malcolm Gaylord, “The Making of Baroque Poetry,” in *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, ed. David Gies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 222–235; Ángel Valbuena Prat, *Historia de la literatura española*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1946), vol. 1, 1014–1061.

6. Martha Lilia Tenorio, *El Gongorismo en Nueva España: Ensayo de restitución* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2013).

7. See the entries for the numbers eight and three in Pietro Bongo [Petrus Bungus], *Petri Bvngi Bergomatis Nvmerorvm Mysteria* (Paris, 1643) and Antonio Ricciardo [Antonius Ricciardus], *Commentaria Symbolica* (Venice, 1591).

Poem example 3.1: *Voces, las de la capilla*, from setting by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, Puebla, 1657 (MEX-PC: Leg. 3/3), *introducción*

[INTRODUCCIÓN]

1. 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 choir,
keep count with what is sung,
for the king is a musician, and he notes
even the most venial dissonances,
in the manner of Jesus the infant prince,
as in the manner of David the monarch. 5R

RESPUESTA

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

The centuries of his heroic exploits
are putting notes to his lyrics.
The key that upon his shoulder
awaits the thirty-three. 10R

[INTRODUCCIÓN] CONT.

2. 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,
with the sun [*on sol*] a “glory” begins,
upon me [*mi*] a “grace” is sung,
and at the half-measure, the night
imitates the trills of the dawn. 15R

[Repeat Respuesta]

Reading this copla according to the other side of the conceit, the strophe describes a musical performance: the child intoned the *tonus peregrinus* chant formula, and, as a virtuoso singer, “he went up so high” that “in a cry of sharps,” he “went up the octave in a trill.”

The poet has selected musical terms with double meanings that allow listeners with musical knowledge to think about theological concepts in a new way, and vice versa. For example, the words *peregrino tono* could have called up for educated listeners a tradition of using the chant *tonus peregrinus* to symbolize the expectant wandering of sinful humanity waiting for the coming of Christ, as well as concepts of the Christian life as a pilgrimage.⁸ The seventeenth-century Biblical interpreter Cornelius à Lapide comments that Christ was born like a “pilgrim” [*peregrinus*] on a journey in a borrowed stable, “in order to teach us

8. This trope was developed through medieval sources like the allegorical commentary on the liturgy of Guillelmus Durandus, whose works were available in Puebla: Craig Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 234.

Poem example 3.2: *Voces, las de la capilla*, from setting by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, Puebla, 1657, estribillo and coplas

[ESTRIBILLO]

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,
quién antes del tiempo fue.
Por el signo a la mi re,
25 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.

And from afar, the intervals
in one choir and then the other,
solemn, mild, and resonant,
men, animals, and God,
three by three and two by two,
one by one,
they all await the opportune time,
the one who was before all time.
Upon the sign of A (*la, mi, re*),
25R 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,
30R as much to admire as to hear!
Everything in Man is to ascend
and everything in God is to descend.

COPLAS

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

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

2. From on high in divinity
of the greatest and least,
he made a composition in which to prove
40R the consonances of a Man and God.

to be pilgrims on earth, though actually citizens of heaven.”⁹ The composer and theorist Andrés Lorente in his 1672 music treatise takes up the “pilgrim song” trope as a moral exhortation to aspiring musicians. The musician of virtue, he says, should 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 [Vulgate Ps 114], ‘Your right precepts have served as songs for me in the place of my wanderings [*in loco peregrinationis*

9. Cornelius à Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, Commentaria in scripturam sacram (London: J. P. Pelagaud, 1868), 884, on Jn 4: “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 coeli ac paradisi.” Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 669, on Lk : “ut doceret nos in terra esse peregrinos, cives vero coeli, ut ab hoc exilio magnis virtutum passibus tendamis in coelum, ceu patriam et civitatem nostram.”

*meae].*¹⁰ Within this tradition, then, the villancico poem uses the name of the chant tone to present Christ himself as the song given to sinful Man in his pilgrimage. In the musical setting, Padilla quotes the chant formula literally, so that the symbol is present to the ear in both word and tone.

With this preliminary understanding of the poetic technique and its rich symbolic potential, we may recognize that the central conceit of the poem is to link the “voices of the chapel choir” with a higher, theological Music with a capital M, namely, the Christ-child himself. The poem evokes the musical voices of human singers, angelic choirs, ancient prophets, and even the crying voice of the newborn Christ. The overall conceit is clearest in the second copla: Christ is a divine musical “composition,” in which the divine chapelmaster “proves” his mastery at creating “consonances of a Man and God”:

Hizo alto en lo divino	From on high in divinity,
y de la máxima y breve	of the greatest and least
composición en que pruebe	he made a composition in which to prove
de un hombre y Dios consonacias.	the consonances of a Man and God.

Christ, the poem says, is a composition through which the divine chapelmaster proves his craft. Like Spanish composers who established their superior musicianship in competition with other applicants for a position through the audition process known as *oposición*, God demonstrates his mastery by creating concord between opposed elements. Christ brings together infinite and finite (“maxima and breve”), and creates a consonance to restore the discordant relationship between sinful Man and the holy God by reconciling both in his own body.

The poem begins with the image of a “chapel”—that is, a musical ensemble—performing before the king, like the Spanish *Capilla Real* (quoted at the beginning of the chapter). This king “is a musician,” listening carefully for any defect in the composition or performance: “he notes even the most venial dissonances.” On the theological side of the conceit, who exactly is

10. Andrés Lorente, *El porqué de la música, en que se contiene los quattro artes de ella, canto llano, canto de organo, contrapvnto, y composicion* (Alcalá de Henares, 1672), 609: “la Musica espiritual de su persona, limpiando su conciencia, y alegrando su Anima con Musica diuina, para que pueda dezir con Dauid, *Cantabiles mihi erant iustificationes tuae in loco peregrinationis meae.*”

this king, who listens so carefully to the chapel choir’s voices? The poet explicitly connects the king to “David the monarch,” the paragon of Biblical musicians as both the traditional author of the psalms and as the founder of the first musical ensemble for worship in the ancient Hebrew temple (1 Chr 25). The poem explicitly identifies Jesus as the royal *infante*—heir to the throne. As a human, Jesus was the Messiah, heir to David’s throne; as divine, he was the Son of God, second person of the Trinity. The phrase *a lo de* (in the manner or style of) suggests that this child will be no less exacting a musical taskmaster than his ancestor.

It only becomes clear later in the poem that the word *infante* also points to another theological trope based on the double meaning of the Latin word *infans* as both “infant” and “unable to speak.” In this tradition, the Christ-child is *Verbum infans*—the “unspeaking Word,” who does not need to speak because he himself *is* the Word. This villancico’s conceit treats both the Word and the child in musical terms, so that Christ as the incarnate Word is a musical composition. The child, then is depicted not as speaking but, through his cries, as singing—making Christ both singer and song.

Through this musical metaphor, the poem uses a puzzling series of music terms that are also Biblical allusions to present Christ as the theological fulfillment of the prophecies made to and through David, especially the psalms:

Puntos ponen a sus letras	The centuries of his heroic exploits
los siglos de sus hazañas.	are putting notes to his lyrics.
La clave que sobre el hombro	The key that upon his shoulder
para el treinta y tres se aguarda.	awaits the thirty-three.

In musical terms, Christ’s life “is putting notes to his lyrics” (ll. 8–9), and thus his life is recounted with the technical vocabulary for describing a musical composition or performance. Theologically, God had promised to David an heir to sit on his throne forever and deliver his people (2 Sm 7), and through Isaiah the prophet he renewed this promise by saying that a child would be born “upon whose shoulder” would rest the “key” of divine, eternal authority (Is 22). As Biblical interpreters of the time all agreed, the complete fulfillment of these prophecies, the

culmination of all God’s “centuries of heroic exploits” (l. 8) came not at Christ’s birth, but at his death and resurrection, traditionally thirty-three years (and three months and three days) later.¹¹ In musical terms, the words of David and the prophets are just the lyrics; Christ’s life is the song. The key of authority—*clave*—is the same word for clef; and it awaits “the thirty-three,” suggesting some kind of musical measure.

The second section of the introduction (ll. 11–16) depicts the moment of Christ’s birth as a musical performance, in an extraordinarily cryptic passage combining music terms with theological as well as heraldic references:

Años antes la divisa,	Years before the sign,
la destreza en la esperanza,	dexterity in hope,
por sol comienza una gloria,	with the sun [on <i>sol</i>] a “glory” begins,
por mi se canta una gracia,	upon me [<i>mi</i>] a “grace” is sung,
y a medio compás la noche	and at the half-measure, the night
remeda quiebros del alba.	imitates the trills of the dawn.

Christ was born, the poem says, “years before the sign, ‘dexterity in hope’” (*años antes la divisa/la destreza en la esperanza*). A *divisa* could be a sign of any kind but typically meant a heraldic device or motto, such as would appear on a crest or flag.¹² Theologically the sign may refer at one level to Christ’s death on the cross and on another level to Christ himself. This is similar to the way the poet has just used “the thirty-three” to stand for Christ’s passion, and thus to connect Christ’s birth to his death. The infancy narrative in the Gospel of Luke (in the Latin Vulgate) uses the word *signum* twice: both about Christ, the first referring to his birth and the second to his death. The angel who appears to the shepherds at Christ’s birth says, “And this shall be a sign for you: you will see a baby wrapped in swaddling clothes and lying in a manger” (Lk 2). When Christ’s mother presents him at the temple, the prophet Simeon tells

11. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 17: “Christus enim vixit 33 annos et tres meses, qui a natali ejus exerunt usque ad Pascha.” See also the entries for the number thirty-three in Ricciardo, *Commentaria Symbolica*, and Bongo, *Numerorum Mysteria*. Padilla’s 1628 villancico *A que... el juego es visto admirable* uses *treinta y tres* (as the amount of a bet in a card game) to refer to Christ’s passion: Cashner, “Playing Cards at the Eucharistic Table.”

12. 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 que viene al hombre de parte de su padre, o de su madre, o de sus abuelos, &c.”

Mary that the child will be “a sign that will be opposed” (Lk 4). In an influential twelfth-century Christmas sermon, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux interprets these two passages together to say that Christ himself is a sign (*signum*).¹³

If the *divisa* means a heraldic device, then *la destreza en la esperanza* would be the text of the motto. “Dexterity in hope” sounds like a phrase from the Roman historian Tacitus, *spes in virtute, salus ex victoria*; the phrase describes a desperate moment in Caesar’s battle against the Germanic tribes on the Elbe, in which “valour was their only hope, victory their only safety.”¹⁴ This *divisa* would be fitting for Christ in his struggle to save humanity. The vocabulary here (*hazañas, destreza, divisa*) marks Christ as a heroic warrior-king in a style that resonated with the military-influenced culture of early modern Spain.

Here again he follows after his ancestor David the giant-killer (1 Sm 16).¹⁵ This description also fits with the performance context of this villancico among the liturgical lessons of Christmas Matins, since the sermons of Leo the Great characterize Christ’s birth as the beginning of a battle with the devil. The word *destreza* was used for musical heroes as well, to signify virtuosity, especially compositional ingenuity.¹⁶ On the musical side of the conceit, the *divisa* could be a musical sign as well such as a meter signature.

In the next lines we begin to hear this musician’s song, and the theological and musical come too close to cleanly separate. The solmization syllables *sol* and *mi* here indicate musical pitches, as well as the symbolic puns on “sun” and “me.” The “Gloria” of the angelic choirs

13. Bernard of Clairvaux [Bernardus Claraevallensis], *In nativitate Domini*, ed. J. P. Migne, Patrologia latina 183 (Paris: Migne, 1854), Sermo 4, 126C.

14. Tacitus, *Annals* II:20, translation from Cornelius Tacitus, *The Annals*, trans. A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb (London: Macmillan, 1895), 49.

15. The preface to Azevedo, *Catecismo* uses the same kind of language to compare Charles I of Spain to King David in his battles to protect faith against heresy. Azevedo says of the Creed, “This is the sign and standard that we who are of the Lord, and vassals of the faith, are to bear” (“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.”).

16. Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, s.v. *destreza*: “La agilidad con que se haze alguna cosa, atribuyendolo a la mano diestra” The musical sense may be seen in the title of the guitar manual, Gaspar Sanz, *Instruccion 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 acompaniar 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 *jácaras* subgenre, in the cycles for Christmas 1651 (MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/2) and 1659 (poetry imprint only, US-BL: PQ7296.A1V8).*

begins “on sol,” as many Gregorian *Gloria in excelsis* chants do. Their music also begins “with the sun”: this refers both to the tradition that Christ was born at midnight, “at the half-measure of night” (l. 15, a traditional interpretation of Ws 14–15).¹⁷ The sun is also a symbol of Christ’s royalty, the same one used by Spain’s own king Philip IV.¹⁸

The linked terms *grace* and *glory* in these verses also refer to a pervasive tradition in theological literature such as Christmas sermons and commentaries on the Gospel infancy narratives. This tradition links the *Gloria* of the Christmas angels to the grace offered to humanity through Christ’s Incarnation, and to the glory awaiting the redeemed when they join the angels in heaven. As summarized by the interpreter Cornelius à Lapide, “Grace, therefore, is the seed of glory, and in turn glory is the consummation of grace.”¹⁹

Thus in the poem, as “glory is sung,” a “grace begins”: Christ’s birth is the beginning of God’s decisive action to redeem humanity, to extend his grace to them and elevate them to share in his glory. The “thirty-three” marks the completion of that saving work in Christ’s death and resurrection.

The introduction and response have used musical terms with theological connotations, and vice versa, to establish the concept of Christ as a musician-king, heir to David. The voices in this section have been those of the chapel choir singing in the present about Christ’s birth, and the voices of David and the prophets pointing to Christ the *infante*, who will fulfill their words by *being* the Word. Christ as son of David and son of God (that is, both human and divine) will complete God’s heroic work and save humanity through his life and death.

Now, in the estribillo (ll. 17–33), the poem evokes the musical voices at the moment of Christ’s birth:

17. Luis de Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, Biblioteca de autores españoles 11 (1595; Madrid, 1945), 37: “Era la media noche, mas clara que el mediodía.”

18. For the light imagery, see also Is 6, Jn 1:14, and Ti 2:11, all featured in the liturgies of Christmas.

19. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 878, on Jn : “In verbo quasi in fonte et cause primiginia erat vita nostra supernaturalis, puta gratiae et gloriae, 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 aeternum.” Cf. Augustine of Hippo, *Sermones de tempore*, ed. J. P. Migne, Patrologia latina 38 (Paris: Migne, 1841), 98, Sermo 185, In Natali Domini 2, in connection with Rom –2.

Y a trechos las distancias
 en uno y otro coro,
 grave, suave y sonoro,
 hombres y brutos y Dios,
 tres a tres y dos a dos,
 uno a uno,
 y aguardan tiempo oportuno,
 quién antes del tiempo fue.
 Por el signo a la mi re,
 puestos los ojos en mi,
 a la voz del padre oí
 cantar por puntos de llanto.

