

Hearing Faith

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VOLUME 194

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/shct

Hearing Faith

Music as Theology in the Spanish Empire

By

Andrew A. Cashner



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Cover illustration: *Assumption of the Virgin* by Pedro García Ferrer, Retable of Puebla Cathedral, Mexico
(Photograph by Andrew Cashner)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Cashner, Andrew A., author.

Title: Hearing faith : music as theology in the Spanish empire / Andrew A. Cashner.

Description: Boston : Brill, 2020. | Series: Studies in the history of Christian

traditions, 15735664 ; 194 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020023183 (print) | LCCN 2020023184 (ebook) |

ISBN 9789004414976 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004431997 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Villancicos (Music)--Spain--17th century--History and criticism. |

Church music--Spain--17th century. | Church music--Catholic Church--17th century.

Classification: LCC ML3047.2 .C37 2020 (print) | LCC ML3047.2 (ebook) |

DDC 781.71/2009171246--dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2020023183>

LC ebook record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2020023184>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1573-5664

ISBN 978-90-04-41497-6 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-43199-7 (e-book)

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Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi, Brill Sense, Hotei Publishing, mentis Verlag, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh and Wilhelm Fink Verlag.

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This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

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Acknowledgments

I wish to express my gratitude to the many people and institutions who have helped me over the last ten years. This research began with my PhD dissertation at the University of Chicago, funded by a Jacob K. Javits Fellowship from the United States Department of Education, a Pre-Dissertation Research Fellowship from the Center for European Studies at Columbia University, and a Dissertation Completion Fellowship from the Mellon Foundation and the American Council of Learned Societies. My archival research in Mexico and Spain was funded by grants from the Center for Latin American Studies and the Department of Music at the University of Chicago, and a Eugene K. Wolf Research Travel Grant from the American Musicological Society. Support for the final stage of publication was provided by a Humanities Center Fellowship from the University of Rochester. Heartfelt thanks to my editors at Brill—Robert Bast, Arjan van Dijk, and Ivo Romein—for bringing this work to light, and to the anonymous reader for helping improve it.

I am grateful to numerous librarians, archivists, and institutional caretakers at the following institutions (with apologies to anyone I have inadvertently omitted):

- The Capitular Archive of the Cathedral of Puebla de los Ángeles: P. Francisco Vázquez, rector, and the Illmo. Sr. Carlos Ordaz, *canónigo archivista*
- Biblioteca Palafoxiana, Puebla
- Biblioteca José María Lafragua, Universidad Autónoma de Puebla
- CENIDIM, the Mexican national center for music research, Mexico City
- Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona
- Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid
- The Capitular Archive of Segovia Cathedral: P. Bonifacio Bartolomé
- The monastery library of San Lorenzo de El Escorial
- The Abbey of Our Lady of Montserrat: P. Daniel Codina
- The Archdiocese of Girona
- The University of Chicago Regenstein Library and Special Collections: Scott Landvatter
- The Newberry Library, Chicago
- Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
- The British Library, London
- Lilly Library of Indiana University, Bloomington

Thanks are due to Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez for opening doors for me in Puebla, for sharing sources from a private collection there, and for many insights. For hospitality in Mexico City, I thank Alfredo Amieva.

I acknowledge the help and support of my professors and colleagues. I thank above all Robert Kendrick, my dissertation advisor and mentor: Bob, I hung in there. Mary Frandsen guided me into the field and continues to provide level-headed support. I am grateful to all the members of my dissertation committee: Anne Walters Robertson, Martha Feldman, Frederick de Armas, and María Gembero-Ustároz. Other scholars who shaped my thinking and skills include Philip Bohlman, Melvin Butler, Cécile Fromont, Maxwell Johnson, Derek Katz, Nathan Mitchell, and Clemens Risi.

For help with Spanish translations, I thank Anita Damjanovic, James Nemiroff, and Ana Sánchez-Rojo. Miriam Tripaldi helped with Latin, and Drayton Benner, with Hebrew. This project has benefitted from the interchange of ideas and sources with colleagues in related fields, including Chelsea Burns, Mary Channen Caldwell, Ireri Chávez-Bárcenas, Walter Clark, Drew Davies, Elizabeth Davis, Cesar Favila, Dianne Lehmann Goldman, Erika Honisch, Bernardo Illari, Tess Knighton, Paul Laird, Javier Marín López, Miguel Martínez, Jesús Ramos-Kittrell, José Rodríguez Garrido, Emilio Ros-Fábregas, John Swadley, Martha Tenorio, Álvaro Torrente, and Lorena Uribe Bracho. Thanks also to my colleagues in the University of Rochester College Music Department; to the members of Grupo, the UR working group on Latin American and Iberian culture, especially Ryan Prendergast and Pablo Sierra Silva; and to Joan Rubin in the Humanities Center.

This book was prepared in the LaTeX document-preparation system, based on the work of Donald Knuth and Leslie Lamport, with a notable contribution from these software packages: *pst-geo* (for the maps), *tikz* (diagrams), *reledmac* (poem examples), and *biblatex-chicago* (bibliography). The musical examples were created in Lilypond, originally developed by Han-Wen Nienhuys and Jan Nieuwenhuizen. I am grateful to the many volunteers who help maintain and support this free software.

I would not have made it this far without my earliest music teachers, school teachers, and role models in Richmond, Indiana, including Ralph Burkhardt, Charles Combopiano, the late Robert Hensley, Ron Matson, Christine Rogan, Mary Ann Thompson, and Norma Veramallay. I am grateful to the faith communities and ministers who have supported me and my family: Central United Methodist Church in Richmond, IN; Intervarsity Christian Fellowship at Lawrence University, Appleton, WI (Tim Webster); Vineyard Church of Hyde Park, Chicago (Rand Tucker); St. Luke's Anglican Church of La Crescenta, CA; and New Hope Free Methodist Church of Rochester, NY (Scott Sittig). Thank you to my parents, Randall and Ann Cashner, and to my brother, Matt Cashner (particularly for help with computing); and to family-in-law, Win and Nancy Miller, Robert and Sarah Miller, Mary Walquist, and Robert and Betty Walquist, both of

cherished memory. A special word of gratitude is due to my friend and fellow musicologist Devin Burke, who from our meeting on the first day of college in September 1999 has been an unflagging source of encouragement, humor, and insight across two decades, for helping me shoulder so many burdens.

This book is dedicated with love to my wife Ann, whose love makes this all worthwhile, and to our children Ben and Joy. All glory is due only to God the Father of my Savior Jesus Christ, through whose Spirit I have found new mercies every morning.

Further Resources

My critical edition of seven villancicos discussed in this book is freely available online through the Web Library of Seventeenth-Century Music.¹ For supplemental material, including music editions, recordings, and updates, please visit <http://www.andrewcashner.com/villancicos/>.

¹ 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), <http://www.sscm-wlscm.org/>.

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PART 1

Listening for Faith

••

CHAPTER 1

Villancicos as Musical Theology

ergo fides ex auditu
auditus autem per verbum Christi

Romans 10:17

••

“Faith comes through hearing,” wrote Paul the apostle to the Christian community in first-century Rome, “and what is heard, by the word of Christ” (Rom. 10:17).¹ Sixteen centuries later, amid the ongoing reformations of the Western Church, Christians were finding ever new ways to make faith audible. Voices raised in acrid contention or pious devotion boomed from pulpits, clamored in public squares, and were echoed in homes and schools. In new forms of vernacular music, the voices of the newly distinct communities united to articulate their own vision of Christian faith. Roman Catholic reformers and missionaries, charged by the Council of Trent (1545–1563) to educate and evangelize, enlisted music in their campaigns to build Christian civilization, both in an increasingly divided Europe and in the expanding global domains of the Spanish crown (see map 1 and 2). In these efforts to make “the word of Christ” to be heard and believed—to make faith appeal to hearing—what did Spanish Catholics understand to be the role of music? What kind of power did they believe music held to affect the relationship between hearing and faith?