¡O qué canto!
 tan de oír y de admirar,
 tan de admirar y de oír.
 Todo en el hombre es subir
 y todo en Dios es bajar.

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

Here the musical terms are used less as metaphors for theological concepts (as was the case for *divisa* and *destreza*) and more to imagine actual music-making. In other words, *destreza* referred to Christ's virtuosity in “putting notes to [David’s] lyrics,” but all this was a way of referring to Christ’s saving life and death as the fulfillment of prophecy. In the estribillo, by contrast, the text uses musical terms to describe musical performance: it brings together the whole creation in praise of Christ, panning down from the celestial music of the spheres (*las distancias* or intervals, a technical term in both astronomy and music), to the polychoral ensemble of “men and beasts” (*hombres y brutos*, l. 20) joining the angels. Like all poetry about music, this representation of music draws on the poet’s experience of actual, contemporary music—thus

the spheres sing “in one choir and the other” (*en uno y otro coro*, l. 18), like Spain’s polychoral ensembles.

The numbers here (“three by three, two by two, one by one”) at the most literal level would seem to refer to the number of voices in a musical texture, and indeed Padilla picks up on this cue in arranging the voices for his musical setting of this passage. These numbers, like “the thirty-three,” also have theological significance in the traditions of interpretation around Christ’s nativity, with a wide range of possible meanings. “Two by two” would seem to be a reference to the animals on Noah’s Ark (Gn), here referring not only to the animals in the stable, but also to the whole scene as a picture of the Christian church, a symbolic connection going back to the first century (1 Pt 8–22).²⁰ “Three by three” probably refers to the traditional nine ranks of angelic choirs.²¹ “One by one” could refer to humans or to Christ himself, particularly his union of divine and human in a single body. It is also possible that these lines form a chiastic or ring structure, such that “three by three” refers to the triune God, “two by two” refers to animals, and “one by one” refers to humans, who must enter the kingdom of God single-file:

Who?	How Many?
Dios	tres a tres
brutos	dos a dos
hombres	uno a uno

Thus far the poet has directed the listener’s ear from attending to the chapel choir singing in the present, to the ancient temple choir of David and the voices of prophets through the centuries, and up to the moment when the angels led the song of Gloria at Christ’s birth. But all these voices, the poem now says, have been “awaiting the opportune time, the one who was before all time” (ll. 24–25). The true music of Christmas is Christ himself, and thus the next

20. Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate Dei*, ed. J. P. Migne, Patrologia latina 41 (Paris: Migne, 1841), 15.

21. See the entry for the number nine in Bongo, *Numerorum Mysteria*; an example of the trope of the nine-rank angelic choir is the angelic canon for nine choirs of angels on the frontispiece of Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*.

lines represent the voice of the baby Jesus. The musical imagery here continues the conceit of the King as musician, a *padre* (father, priest) like most Spanish chapelmasters including Padilla. He either sounds the pitch *A* (*la, mi, re*) in Guidonian solmization with his voice as a tuning note (the same one used today), or sings an intonation on that note as a cantor would do.

In this section, the poem emphasizes the act of hearing voices through its grammatical structure. In the first fifteen lines of the estribillo there are only two simple verbs that are not participles or part of a dependent clause: *aguardan* in l. 23 and *oí* (I heard) in l. 27. The first, *aguardan*, follows six verses describing the spheres, angels, men, and beasts, who all “await” the time of Christ’s birth. After this, three more verses build up to *a la voz del padre oí* (at the voice of the Father I heard). This is the only use of the first person in the poem. From the opening invocation of *voces*, the reader has to wait all this time for a simple reference to hearing. The word *oí* makes the reader a hearer, and situates the act of listening imaginatively in the middle of the nativity scene, surrounded by the chorus of creation.

What did the speaker hear? Singing, he says, in a song (*cantar por puntos de llanto/O que canto*, ll. 29–30). *Cantar* can mean both the act of singing and the thing sung, surely a purposeful ambiguity. But this is not the song of the creation chorus; rather this is what they were awaiting—the voice of Christ. That voice sings in *puntos de llanto* (tones of weeping); musically this seems to play on *puntos de canto llano* (plainchant), while theologically the reference to tears, like other elements of the poem, points to Christ’s suffering. This connects Christ’s cries at his birth with the “loud voice” with which he died (Mk 17). Another translation of the contorted syntax here might suggest that the poetic speaker actually “heard the voice of the Father singing,” that is, *through* the voice of the child. This could also be a reference to the heavenly voice heard at Christ’s baptism.²² This song is “as much to be seen (or admired) as to be heard”—because the song and the singer are one and the same.

The song at the center of this poem’s concentric circles of voices is the Christ-child himself. If the song is Christ, then, “the sign of *A* (*la, mi, re*)” is not just a reference to musical

22. Mt 3:17; Mk 1:9–11; Lk 3:21–22.

tuning; it connects to the *divisa* of the introduction to present Christ himself as a sign. The use of the letter A here calls up rich theological resonances, since Christ uses the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet to describe himself in the Revelation to John: “I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end” (Rv 23).²³ The Latin Vulgate, following the original Greek, simply uses the Greek letter α here, not spelled out. In Catholic theology, Christ is “first” and “the beginning” because, as the Nicene Creed declares, he was “begotten of the father before all ages.”²⁴ Thus in the villancico the reference to the “sign of A” follows the description of Christ as “the one who was before all time” (l. 24). The time symbolism works on a musical level as well, but the “sign of A” also suggests that the musical pitch A is meant to represent Christ himself. As will be argued below, the Spanish phoneme *a* (pronounced *ah*) may also evoke the wordless cry of the baby Jesus as a form of music.

The estribillo concludes with the couplet, “Everything in Man is to ascend/ and everything in God is to descend” (ll. 32–33). Because the estribillo is repeated after the coplas, this line also ends the whole text in performance. These verses uses the musical structure of rising and falling musical lines (in modern theoretical terms, a voice exchange) to epitomize the theology of incarnation as an exchange between God and humanity. This concept was repeated in every theological text on Christ’s birth. As Lapide’s commentary expresses the idea, Christ “lowered himself to the earth and flesh, in order to lift us up to heaven. ‘Therefore,’ says Saint Anselm, ‘God was made man, in order that man might be made God.’”²⁵ To sum up this reading of the poem, then, 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 the 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

23. See also Rv 1:8, 21:6.

24. Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, 42: “ex patre natum ante omnia secula.”

25. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 670, on Lk : “Depressit se in terram et carnem, ut nos eveharet in coelum. Ideo, ait S. Anselm, *Deus factus est homo, ut homo fieret Deus.*”

resurrection at “the thirty-three,” upon the “sign” of the cross. Christ himself is the incarnate Word, and his infant cries are 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 time of the villancico’s performance.

3.2 Music about Music in the Voices of Puebla’s Chapel Choir

The poem sets up a chain of echoes, in which what God spoke through the voices of David and the other prophets reverberates in the song of the angels at the first Christmas and especially the voice of the Christ-child. Ultimately all this resounds through the actual “voices of the chapel choir” singing in the present. When Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla “puts notes to his lyrics,” he uses his compositional ingenuity, and calls upon the virtuosity of his performers, to turn a series of poetic conceits *about* music into actual sounding music that worshippers could hear. Listeners whose ears were well trained spiritually and musically could discern the higher levels of music through the sounding forms.

Padilla crafts musical structures that clearly project the formal structure of the poem at the levels of grammar, phrasing, and metrical patterns. He presents the words clearly according to their prosody and grammatical structure, and sets them to memorable melodic and rhythmic patterns. This aspect of vocal music may be termed text projection. This approach fits with the aesthetic that prevailed in Catholic music after Trent, which valorized clarity in projecting the words through music. The text-driven approach also shows the influence of Spanish popular and theatrical traditions of singing poetry, especially practices of adapting stock melodic formulas for singing *romance* poetry.

In addition to projecting the text in a way that made it intelligible, Padilla also uses two other text-setting techniques—text depiction and text expression.²⁶ The composer

26. Peter J. Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 9th edition (New York: Norton, 2014), 207 defines *text depiction* as “using musical gestures to reinforce visual images in the text,” and

depicts the meaning of the words through musical symbols and figures that correspond to concepts and imagery in the text. These include the same kind of “madrigalisms” favored in sixteenth-century Italy and Spain, as well as more arcane devices like numerological symbols of an even older vintage.

In the technique of text expression, the composer goes beyond illustrating the text and uses different stylistic registers and topics (that is, allusions to other pre-existing types of music) to convey the meaning and feeling of the text. The composer dramatizes the text and uses music to heighten its rhetorical power. Text expression instills an affective experience in listeners that matches with the goals of the poem. Any vocal piece contains some element of text projection, depiction, and expression; and these aspects often overlap.

In the case of this villancico, Padilla *projects* the text at the large scale through the formal structure of sections and harmonic motion; and at the small scale through nuances of phrasing and rhythmic emphasis. He *depicts* the text by matching the musical conceits of the poem with musical figures that correspond literally—essentially, puns. The level of text painting seems to be Padilla’s main focus in this piece, but he also *expresses* the text through contrasting styles with different affective associations, shaping the piece to build to a dramatic climax.

Projecting the Words

Padilla projects the structure of the text through the distinct sections of his setting. The poem begins with an introductory section, which will be useful to label *introducción* as many poetry imprints of other villancicos do. This section consists of two six-line strophes, each followed by the same *respuesta* or response of a four-line strophe. The placement of rests and repeat markings in the performing parts makes clear that the response is sung after each of the six-line strophes. An *estribillo* follows, which is repeated after the two *coplas*. Each of these

text expression as “conveying through music the emotions or overall mood suggested by the text,” and identifies these as “two principal ways that music can reflect the meaning of the words, both of which became common in the sixteenth century.” I add to these terms the concept of text projection, and my conceptions of depiction and expression are somewhat broader: in particular, depiction need not only be limited to “visual images” but includes numerological symbols, puns, and other such figures.

sections is demarcated in the music with silence and a change of texture, style, and rhythmic movement to match each part of the text.

The piece's harmonic structure further helps articulate the form of the poem. The piece is in mode I, in *cantus mollis*—that is, the one flat in the key signature transposes the mode up a fourth; the final is on G and the Tenor parts have a mostly authentic ambitus. The internal cadences in the introduction are on G (m. 19), D (m. 27), and G (m. 44); and the cadences at the end of the estribillo and of both coplas are also on G. These cadence points are in line with the prescriptions of contemporary theorists for modal counterpoint.²⁷ Padilla uses those conventions to punctuate the sections of the poem and make its grammatical and rhetorical structure clear to listeners.

The composer has paid close attention to both metrical patterns and details of accentuation and diction, at the levels of strophes, verses, and individual words. Padilla begins the piece with the voices of the first choir moving together rhythmically to declaim the words in something like choral recitative. Padilla sets the first two lines of poetry (mm. 1–10) with relatively long note values on the stressed syllables, creating a deliberate, careful tone that embodies the poetic exhortation to “pay attention” to what is sung. For this poetry in *romance* meter, Padilla has the singers declaim the eight-syllable lines in pairs, with emphasis on the assonant even-numbered lines. He has the singers pause briefly between verse pairs, and punctuates the assonant lines with clear points of harmonic arrival. He articulates the end of the strophes in the introduction with full cadences. Padilla’s setting thus aurally projects the text as though it were arranged like this:

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

This structure mirrors the pattern of *romance* poetry as heard, rather than as written in the narrow columns of villancico imprints. In the national epic of medieval Spain, the *Cantar de*

27. Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 873–882, 883–885, 907–912; Judd, “Renaissance Modal Theory: Theoretical, Compositional, and Editorial Perspectives,” 364–406; Barnett, “Tonal Organization in Seventeenth-Century Music Theory.”

mío Cid, the *romance* meter is arranged the same way, in sixteen-syllable lines, with a *caesura* in the middle and assonance at the end.²⁸

The opening phrase demonstrates Padilla's subtle attention to the sound and stress of the words (music example 3.1 above). The first chorus sings the first word, *Voces*, beginning on the second subdivision of the ternary measure, with 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. 2–3, placing the S sound on the last minim of m. 2 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, in a common device of Padilla's villancicos, is sung on the second minim of the measure: thus the leader could conduct the downbeat, cueing the singers to breathe, and then the chorus would sing their entrance. This first phrase, because of its high tessitura and irregular, offbeat rhythms, seems suspended in the air in a way that would attract listeners' attention to the ethereal "voices of the chapel choir." The word *cuenta* (m. 6) is also sung on the second minim of the measure and is then held for three minims, 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 accented minims on *con lo que se canta*. For the next phrase (*que es músico el rey*) Padilla creates the effect of an interjection, breaking the rhythmic pattern and beginning this phrase, like the others, on the second minim of the measure.

The rest of Padilla's setting is as meticulously crafted as this opening phrase on the level of text projection. Another example is the interjection *¡O qué canto!*, which Padilla starts on the last minim of the measure before the previous phrase has finished, exactly as an interjection should. Even as Padilla's setting of the estribillo emphasizes text depiction to a greater degree, the rhythm and phrasing still closely follows the natural accentuation patterns of the poetic

28. Tomás Navarro Tomás, *Métrica española: Reseña histórica y descriptiva* (1956; New York: Las Americas Pub. Co., 1966); Ramón Menéndez Pidal, ed., *Crestomatía del español medieval*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Universidad de Madrid, 1965), 32–50; cf. also Old English and Germanic poetry.

text. The two meter changes (m. 45 and 60) match the stress patterns implicit in these sections of poetry, in addition to from the symbolic meanings they also seem to have.

Depicting the Words

It is on the level of text depiction—representing the meaning of the text through musical figures and symbols—that Padilla demonstrates his full mastery of his craft by presenting an intricate discourse about music through music itself. As already noted, the opening invocation to the “Voices of the chapel choir, keep count with what is sung” is voiced by one division of the polychoral ensemble while the other chorus literally counts its rests until its entrance in the *respuesta*. The first chorus sings the word *cuenta* on a long, offbeat note that audibly captures the idea of “counting.” It is notated as a blackened, dotted semibreve (that is, artificially perfected) that leaps off the page as a visual indication to the singer to “keep count.” Padilla sets “the lightest dissonance” in mm. 14–19 by creating just that: he has the Altus I suspend across the first minim of m. 18, making a dissonant seventh against the Tenor’s A that quickly resolves to F sharp and then to a cadence on G in m. 19.

In the *respuesta*, Padilla continues this literal approach. Where Chorus II sings about awaiting “the thirty-three,” Padilla writes precisely thirty-three pitches for both of the sung vocal parts. Just after the chorus sings that the whole world was “waiting” for “the sign,” Padilla uses the C meter sign to indicate a shift to duple meter (m. 45). After this the musicians shift from the declamatory style of the introduction to a more regular rhythmic pattern, moving more quickly together in *corcheas* (modern eighth notes). Here Padilla depicts what the words say by building up a point of imitation “from one choir to the other” (mm. 45–50) and then creating polychoral dialogue (mm. 51–59). Padilla sets the numbers in the poem literally: three performers for *tres a tres*, two for *dos a dos*, and one for *uno a uno*.