This book is a study of how Christians in early modern Spain and Spanish America enacted religious beliefs about music, through the medium of music itself. It focuses on a genre of devotional music known as *villancicos*, which were musical settings of poetry in vernacular language, most often Castilian

¹ All translations are my own unless another source is given. In both the original Greek and the Latin Vulgate quoted in the epigraph, the word for hearing (*akoē, auditus*) can mean the faculty of hearing, the act of hearing, the hearing organ, 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), s.v. *akoē*.



MAP 1 Iberia, major cities and regions, ca. 1650 (modern borders shown)

Spanish. A genre that had previously been an elite form of courtly entertainment and sometimes devotion was transformed around the turn of the seventeenth century into variety of complex, large-scale forms of vocal and instrumental music performed as an integral part of public church rituals.²

² Álvaro Torrente, “El villancico religioso,” in *La música en el siglo XVII*, Historia de la música en España e Hispanoamérica 3 (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica de España, 2016), 435–530; Paul R. Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1997); Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente, eds., *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800: The Villancico and Related Genres* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007); Esther Borrego Gutiérrez and Javier Marín López, eds., *El villancico en la encrucijada: Nuevas perspectivas en torno a un género literario-musical (siglos XV–XIX)* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2019); Bernardo Illari, “Polychoral Culture: Cathedral Music in La Plata (Bolivia), 1680–1730” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2001); Bernat Cabero Pueyo, *Der Villancico des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in Spanien* (Berlin: Dissertation.de, 2000); John Swadley, “The Villancico in New Spain 1650–



MAP 2 Spanish America, major cities and regions, ca. 1650

1750: Morphology, Significance and Development" (PhD diss., Canterbury Christ Church University, 2014); Ireri Elizabeth Chávez Bárcenas, "Singing in the City of Angels: Race, Identity, and Devotion in Early Modern Puebla de los Ángeles" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2018); Mercedes Castillo Ferreira, "Chant, Liturgy and Reform," in *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs*, ed. Tess Knighton (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 282–322.

Of all the musical forms of Catholic Spain, sacred villancicos address the theological nature and function of music most frequently and directly. Hundreds of surviving poems and music begin with calls to listen—*escuchad, oíd, atended*—and many villancicos explicitly refer to music in their texts, in some cases using musical techniques and terms as metaphors for theological concepts. One of the most common occasions for villancico performances was in the liturgy of Matins on Christmas Eve, when large ensembles of singers and musicians celebrated the paradox of the Incarnation—the most high God being born as an infant in a humble stable—with musical representations of angel choruses and dancing shepherds. In these depictions of heavenly and earthly music, the ensembles were making music about music. Composers used a variety of techniques to refer to music beyond that being performed in the moment, including evocations of birdsong, musical instruments, quotations of specific songs and dances, and more conceptual plays on terms from music theory, such as writing a strict fugue on the words *celestial counterpoint*. If a play within a play in seventeenth-century Spanish or English theater is metatheatrical, then these pieces are *metamusical*.

Through this genre of musical performance people embodied their theological conceptions of music through the structures of music itself. I call this *musical theology*, by which I mean a practice that goes beyond the theological discourse about music found in written treatises or the use of music for religious purposes, and becomes a way of *performing* theology. This is a form of music that embodies the beliefs it proclaims. Charles Seeger theorized that music and language were two distinct forms of discourse and ways of knowing, so that just as we can speak about music by using verbal discourse to refer to musical discourse, we could also *music* about music.³ I argue that metamusical villancicos were precisely this kind of musical discourse about music.

1 Singing about Singing

We can begin engaging with this musical form of knowledge immediately, by listening to two villancicos that embody “singing about singing.”⁴ The first piece

³ Charles Seeger, “Toward a Unitary Field Theory for Musicology,” in *Studies in Musicology, 1935–1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 102–138; Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1998).

⁴ Margaret Murata, “Singing about Singing, or, The Power of Music Sixty Years After,” in *In cantu*

POEM EXAMPLE 1 *En la gloria de un portalillo*, estribillo as set by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, Puebla Cathedral, Christmas 1652 (MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/3)

En la gloria de un portalillo,	In the glory [<i>Gloria</i>] of a little stable,
los zagalés se vuelven niños	the shepherd boys become children
y en tonos sonoros	and in resounding tones
repiten a coros	they repeat in choirs,
en bailes lucidos.	in brilliant dances.
Canten las aves	Let the birds sing
al Sol nacido.	to the newborn Sun/ <i>sol</i> .
¡Vaya de fiestas!	On with the festivities!
pues Dios es niño.	for God is a baby boy.

was composed by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (ca. 1590–1664) for the Cathedral of Puebla de los Ángeles, the most important religious center in Spanish America.⁵ *En la gloria de un portalillo* was first performed in the Matins liturgy on Christmas Eve 1652. In just the first seven lines of the anonymous poem (poem example 1), the villancico refers to multiple kinds of music: the sounds of voices, choirs, birdsong, dancing, and solmization syllables.

Gutiérrez de Padilla's setting is metamusical in that it enacts these references through music (music example 1). It also has the virtue of demonstrating several typical features of the genre. In texture, the introduction builds up from a solo line to dialogue between two four-voice choirs, concluding the first phrase with an emphatic cadence for the full chorus. The music moves rhythmically in a lively three-beat meter, notated as groupings of three minims in mensural notation.⁶ The composer frequently breaks with this pattern by momentarily creating a feeling of accents grouped in twos rather than threes (this is *sesqui-*

et in sermone: For Nino Pirrotta on His 80th Birthday, Italian Medieval and Renaissance Studies 2 (Firenze: Olschki, 1989), 363–384.

5 MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/3; recording, Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Maitines de Navidad*, 1652, México Barroco/Puebla VII, (CD) Angelicum de Puebla, directed by Benjamín Juárez Echenique (Mexico City: Urtext, 1999).

6 The meter is notated **Cz** or **cz**. Contemporary music writer Andrés Lorente explains that **Cz** is a cursive shorthand for **C³** or **C₃**, all representing *tiempo imperfecto menor de proporción menor*. The three minims in every measure (*compás* in Spanish, same as *tactus*) were understood to be in a three-to-two relationship to the two minims in a measure of **C** time (*tiempo imperfecto menor*); 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), 156, 165, 210; Pedro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples, 1613), 537.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 1 Gutiérrez de Padilla, *En la gloria de un portalillo* (MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/2, Christmas 1652), estribillo

altera or hemiola). The shifts of duple and triple stress combine with stresses on the second beat of the measure to create an energetic atmosphere with a rejoicing affect. The choruses urge each other on, declaiming in the same highly rhythmic manner as the soloist. The boy trebles (*tiples*) of both choirs singing at the top of their range would have helped this passage seize the attention of listeners.

The soloist and choir are inviting everyone to come to the stable in Bethlehem, where, the Tiple 1 soloist says, the shepherds “are turned to boys.” Playing on this expression, Gutiérrez de Padilla has the musicians “turn” modally by adding C sharps, accented in a sesquialtera group that contrasts with the even ternary patterns that follow. The two-measure groups in the next passage emphasize the rhymes in *tonos sonoros, repiten a coros* and the clear triple meter creates a feeling of dance for *en bailes lucidos*. When the soloist refers to the newborn Sun, he sings the note identified in Guidonian terminology as D (*la, sol, re*)—*sol* in the hard (G) hexachord. On the same word, the bass accompanist plays a different *sol*, G (*sol, re, ut*).

This villancico exemplifies music about music on several levels. The text, which is being performed through music, itself refers to musical performance. The performance by the Puebla Cathedral chapel dramatizes the historical celebration of the first Christmas while also celebrating the festival in Gutiérrez de Padilla’s present day. The music is self-referential on a symbolic level (as in the plays on *sol*), but also functions on a more simple affective level to model and incite exuberant joy and wonder. According to contemporary theological writers, those were the appropriate affects for worshippers at the feast of Christmas (see chapter 3).