At the phrase *y aguardan tiempo oportuno* (“and they await the opportune time,” m. 60), Padilla shifts meter signature again, returning to ternary meter—in Spanish terminology, a new *tiempo*. The 1672 music treatise of Lorente says the term *tiempo* can denote both the meter and

the symbol that sets the meter.²⁹ After the time signature C3 (or CZ), then, Padilla begins a new lilting rhythmic pattern that creates a sense of arrival in a new “time.” He abruptly halts this movement at the end of the phrase, *quien antes del tiempo fue* (“the one who was before time,” mm. 63–65). As Christ is “the first and the last” (Rv 7), this halt is fitting. Since Christ existed before all time theologically, Padilla puts this phrase “before the time signature” musically.

The musical conceits in the next lines of poetry shift the focus from rhythm to melody, as the poem uses solmization symbols: *por el signo a la mi re, puestos los ojos en mi*. Likewise, Padilla’s metamusical conceits play on the musical terms in the most literal sense, realizing the solmization syllables in several ways at the same time (music example 3.2). Both Altus I and Tenor I sing the word *a* (m. 67) on the pitch known by its Guidonian syllables as *A* (*la, mi, re*). On the words *la mi re* (mm. 68–69), the Tiple I (boy treble) sings the pitches D–C♯–D, which could plausibly be sung to those syllables. In the soft hexachord (which starts on F) the D would in fact be *la*. The written sharp on C would alter it to a *mi* in *musica ficta*. The final D could be *re* in the natural hexachord (which starts on C); thus, Padilla has spelled out *A la mi re*. On the same words, the Tenor sings D–A–D: this would be *la-mi* in the soft hexachord, then *re* in the natural hexachord. At the end of this phrase (m. 72), all three voices sing the word *mi* by literally “putting their eyes on *mi*”: the Tiple and Tenor sing *mi* on A (in the soft hexachord) and the Altus sings *mi* on E (in the natural hexachord).

Guidonian solmization was still a fundamental part of Spanish theory treatises through the eighteenth century, and were used frequently enough that they later came to be used as the Spanish names for pitch-classes in the seven-note scale (for example, *sol* today is always the note G, which was historically *sol* in the natural hexachord). The prevalence of solmization practice is evidenced by books intended for specialists (Cerone) and those for beginners, such as the 1677 guitar primer of Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, as well as student notebooks in manuscript.³⁰ Even if fully trained singers did not often resort to the actual syllables in reading

29. Lorente, *El porqué de la música*, bk. 2, 149.

30. 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*

Music example 3.2: Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, estribillo (mm. 66–72): “The sign of A (*la, mi, re*)”

The musical score consists of three staves: Tenor I (Ti. I), Altus I (A. I), and Tenor I (T. I). The key signature is one flat, and the time signature is common time. The vocal parts are labeled above the staves. The lyrics are written below the notes, corresponding to the melody. The music is in a polyphonic style, with some parts overlapping. The lyrics describe a sign of A (la, mi, re).

music, they were trained in the system and could certainly have recognized the Guidonian puns in this passage.

In the final couplet of the estribillo (*Todo en el hombre es subir/ y todo en Dios es bajar*, mm. 100–126), Padilla matches the theological concept of interchange between Man and God by creating an exchange of musical gestures. One gesture ascends in ternary rhythm and the other descends in duple rhythm. In the first of these gestures, for Man ascending, the voices ascend stepwise in minims, in a lilting dotted rhythm with a strong ternary feel. This is first heard in Altus I and Tenor I, mm. 98–100, with the ascent highlighted by having the Tenor move through F sharp. In the second gesture, for God descending, all the voices move downwards in emphatic duple rhythm with blackened semibreves. The Tenor I has the highest number of blackened notes, singing a sequence of descending intervals of decreasing size: first fourths (mm. 100–103), then thirds (mm. 108–112), and finally seconds (mm. 118–122) (figure 3.1). Just as the ascent pushed up into sharps, so the descent sinks down into added E flats (Chorus I, mm. 100–104).

When Padilla juxtaposes these ideas in the full polychoral texture, listeners can hear the fusion of both rising and falling melodic lines, and two different rhythmic systems (music example 3.3). There is a clearly audible contrast between the rhythm of “God descending”

explicados con claras reglas por teorica, y practica (Madrid, 1677); examples of manuscript student notebooks are in E-Bbc: M732/13–16; see also Cohen, “Notes, Scales, and Modes in the Earlier Middle Ages.”

Figure 3.1: Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, end of estribillo in Tenor I partbook: Coloration on figure for “God descending”



(moving in a triple-simple feel) and that of “Man ascending” (double-compound feel resulting from *sesquialtera*). In the final cadence, the Altus I combines the two gestures at once by singing the words “everything in God is to descend” to the music associated with “Man ascending” (mm. 124–126). The passage musically embodies the central theology of the Incarnation: through God’s descent to become Man in Christ, Man may ascend to share in God’s nature.

Padilla’s literal approach to text depiction continues in the two coplas. Each of the two poetic coplas centers on a concept from music theory: the first plays with the notion of *peregrino tono* (“wandering song,” or the plainchant *tonus peregrinus*); the second, on the contrasting rhythmic values of *la máxima y breve*. True to form, Padilla sets *peregrino tono* to a fragment of the actual plainchant tone. The last psalm tone was known in Latin sources as the *tonus peregrinus* and in Spanish sources as *tono irregular* or *tono mixto*. Its final cadence is a rising minor third followed by a stepwise descent to the final (figure 3.2).³¹ In its normal, untransposed, form (that is, in *cantus durus*), this is D–F–E–D. If transposed up a fourth to

31. Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 354.

Figure 3.2: The *tonus peregrinus* (“tono irregular o mixto,” “octavo irregular”) in Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 354



cantus mollis to match the mode of this villancico, the pitches would be G–B♭–A–G. Those are exactly the notes that the Altus I sings on these words (mm. 128–129, music example 3.4). The same motive of the a leap up followed by a descending third is then imitated in the Tenor I and Tiple I on F–E–D, the *durus* version.³²

In the last phrase of this copla, when the poem speaks of Christ “going up the octave” or theologically “ascending on the eighth day,” Padilla creates an octave ascent across the voices, with the Tenor leaping D₄–G₄ and the Tiple continuing, G₄–D₅. This octave also plays into the symbolism of the *tonus peregrinus*, since Cerone says that Spanish writers call this “eighth” psalm tone *octavo irregular*.³³

The second copla emphasizes rhythm, using the note values of the *máxima* and *breve*, to point to the union of eternal and temporal, infinite and finite in the incarnate Christ as the divine chapelmaster’s “composition.” In medieval theory these were the longest and shortest note values: the maxima was worth eight breves (the breve corresponding to a modern double-whole note). Padilla presents the basic concept of long versus short note values through the lengthened note on *máxima* in the Tenor (mm. 153–154) over a long held note in the Bassus (mm. 154–155). Ironically, each of these long notes is actually a breve (music example 3.5). How better, though, to express the unity between these opposites than by vocalizing the name for one while singing the value of the other? At a more arcane level, the whole first phrase of this

32. In other versions of the *tonus peregrinus*, the medial cadence matches exactly with the music of the Altus I (G–B♭–A–G–F): Catholic Church, *The Liber Usualis: With Introduction and Rubrics in English* (Tournai: Desclée & Cie., 1956), 160.

33. Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 354.

copla (mm. 147–156) is ten measures (*compases*) long, which is precisely equal to the length of a true maxima plus a breve (that is, eight measures in C3 plus two measures).

Expression and Madrigal Style

This analysis shows that Padilla’s setting as a whole is intimately connected to the sound and meaning of the poetry. Padilla has his chapel choir present the poem in a way that allows the words to be heard clearly, reflecting their grammatical structure and the poem’s dramatic shape, while also embodying the conceits of the poetry in appropriate musical symbols and even adding some musical puzzles of his own. The contrasting styles in the piece would also work on a less intellectual, more experiential level—that of text expression—to move the affections of hearers.

The style of the estribillo, contrasting with the other sections, is like that of a madrigal (music example 3.6). This section, then, is “music about music” not only in the way it uses musical figures to represent music, but also by referring to multiple existing genres and style of music within one villancico. As the poem depicts the actual singing performed at the first Christmas, Padilla uses the style of a genre used for convivial group singing. The angels, planets, shepherds, and animals around the crèche are represented not only as singing in the abstract—they are singing a madrigal.

In fact, the play on numbers, “three by three” and so on, seems like a direct reference to the madrigal *As Vesta Was from Latmos Hill Descending* by Thomas Weelkes (published in Thomas Morley’s collection *The Triumphes of Oriana* in 1601). Weelkes’s music, and that of other English madrigalists, did circulate in Iberia: his madrigals, and possibly this specific collection, were included along with Italian madrigals in the 1649 catalog of the music collection of Portuguese King John (João) IV in Lisbon.³⁴ It therefore seems plausible that this repertoire was also known in Spain (where Padilla lived into his thirties) and possibly Spanish America. There may be a more direct connection to Lisbon, since a text closely related

34. 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), no. 559, 584.

to Padilla's *Voces* was performed at the Royal Chapel in Lisbon and a setting with the same incipits was also part of John IV's collection (see below). Even without this specific connection, Padilla's approach to matching music to words in the estribillo depicts the words' meaning in a manner that any musician of the time would have identified with madrigals.

By referencing different levels of musical style, Padilla maps contrasting types of human music onto the contrast of earthly and heavenly music. The phrase *grave, suave y sonoro* seems to have been a stock description of sacred music appropriate for liturgical worship.³⁵ The same words are used to describe the music of Christ as a musician (in fact, as a musical instrument) in José de Cáseda's *Qué música divina* from a half-century later, as discussed in chapter 6. In 1682 a nobleman used the same adjectives—*gravísima y suavísima música*—to characterize the music he endowed at Mexico City Cathedral for Matins for Holy Trinity.³⁶ The music he requested, though, was specifically *not* villancicos, but rather only Latin-texted responsory settings. This suggests that in this nobleman's mind the vernacular genre was not suitably “solemn.” In Padilla's piece, though, the term is used within a villancico to refer to a higher form of music-making. This gesture fits within the Neoplatonic tradition of using that which is lowly to point toward higher truths.

This stylistic reference also echoes the way the music of Christmas is portrayed in contemporary Nativity images. 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 3.3). (Padilla had been chapelmaster of the cathedral of Jerez de la Frontera in 1612–1616.)³⁷ 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. In Spain the

35. On *suave* and other common vocabulary used to evoke music in Spanish poetry of the period, see Lorena Uribe Bracho, “Huérfanos de Orfeo: Poesía y música en la cultura de los Siglos de Oro” (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2018).

36. Dianne Lehmann Goldman, “The Matins Responsory at Mexico City Cathedral, 1575–1815” (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2014), 140–141.

37. 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 Mauleón Rodríguez, *Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla y la época Palafoxiana*, 55–130.

harp was associated with both heavenly music and earthly church music (see chapter 6), 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. This is analogous to the way Zurbarán’s painting incorporates aspects of genre painting—the representation of mundane details from everyday life—into a representation of sacred history.³⁸ Both visual and musical forms of crossover were especially fitting to represent the Christmas moment when the “maxima” and “breve,” high and low, were brought together, and the music of the heavenly chorus broke through to be heard by humble shepherds.³⁹

3.3 Devotion to Christ as Singer and Song

By inviting hearers to listen for the voice of *Jesús infante*, Padilla’s villancico presents a new, musical twist on an ancient theological trope. The concept of devotion to Christ as “unspeaking Word” is first attested in New Testament texts like the beginning of John’s gospel, which describes Christ as “the Word made flesh,” and extends through the preaching of Saint Augustine in the fourth century and of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux in the twelfth. This trope continued to be turned and refined through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and can be found in Christmas sermons like a model sermon by Fray Luis de Granada and exegetical commentaries on the Gospel accounts of Christ’s birth like those of Cornelius à Lapide. These texts were widely available in the Spanish Empire of the seventeenth century and would have been familiar to a university-educated priest like Padilla.

This piece is the product of theological creativity in reflecting on the relationship between the incarnation and the voices of Christmas. It links the theology of “the Word” to

38. 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).

39. Additionally, Zurbarán’s image includes 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 this villancico connect Christ’s birth to his sacrificial death. The same trope may be seen in the Adoration of the Shepherds on the retable of Puebla Cathedral (figure 3.6, discussed below). It also appears in the manger scene in 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), 168.

Figure 3.3: Francisco de Zurbarán, *Adoración de los pastores*, retable of the Carthusian monastery of Jerez de la Frontera, 1638–39: The consort of heavenly and earthly music, harp above and lute below



theology of music in a way that positions listening to music as a way of encountering Christ himself through the sense of hearing. This villancico conceives of “the Word” in musical terms and then represents that concept through actual music; in this way it draws on listeners’ knowledge of both theology and music and creates an opportunity for them to contemplate the relationship between these two domains of learning.

Considering this devotional music in its theological context helps us understand what this music meant and how it functioned within its original interpretive community. This piece is devotional because its primary function is not as a tool for indoctrination, but as a object used to cultivate spiritual attitudes of worship. The piece does embody certain Catholic beliefs about the incarnation of Christ, but its complex poetry and music would not make the most effective teaching tools. Instead, the piece directs listener’s attention to a certain aspect of Christ—that is, it invites hearers to think of Christ in a certain way; and it provides an opportunity for them to respond to this concept of Christ. Instead, through its central metamusical trope, the piece directs listeners’ attention to a certain aspect of Christ—the Christ-child as *Verbum infans*. Through verbal and musical virtuosity, the poet, composer, and performers invite the congregation to respond to the music with the same sense of wonder that they should cherish before the mystery of Christ’s birth.

Villancicos developed as part of the church’s annual cycle of feasts and seasons, and the Catholic liturgical year functioned not so much to teach people doctrine about Christ as to allow them to participate communally in the body of Christ. All of the church’s festivals provided occasions to remember God’s deeds in the past for human salvation (*los siglos de sus hazañas* in the language of the villancico), and to act creatively to relive and share in those deeds in the present. This is the theological concept of *anamnesis*, which is closely connected to the sacramental character of Catholic worship: through human actions and physical means, Christ is revealed anew within each community and the community is transformed by the

experience.⁴⁰ The function of early modern Catholic feasts was not so much to teach people that Christ *is* something, as to cultivate devotion to Christ *as* something. The primary goal was not indoctrination but doxology—not so much believing correctly as worshipping properly.⁴¹

The feast of Christmas focuses not only on remembering the event of Christ's miraculous birth, but on cultivating devotion to the Christ-child and the particular aspect of God's saving work that the child represents—namely, that God took on human flesh, that the almighty humbled himself to become a helpless child, that God descended to the lowly estate of humankind in order to raise humans to share in his divine nature. Christmas had first developed from regionally varying annual celebrations of Christ's birth and beginnings, and solidified as a formal observance among the church communities of fourth-century Rome.⁴² The customary readings and chants from Scripture developed alongside the other customs of Christmas throughout the medieval period, so that the festival encompassed a wide range of official and unofficial, formal and informal beliefs and practices. Catholics over the centuries had developed 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 such historic sources represent only a portion of the lively variety of customary social practices connected with the feast—gift-giving, traditional foods, popular songs from oral tradition. Both official sources like the liturgy, creeds, catechisms, commentaries, and homilies as well as unofficial popular devotion drew from and

40. For an influential modern Catholic theology of the function of liturgical feasts, see Robert F. Taft, "The Liturgical Year: Studies, Prospects, Reflections," in *Between Memory and Hope: Readings on the Liturgical Year*, ed. Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2000), 3–4, 12–23.

41. This concept of devotion brings together the distinct but interlinked ritual modes of "liturgy" and "celebration" theorized by Ronald L. Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, 3rd ed. self-published by the author (n.p., n.d.), 54–62. Scholars of ritual studies and Christian liturgical theology have consistently argued that liturgy does more than promulgate doctrines, a perspective that musicological and philological studies of post-Tridentine religious arts would do well to consider more seriously.

42. 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 Johnson, *Between Memory and Hope*, 273–290.

contributed to a common fund of Christmas tropes, which by the seventeenth century was filled to overflowing.

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 historic libraries of Puebla's seminaries and convents are preserved today in the city's rare-book archives (the Biblioteca Palafoxiana and Biblioteca LaFragua), and these collections include a large number of compendia of patristic commentaries on Scripture, model sermons, and both vernacular devotional books and learned Latin theological treatises.⁴³ Table 3.2 includes two books from the library of Puebla's Oratory of Saint Philip of Neri, the priestly order to which Padilla belonged.⁴⁴ These collections provide evidence for the high level of learning among New Spanish clergy like Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla and documents the currents that formed them spiritually.

Hispanic Catholics focused their devotion at Christmas on the baby Jesus as God made flesh to restore humankind to right relationship with God. Their traditions emphasized the affects of awe and wonder in response to Christ's miraculous incarnation. The object of Christmas devotion was, in the words of the Apostle's Creed, "Jesus Christ, [God's] only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary."⁴⁵ The Catechism of Trent instructs pastors to teach the "admirable mystery" of this article of faith 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 human, to the end that we humans should be reborn

43. On patristic exegesis and its influence, 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).

44. 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.

45. Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, 34: "Et in Iesum Christum Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum"; Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, 46: "Qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine."

Table 3.2: Selected compendia of patristic exegesis and model sermons preserved from colonial libraries in Puebla's Biblioteca Palafoxiana and Biblioteca Lafragua

Author	Book	<i>Ex libris</i> mark
Augustine, St.	<i>Tomus primus [-decimus] omnium operum D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponeensis episcopi [...] 10 vols. Paris, 1555</i>	Oratorio de San Felipe Neri
Bigne, M. de	<i>Magna bibliotheca veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opera [...]: continens Scriptores saeculi II id est, ab Ann. Christi 100 usq; 200 Cologne, 1618</i>	Colegio de San Juan
Corderio, B.	<i>Catena LXV patrum graecorum in sanctum Lucam</i> Antwerp, 1628	Colegio del Espíritu Santo
Corderio, B.	<i>Catena Patrum Graecorum in Sanctum Ioannem ex Antiquissimo Graeco Codice MS. [...] Antwerp, 1630</i>	Colegio de San Juan
Feliciano, G. B.	<i>Catena explanationvm veterum sanctorum patrum, in Acta Apostolorum, [et] Epistolas catholicas Basel, 1552</i>	Convento de Santo Domingo
Lapide, C. à	<i>Commentarium in IV. Evangelia</i> London, 1638	Colegio del Espíritu Santo
Luis de Granada	<i>Sylua locorum communium omnibus diuini verbi concionatoribus [...]: in qua tum veterum Ecclesiae Patrum tum philosophorum, oratorum et poëtarum egregia dicta aureaeq[ue] sententiae [...] leguntur</i> London, 1587	Oratorio de San Felipe Neri
Murillo, D.	<i>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</i> Zaragoza, 1610	"Biblioteca del seminario"

as children of God.”⁴⁶ The incarnation of Christ, this passage suggests, was not so much a concept to be understood as a miracle to be marvelled at. While the Incarnation was certainly a dogma, a “rule of belief,” even the official catechism moves beyond simply defining a theological concept, to include an affective, devotional emphasis—a “rule of prayer” as well.⁴⁷ The proper response to meditating on this “all of these mysteries,” the catechism says, would be “that with a humble and faithful spirit they should believe, and adore.”⁴⁸

Written examples of teaching and preaching about Christ’s birth demonstrate this same devotional approach in their emphasis on wonder. Even in the learned genre of a Latin Biblical commentary, Cornelius à Lapide stresses that Christ’s birth defies understanding: “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.”⁴⁹ In a model sermon for Christmas, Fray Luis de Granada draws on all his rhetorical skills to exhort worshippers to marvel at the sight and sound of Christ at his lowly birth:

Come and see the Son of God, not in the bosom of the Father [Jn 1], but in the arms
of the Mother; not above choirs of angels, but among filthy animals; not seated at

46. Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, 50: “Haec sunt quae de admirabili conceptionis mysterio explicanda visa sunt, ex quibus, vt salutaris fructus ad nos redundare possit, illa in primis fideles memoria repetere, ac saepius 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. Haec cùm attentè considerauerint, tum verò omnia mysteria, quae hoc articulo continentur, humili ac fideli animo credant, & adorent: nec curiosè & quod sine periculo vix vnquam fieri potest, illa inuestigare, ac perscrutari velint.”

47. 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*. Some Catholic liturgical theologians have interpreted this motto to mean “the rule of prayer establishes the rule of faith,” thus (emphasizing the authority of the church’s traditions over “Scripture alone”), as in Aidan Kavanagh, *On Liturgical Theology* (New York: Pueblo, 1984). But rather than create a dichotomy between belief and prayer, the intent here is simply to emphasize that historically, 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.

48. Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, 50: “Haec cùm attentè considerauerint, tum verò omnia mysteria, quae hoc articulo continentur, humili ac fideli animo credant, & adorent: nec curiosè & quod sine periculo vix vnquam fieri potest, illa inuestigare, ac perscrutari velint.”

49. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 50, on Mt 6: “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 stupuerunt Angeli, Sanctique omnes.”

the right hand of the Majesty on high [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.⁵⁰

Contemplating Christ's birth, Luis preaches, will cause anyone to be "struck numb" with awe:

What theme, then, can cause any greater wonder? [...] [As Saint Cyprian says], 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. 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?"⁵¹

Lapide's exegesis and Fray Luis's preaching guide the faithful to the right kind of devotion at Christmas—to an affective response of awe at the mystery of Christ's birth.

Spanish devotional music for Christmas seems designed primarily to cultivate this same attitude of wonder. Padilla's setting of *Voces, las de la capilla* evokes wonder not only in the words in the virtuoso composition and performance of the music as well. The villancico

50. Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, 37: "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."

51. Ibid., 38: "¿Pues qué cosa puede ser de mayor maravilla? ¡O Señor Dios nuestro (dice san Cipriano), cuán admirable es vuestro nombre en toda la tierra! 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. [...] 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 envolvióle en unos pañales; y acóstóle en un pesebre, porque no halló otro lugar en aquel establo?"

aims less to instruct than to amaze. This supports Mary Gaylord's argument that the goal of elaborate Spanish poetry is "to produce effects of astonishment and awe conveyed by the Latin term *admiratio*."⁵² Indeed, Padilla's piece specifically asks listeners to imagine a song that is "as much to hear as to admire [*admirar*],/ as much to admire as to hear."

The concept of *admiratio* is, in fact, central to the Christmas liturgy. It is encapsulated in the fourth Responsory of Matins, *O magnum mysterium et admirabile sacramentum*:

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.⁵³

In his sermon Fray Luis alludes to this Responsory in terms quite similar to those in Padilla' villancico, when he cries out, "O venerable mystery, more to be felt than to be spoken of; not to be explained with words but to be adored with wonder in silence."⁵⁴

This same Responsory was probably paired with Padilla's *Voces, las de la capilla* in the Puebla Cathedral liturgy on Christmas Eve 1657. Based on the position of this villancico in the Puebla musical manuscripts, it was most likely sung as the fourth villancico in the Matins cycle. This means that in accord with a 1633 decree of the cathedral chapter the villancico would have occupied the same liturgical time and space as the Responsory *O magnum mysterium*. The chapter mandated that while "the lessons should be sung in their entirety," "the *chanzoneta* [villancico] shall serve for the Responsory, which shall be prayed speaking while the singing is going on."⁵⁵ This villancico stood in between the lessons of the second Nocturne, which were taken from a Christmas sermon of Leo the Great. This means that after a cantor chanted

52. Gaylord, "The Making of Baroque Poetry," 227.

53. Catholic Church, *Breviarium Romanum*, 175: "R. O magnum mysterium, & admirabile sacramentum, vt animalia viderent Dominum natum, iacentem in praesepio: Beata Virgo, cuius viscera meruerunt portare Dominum Christum. V. Ave Maria, gratia plena: Dominus tecum."

54. Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, 38: "¡O venerable misterio, mas para sentir que para decir; no para explicarse con palabras, sino para adorarse con admiracion en silencio!"

55. MEX-Pc: AC 1633-12-30: "que a los maitines de nauidad deste año y de los venideros [...] 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."

the first lesson, a reader spoke the mandatory liturgical text of the fourth Responsory above *while* the chorus sang this villancico. The conjunction of texts may not have communicated much to the lay people outside the walls of the architectural choir, who could not hear or understand the words of the Latin liturgical texts; but for the learned cathedral canons, the simultaneous performance of the Latin prayer and Spanish song would have deepened the hidden connections between the two.

The Responsory evokes the scenario of the Nativity, with the animals gathered around the manger, just as the villancico calls up the image of angels, beasts, and humans joining together in song around the Christ-child. In the quatrain (a *redondilla*) that closes the estribillo, 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 that the mystery of the Incarnate Christ certainly was an “admirable” sacrament—that is, one that can be seen—but it is also an audible sacrament. Listeners in Puebla could not visit the manger in Bethlehem; they could only look at the retable paintings of the Adoration of the Shepherds and the Visitation of the Kings and imagine. But in the conception of this villancico, they could hear the “voices of the chapel choir” reverberating in the space and through those voices they could “hear the voice of the Father/ singing in tones of weeping”—that is, they could hear the Christ the Word himself not merely speaking, but singing, through all the other voices from the choirboys up to the angels.

The Infant’s Voice

The source of wonder at Christmas in the particular trope of this villancico was the voices heard at Christ’s birth, and the voice of the baby Jesus in particular. Fray Luis appeals to the sense of hearing throughout his Christmas sermon, starting by asking the faithful to imagine the conversation of Mary and Joseph on their way to Bethlehem. After a detailed visual meditation on the scene in Bethlehem, he exhorts worshippers to turn from sight toward hearing:

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.⁵⁶

Even more important than these angelic voices, Fray Luis preaches, is the voice of the newborn Christ himself, “crying and trembling with cold in the stable.” Fray Luis follows an ancient tradition of reading Wisdom 7—in which Christ’s ancestor King Solomon speaks about his own infancy—as a Messianic prophecy: “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.”⁵⁷

Fray Luis explicitly compares the voice of this incarnate Word with music. The Dominican friar, 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! 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;

56. Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, 40: “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 de ellos 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.”

57. Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, 37–38: “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”; Cf. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 670, on Lk .

but this cry is greater eloquence than that of Tully [Cicero], and even than the music of the angels of heaven.⁵⁸

It is important to note that here again, the preacher's concern is not simply to explain some fact about Christ's birth; instead he wants to prompt the faithful to *listen* to Christ's voice.

Fray Luis's image of the infant Christ as an orator encapsulates the trope of Christ as the *Verbum infans*. For this passage Fray Luis cites "a doctor," and in fact the whole passage is a paraphrase from Saint Bernard of Clairvaux. When the friar calls Jesus *la palabra de Dios enmudecida* he is glossing the term *Verbum infans* in Bernard's fifth Christmas sermon. 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.⁵⁹

The term refers to Christ as the Word who is both "infant" and "unspeaking," since like the Spanish *infante* in Padilla's villancico, the Latin word *infans* can have either meaning.

Bernard is himself drawing on an older tradition of the theology of the Word going back to Saint Augustine, who reiterates this trope throughout his dozens of Christmas sermons. Augustine's editors even title one sermon *Verbum infans doctor humilitatis*—the infant Word, teacher of humility.⁶⁰ In another, Augustine preaches,

58. Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, 39: "¡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. 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 Túlio, y aun que las músicas de los Ángeles del cielo."

59. Clairvaux, *In nativitate Domini*, 128A, Sermo V: "Sed qualis mediator est, inquies, 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 querens. Infans quidem est, sed Verbum infans, cuius ne ipsa quidem infantia tacet."

60. Augustine, *Sermones de tempore*, 1004, heading for sermon 187.

[This day] is called the Nativity of the Lord, when the Wisdom of God manifested itself unspeaking [or, 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.⁶¹

True to his background in Neoplatonic philosophy, Augustine builds a chain of signification from the highest level of being to the lowly realm of human experience. He moves from the Godhead and its incarnation as the Christ-child to the signs that pointed to this reality in the material world; moving from divine Wisdom to the child in whom God manifested himself. He then moves to the worldly signs that pointed to Christ at his birth, and finally links this to the present-day ritual of the Mass of the Nativity. As the master of a theology of communication through sign and signified (in *De doctrina christiana*), Augustine is teaching the faithful to ascend in contemplation through that same chain—to hear the words proclaimed in their midst through Scripture, preaching, and liturgy as signs pointing to the angels' song in Bethlehem; to hear and heed the angel's exhortation to the shepherds to seek out the "sign" of "a child wrapped in swaddling clothes and lying in a manger" (Lk 2). The Christ child they found was at this "infant" stage of life, not a speaker of divine words, but was the very Word himself—as Augustine says, "a voice of flesh."

The *Verbum infans* trope fundamentally provides a way of thinking about communication between God and humankind. As the first-century author of the New Testament letter to the Hebrews explained it, "Long ago God spoke to our ancestors in many and various ways by the prophets, but in these last days he has spoken to us by a Son [...]. He is the reflection of God's glory and the exact imprint of God's very being, and he sustains all things by his powerful word" (Hb –3, NRSV). Augustine creates an extended metaphor of the voice to explore how exactly Christ could be the Word incarnate, using human communication

61. 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 celebрамus diem [...]."

to understand divine communication. The peculiar features of the voice allow Augustine 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.”⁶² The Word of God existed from eternity, Augustine teaches, drawing on his learning in rhetoric and language (as also expressed in his treatise *De musica*). In its eternal state it “was not varied by punctuation marks whether short or long [*nec morulis brevibus longisque*, a concept echoed in Padilla’s *máxima y breve*], nor drawn together by the voice, nor ended by silence.”⁶³ But just Christ as the Word took on flesh and became known to humans, Augustine teaches, in the same way an idea becomes a spoken word, without ceasing to be an idea. 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 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 [or 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

62. Augustine, *Sermones de tempore*, 1002, Sermo 187, In Natali Domini 4: “manentem Dei filium, factum hominis filium.”

63. Ibid., 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 assumpto corpore fecundare, et de sinu Patris non emigrare?”

tongues, is understood in some naked manner in the chambers of the heart, from whence it proceeds, being spoken, to be clothed in the voice.⁶⁴

Augustine is reflecting on language as a way to understand how Christ can be in his body the form of communication between God and humankind.⁶⁵

The spoken voice serves as the external medium through which human thought is transferred from one person's inner heart and mind to that of another. The body thus converts an inarticulate, abstract idea into a form that others can perceive through the physical act of hearing. The voice itself, then, is independent of the body; it transfers the idea to the hearer without the idea leaving the speaker's mind. Theologically, in Augustine's conception, 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. Thus the Christ-child embodies divine communication not through spoken words, but through his very body.