Celebrating Christmas with the right kind of spirit is also the theme of another metamusical villancico, *Fuera, que va de invención* by Joan Cererols (1618–1680), monk and chapelmaster at the Benedictine Abbey of Montserrat near Barcelona.⁷ Rather like today’s catalog-like Christmas songs (*Deck the Halls, Chestnuts Roasting on an Open Fire*), the piece summons up all the elements of a Christmas festival—masques, *zarabandas* and other dancing, lavish decorations and clothing, pipes, drums, and so on. As in many villancicos, the chorus acts dramatically in the role of the festival crowd, shouting affirmations (*¡vaya!*) for each element of the celebration as the soloists name them. Whereas Gutiérrez de Padilla’s *En la gloria de un portalillo* focused primarily on the music of the historical Christmas day, the villancico of Cererols is

⁷ E-Bbc: M/760; Joan Cererols, *Joan Cererols III*, ed. David Pujols, Mestres de l’Escolania de Montserrat 3 (Monestir de Montserrat, 1932), 81–94.

unambiguously about celebrating “Christmas present.” The piece seeks a theological meaning behind the Christmas customs: the masques of Christmas, the poem says, are appropriate because in the Incarnation of Christ, *Dios se disfraza* (God masks himself). Cererols’s original audience of pilgrims to the mountain-top shrine of Montserrat would not have sung along with this piece, but the piece still invites their wholehearted participation in the rituals of Christmas, both through enjoying the choral singing and in the many other common-culture customs that the piece celebrates.

The villancico allowed performers and listeners to celebrate the festival in two senses: to sing the praises of the Christmas feast, while also singing the praises of Christ that were appropriate to that feast. It did not so much teach them anything about Christ’s birth as it modeled for them appropriate modes of devotion to the Christ-child. The primary purpose, I argue, is not to say that Christ *is* something but to worship Christ *as* something.

These pieces presented hearers with a discourse about music, through music. Sometimes the music they refer to is literal, human music-making; other times it is more abstract, like the music of the spheres or the harmony of human and divine in the incarnate Christ. In every case, analyzing the musical choices made to represent texts about music helps us understand how the creators and their audiences heard different kinds of music. And interpreting their theological aspect enables us to see how these pieces served to communicate with hearers at a spiritual level.

2 Paying Attention to Villancicos

Villancicos continue to demand that we listen. 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, which can deepen our understanding of music’s role in early modern religious culture. Villancicos constituted a major element of the soundscape of the early modern Ibero-American world. They shaped the everyday experiences of thousands of people across social strata. They provide evidence for a sustained effort by Spanish church leaders to use music to make faith appeal to the sense of hearing, and they reflect widely held beliefs and attitudes about music’s spiritual power.

This book is the first major effort to understand the meanings and functions of this music as a form of religious practice, integrating musical and theological interpretation. Despite the genre’s rich potential to inform several disciplines including literary studies, religious studies, and musicology, few

scholars have sought to understand this music in the theological context for which it was created, after initial movements in this direction by Paul Laird and Bernardo Illari.⁸ Most of the known sources of villancico music and poetry have now been cataloged and many are becoming available online, but only a handful have been revived in performance, and the genre has received relatively little serious scholarly attention.⁹ Even scholars of music in the Spanish Empire have overlooked these musical sources, in line with a recent trend toward a social-historical approach that emphasizes critiquing colonial power and draws primarily on documentary evidence rather than on musical texts, whether because of a lack of sources or by deliberate methodological choice.¹⁰ The growing discourse on sound and sensation in the early modern world

⁸ Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico*; Illari, “Polychoral Culture.”

⁹ Catalogs of villancico poetry imprints: Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Catálogo de villancicos de la Biblioteca Nacional, Siglo XVII* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1992); Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Catálogo de villancicos y oratorios en la Biblioteca Nacional, siglos XVIII–XIX* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1990); Álvaro Torrente and Miguel Ángel Marín, *Pliegos de villancicos en la British Library (Londres) y la University Library (Cambridge)* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2000); Álvaro Torrente and Janet Hathaway, *Pliegos de villancicos en la Hispanic Society of America y la New York Public Library* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2007); Daniel Codina i Giol, *Catàleg dels villancicos i oratoris impresos de la Biblioteca de Montserrat, segles XVII–XIX* (Montserrat: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2003); selected catalogs of collections including villancico music manuscripts: Felip Pedrell, *Catàleg de la Biblioteca musical de la Diputació de Barcelona*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Palau de la Diputació, 1908); 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); Aurelio Tello et al., eds., *Colección Sánchez Garza: Estudio documental y catálogo de un acervo musical novohispano* (Mexico City: Mexico, Secretaría de Cultura, 2018); José López-Caló, *La música en la Catedral de Segovia*, 2 vols. (Segovia: Diputación Provincial de Segovia, 1988); Francesc Bonastre, Josep Maria Grecgori, and Andreu Guinart i Verdaguier, *Fons de l'Església Parroquial de Sant Pere i Sant Pau de Canet de Mar* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura i Mitjans de Comunicació, 2009); Antonio Ezquierro Estéban and Luis Antonio González Marín, “Catálogo del fondo documental del siglo XVII del Archivo musical de las catedrales de Zaragoza (Zac),” *Anuario musical* 46 (1991): 127–171; Robert Murrell Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington, DC: General Secretaria, Organization of American States, 1970).

¹⁰ Gary Tomlinson, *The Singing of the New World: Indigenous Voice in the Era of European Contact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); David Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Jesús A. Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral: Music, Race, and Status in New Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

will only benefit from a greater engagement with Spanish musical sources.¹¹ Another study of Catholic concepts of music and hearing, focused on Italy, provides a valuable analysis of verbal discourse *about* music but does not connect it to actual practices of music-making.¹² 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. At the same time, the book offers a fresh approach by considering this music as a source for historical theology, something few scholars have done.

If inquirers today wish to know what early modern Christians believed, we must listen carefully to how they made their faith heard. And if we wish to understand not only what music meant to early modern people but even the details of how music worked, we must contemplate what the makers and hearers of that music believed about its sacred power. In that endeavor our goal must be to understand their beliefs, not to impose ours. My own Christian faith (I am a Methodist) does give me sympathy for some historic Catholic beliefs but it also makes me more critical of others, in particular the Church's promotion of slavery and social inequity. Interpreting villancicos requires us to

¹¹ Daniele Filippi and Michael Noone, eds., *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism: Perspectives from Musicology* (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Richard Cullen Rath, *How Early America Sounded* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003); Ana María Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Colombia* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); Jeffrey Dean, "Listening to Sacred Polyphony c. 1500," *Early Music* 25, no. 4 (1997): 611–636; Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Penelope Gouk, "The Role of Harmonics in the Scientific Revolution," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 223–245; 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 and Helen Hills, *Representing Emotions: New Connections in the Histories of Art, Music, and Medicine* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005); Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Linda Phyllis Austern, "'Tis Nature's Voice': Music, Natural Philosophy and the Hidden World in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Music Theory and Natural Order from the Renaissance to the Early Twentieth Century*, ed. Suzannah Clark and Alexander Rehding (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 30–67; Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998); Martha Feldman, "Music and the Order of the Passions," in *Representing the Passions: Histories, Bodies, Visions*, ed. Richard Meyer (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2003), 37–67; Grayson Wagstaff, "Processions for the Dead, the Senses, and Ritual Identity in Colonial Mexico," in *Music, Sensation, and Sensuality*, ed. Linda Phyllis Austern, Critical and Cultural Musicology 5 (New York: Routledge, 2002), 167–180.

¹² Andrew Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

distance ourselves from our own religious ideas—or anti-religious ideas—in order to hear the world through historic ears, to the extent we can venture to do so.¹³

By theology I do not mean the tired repetition of settled church doctrines such as articles of the Creed or dogmas of the Council of Trent. Instead I understand theology as a creative activity of imaginatively, even 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, the liturgy, and theological writings, ancient and contemporary. It meant interpreting new texts in light of these old ones, and reinterpreting the old ones in light of the new. And as we will see below, it grew out of and reinforced a view of the world as a book waiting to be read.