Augustine's theology of voice opens up rich possibilities for later interpreters in the tradition to consider the Christ-child in specifically musical terms. If Christ communicates God through his body, then one might imagine the Christ-child as an oration given by a master speaker, as Lapide does in his commentary on Luke: "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."⁶⁶ If the voice is an apt metaphor for Christ as the divine Word, conveying the divine nature to humanity,

64. Augustine, *Sermones de tempore*, 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 integro 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."

65. For further on Augustine's concept of the Word and its relationship to language and rhetoric, see the sermons *De verbis Domini* and the treatise *De doctrina christiana* (which connects voice and incarnation in the same way in I 16). The theology of Christ as the Word is also exhaustively treated in Lapide's commentary on the first chapter of John, Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 872–889.

66. Ibid., 673, on Lk 2: "Quid fecit tantus Deus, in tantilla carne, jacens in praesepio? Audiamus ipsummet in praesepii cathedra, non verbo sed facto docentem et praedicantem: [...] Parvulus factus sum, os tuum et caro tua, factus sum homo, ut te Deum efficerem."

then Christ's actual voice would communicate doubly. And if Christ can be both orator and oration, then surely he can be both singer and song as well.

As the villancico *Voces, las de la capilla* presents these tropes, the Christ-child is the masterwork that proves the craft of the divine craftsman, imagined as a chapelmaster in the Spanish fashion. Bringing together *maxima* and *breve*, “high” and low in the incarnate Christ, God the Father “proves” that he can form “consonances between a man and God” (copla 2). Thus on one level Christ is God’s song, and “the Word” is envisioned not as speech but as music. Christ, then, takes the “lyrics” of his ancestor David, royal chapelmaster, and “sets them to notes” (poem l. 7) through his heroic, sacrificial life. He himself holds the *clave* (musical clef/key of authority); he himself is the *divisa* (sign); and it is Christ himself who is *el signo a la mi re*, “the sign of A”—the first note of a new song in which can be heard “the voice of the Father” (ll. 9, 11, 24, 27). This connects to a larger theological trope of Christ as the “new song” of the psalms and the Apocalypse.⁶⁷

This theological context can help us recognize that one of the most puzzling lines in the poem is also a key to its meaning. When the poem refers to “the sign of A (*la, mi, re*)” it makes Christ himself the sign, and it imagines the sound of Christ’s infant voice not as words but as music. The *signo* in this line of the villancico’s estribillo connects back to the *divisa* of the poem’s introduction. Both words draw on theological traditions that see Christ the Word as a “sign,” and therefore even as a letter. In his 1611 Spanish dictionary Sebastián de Covarrubias glosses the Spanish *divisa* with the Latin *signum*, from the Greek *sēma*, sign. Likewise, Lapide calls Christ “the sign of reconciliation of the human race to God.”⁶⁸

What kind of a sign is Christ, then? There is a strong tradition, extending back to words reportedly spoken by Christ himself in the Revelation to John, of thinking of Christ as a letter. In a Christmas sermon Augustine connects the concept of the Word in John 1 to Christ’s statement in Revelation, “I am *alpha* and *omega*, first and last, beginning and end”

67. Ps 3, 40:3, 96:1, 98:1, 144:9, 149:1; Is 42:10; Rv 5:9, 14:3.

68. Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, s.v. *divisa*; Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 685–686, on Lk 2.

(Rv 23). Augustine uses the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet to explain the doctrine of the two conceptions of Christ, namely, that 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. "And just as no letter comes before *alpha*," Augustine preaches, nothing precedes Christ or follows after him, "for he is God."⁶⁹ In the villancico's terms, he is "the one who is before time" (l. 24). The *divisa*, then, signifies the start of a new *tiempo* (l. 11, 23). To use Augustine's concept of voice and word discussed earlier, then, the beginning of Christ's human life is the moment when idea is "clothed in the voice" and communication becomes possible.

In the villancico, the reference to Christ as the letter *A* has more than just the typical symbolic associations of *alpha* and *omega*, since the piece makes explicit that the "sign" is a musical pitch, *A* (*la, mi, re*)—the note at the center of the Guidonian hand.⁷⁰ Padilla makes this symbolism even stronger through his literal puns of solmization on the note *A* and the syllables *la, mi*, and *re*. If Christ himself is the sign, and if he is both singer and song, then the "sign of *A*" is his singing voice—the cries of the infant considered as music. The theological sources of the *Verbum infans* trope do not all depict the Christ-child's crying voice. Much like in the English carol that says "little Lord Jesus, no crying he makes," Bernard and Fray Luis say the Word speaks even while silent; Luis and Lapide describe Christ as an orator but make clear that Christ himself is the oration; and Augustine's treatment of the voice is really a metaphor

69. Augustine of Hippo, *Tomus primus [-decimus] omnium operum D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi, ad fidem vetustorum exemplariorum summa vigilantia repurgatoru[m] à mendis innumeris ... : cui accesserunt libri epistola, 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), 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 praecedit, ita & filium dei nulli secundum constat esse, quia deus est." Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentaria In Acta Apostolorum Epistolas Canonicas Et Apocalypsin* (Antwerp, 1627), on Rv 1.

70. In Guido's mnemonic system, all the notes that could be sung from *Gamma ut* upwards (G_2 to E_5) were laid out in a spiral on the upraised palm of the left hand. The *A* (*la, mi, re*) above "middle C" (that is, A_4) was indicated by pointing to the inside of the second knuckle of the middle finger. One might speculate that this might be a Guidonian reading of an iconographic tradition depicting the Christ-child, mouth closed, with hand upraised in a gesture of blessing. Typically this means the index and middle fingers are raised and the fourth and fifth fingers are curled down.

for Incarnation. But the concept of “the sign of A” in the villancico, understood within the *Verbum infans* theological trope, opens up the possibility of interpreting the newborn Christ’s inarticulate cries in musical terms as an expression, not of verbal concepts, but of his physical being. In fact, there is evidence that Spanish Catholics heard a special theological significance in the sound of a baby’s first cry, and that they believed a boy’s first cry to be literally the sound *A* (pronounced like *ah*). Covarrubias begins his Spanish dictionary with this definition of the letter *A*:

The first letter in order according to all the nations that used characters, [...] and this because of its being so very simple in its pronunciation [*prolación*]. [...] 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* [pronounced *eh*], in which man seems to enter into the world, lamenting his first parents Adam and Eve.⁷¹

By this account, keeping in mind Fray Luis’s description of Christ’s newborn cries, the baby Jesus first cried out with the inarticulate vowel *A*, expressing in this sound his essenced as *alpha* and *omega*, as incarnate Word. 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 sound of his voice in this context expressed Christ’s identity as the son of Adam, while also serving as a tuning note, or intonation, for a new song to replace the “wandering song” given to “the first man” (l. 34–35). All the other voices of Christmas follow after and echo the voice of Christ. Thus Christ in his cries performs the song that he himself is. What the worshippers heard in the baby’s cries was “the voice of the Father/ singing in tones of weeping,” a “song/ as much to hear as to admire” (ll. 27–30). This was not just an *admirabile sacramentum* as in the Responsory, but an audible sacrament as well—the sign of the bodily presence of the divine entering into their ears through sounds that were more like music than speech.

71. 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.” On symbolic alphabets in early modern devotional music, see Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week*, 38–40.

Musical performance provided an apt medium to realize this concept, as the singing and playing gave material form to the concepts of the poetry and illustrated those concepts through the artifice of the music. Augustine, Fray Luis, and Lapide all connect the present-day liturgy of Christmas to the historical music of the angels at Christmas and ultimately to Christ himself as the divine Word, *Verbum infans*. Likewise, the villancico poem begins by invoking not angelic choirs or the musical menagerie of the manger, but rather calls listeners' attention to the "voices of the chapel choir," asking them to heed "what is sung" (ll. 1–2). Only through "putting notes to his lyrics" can the composer fully enact the concept of theological hearing central to the text. Listeners are asked to pay attention not only to the words, but to "what is sung"—which includes the sonic whole of the composition with its plays of solmization, rhythm, stylistic allusion, and contrapuntal devices. Through the voices of the Puebla chapel choir, the faithful could listen for the unhearable higher music of Christmas, which ultimately meant encountering Christ himself.

3.4 Establishing a Pedigree in a Lineage of Metamusical Composition

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 served a social function in addition to being an object of devotion. For Padilla's fellow musicians, chapelmasters, and the educated elite of Puebla, the piece demonstrated Padilla's skill and established his place in a tradition of composition. Padilla's setting is one link in a chain of homage and emulation, within a specific family of villancicos as well as within the broader subgenre of metamusical pieces. In the following chapters we will see more examples of the same patterns of adaptation. In the case of *Voces, las de la capilla*, evidence survives for two previous villancicos based on the same or similar poems, though the music for both is apparently lost. These pieces allowed

Table 3.3: Known settings of the *Voces, las de la capilla* villancico family

Composer	Villancico Incipit	Occasion, Place	Source Type	Source Location
Fray Francisco de Santiago	<i>Voces, las de la capilla</i>	Pre-1644 Christmas, Seville Cathedral (or Lisbon)	Text incipits, 1649 catalog, no. 674	Lisbon, lost collection of João IV
Santiago?	<i>Voces, las de la capilla</i>	1642 Christmas, Lisbon Royal Chapel	Text, poetry imprint	Lisbon, P-Ln: RES-189-3-P
Luis Bernardo Jalón?	<i>Cantores de la capilla</i>	1647 Epiphany, Seville Cathedral	Text, poetry imprint	Sole exemplar in Puebla, private coll.
Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla	<i>Voces, las de la capilla</i>	1657 Christmas, Puebla Cathedral	Music, partbooks	Puebla Cathedral archive, MEX-Pc: Leg. 3/3

Spanish composers to prove both their compositional craft and their acuity as literary and theological interpreters in a tradition of “music about music.”

Prior to Padilla’s 1657 piece, there are sources for at least two earlier versions. As shown in table 3.3, there are two sources for a pre-1644 version beginning *Voces, las de la capilla*: a 1649 catalog entry for a setting by Francisco de Santiago (then chapelmaster of Seville Cathedral) from the collection of Portuguese King John IV, and a 1642 poetry imprint of a performance, possibly of Santiago’s setting, by the royal chapel in Lisbon. There is also a source for a variant version of the text, *Cantores de la capilla*, performed for Epiphany 1647 at Seville Cathedral and probably composed by Santiago’s successor, Luis Bernardo Jalón. This 1647 Seville imprint survives in a single copy as part of a binder’s collection in Puebla.

The earliest known musical setting of this textual tradition is by Francisco de Santiago. This Carmelite friar was born with the surname Veiga in Portugal and served as chapelmaster at Seville Cathedral from 1617 (succeeding Alonso Lobo) to 1643 (succeeded by Luis Bernardo Jalón).⁷² Santiago had maintained a lifelong association and correspondence with the Duke of Braganza, who after 1640 reigned as King John IV of Portugal. Santiago obtained permission

72. 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.

from the Seville Cathedral chapter to visit Lisbon every five years (1625, 1630, 1635, and 1640). Whether Santiago wrote 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. In 1649 John had a catalog printed of his collection, which is now all that survives after the fires that followed the Lisbon earthquake of 1755. Among the “Christmas Villancicos of Fray Francisco de Santiago” in the catalog appears the following entry: “Vozes las de la capilla. solo. Ya trechos las distancias. a 9.”⁷³

Unfortunately only this description remains of Santiago’s setting, but an imprint from the Portuguese Royal Chapel, Christmas 1642, may document a performance of the same piece.⁷⁴ The imprint, as was typical, does not list the composer or poet’s names, so it may also be a different setting of a variant texts with the same incipits. In support of the argument that the imprint corresponds to Santiago’s setting is the evidence that in 1640, the year Santiago last visited Lisbon, an imprint records the performance by John IV’s chapel of another villancico, *Antón Llorente y Bartolo*, which would also later be included in the 1649 catalog among the works of Santiago.⁷⁵ On the other hand, Santiago was probably in Seville in 1642, beginning to suffer the paralyzing illness which would soon end his life. In 1643 the chapter hired Luis Bernardo Jalón to substitute for Santiago that Christmas, and Santiago died in October 1644.⁷⁶

73. 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; see also Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro, *Livraria de música de el-rei D. João IV; estudo musical, histórico e bibliográfico* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1967).

74. *Villancicos qve se cantarão na real capella do muyto alto, & poderoso Rey Dom Ioamo IIII. nosso senhor. Nas matina da noite do Natal da era de 1642* (Lisbon, 1642), P:Ln RES-189-3-P (no. 2).

75. L:Pn RES-189-1-p (no. 2); Craesbeck, *Primeira parte do index da livraria de mvsica do myto alto, e poderoso rey Dom João o IV. nosso senhor*, caixão 26, no. 675. The Sánchez Garza collection, originally from the Conceptionist Convento de la Santísima Trinidad in Puebla, includes an anonymous musical setting of *Antón Llorente y Bartolo* (MEX-Mcen: CSG.014; see also chapter 1). The piece matches the incipits of a Santiago setting in the catalog of John IV; the words are an abridged and adapted version of the text performed by the Lisbon royal chapel in 1640 when Santiago was visiting (as noted above). The music in the Puebla collection is thus probably not by Santiago, but by a New Spanish composer who adapted the same text for use in Puebla. The same collection features several other villancicos by Padilla, and it is likely that he knew this setting (if he was not its composer).

76. *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, s.v. “Jalón, Luis Bernardo,” by Antonio Ezquerro Estéban.

Jalón, as chapelmaster of Seville Cathedral, was probably the composer for the next known villancico in this family, the poem *Cantores de la capilla*, performed there for Epiphany 1647.⁷⁷ Jalón's position at Seville was the culmination of a restlessly ambitious career. He had left his post at the Convento de la Encarnación in 1623 to be chapelmaster of the cathedrals of Burgos (1623–1634), Cuenca (1634–1642), and Toledo (1642–1643). 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 the ailing Santiago at Seville Cathedral for the Christmas season of 1643–44. The two composers must have had close contact during that time, and in any case, Jalón could have had access to Santiago's music in the cathedral archive. Jalón's setting of *Cantores* was performed only two years after Santiago's death (considering Epiphany 1647 as part of the 1646–47 liturgical season), and it is plausible that Jalón composed the piece deliberately in homage to his predecessor.