The creators of villancicos drew on common experiences of everyday life and linked them to the sacred in inventive ways that met the spiritual 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?" (Mark 4:21). The more surprising and puzzling the connection, the better—such as representing the Virgin Mary as the chapelmaster of the heavenly chorus (see below), or imagining Christ as a gambling card player.¹⁴

In this way villancicos embody much of Paul Ricoeur's theory of metaphor as the bringing together of two contradictory interpretations of an utterance. Through a "metaphorical twist," a novel comparison changes the reader's view of both elements being compared.¹⁵ Spanish literary critics have used the term *conceptismo* to label the metaphorical technique used in this kind of poetry, pioneered by Alonso de Ledesma in his *Conceptos espirituales* of 1600 and described by Baltasar Gracián.¹⁶ Ledesma's earthy approach, aimed at relatively

¹³ Shai Burstyn, "In Quest of the Period Ear," *Early Music* 25, no. 4 (1997): 693–701; for an example of the anti-religious approach, see Sophia Menache, *The Vox Dei: Communication in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

¹⁴ 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.

¹⁵ Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth, TX: TCU Press, 1976).

¹⁶ Baltasar Gracián, *Agudeza y arte de ingenio, en que se explican todos los modos y diferencias de concetos, con exemplares escogidos de todo lo mas bien dicho, assi sacro, como humano* (Antwerp, 1669); Mary Malcolm Gaylord, "The Making of Baroque Poetry," in *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, ed. David Gies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 227–228; Ángel Valbuena Prat, *Historia de la literatura española*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1946); Torrente, "El villancico religioso," 447–448.

uncultivated readers, differed starkly from the later poetry of Luis de Góngora in which the language was pushed to the brink of incomprehensibility; but both approaches were well represented in villancico poetry.¹⁷ The label *conceptismo* alone, though, does not do much to explain how the process of signification worked in these pieces or, more importantly, why Spaniards enjoyed thinking this way. It also does not help us understand the additional layer of signification added through music, in which a poetic concept is realized through properly musical kinds of concepts. In religious poetry, I propose, *conceptismo* was a specific literary form for theological thinking. It provided a set of conventions through which writers used metaphor to provoke readers to connect human and divine, temporal and eternal. This study shows how Spanish musicians developed their own approaches in form and style to amplify the theological thinking in the poetic texts. In other words, they cultivated music as a form of creative theology.

The book is organized in two parts, in which the two chapters of the first part explore the central questions about music's role in the relationship between faith and hearing, based on a global sampling of the repertoire. The musical and poetic sources have been edited, mostly for the first time, from sources in nine archives in Mexico, Spain, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The rest of this chapter examines the different ways Spanish musicians used the music of villancicos to refer to other kinds of music, and the theological framework that shaped their beliefs about what this music could do. Chapter 2 draws on villancicos on the subject of sensation and faith, including representations of deafness, to explore the problems Catholics encountered as they attempted to make faith appeal to hearing. The three chapters of part 2, then, present case studies of individual villancicos or sets of closely related pieces centered in Puebla, Montserrat, and Zaragoza, respectively, all of which use "music about music" to foster a Neoplatonic listening practice. They challenge hearers to move past the simple level of audible music and rise to contemplate a higher, unhearable kind of music. These chapters also demonstrate that Spanish composers used metamusical villancicos to establish their place in a lineage of composition, as they developed a set of conventions for metamusical representation.

¹⁷ Martha Lilia Tenorio, *El Gongorismo en Nueva España: Ensayo de restitución* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2013).

3 Music about Music in the Villancico Genre

Sacred villancicos flourished especially in the second half of the seventeenth century but continued to be a prominent element of Spanish Christian worship through the nineteenth century in some places. (The simpler folkloric Christmas carols denoted by *villancico* today probably developed in parallel to this tradition of complex notated music and absorbed some influences from it.) Communities from Madrid to Manila heard and performed villancicos on the highest feast days of the year—not just Christmas, but also Epiphany, Corpus Christi, the Conception of Mary, and saints' days of local importance. (They were less common in Holy Week, but there are examples of “Passion” villancicos.) Villancicos were typically presented in sets of eight or more, and were interpolated after or in place of the Responsory chants of the Matins liturgy. They were also sung in Mass and during Eucharistic devotional services. Festival crowds heard villancicos in the public square in processions and mystery plays, especially on Corpus Christi.

Villancicos were at once a genre of poetry and of music. As religious lyric poetry, villancicos were printed in unbound leaflets or broadsheets (*pliegos sueltos*) that advertised or commemorated the performance of the musical settings in a particular place.¹⁸ These imprints were disseminated all across the empire, partly through networks of musicians. A single *villancico poem* is in many cases just one individual variant of a broader *villancico family*, a group of closely related texts and their variants.

As a musical genre, the settings of villancico poems prioritize the clarity and meaning of the words, and like other seventeenth-century vocal music typically present one phrase of text at a time. They were performed by ensembles of voices, from as small as one or two solo voices to as large as three separate choruses of a dozen vocal parts with multiple singers per part. The very small-scale pieces are similar in texture and style to Italian or German sacred concertos and English verse anthems; later in the seventeenth century they become more like continuo songs.¹⁹ The pieces with larger scoring feature lively contrasts of texture between each choir, the full ensemble, and soloists, rather like an English full anthem. Voices were typically accompanied by a continuo group of bass-line instruments like dulcian (*bajón*) and polyphonic instruments like harp and organ. Vocal parts could be doubled

¹⁸ Cipriano López Lorenzo, “El villancico sevillano del siglo XVII (1621–1700),” *Calliope* 21, no. 2 (2016): 59–92.

¹⁹ Robert L. Kendrick, “Devotion, Piety, and Commemoration: Sacred Songs and Oratorios,” in Carter and Butt, *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 324–377.

with reed instruments like dulcians and shawms (*chirimías*) and brass instruments like sackbutts (*sacabuches*). The words for these pieces were in Spanish and sometimes other vernacular languages including Portuguese, Catalan, and Náhuatl, along with pieces whose texts imitated the dialects of African slaves. The music varied in style and technique from elements of common dances and popular tunes up to the most sophisticated polyphonic tone-painting. Sets or cycles of villancicos for a particular feast like Christmas included many different subtypes of villancicos within them, offering something for everyone.

The structure of villancicos reflects the effort to communicate on multiple levels. The *estribillo* or refrain section of a typical villancico was presented by the full ensemble at the beginning and then repeated at the end; 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.²⁰ Bernardo Illari argues that the coplas spoke more directly to common people.²¹ It would have been easier for them to make sense of the words that were sung to the simple, repeating melodies. The tunes may also have been familiar if they were based on oral traditions for singing poetry to stock melodic formulas, especially in *romance* meter. The estribillo, by contrast, would appeal more to the cultivated elite, as it was often much more complex and drew on traditions of learned counterpoint.

Our initial examples of metamusical villancicos by Gutiérrez de Padilla and Cererols combine several of the common tropes of “music about music” in the villancico genre, as evidenced by a global survey of extant villancico poems and music.²² More than eight hundred villancicos were found in which themes of musical hearing were central, a number that only hints at the original size of this repertoire. These metamusical villancicos may be grouped in eight main categories (table 1): in descending order of frequency these are hearing and sound, music and singing, birdsong, dance, musical instruments, angelic musicians, music of the heavenly spheres, and pieces that treat the relationship

²⁰ Sometimes preceding the estribillo was an *introducción*, usually for a smaller group; and in earlier examples the estribillo could lead to a *responsión*, an amplified version of the estribillo for full ensemble.

²¹ 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.

²² The survey was based on the listings in catalogs and published studies and from archival sources, some previously unknown, from all over the former Spanish Empire (see the bibliography).

TABLE 1 Topics of metamusical villancicos in global survey

Quantity	Percent	Topic	Notes
268	30.9	Hearing, sound	Explicit references to the sense of hearing, as well as echoes, applause, and exhortations to “listen,” “hear,” or “be quiet”
150	17.3	Music, singing	General references to music, singing, voices, harmony, rhythm, counterpoint, solmization
134	15.5	Birdsong	Birds as musicians, their songs, specific birds like the <i>ruiseñor</i> (nightingale)
113	13.0	Dance	Invitations to dance, specific dances such as the <i>jácaro</i> ; including “ethnic” villancicos parodying the singing and dancing of blacks, Indians, “gypsies,” Catalans, etc.
76	8.8	Instruments	<i>Clarín</i> (clarion or bugle: 38 examples in survey), bells, drums, castanets, tambourines, flute, violin, theorbo
75	8.7	Angels	Angelic choirs, musicians, specific types of angels like cherubim and seraphim (selected from vast corpus about angels in general)
20	2.3	Heavens or spheres	Usually referring to harmony of the moving planets in motion in the realm of “the heavens” or sky (<i>cielo</i> , <i>cielos</i>), rather than supernatural “Heaven” (<i>cielo Empyreo</i>)
16	1.8	Sensation and faith	Connecting faith with the senses, especially hearing and sight
15	1.7	Affects	Exhortations to weep, cry, rejoice; apostrophes to the affects themselves
867		TOTAL	

of sensation and faith. An additional category of pieces about affects is also included, since these pieces, though not explicitly about music, do address the question of how listeners should respond in worship.

In each of the categories in table 1, we may distinguish between two main ways of referring to music. Some pieces are primarily imitative, referring to real human music-making (Boethius’s *musica instrumentalis*). These pieces are highly *intermusical*, in the way a verbal text full of references to other texts is intertextual. In contrast to this first category of imitative pieces, villancicos in a second category refer to music as more of an abstract concept, such as the higher Boethian levels of music, music as a Neoplatonic ideal, and the music of Heaven—notions that overlap in inconsistent ways in early modern thought. Of course, the pieces in the latter group still refer to music in the abstract through the medium of real sounding music. Some of these pieces depend more on *intramusical* relationships—that is, musical references internal to the individual piece itself, such as melodic or rhythmic motives or internal contrasts of musical style without overt references to pre-existing styles “outside the piece.” In this section we will look at key examples in several of these cate-



MUSIC EXAMPLE 2 Bird-like trills in Cáseda, *Sagrado pajarillo*, excerpt from the estribillo, Tiple I-1

gories, moving up a Neoplatonic chain of being from the simplest imitations of birdsong to the more conceptually challenging evocations of heavenly music.

3.1 *Imitative References to Music: Birdsong, Instruments, Songs and Dances*

A frequent example of imitative musical reference in villancicos is when the ornamented vocal lines are used to represent birdsong.²³ In a piece called *Sagrado pajarillo* (Little sacred bird), Zaragoza composer José de Cáseda sets the lyrics *con gorgeos* (with trills) to twittering melismas (music example 2).²⁴ Birdsong had theological importance as the paradigm of music-making in the natural world, a reflection of God's own artifice in creation (see below). Using human voices to imitate birdsong, then, prompted listeners to consider how the artifice of human music reflected the order of creation.

Next to the musical sounds of animals, the sounds of musical instruments provided rich possibilities for musical imitation in a theological context. Wooden sounding boards, brass pipes, and gut strings allowed human players to take the potential of music built into the created world—such as the perfect Pythagorean ratios of the overtone series—and actualize them in sound. To imitate percussion instruments, for example, villancico composers paired onomatopoetic nonsense words with distinctive rhythmic patterns. Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla had the chorus of Puebla Cathedral represent the sound of the castanets and tabor with contrasting onomatopoetic rhythmic patterns on the words *al chaz, chaz de la castañuela, y el tapalatán de el tamboril* (music example 3). Such pieces about instrumental music imitate the instrument itself while also playing with a stylistic topic associated with that instrument.

The same instrumental trope appears in a villancico poem performed at Toledo Cathedral in 1645.²⁵ Though the music, credited in the poetry imprint to Vicente García, has not been found, the words alone conjure up a racket of percussion sound:

²³ Illari, "Polychoral Culture," 295–301.

²⁴ This piece comes from the archive of the Conceptionist Convento de la Santísima Trinidad in Puebla de los Ángeles and is now preserved at CENIDIM in Mexico City (*MEX-Mcen: csg.155*): Tello et al., *Colección Sánchez Garza*.

²⁵ *E-Mn: VE/88/12*, no. 6.

The musical score for 'Alzagales de todo el ejido' features five staves. The top three staves represent vocal parts: Ti.I (Treble), T.I (Tenor), and A.II/T.II (Alto/Bass). The bottom two staves represent instrumental parts: B.I (Bass) and [instr.] (Tabor). The music is set in common time (C3). The lyrics, written below the notes, describe sounds from a mule and instruments like castanets and tabor.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 3 Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Alto zagalas de todo el ejido* (MEX-Pc: Leg. 2/1, Christmas 1653), estribillo: Imitation of castanets and tabor

Porque los instrumentos sonaban así,

El Atabal, tan, tan, tan,
El Almirez, tin, tin, tin,
la Esquila, dilín, dilín,
y la Campana, dalán, dalán,
Las Sonajas, chas, chas, chas,
y el Pandero, tapalapatán.

Because the instruments sounded like this:

the drum, tan, tan, tan,
the mortar, tin, tin, tin
the chime, dilín, dilín,
the bell, dalán, dalán,
the rattle, chas, chas, chas,
and the tambourine, tapalapatán.

The instruments in this list are simple, rustic noisemakers from everyday peasant life.²⁶ In this Christmas villancico the instruments, which are described further in the coplas, join together with the sounds of the mule and other animals, and the dances of the shepherds. This piece, like many villancicos, depicts

²⁶ Note that this source from Toledo spells the rattling sound *chas* while Gutiérrez de Padilla's manuscripts from New Spain spell it *chaz*, where the latter sources reflect the Andalusian accent of the Spanish settlers of central Mexico.



MUSIC EXAMPLE 4 Matías Durango, *Cajas y clarines* (E-E: Mús. 29/15, Tiple I-1, estribillo):
Imitation of *clarín* by voice and shawm



MUSIC EXAMPLE 5 Sebastián Durón, *Dulce armonía* (E-E: Mús. 32/16, estribillo): Extant
clarín part

a scene of common folk rejoicing after their own fashion in the humble setting of the Bethlehem stable. The focus here is not on instrumental performance in the present day but on helping listeners imagine the sounds of the first Christmas. Imitating an instrument did not mean that the instrument was actually used in church; indeed in many cases the situation seems to have been the opposite.²⁷

3.1.1 Becoming Clarions

Another common example of the imitative, intermusical type would be the many pieces that mention the *clarín* (clarion or bugle), in which the singers perform patterns that are meant to sound like brass fanfares. The typical style of clarion evocations may be seen in two examples from the archive of the Escorial, which holds much of the surviving repertoire of the Spanish Royal Chapel. Most clarín pieces do not actually feature written-out clarín parts; in most cases the instrument is imitated vocally or by other instruments, like *chirimías* (shawms). Matías Durango's *Cajas y clarines* (Drums and bugles) evokes these instruments with voices and shawms in martial style, as part of a broader battle topic.²⁸ Durango's clarín topic is strikingly similar to one of the rare surviving clarín parts from a villancico, in a fragment by the prominent Madrid composer Sebastián Durón, in the same collection of music from the Royal Chapel preserved at the Escorial (music example 4.5).²⁹ A villancico by José Romero from about 1690, *Suene el clarín* (Let the clarion resound) includes an actual notated part for *los clarines de los autos*, that is, for the clarions played in the *autos sacramentales* or public Corpus Christi dramas.³⁰ The sung voices

²⁷ Despite the fanciful reconstructions that can be heard in modern recordings, more evidence is needed to establish that percussion instruments were used in church.

²⁸ E-E: Mús. 29/15.

²⁹ E-E: Mús. 32/16.

³⁰ D-Mbs: Mus. ms. 2914, edited in Cabero Pueyo, *Der Villancico*, 655–661.

layer bugle-like gestures above them, creating a more complex fanfare than the valveless instruments could play on their own.

Why were there so many references to the clarín but so few written parts? The lack of parts apparently means that clarion music was more commonly improvised. The references in villancicos suggest that clarions were typically used at moments of civic importance, signaling a call to arms, announcing victory, or heralding the arrival of the king or his representative. In other words, the clarion was a means of civic communication, not musical performance, and its calls could not be imitated out of context any more than someone could yell “fire” in a crowded cathedral. Having the actual bugle call would literally alarm people and the opportunity to use the instrument symbolically would be lost.