Adaptation and Homage

Compared to *Cantores*, Padilla's 1657 text *Voces, las de la capilla* is much closer to that in the 1642 Lisbon imprint and matches the incipits of Santiago's pre-1644 setting in the John IV catalog (tables 3.4 to 3.5tab:Voces-versions-3). Padilla's use of this earlier text tradition demonstrates that some source crossed the Atlantic to Puebla, whether Padilla acquired it before emigrating in 1622 or after. The Puebla chapelmaster may have had access to the text from a source like the 1642 Lisbon print, or he may have known an even earlier source. It is possible he knew Santiago's version specifically. Padilla almost certainly knew Jalón's later *Cantores* text, since the only extant copy of this Seville print survives in a binder's collection in Puebla.

The 1647 *Cantores* text corresponds closely to the text both versions of *Voces, las de la capilla*. The first four lines are the same, except that Jalón's text has *Cantores* (singers) instead

77. *Villancicos qve 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, private collection, courtesy of Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez.

Table 3.4: Comparison of three extant variant texts of *Voces, las de la capilla* villancico family (correspondences to earliest known text underlined)

1642 Lisbon (Santiago?)	1647 Seville (Jalón?)	1657 Puebla (Padilla)
Voces las de la capilla, cuenta con lo que se canta, que es músico el Rey, y nota las más leves disonancias.	Cantores <u>de la Capilla</u> , <u>cuenta con lo que se canta</u> , <u>que es Músico el Niño, y nota</u> <u>las más leves disonancias</u> .	<u>Voces las de la capilla</u> , <u>cuenta con lo que se canta</u> <u>que es músico el Rey, y nota</u> <u>las más leves disonancias</u>
A lo de Jesús infante y a lo de David monarca, puntos ponen a sus letras, los siglos de sus hazañas.	La música que componó de voces altas y bajas, a compás mayor las rige, y es proporción abreviada.	a lo de Jesús infante y a lo de David monarca. <u>Puntos ponen a sus letras</u> <u>los siglos de sus hazañas</u> .
La clave, que sobre el hombre para el treinta y tres se guarda, años antes la divisa, la destreza, en la esperanza.	Una <u>clave</u> con <u>tres tiempos</u> <u>pone</u> con <u>destreza</u> tanta, que el pasado y el futuro al <u>compás</u> presente iguala.	La clave que sobre el hombre para el treinta y tres se aguarda. <u>Años</u> antes la divisa, <u>la destreza</u> en la esperanza
Por sol comienza una gloria, por mi se canta una gracia, y a medio compás la noche, remeda quiebros del alba.	Un Coro errado enmendó con un <u>medio</u> , que a la entrada puso, y una inspiración que para el Calvario <u>guarda</u> . (cf. Seville copla 4)	por sol comienza una gloria, <u>por mi se canta una gracia</u> , <u>y a medio compás la noche</u> remeda quiebros del alba.
		Puntos ponen a sus letras los siglos de sus hazañas. La clave que sobre el hombre para el treinta y tres se aguarda.

Table 3.5: Comparison of three extant variant texts of *Voces, las de la capilla villancico* family, continued

1642 Lisbon (Santiago?)	1647 Seville (Jalón?)	1657 Puebla (Padilla)
ESTRIBO	ESTRIBO	ESTRIBO
<p>Y a trechos las estancias, en uno, y otro coro, grave, suave, sonoro, hombres, y brutos, y Dios. tres a tres, y dos a dos uno a uno,</p> <p>y aguarda tiempo oportuno, quién antes del tiempo fue: por el signo a la mi re, puestos los ojos en mi a la voz del padre oí cantan por puntos de llanto, O qué canto tan de oír, y de admirar!</p> <p>todo en el hombre es subir, y todo en Dios es bajar, y con el favor usanos, los corazones humanos, vuelven guecos.</p> <p>Eco: Ecos, pues zagalejos:</p> <p>Eco: Lejos, desvalidos,</p> <p>Eco: Idos, distraídos,</p> <p>Eco: Traídos, son sustenidos,</p> <p>Eco: tenidos, del niño hermoso, suena blando el arrullo, y en la tropa el orgullo travieso del viento por aquí por allí contento, inquieto, y bullicioso, se penetra blando, y discurre airoso.</p>	<p>O que lindamente suenan! o que dulcemente cantan al compás que lleva <u>el Infante</u>, Serafines que cruzan y passan! y de sus gemidos aprended trinados y sustenidos, y con mil primores responden los Reyes y los Pastores, después que <u>aguardaron uno</u> que llegó a <u>tiempo oportuno</u>, <u>quién antes del tiempo fue</u> <u>por el signo a la mi re</u>, <u>puestos los ojos en mi</u>, con que mil maravillas vi</p> <p><u>tan de ir [sic] y de admirar</u>, que si lo acierto a decir, <u>todo en el hombre es subir</u>, <u>y todo en Dios es bajar</u>.</p>	<p>Y a trechos las distancias <u>en uno y otro coro</u>, <u>grave, suave y sonoro</u>, <u>hombres y brutos y Dios</u>, <u>tres a tres y dos a dos</u>, <u>uno a uno</u>,</p> <p>y aguardan <u>tiempo oportuno</u>, <u>quién antes del tiempo fue</u>. <u>Por el signo a la mi re</u>, <u>puestos los ojos en mi</u>, <u>a la voz del padre oí</u> <u>cantar por puntos de llanto</u>. <u>O qué canto</u> <u>tan de oír y de admirar</u>, tan de admirar y de oír. <u>Todo en el hombre es subir</u> <u>y todo en Dios es bajar</u>.</p>

Table 3.6: Comparison of three extant variant texts of *Voces, las de la capilla* villancico family, conclusion

1642 Lisbon (Santiago?)	1647 Seville (Jalón?)	1657 Puebla (Padilla)
		COPLAS
A suspensiones del cielo. hacen sus esferas pausas, porque el Ángel, que las mueve cuenta le admira, se pasma.	<u>A Suspensiones el Cielo</u> <u>hace en sus esferas pausas,</u> <u>porque el Ángel que los mueve</u> <u>cuanto le admira le pasma.</u>	
Los compases son del tiempo, que ya sus compases guarda, quien al tiempo lleva siglos, quien lleva al siglo distancias.	<u>Los compases son del tiempo,</u> <u>que ya sus compases guarda</u> <u>quien al tiempo lleva siglos,</u> <u>quien lleva al siglo distancias.</u>	
Toda la solfa, la cifran, relieves de nieve, y grana, en dos labios que rubrica, y en dos mejillas que escarcha.		
Los puntos son cuantas perlas dos vivos diamantes passan, de si mismos, que las vierten a un pesebre que las guarda.		
	Tambien se canta a ternario, pues entran, caben y passan tres Reyes en un compas, de <u>brutos breve morada.</u>	
	<u>Por sol comienza una gloria,</u> <u>por mi se canta una gracia,</u> <u>y a medio compás la Noche</u> <u>remeda quiebros del Alba.</u>	
<i>Y a trechos &c.</i>	<i>O que lindamente &c.</i>	Daba un niño peregrino tono al hombre y subió tanto que en sustenidos de llanto dió octava arriba en un trino. Hizo alto en lo divino y de la máxima y breve composición en que pruebe de un hombre y Dios consonancias. <i>Y a trechos &c.</i>

of *Voces* (voices) and *Niño* (child) instead of *Rey* (king). The first two coplas of *Cantores* are identical to those in the 1642 *Voces*.

At the same time, *Cantores* also significantly modifies the text to suit a different performance context and aesthetic goals. Verses are added in the estribillo and a new copla is included that explicitly reference the Three Kings, suitable for the performance of *Cantores* at Epiphany in Seville. The end of the introduction in *Voces* (*Por sol comienza una Gloria*) is moved to serve as the final copla in *Cantores*. The whole *eco* section at the end of the 1642 *Voces* is omitted, so that the estribillo ends with the couplet *Todo en el hombre es subir/ y todo en Dios es bajar*.

In terms of theological and musical conceits, *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/ cantan por puntos de llanto*, are missing as well, which makes it harder to make sense of *el signo a la mi re*. Also absent is the crucial theological connection between David and Christ as musician-kings. "The King is a musician" in *Voces* is changed to "the child is a musician"—so that Christ is now explicitly the creator of the music rather than himself being the Music *and* the musician. By removing the *divisa* passage, the connection between *divisa* and the *signo A* is lost. Throughout the poems, where *Voces* has an ambiguous or cryptic line, *Cantores* has a less multivalent one. Instead of *y aguarda tiempo oportuno/ quien antes del tiempo fue* *Cantores* has *después que aguardaron uno/ que llegó a tiempo oportuno/ quién antes del tiempo fue*. The *Voces* version of these lines is pithy but obscure; the *Cantores* version is crystal-clear but requires an extra line to say the same thing. More significantly, when the compositor of *Cantores* replaces *a la voz del padre oí* with *con que mil maravillas vi*, he has replaced the central reference to the act of hearing (*oí*)—the only first-person active verb in the poem—with seeing (*vi*), thus obscuring the poem's central concept. Instead of listening to voices (*oí, voces*), the speaker of *Cantores* is looking at singers (*vi, cantores*).

The *conceptismo* in *Cantores* is not as tightly bound as in *Voces*: in many cases, *Cantores* makes sense on the musical side but not on the theological side. Some of the musical terminology is deployed inaccurately, as when *Cantores* has Christ the composer writing in *compás mayor* in a *proporción abreviada* using a *clave con tres tiempos*—it is hard to know which actual meters might be indicated here. 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*. 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.

Padilla's 1657 text, by contrast, is much closer to the 1642 *Voces*. There are only a few major differences. First, Padilla groups the verses in the introduction as a six-line strophe followed by a four-line *respuesta*, which is then repeated after the rest of the introduction verses. The 1642 text confirms the argument advanced above that the text of Padilla's *respuesta* (the first time through) is meant to follow the sixth verse, just as it is notated in the musical manuscripts. Second, Padilla, like Jalón, omits the *eco* portion of the 1642 text, ending with *Todo en Dios es bajar*. Padilla does not use the same coplas as in the 1642 Lisbon or 1647 Seville prints (beginning *A suspensiones el cielo*), but rather includes two completely different coplas (beginning *Daba un niño peregrino tono*).

It is possible that Padilla (or whoever produced Padilla's poetic text), being familiar with Jalón's text as well as at least one earlier version, made a composite version that drew on both earlier variants. On the other hand, Padilla's text is so conceptually consistent, and tightly patterned metrically, that an argument can be made that his version of *Voces* actually reflects an earlier version of the text than that in *either* of the two previous imprints. We have already noted that *Cantores* modifies both the style and content of the earlier *Voces*. But there are also elements of that 1642 version that do not seem to fit with the core of the text preserved Padilla's later setting. Padilla's reading *la clave que sobre el hombro*, quoting Isaiah 22, is certainly superior to the 1642 reading *la clave que sobre el hombre* (though this could be the

publisher's mistake). Similarly, the astronomical and musical term *distancias* in Padilla's text makes more sense in the conceit of the poem than the Lisbon *estancias*. *Cantores* has these same readings, and this suggests not that Padilla copied them from *Cantores* but that both versions are based on an earlier source than the 1642 print.

The metrical patterning of the three texts also suggests that Padilla's version reflects an earlier stage of the tradition. First, Padilla's text features a *respuesta* section: this structure was more commonly used in villancicos before 1640, though Padilla, now in his senior years, continued to use the form in the 1650s.⁷⁸ Second and most crucially, the line *Y a trechos las distancias* at the beginning of the estribillo serves as a *linea de vuelta* (hinge line) in Padilla's text: it connects to the end of the coplas (*de un hombre y Dios consonancias*) and rhymes when the estribillo is repeated after that verse. The *linea de vuelta* was a holdover from the rather different structure of the courtly villancicos of the sixteenth century, such as those set by Juan del Encina.⁷⁹ The 1642 Lisbon *Voces*, and the catalog entry for Santiago's *Voces*, both contain this same line (*Y a trechos las distancias*), but the Lisbon version has different coplas from Padilla, and the end of the coplas does not rhyme with *distancias*, so that the *linea de vuelta* structure is absent. The "new" coplas in Padilla's version are much more thematically consistent with the conceit of God as a musician and the newborn Christ as his masterwork, and the connection to the *linea de vuelta* seems hard to explain as a later addition.

The rest of the estribillo in Padilla's version, up to *Todo en Dios es bajar*, is highly patterned in a series of fully rhyming verse pairs, all in eight-syllable lines. The half-line "uno a uno" forms a bracket with the other half-line "O qué canto," marking off this section of paired verses from the quatrain that follows, a *redondilla abrazada*. The line *Y a trechos* does not fit in this pattern; but it makes sense as a *linea de vuelta* only in Padilla's version, and it is absent from *Cantores*.

78. Gutiérrez de Padilla, villancicos for Corpus Christi 1628, *Salir primero de ti* (MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/1); Christmas 1653, *A siolo Flasiquiyo* (MEX-Pc: Leg. 2/1).

79. Navarro Tomás, *Métrica española*.

By contrast, the estribillo of *Cantores* begins with two lines with neither assonance nor rhyme, followed by a line that rhymes with nothing and can only scan as eight syllables if *que* and *lleva* are elided; the fourth line can only be read as ten syllables. The next four lines group in pairs with full rhymes, alternating lines of six and eleven syllables. These metrical irregularities are confined to this first portion of the estribillo; after this the remainder is almost identical to *Voces*. Thus the first section appears “tacked on” to the more refined pre-existing material in the second section.

Similarly, the 1642 Lisbon *Voces* ends with an *eco* section in a completely irregular meter, thematically almost unrelated to concept of the rest of the poem. Starting with *y con el favor usanos* there are two eight-syllable rhyming couplets plus a three-line rhyming group (with their echoes), then lines of five, seven, and nine syllables, in no clear pattern, with an *abbccada* rhyme scheme. This sloppy section also seems like a superfluous addition compared to the concise *conceptismo* and elegant metrics of Padilla’s version.

Until more sources come to light it is not possible to know for certain whether Padilla’s text preserves a pure earlier source or whether it is an ingenious improvement on the previous variants. It resolves certain metrical irregularities and conceptual inconsistencies so elegantly that it seems to have more integrity as a source than the others. There is of course the danger of confirmation bias, especially since Padilla’s musical setting articulates its poetic structure and interprets its theological conceits in a way that makes that version seem authoritative.