The clarín was used in military, royal, and apocalyptic symbolism as far back as the allegorical *clairon* fanfares in the 1454 Feast of the Pheasant hosted by the ancestor of the Habsburg monarchs, Philip the Fair of Burgundy.³¹ In *No temas, no recelas* by another famed Madrid composer, Cristóbal Galán (from ca. 1691), the voices represent clarín music in a scene of “heavenly armies” going to battle.³²

Imitating the clarion within a battle topic was not always just a spiritual symbol: it was often used like real bugle fanfares were, to celebrate military victories or boost morale in the midst of conflicts.³³ The anonymous villancico *Noble clarín de la fama* states on the cover page that it was performed “for the profession of the sisters *Señoras* Sor Sagismunda and Sor Jacinta Perpinyà into the Convent of Santa Clara of Gerona, 1693.”³⁴ The surname of these siblings (sisters by blood and now by vow) is the name of Perpignan, capital of the Catalan region of Rosselló, which had become the French Roussillon after the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659. A long struggle over this border territory in the War of the Grand Alliance climaxed in the year this villancico was performed, as the French marshal Catinat triumphed over the allied powers at Marsaglia.

³¹ Olivier de La Marche, *Mémoires d’Olivier de la Marche*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1888), 340–380; M. Jennifer Bloxam, “I Have Never Seen Your Equal”: Agricola, the Virgin, and the Creed,” *Early Music* 34 (2006): 391–408; Leeman L. Perkins, “Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI (1422–1483),” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 507–566. On the symbolism of this instrument in contemporary Spanish drama, in which *Clarín* was the name of a comic stock character, see Anita Damjanovic, “The Metamorphoses of Clarín” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2016).

³² D-Mbs: Mus. ms. 2892, edited in Cabero Pueyo, *Der Villancico*, 555–565.

³³ Illari, “Polychoral Culture,” 288–294.

³⁴ E-Bbc: M/772/35.

POEM EXAMPLE 2 *Venid querubines alados*, poem set by Hidalgo (*D-Mbs: Mus. ms. 2895*), copla 5

5. Las aves que sobre el viento
tejen plumado pensil,
para hacer la salva al sol,
cada pico es un clarín.

*Escuchad, atended,
que el clarín de su aurora,
mi voz ha de ser.*

The birds who upon the wind
trace their plumed quill,
to sound the salvo to the sun,
each beak is a clarion.

*Listen, hark,
for the clarion of his dawn
my voice shall be.*

The villancico appears to align Catalan identity with the French cause, as it praises the “Catalan Amazons, who have the name of Perpignan,” who “seek today good protection for their defense in Francisco”—that is, they look for protection both to Saint Francis, the probable patron of their order, and to France. In enlisting for spiritual battle with Francis, the estribillo suggests, the sisters themselves are becoming clarions of war.³⁵

At this moment of commitment in these young women’s lives, coinciding with a political crisis, the concept of *becoming* a clarion held more significance theologically than the mere sound of the actual instrument. This concept is realized even more completely through musical representation in the villancico *Venid, querubines alados* by Juan Hidalgo (1614–1685, composer of the first Spanish operas for the royal court).³⁶ In this chamber villancico or *tono divino*, the two voices sing that just as the birds of the dawn are *clarines* celebrating the Blessed Virgin, so too will their own voices become *clarines* (poem example 2). Hidalgo interweaves the two voice parts in rising fanfare gestures that actually allowed listeners to hear the singers transforming their voices into *clarines* (music example 6).

Raúl Angulo Díaz has shown that this is one of several sacred reworkings of a *tono humano* of 1673, *Venid a la olímpica lucha* from the second act of the drama

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

36 *D-Mbs: Mus. ms. 2895*; in Juan Hidalgo, *Tonos y villancicos*, ed. Lola Josa and Mariano Lambea (Madrid: DAIREA Ediciones, 2017), 127–128. On Hidalgo’s theater music, see Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

The musical score for Juan Hidalgo's "Venid querubines alados" features four staves. The top two staves are for Tenor voices (Ti. 1 and Ti. 2), which sing in unison. The third staff is for the Accompaniment (Acomp.), and the bottom staff is for the Harpsichord (Arpa). The music is in common time and C major. The vocal parts sing the lyrics "Es - cu - chad, a - ten - ded, que el cla - rín de su au - ro - ra, cla -" and "Es - cu - chad, a - ten - ded, que el cla - rín de su au -". The accompaniment and harpsichord provide harmonic support throughout the piece.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 6 Hidalgo, *Venid querubines alados*, duo response at end of each copla

Los juegos olímpicos by Agustín de Salazar y Torres.³⁷ In the original the voices became *el clarín de la fama*, “the clarion of fame” heralding the sporting victor. As a *tono divino*, the piece now transforms the civic, military, and political associations of the clarion into a call to individual piety and Marian devotion.

Clarion villancicos depended on the instrument’s signification of power to reiterate the sovereignty of the Spanish church and state. They proclaimed that God was working through a divinely ordained power structure to govern his creation. That vision of the world was certainly oppressive to many but its stability surely gave comfort to others. We can affirm that the “music of state” in the Spanish Empire served as an “instrument of dominion” while also acknowledging that many Spanish subjects actually believed in the theological foundations of their political order and even actively contributed to reinforcing it.³⁸

37 Juan Hidalgo, *Obras sacras*, ed. Raúl Angulo Díaz, vol. 3 (Madrid: Asociación Ars Hispana, 2019), 25–35.

38 Pablo-Lorenzo Rodríguez, “The Villancico as Music of State in 17th-Century Spain,” in Knighton and Torrente, *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 189–198*; Jack W. Sage, “Music

3.1.2 Dance and Difference

Dance topics in villancicos provided another way for the genre to point beyond itself to other kinds of music in society, and like clarion topics these references both reflected and reinforced Spanish attitudes toward social structure. Many dances are explicitly named and often the text proclaims the villancico itself to be a specific kind of dance, including *zarabanda*, *jácaro*, *guarache*, *danza de espadas*, and *papalotillo*. In many cases no other music survives for dances by these names, or there are only sketchy outlines for an improvised tradition, while the villancico arrangements provide a complete musical texture.³⁹ Like clarion pieces, though, these are abstractions of the music they reference. They are not apparently meant for real dancing, but instead provide a discourse about dancing.⁴⁰

In the sacred *jácaras* by Gutiérrez de Padilla for each successive year 1651–1653, the composer continues to develop the same tune, harmonic pattern, and rhythmic groove. The basic pattern is closely similar to the music Álvaro Torrente has reconstructed for the secular *jácaro*, which was like a ballad celebrating the exploits of renegade heroes with colorful and often bawdy underworld slang.⁴¹ Mixing outlaw language with chivalric imagery and offbeat theological references, the sacred *jácaras* from Puebla depict the baby Jesus with typical braggadocio as a frontier fighter arriving on the scene to finish off a feud with the devil—in the one from 1655, he comes “from way up in Texas.” As in hip hop today, verbal virtuosity and inside references were prized in this genre. In Gutiérrez de Padilla’s best-known *jácaro*, *A la jácaro, jacarilla* (1653), every line of the coplas is built from *principios de romances* (the first lines of traditional

as an ‘Instrumentum Regni’ in Spanish Seventeenth-Century Drama,” *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 61, no. 3 (1994): 384–390.

- 39 For example, Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz, y norte musical para caminar por las cifras de la Guitarra Española, y Arpa, tañer, y cantar á compás por canto de Organo; y breue explicacion del Arte, con preceptos faciles, indubitables, y explicados con claras reglas por teorica, y practica* (Madrid, 1677); inventively reconstructed, Andrew Lawrence-King, *Spanish Dances: Selections from Ruiz de Ribayaz’s Luz y norte*, (CD) The Harp Consort (Deutsche Harmonia Mundi, 1995).
- 40 There was ritual dance on Corpus Christi in Seville and Valencia cathedrals, performed by the boy choristers known as *seises*, but more research is needed on the question of whether villancico performances included actual dance or other staging elements. Juan Bautista Comes, *Danzas del Santísimo Corpus Christi*, ed. Vicente García Julbe and Manuel Palau (Valencia: Instituto Valenciano de Musicología, Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, Diputación Provincial de Valencia, 1952).
- 41 Álvaro Torrente, “¿Cómo se cantaba al ‘tono de jácaro’?”, in *Literatura y música del hampa en los Siglos de Oro*, ed. María Luisa Lobato and Alain Bègue (Madrid: Visor Libros, 2014), 157–178; Torrente, “El villancico religioso,” 512–514.

romance ballads), an ingenious secret only hinted at in the final verse. The core of the music is clearly drawn from the secular dance, but each year Gutiérrez de Padilla made the setting more complex, contrapuntally and rhythmically. The clever plays of words and music in this subgenre may stem from the trickster quality of the *jaque* or *pícaro* (rogue).

The piece is explicit about its effort to bring together seemingly opposed worlds:

A la jácara, jacular de buen garbo y lindo porte, traigo por plato de corte siendo pasto de la villa.	Let's have a <i>jácaro</i> , a little <i>jácaro</i> , one that is well mannered and genteel, I bring as a dish of the court what is really feed from the village.
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The contrast between *corte* and *villa* is between noble and common, gentility and laborers, urban and rural, refined and crude—notably not sacred and secular. It is also a play on the term *villancico*, which comes from *villa*, and suggests an attempt to say something here about the function and meaning of the whole genre as a way of bringing high and low social registers together. Later in the century this subgenre, like most others, became increasingly conventionalized and removed from its worldly origins. Mateo de Villavieja's *Jácaro en anagramas* (from Madrid, Convento de la Encarnación) does preserve the earlier emphasis on ingenuity, as the piece is composed algorithmically from permutations of a set of poetic and musical phrases.⁴² But it has lost all stylistic references to the secular *jácaro*, and with them any engagement with the world outside church.

Metamusical references to traditional music-making of lower-class people extended also to the depiction of ethnic difference. There are villancicos that depict non-Castilian groups like Native Americans, African people, Catalans, Frenchmen, even Irishmen, through caricatured deformations of language and music.⁴³ What have come to be called “ethnic villancicos” were labeled in their

42 E-MO: AMM.4261.

43 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; Juana Luís Alves Simão, “The Villancicos de negros in Manuscript 50 of the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra: A Case Study of Black Cultural Agency and Racial Representation in 17th-Century Portugal” (Master of Music thesis, Bowling Green State University, 2017); Baltasar Fra Molinero, *La imagen de los negros en el teatro del Siglo de Oro* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1995); Car-

time as *villancicos de naciones* or by the name of the particular ethnic type for that piece, like *gallego* (Galician), *gitano* ("Gypsy"), *indio* ("Indian"), or *negro*, *guineo*, and similar terms for Africans. Most of these pieces, and especially the *villancicos de negro*, refer specifically to the characteristic music and dancing of these groups, often naming their instruments and describing their motions. The texts use a smattering of foreign words but mostly ask the performers to put on an accent in Spanish: in these caricatures the Gypsy ends all her words with a Z (*Puez los trez zon Magoz,/ hombrez de ezfera*).⁴⁴ The Black character says L and S when he should say R and J, drops ending S sounds, and mismatches genders and cases (*Mi siñol Manuele, [...] Sesu, [...] pluque son linda cosa*).⁴⁵ Villancicos about African characters also frequently feature nonsense syllables, whether lullaby phonemes like *ro ro ro ro* and *le le le le*, or apparent gibberish like *tumbucutú*, *cutú*, *cutú* and *gulumbé*, *gulumbá* that tells us what African languages like Kikongo sounded like to a Spanish ear.⁴⁶ This type of piece represents Africans as always happily engaged in drumming and dancing, even as it caricatures their music and movement through artificially distorted language and rhythm (music example 7).

In their metamusical references, these pieces employ literal imitation (as of percussion, and of the "musical" sound of foreign languages) and also point to the musical practices of their characters. Though no one has yet demonstrated any concrete links with African music traditions, such as may be found in other Latin American musics like *capoeira Angola* in Brazil, the music of *negrillas* must have sounded African to its Spanish audience, at least according to the conventions of exoticism.⁴⁷ These pieces also make more abstract references to music through the use of nonsense words that, somewhat like solmization syllables (see below), symbolize and enact music-making. Like *jácaras*, ethnic villancicos grow increasingly conventionalized and distant from their origins so

olina Santamaría, "Negrillas, negros y guineos y la representación musical de lo africano," *Cuadernos de música, artes visuales y artes escénicas* 2, no. 1 (2005): 4–20; K. Meira Goldberg, "Sonidos Negros: On the Blackness of Flamenco," *Dance Chronicle* 37 (2014): 85–113.

44 Vamos al portal gitanilla, Imprint from Epiphany 1666, Zaragoza, Iglesia de El Pilar (E-Mn: VE/1303/1), later attributed to Vicente Sánchez, *Lyra Poética de Vicente Sanchez, natrval de la Imperial Ciudad de Zaragoza. Obras Posthymas* (Zaragoza, 1688), 203–204.

45 Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Al establo más dichoso (Ensaladilla)*, MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/3; edited in Cashner, *Villancicos about Music*.

46 John M. Lipski, *A History of Afro-Hispanic Language: Five Centuries, Five Continents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

47 Gerhard Kubik, *Angolan Traits in Black Music, Games and Dances of Brazil: A Study of African Cultural Extensions Overseas* (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1979).

MUSIC EXAMPLE 7 Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Al establo más dichoso (Ensaladilla)* (MEX-Pc: Leg. 2/1, Puebla Cathedral, Christmas 1652), Negrilla section, dialogue of the Angolans

that the *negro* character in one year's villancicos was much more similar to the *negro* of the previous year's set than he probably was to any real African person. And like *clarín* pieces, ethnic villancicos both reflected and reinforced imperial Spain's power structure by projecting a theological vision of that structure as divinely ordained and immobile.

Their discourse on racial difference must be understood within a Neoplatonic theological concept of music and society, in which the lowliest elements in the created world could lead a person to the knowledge of the highest. Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, who included a “black villancico” in most of his Christmas cycles for Puebla, where Africans vastly outnumbered Spaniards, depicts the paradox of Neoplatonic thought when in 1652 he has a group of Black characters say “Listen, for we are singing like the angels.”⁴⁸ As the Angolans go on to sing a vernacular *Gloria in excelsis* in their dancing triple meter, full of syncopations notated by coloring in the mensural noteheads, above them suddenly enter the two boy soprano parts of the second chorus, which have been silent until now, singing the same *Gloria* with them—but in the white notes of duple meter, and quoting a plainchant intonation (music example 8). The Angolans and the angels are brought together for a miraculous moment through contrasting types of rhythmic movement in which the hidden harmony between earthly and heavenly music is revealed. The Angolans are in some ways depicted sympathetically, as instead of the gold, frankincense, and myrrh of the Magi (one of whom was portrayed on Puebla’s high altar as a

⁴⁸ Pablo Miguel Sierra Silva, *Urban Slavery in Colonial Mexico* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

The musical score consists of two staves. The top staff is for 'Choir II' (Ti. II A. II) and the bottom staff is for 'Choir I' (Ti. I A. I). The music is in common time. The vocal parts are labeled with lyrics in Spanish. The first section of lyrics is: 'Glo - ria en las al - tu - ras, y en la tie - rra paz.' The second section is: 'Glo - ria en las al - tu - ras, y en la tie - rra paz, y en la tie - rra paz.' The third section is: 'Glo - ria en las al - tu - ras, y en la tie - rra paz, y en la tie - rra paz.' The fourth section is: 'Glo - ria en las al - tu - ras, y en la tie - rra paz, y en la tie - rra paz.' The fifth section is: 'Glo - ria en las al - tu - ras, y en la tie - rra paz, y en la tie - rra paz.'