Demonstrating Musical Kinship

In sum, the 1642 and 1657 villancicos *Voces*, *las de la capilla*, though not identical, form one primary branch of this textual family, and the 1647 *Cantores de la capilla* forms another. Compared to the older *Voces* branch, the *Cantores* branch is more simplistic, more irregular metrically, and less coherent. These differences suggest that *Cantores* was adapted from *Voces* with the goal of tempering its Góngora-like difficulty, and that is is not an especially skillful adaptation. There is reason to believe that the three composers known to have set texts in this

Table 3.7: Connections between composers and settings of the *Voces villancico* family

Composers	Connections
Santiago and Padilla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Santiago chapelmaster in Seville while Padilla chapelmaster in Cádiz, 1616–22 • Both set version of <i>Voces, las de la capilla</i>
Santiago and Jalón	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jalón assists then succeeds Santiago as Seville chapelmaster after death, 1644 • Jalón sets <i>Cantores de la capilla</i>, likely modeled on Santiago's <i>Voces</i>
Padilla and Jalón	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jalón's <i>Cantores</i> text circulated in Puebla via poetry imprint • Padilla's <i>Voces</i> likely composed with knowledge of Jalón's setting

family—Francisco de Santiago (*Voces*, before 1644), Luis Bernardo Jalón (*Cantores*, 1647), and Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (*Voces*, 1657)—were personally connected in a network of musicians, and that Jalón and Padilla chose intentionally to set a version of this text in order to establish kinship with Santiago. Jalón was Santiago's successor at Seville Cathedral and composed his *Cantores* setting only two Christmas–Epiphany seasons after Santiago died. Padilla probably knew Santiago personally from his early career in Andalusia; his 1657 setting of *Voces* has the same incipits as Santiago's setting in the 1649 catalog of John IV, and the text is closely related to the version performed in Lisbon in 1642. These chapelmasters deliberately chose to set their particular versions in order to situate themselves differently in relation to the earlier master (table 3.7).

Padilla almost certainly knew Jalón's adapted version of this text because the Seville imprint circulated to Puebla, where the only exemplar survives today. Padilla regularly used texts from such imprints: for example, he took the text for his 1653 *A la jacara, jacarilla* from a Madrid Royal Chapel imprint of a year earlier.⁸⁰ A binder's collection in Puebla contains numerous peninsular villancico imprints with other correspondences to Padilla's settings.⁸¹ Padilla likely kept his own collection of imprints (if not this actual collection) as sources for composition, keeping current with the latest mainland trends. If Jalón's villancico was a modernization of Santiago's, then, and the text was available to Padilla in New Spain through

80. E-Mn: VE/88/55.

81. MEX-Plf: 80070-42010404.

the imprint, why did Padilla choose to set Santiago's original text rather than the new one set by Jalón? One possibility is that Padilla specifically wanted to differentiate himself from Jalón and associate himself more directly with Santiago. With his setting of *Voces, las de la capilla*, Padilla may have been trying to show that he, not Jalón, was the true successor to Santiago.

There are several ways that Padilla might have known Santiago's setting of *Voces* or the poem on which it was based. It is quite likely that the two chapelmasters knew each other personally from Padilla's early career in Andalusia. Padilla, baptized in Málaga in 1590, climbed his way rapidly up the ladder of prestigious positions in the region, moving from positions at Ronda (1608–1612) and Jerez de la Frontera (1612–1616) to the cathedral of Cádiz, where he served as chapelmaster from March 17, 1616 until he emigrated to New Spain in 1622.⁸² Padilla's years in Cádiz overlap with Santiago's tenure in Seville (1617–1643), leaving about six years when the two chapelmasters could easily have interacted either personally or through correspondence. The two port cities, about seventy-five miles apart (a few days' journey by horse), shared close economic and social links. Both cities were among the first to print leaflets of villancico poems, and Padilla could have had access to the texts set by Santiago through this medium alone.⁸³

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 (in fact, the mother church for all of the Indies), would have made him a prime target for emulation, homage, or competition. In fact, Santiago's appointment at Seville may have even precipitated Padilla's departure for the New World. Santiago was hired at Seville without any public competition for the position, which would have been the pinnacle of achievement for any Spanish composer, particularly one from Andalusia. Padilla had just started his position in Cádiz—not a lowly post—but the appointment of the relatively young Santiago would have deprived him of any hopes of further advancement on the Spanish main. Other prominent

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

83. Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Catálogo de villancicos de la Biblioteca Nacional, Siglo XVII* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1992), s.v. *Cádiz* and *Sevilla*.

posts in Madrid were taken, with Mateo Romero at the Royal Chapel since 1598, and at the prestigious Convento de la Encarnación, none other than Luis Bernardo Jalón.⁸⁴ This may have been part of the reason why in about 1622, Padilla sought better opportunities in America.

Santiago, Padilla, and Jalón were not only part of a professional network; their relationships with other chapelmasters may be best understood in terms of kinship. Most Hispanic chapelmasters were priests or men of religious orders, under vows of celibacy; so in many cases they established genealogical lineages through their musical relationships. All of these men learned their craft through apprenticeship, and all of them passed on their learning in the same way once they became the *maestros*. The links between these men and their elders began in boyhood: Padilla, for one, fulfilled a common requirement of housing and educating his choirboys in his own home.⁸⁵ Chapelmasters were linked to their predecessors by a common practice of assisting the incumbent in his final years, before succeeding to the position. Parallel lines of succession with such interim assistantships in Puebla and Sevilla are shown in table 3.8.

In Padilla's case, his apprenticeship began by serving as choirboy and cantor at Málaga Cathedral and then assistant to the local chapelmaster Francisco Vásquez (ca. 1602–1608); unfortunately he was bested by a more experienced composer in the competition to succeed his teacher.⁸⁶ A new stage of apprenticeship began after Padilla emigrated to New Spain, when he was selected in 1628 to assist the ailing chapelmaster of Puebla Cathedral, Gaspar Fernández.⁸⁷ He composed the villancicos for Corpus Christi in that year, probably both as a way to fill in for Fernández and to prove his own mastery.⁸⁸ He then succeeded Fernández after he died. Now the master, Padilla cultivated his own apprentice in Puebla, Juan García de Céspedes. When Padilla's health began to fail in 1660, he signed a "power of attorney" document giving legal

84. *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*.

85. More research is needed into likely high prevalence and impact of sexual abuse in this environment.

86. The Portuguese composer Estevão de Brito won the *oposición* at Málaga: Gembero-Ustároz, "Muy amigo de música"; *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Brito, Estêvão de," by Robert Murrell Stevenson.

87. Omar Morales Abril, "Gaspar Fernández: su vida y obras como testimonio de la cultura musical novohispana a principios del siglo XVII," ed. Arturo Camacho Becerra (Oaxaca: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS), 2013), 71–125.

88. Cashner, "Playing Cards at the Eucharistic Table."

Table 3.8: Lines of succession at Seville and Puebla cathedrals, with interim succession plans in anticipation of incumbent's death

Cathedral	Chapelmaster	Lifespan	Tenure	Succession Plan
Seville	Alonso Lobo	1555–1617	1604–1616	Chapter appoints Santiago to provide Christmas villancicos 1616
	Fray Francisco de Santiago	1578?–1644	1617–1644	Chapter appoints Jalón to provide Christmas music 1643–44
	Luis Bernardo Jalón	1600?–1659	1644–1659	
Puebla	Gaspar Fernández	1580?–1628	1606–1629	Chapter appoints Padilla as assistant 1622; Padilla composes 1628 <i>Corpus Christi</i> villancicos
	Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla	1590?–1664	1629–1664	Padilla grants García power of attorney 1660; García possibly provides music for Christmas 1660–64; chapter appoints García interim successor 1664, permanent 1670
	Juan García de Céspedes	1619?–1678	1664–1678	

rights to García, a member of the Puebla ensemble whose name appears throughout Padilla's partbooks. García then succeeded Padilla after his death in 1664.⁸⁹

The Seville chapelmasters established a kinship-like lineage in the same way. Francisco de Santiago first served as assistant in Alonso Lobo during his old age in 1616.⁹⁰ Santiago composed the *chanzonetas* (villancicos) for Christmas that year, and then succeeded Lobo after his death in 1617. When Santiago's time came and he was debilitated by a paralyzing medical condition, the chapter called on Luis Bernardo Jalón to provide the music for Christmas 1643, and Jalón inherited Santiago's position the following year.

In these cases the lines of succession were established either by the composers themselves or by the cathedral chapters, surely with the older master's approval, since all these composers had at least a year to orient and train their successors. But musicians could also voluntarily demonstrate kinship even when they were not made direct heirs.

89. Mauleón Rodríguez, "Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla desde el ámbito civil," 237–238.

90. Stevenson, "Santiago, fray Francisco de."

Table 3.9: Padilla's *Voces* and younger composers' self-affiliation through homage to senior composers in their network

Junior Composer	Homage	Date	Senior Composer	Target of Homage	Date
Santiago	<i>Missa "Ego flos campi"</i>	Pre-1644	Dupont	<i>Ego flos campi</i>	Pre-1623
Jalón	<i>Cantores de la capilla</i>	1647	Santiago	<i>Voces, las de la capilla</i>	Pre-1644
Padilla	<i>Voces, las de la capilla</i>	1657	Santiago	<i>Voces, las de la capilla</i>	Pre-1644
Padilla	<i>Miss "Ego flos campi"</i>	Pre-1660	Santiago	<i>Missa "Ego flos campi"</i>	Pre-1644
Vidales	<i>Missa super "Exultate"</i>	Pre-1702	Padilla	<i>Exultate justi</i>	Pre-1660

Younger musicians could deliberately affiliate themselves with teachers and paragons through composing musical homages (table 3.9). Francisco Vidales, organist in Padilla's Puebla chapel, demonstrated his affiliation to Padilla by writing a parody mass based on a motet by Padilla.⁹¹ Dianne Goldman has documented a similar chain of homage in several stages of reworking a Victoria motet at Mexico City Cathedral through the eighteenth century.⁹² Homage composition of this kind was a widespread way for composers to demonstrate both real and aspirational kinship with a mentor, teacher, or paragon.

It makes sense, then, that Jalón would adapt a text set by Santiago in a way that presented him as Santiago's heir, acknowledging influence while also setting himself apart. The modifications in *Cantores de la capilla* suggest that Jalón represented a new generation and a new style, and his music was likely in a more modern style. For the sixty-seven-year-old Padilla, who as a young man had not been able to capture the coveted position of Seville chapelmastor in 1616, setting the older text may have established Padilla's affinity for the older generation and its style. Padilla's madrigalesque text setting and strict counterpoint suggest more old-fashioned musical tastes compared to the new sounds of music from Madrid in the

91. *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Padilla, Juan Gutiérrez de," by 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*."

92. Dianne Lehmann Goldman, "Between *stile antico* and *galant*: An Authorship Complex of Eighteenth-Century Responsories for the *Santísima Trinidad* at Mexico City Cathedral," ed. Kathryn Libin (Ann Arbor, MI: Steglein Publishing, 2015), 1–17.

1650s, like the experimental music-drama collaborations of Juan Hidalgo and Pedro Calderón de la Barca.⁹³

This practice of affiliating oneself through musical homage may also shed light on the origins and meaning of Padilla's most performed piece of Latin-texted music today, the *Missa “Ego flos campi”* for eight voices.⁹⁴ The piece would appear be a parody mass, and one might assume it is based on a lost motet *Ego flos campi* by Padilla. But John IV's catalog lists another *Missa “Ego flos campi” a 8*—by Francisco de Santiago. Moreover, 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.⁹⁵ For Santiago 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 Hapsburg Franco-Flemish composers going back to Ockeghem and Dufay. 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, or even on the same Dupont source that Santiago had used. This would be another instance, then, of Padilla establishing his musical pedigree through homage composition, specifically in connection to Santiago.

3.5 “All Who Heard It Were Amazed”

The metamusical villancico provided composers an ideal opportunity to establish their own position in a tradition of compositional and theological ingenuity—that is, a tradition of musical theology. The next chapter will show another example of this, in eight known settings

93. Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

94. MEX-Pc: LiPol XV; 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, 2003).

95. 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”; Craesbeck, *Primeira parte do index da livraria de mvsica do myto alto, e poderoso rey Dom João o IV. nosso senhor*, 381, caixão 32, no. 767: “Ego flos campi, a 8, Niculas du Pont. De Nossa Senhora.” (Neither piece has been found.) Based on this connection, Robert Stevenson speculated that Santiago, like his peer Diego de Pontac, studied with Nicolas Dupont during Santiago's time in Madrid; Stevenson, “Santiago, fray Francisco de.”

of villancicos from the same textual family by a network of interrelated composers across Spain and into the New World. The music's social function of establishing kinship with other composers through an impressive display of craft overlaps with the social and theological function of inspiring listeners to awe and wonder at Christmas.

For this study, Padilla's *Voces* serves as the starting point for a trajectory of "singing about singing" in seventeenth-century Spanish devotional music. 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 in accord with the Neoplatonic system known from Boethius and early modern sources. 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 own body and voice the perfect *musica humana*.

In singing this villancico about singing, the Puebla chapel choir drew its listeners' 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 listeners 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. Far from being a one-off occasional piece or crowd-pleasing entertainment, and rather than being a simple didactic piece explaining doctrine, the complex poetic and musical structure provides an object for aesthetic reflection as a spiritual discipline, even inviting detailed analysis.

This type of piece, then, encourages faithful hearing—hearing that is tempered by faith and which serves as a tool for exercising faith. But as with the pieces about faith and sensation discussed in chapter 2, this kind of hearing must be trained and carefully cultivated. In order to

contemplate the piece in the most spiritual 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. While Padilla wrote many villancicos that would have been easy for common people to appreciate, this one seems to address the most sophisticated listeners in the congregation. 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 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 the cathedral performers, much of this artistry would remain hidden, known only to the composer and to God. Because of its clear text declamation and distinct contrasts of styles, the piece would still leave an overall impression on the less attentive and educated listeners, inspiring them to connect the voices of the chapel choir with the voices of the Christmas angels and the mystery of Christmas.

In this way, the piece functions not only for intellectual contemplation but also makes an affective appeal to bodily, communal reaction and participation. This function fits with the instructions in the Roman Catechism that the mystery of the Incarnation is more to be marvelled at than explained in words. Similarly, Fray Luis concludes his model 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 for the grace [*gracia*] and mercy given to strangers, what should those do who were redeemed and restored by it?⁹⁶

96. Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, 41: "Considera mas, que si los Ángeles en tal dia cantaron, y solemnizaron este misterio con glorias y alabanzas, dando gracias por la redencion que nos vino

The devotee's response of awe, which as we have seen was a central element of Christmas devotion, is meant to surpass private experience and motivate people to share their response with others. Music could both motivate this kind of awe-filled experience and provide a way to share it.

The theology of Christ as the *Verbum infans* that underlies this villancico is central for understanding how Catholics believed sacred music to function. 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 Saint Cyril to say that "symbolically, the manger is the altar, on which Christ in the Mass by consecration is as though born and sacrificed." Paraphrasing Saint John Chrysostom, Lapide writes, "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."⁹⁷ This is the Christmas version of the central theological concept for Roman Catholics: that the resurrected Christ made himself present and conferred his power and grace through the sacraments of the Church. As Leo the Great epitomized the theology, "that which was plainly visible in our Savior, passed into the sacraments [or signs, or mysteries]."⁹⁸

Anyone wishing to encounter the Christ-child, then, would find him on the altar in the Christ-Mass. All the auditory elements of the service, from the reading of Scripture to the singing of villancicos, could only point toward this sacramental encounter. But because of music's ability to work on the external sense of hearing and the internal faculties of the memory via the ethereal medium of the voice, devotional music could still play a special role

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?"

97. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 672, on Lk 2: "Sic et S. Cyrillus in Caten. Symbolice praesepe est altare, in quo Christus in Missa per consecrationem quasi nascitur et immolatur. Unde S. Chrys. in Catena: *Quod in praesepio videntes atque tugurio Magi, cum multa venerazione ac timore accesserunt et adorarunt: tu idipsum non in praesepio, sed in altari cernens, majorem istis brabarisi exhibe pietatem.*"

98. Leo I (pope), *Sermones*, ed. J. P. Migne, Patrologia latina 54 (Paris: Migne, 1846), 398, Sermo II de Ascensione Domini: "Quod itaque redemptoris nostri conspicuum fuit, in sacramenta transiuit."

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 privileged 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 across the Hispanic world would have been unlikely to eat the Eucharistic wafer or drink the consecrated wine, the common parishioner’s relationship to the *admirabile sacramentum* was primarily to look (*admirar*), to listen, and to adore.

Worshippers in Puebla who looked toward the altar while listening were presented with a resplendent vista of images to contemplate. Padilla’s 1657 villancico would have been performed facing a high-altar retable on which the actual altar was flanked by an image of the Adoration of the Shepherds on the left and the Visitation of the Magi on the right (figure 3.4). This “Altar of the Kings” was completed by Pedro García Ferrer and consecrated by bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza in 1649. It places images of human encounters with the incarnate Christ at the closest visual proximity to the altar and central Eucharistic tabernacle.⁹⁹ Above these images, the eye is drawn upward to ascend into heaven along with the Virgin Mary, for Catholics the paragon of true faith and devotion, and the central focus of the Puebla community’s intense devotion to the Immaculate Conception. Mary is ascending to heaven through a celestial hierarchy into a realm of baby angels playing musical instruments like harp and organ, through a group of cherubim dancing in the round, to the Holy Trinity at the highest point (figure 3.5).¹⁰⁰ These figures drew devotees’ attention to the other central object

99. 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).

100. The *Celestial Hierarchy* attributed to Saint Dionysius the Areopagite was widely disseminated across the Hispanic world, including a copy in Puebla’s Biblioteca Palafoxiana.

of devotion in this “city of the angels,” which residents believed was built on a site revealed in a dream to the bishop of Tlaxcala by angels.¹⁰¹

Like Bishop Palafox’s own devotional book *El Pastor de Nochebuena*, these images invite worshippers to imagine themselves journeying with the shepherds and Gentiles to meet Christ in his lowly incarnation as an infant.¹⁰² In honor of Palafox’s book, Ferrer painted Palafox’s portrait as one of the shepherds on the Puebla retable (figure 3.6).¹⁰³ Journeying with the shepherds meant imitating the shepherds’ faith: the goal of contemplating Christ’s birth was to cultivate faith in Christ, including both faith as belief and faith as action or faithfulness. Lapide holds up the shepherds to his readers as an example of faith: they heard the angel chorus and saw the sign of Christ in his manger, and then they went and told everyone, and “they went forth praising and glorifying God for everything they had seen and heard” (Lk 9). Lapide says Christmas shepherds were chosen as the first outside 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 “however many might have approached the manger, and seen Christ, but only those could have believed in Christ, whose hearts God had effectively moved; while the others, taking offense at Christ’s poverty, would have spurned him.”¹⁰⁴ 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 2: “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.”¹⁰⁵ If the listeners were to imitate the shepherds, then, they would not only listen for the angelic

101. Leonardo Lomelí Vanegas, *Breve historia de Puebla* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2001), 67–68; Miguel Ángel Cuenya and Carlos Contreras Cruz, *Puebla de los Ángeles: Una ciudad en la historia* (Puebla: Océano, 2012), 21.

102. Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, *El Pastor de Noche Buena: Practica Breve de las Virtudes; Conocimiento Facil de los Vicios* (1644; Barcelona, 1730).

103. Eduardo Merlo Juárez, José Antonio Quintana Fernández, and Miguel Pavón Rivero, *La Catedral Basílica de la Puebla de los Ángeles* (Puebla: Universidad Popular Autónoma del Estado de Puebla, 2006), 188–189.

104. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 677, on Lk 2: “Hinc patet pastores multis narrase eq quae de Christo nato ab angelo adierant et viderant: quare multos praesepe adiisse, Christumque vidisse; sed eos solos in Christo credidisse, quorum Deus corda efficaciter tangebat, ceteros offensos paupertate Christi eum sprevisse.”

105. Ibid., 882: “Hoc est enim quot ait hic St. Joanes, Deum dedit potestatem filios Dei his qui libere Christum per fidem et obedientiam receperunt, exclusis iis, qui eum recipere noluerunt.” Lapide seems to have a polemical eye here on his Calvinist compatriots in the Low Countries.

Figure 3.4: Puebla Cathedral, Retable of the “Altar of the Kings,” Pedro García Ferrer and studio, consecrated 1649

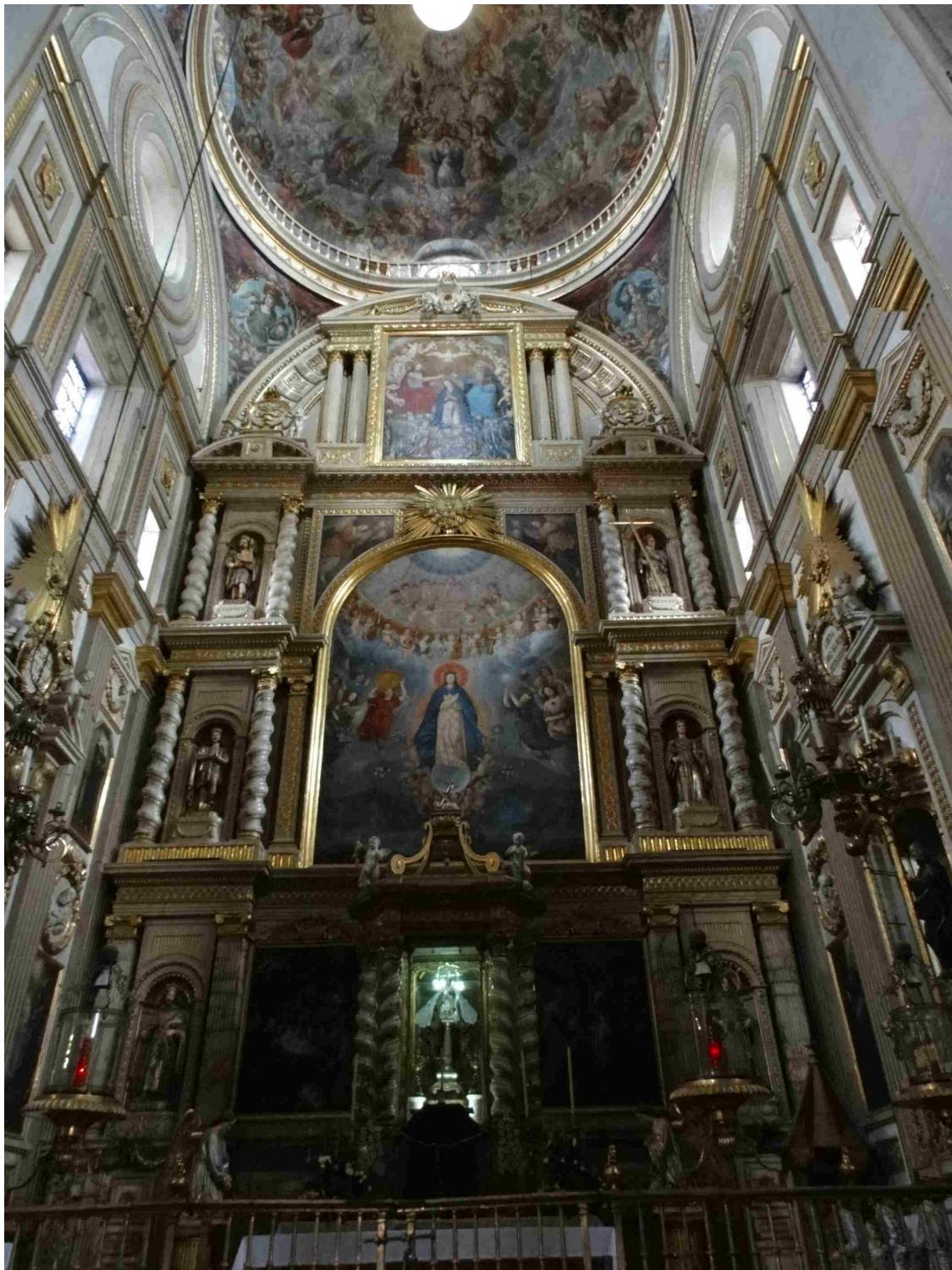


Figure 3.5: Puebla Cathedral, retable, *Assumption of the Virgin* (detail)



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 could motivate them to witness their faith to others, as the shepherds did. Metamusical Christmas villancicos appealed to the hearing of worshippers on several levels, and opened the possibility for them to listen in faith for the voices of angels and the voice of Christ. Through compositional craft, the musical performance could also move listeners' hearts to wonder and adoration.

We have identified two main functions for this villancico, and others like it: first, it served the congregation as an object of devotion; and second, it enabled the composer to establish a musical pedigree. These contrasting functions may be harmonized by remembering the theological emphasis on wonder, amazement, even “stupefaction” (to use Lapide’s term) in response to the voices of Christmas and the voice of the Word made flesh. In Luke’s account, the shepherds are struck with terror when the angel speaks to them; when the shepherds tell what they heard (presumably to Mary and Joseph in the stable), “all who heard were amazed,” both at the shepherds’ words and those the shepherds had heard from the angels. The Virgin Mary, in turn, “treasured all these things [*verba*] within her heart” (Lk 9). If the goal of Christmas music in seventeenth-century Puebla and Seville was to echo those historical voices of Christmas and provoke the same kind of awestruck wonder, then we can understand the efforts of poets and chapelmasters (and the institutions that paid them) to impress and even confound hearers through ingenious auditory artistry. Listeners’ relationship to a villancico like *Voces, las de la capilla* would mirror their relationship to the mysterious and logic-defying theology of the Incarnation: those who understood little could still be amazed greatly; those who strained to understand more would only find themselves more in awe.

Figure 3.6: Ferrer, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, retable of Puebla Cathedral



Music example 3.3: Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, estribillo (mm. 106–126): Contrasting motives and rhythmic patterns for “Man ascending” and “God descending”

106

Ti. I
A. I
T. I
A. II
T. II
B. I
[instr.]

114

121

Music example 3.4: Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, copla 1 (mm. 127–132):
Point of imitation quoting cadences chant *tonus peregrinus* on words *peregrino tono*

D-(C)-F-E-D final cadence

G-B_b-A-G-F medial cadence, or G-B_b-A-G final in cantus mollis

D-(C)-F-E-D final cadence

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

Music example 3.5: Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, copla 2 (mm. 152–156):
The word *máxima* sung on a breve (original note values shown without bar lines)

breve

A. II T. II B. I
[inst.]

1. y de la má xi - ma y bre - - - ve

1. y de la má - - - xi - ma y bre - - ve

1. y de la má - - - xi - ma y bre - - ve

Music example 3.6: Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, estribillo (mm. 48–59): Evocation of madrigal style

48

Ti. I
A. I

y a tre - chos las dis - tan - cias en u - no y o - tro co - ro,
y a tre - chos las dis - tan - cias en u - no y o - tro co - ro, y o - tro co - ro,

T. I

y a tre - chos las dis - tan - cias en u - no y o - tro co - ro,
co - ro, en u - no y o - tro co - ro,

A. II
T. II

co - ro, en u - no y o - tro co - ro, en u - no y o - tro co - ro,

B. I
[instr.]

51 gra - ve, su - a - ve y so - no - ro,
gra - ve, su - a - ve y so - no - ro, y dos a dos,
8 gra - ve, su - a - ve y so - no - ro, hom - bres y bru - tos y Dios, tres a tres y dos a dos,
hom - bres y bru - tos y Dios, tres a tres y dos a dos,
8 tres a tres, dos a dos, u - no a u - no,
u - no a u - no y dos a dos, tres a tres y dos a dos,
dos, dos a dos, u - no a u - no,
8 dos, tres a tres, dos a dos, u - no a u - no,

Chapter 4

Heavenly Dissonance (Montserrat, 1660s)

The Christmas villancico *Suspended, cielos, vuestro dulce canto*, set by Joan Cererols for the school choir of the Abbey of Montserrat around 1660, is part of one of the most widely-attested families of villancicos, with evidence surviving for seven other versions, from the Royal Chapel in Madrid to a convent in Ecuador. In the setting by Cererols, the chorus exhorts the heavens to cease the music of the spheres and listen for “the newest consonance” that has come into the world through the newborn Christ-child. The piece thus extends the *Verbum infans* trope discussed in chapter 3 with a greater focus on cosmology, creating a reflection on the relationship between earthly and heavenly music. Rather than the word-level text depiction of the madrigal-like *Voces* by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, Cererols evokes the contrast between levels of music by a corresponding contrast of musical motives and styles. Together with this polystylistic technique, Cererols also uses dissonance as an ironic symbol to point to a higher kind of heavenly music, not governed by the same rules as earthly music. By the end of the piece, attentive listeners can actually hear the motive representing Christ’s voice become the *cantus firmus* of a new heavenly music; but within the Neoplatonic listening tradition, they are challenged to listen beyond this depiction of heavenly music for the higher, unhearable music of Christ himself. The many versions of this text were passed from hand to hand among a network of affiliated composers and modified to suit both local needs and

changing conceptions of heavenly music; tracing these connections provides further evidence that composers used the metamusical villancico to prove their craft and situate themselves in a lineage of composition.

The villancico family, and especially Cererols's setting, open a window into how early modern Catholics understood heavenly music in a time when conceptions of the cosmos were changing all around them. John Hollander's study of English poetry on music, *The Untuning of the Sky*, takes its title from a poem by John Dryden which envisions the apocalypse, when, at the sound of the last trumpet, "MUSICK shall untune the sky." Hollander uses the title to refer to a process he sees of increasing secularization and disenchantment across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so that by the end of the period poets use the language of heavenly harmony in a purely conventionalized way devoid of real connection to any faith in the old conceptions of the cosmos. But Dryden's poem, very much like Cererols's villancico, actually affirms traditional views: it emphasizes the untunefulness of worldly music (including the heavenly spheres) compared to the higher music of God. In a Neoplatonic tradition, it was normal to emphasize the deficiencies of the "world of change and decay" and point beyond them to a higher truth. In this study of Hispanic poetry on music, we can note a change of understandings, but not one that moves in the direction of secularization. Instead, poets and composers—and devotees as well, we may imagine—find new ways to reconcile the old cosmos with changing understandings and sensibilities.

4.1 “The Newest Consonance”

Chapter 5

The Earthly Side of Celestial Music (Segovia, 1680s)

Chapter 6

Offering and Imitation (Zaragoza and Puebla, 1670–1700)

Chapter 7

Conclusions

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