MUSIC EXAMPLE 8 Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Al establo más dichoso* (1652), *Negrilla*: Polymetrical *Gloria* of Angolans (Choir I) and angels (Choir II)

black African), bring the Christ-child the more homely but practical gifts of a potato, a toy, and diapers. The paradox is not only between the lowest kind of earthly music and the highest music of heaven, but between the idealized world represented in the music and the reality of 1650s Puebla. Gutiérrez de Padilla himself owned an enslaved Angolan man named Juan, and his depiction of slaves singing with angels only reinforced the structures that kept Juan in his place.⁴⁹

It is possible, though more evidence is needed, that the vogue for Black villancicos was linked to the practice across the Spanish and Portuguese empires of “Black Kings” festivals. At Epiphany, confraternities of enslaved and free people of African descent elected a mock royal court and paraded them around their city with music and dancing.⁵⁰ Their dances included military elements that originated from intercultural exchange with the Portuguese in the Christian Kingdom of Kongo before the start of slavery.

The villancicos, though, were created by Spaniards primarily for other Spaniards.⁵¹ “Black villancicos” are not really about depicting African identity but

49 Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez, “Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla desde el ámbito civil: Un *corpus* documental,” in *Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla y la época Palafoxiana*, ed. Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez (Puebla: Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, Secretaría de Cultura, 2010), 179–242.

50 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; Cécile Fromont, *The Art of Conversion: Christian Visual Culture in the Kingdom of Kongo* (Williamsburg, VA: Omohundro Institute for American History and Culture/University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

51 Carmen Fracchia argues that *villancicos de negro* were originally created by African authors and only later appropriated by Spanish poets. Though much more research is needed, it seems most likely that the “black” villancicos sung in Spanish churches in the seventeenth century were written, set to music, and performed by Spaniards. I disagree

are rather ways of constructing a Spanish one by reference to the Other. These pieces do not allow us direct access to subaltern voices, but as caricatures they do tell us about the insecurities, fears, and prejudices of Spaniards and may help us understand how they used theology to justify their position in an unjust society.⁵²

3.1.3 Villancicos about Villancicos

The conventions of the villancico genre itself become the subject of a special type of self-referential villancico *about* villancicos. In one sense, the many pieces beginning “Listen” or “Pay attention,” might be considered self-referential, since in these pieces the singers usually announce something about the piece, as in the setting of *Oigan, oigan la jacarilla* by José de Cáseda, or the poem performed in Montilla in 1689, *Oíganme cantar una tonadilla*—“hear me sing a tonadilla.”⁵³ This rhetorical posture owes something to the genre’s close relationship with the psalms in Matins, which are filled with such self-referential statements like “Sing to the Lord a new song” (Ps. 97:1). But it also draws on the comic and satirical elements of the Spanish minor theater, the low-register plays (*entremeses*) performed between acts of the more highbrow *comedias* by, for example, Lope de Vega and Calderón.⁵⁴ Similar to the Italian *intermezzi* skits of the eighteenth century that were the cradle of comic opera, Spanish *entremeses* were built from formulaic scenarios and stock characters—many of the same ones like Gil, Pascual, Bras, and Bartolo who appear in villancicos—and parodied the conventions of the *comedia*.

The anonymous villancico *Antón Llorente y Bartolo* (music example 9) presents two characters from a well-known *entremés* with close links to Cervantes’ *Don Quijote*, who want listeners to hear out their complaint about villancicos. The villancico poem is found in a 1639 Christmas imprint from Toledo

with the way Fracchia uses my interpretive suggestions as though these pieces represent authentic Black voices, rather than Black *characters* imagined by Spaniards. Carmen Fracchia, “Black but Human”: Slavery and Visual Art in Hapsburg Spain, 1480–1700 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 17–32.

⁵² See also Olivia A. Bloechl, “Race, Empire, and Early Music,” in *Rethinking Difference in Music Scholarship*, ed. Olivia A. Bloechl, Melanie Lowe, and Jeffrey Kallberg, 77–107; Kate Lowe and Tom Earle, eds., *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁵³ Respectively, MEX-Mcen: CSG.151, Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Catálogo de villancicos*, 116 (no signature listed). See Elisabeth LeGuin, *The Tonadilla in Performance: Lyric Comedy in Enlightenment Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).

⁵⁴ Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, ed., *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVIII ordenada* (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliére, 1911).

The musical score consists of five staves. The top four staves are labeled: Ti. I-1, Ti. I-2, A. I, and T/B. I. The bottom staff is labeled B. solo. The music is in common time, with a key signature of one sharp. The vocal parts sing in Spanish, while the B. solo part provides harmonic support. The lyrics describe characters from a play.

Ti. I-1
Ti. I-2
A. I
T/B. I

7
An - tón Llo - ren - te y Bar - to - lo, An - tón
Llo - ren - te y Bar - to - lo tra - za - ron un me - mo - rial de
que con los vi - llan - ci - cos se han al - za - do Gil y Bras.
15

RESPONSIÓN a 8

The score continues with the B. solo part. The lyrics describe the characters' reactions to the situation.

23 B. solo
No quie - ro que me Bras - en ni que me Gil - en, no quie - ro que me Bras - en ni que me Gil - en,
33 si - no que me Llo - ren - ten y me To - ri - bien, si - no que me Llo - ren - ten y me To - ri - bien,

MUSIC EXAMPLE 9 Anonymous, *Anton Llorente y Bartolo* (MEX-Mcen: CSG.014), first stanza of introducción and beginning of responsión (accompaniment omitted)

Cathedral and an anonymous musical setting survives from the Convento de la Santísima Trinidad in Puebla.⁵⁵ The more well-known stock characters Gil and Bras, they say, have held the stage for too long:

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

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

Anton Llorente and Bartolo insist that they could make a good enough villancico of their own if given the chance:

55 E-Mn: VE/88/6, MEX-Mcen: CSG.014.

Si ha de sonar el pandero,
solo Gil le ha de tocar,
y si ha de haber castañetas,
ha de repicarlas Bras.
También acá somos gentes
y alcanzar podemos ya
de un villancico un bocado
y un pellizco de un cantar.

If the tambourine is going to be played,
it is only Gil who ever plays it,
and if there have to be castanets,
Bras is the one to rattle them.
But here we are, we too are good fellows,
and we can even manage
a nibble of a villancico
and a pinch of a song.

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

No quiero que me Brasen y que me Gilen	I don't want them to Bras me or Gil me
sino que me Llorenten y me Toribien.	but only to Llorente me and Toribio me.

The anonymous musical setting for this embodies all the stereotypes of the villancico genre.⁵⁶ Set against the anticonventional words, the music seems like an attempt to *represent* typical villancico style, a fitting way to portray Anton Llorente and Bartolo performing a villancico. This is a villancico, then, in the style of villancicos.

As though the 1639 Toledo text were not self-referential enough, the creative team at the cathedral followed up the next year with another villancico that specifically referred back to *Anton Llorente y Bartolo*.⁵⁷ The narrator says that the *Brases* and *Giles* were so “frustrated by the sentence that Mayor Pasqual decreed against them last Christmas,” that “they appealed to another one who was more learned” (the “Mayor of Bethlehem” was another stock character in comic villancicos). Each one states his case for why he is needed at the Nativity, and Bras’s conclusion wryly sends up the conventionality of villancico poetry:

Cuanto ha qué Belén lo es, y ha sido el portal portal,	As long as Bethlehem has been what it is, and the stable has been a stable,
---	--

⁵⁶ One possible composer is the Seville Cathedral chapelmastor Fray Francisco de Santiago, whose setting of this text was cataloged as part of the now-lost library of King John (João) IV of Portugal: Paulo Craesbeck, ed., *Primeira parte do index da livraria de mysica do myto alto, e poderoso rey Dom João o IV. nosso senhor* ([Lisbon?], 1649), caixão 26, no. 675.

⁵⁷ *Quejosos de la sentencia que dio el alcalde Pasqual*, in imprint from Christmas 1640 at Toledo Cathedral, E-Mn: VE/88/7, no. 2.

a peligros de poetas
ha sido socorro Bras.

where poets have been in danger,
Bras is always there for aid.

The new mayor, in the name of keeping traditions, undoes the sentence of the previous year, and the chorus rejoices, because without Bras and Gil it would not be Christmas:

Que me Brasen, y Gilen
quiero zagales,
porque no soy amigo
de novedades.

I wish them
to Bras me and Gil me, lads,
because I am no friend
of novelties.

The chorus, speaking here for the mayor's subjects in the community, affirms the decision to keep their familiar Christmas characters:

Porque en saltando a esta fiesta
el pesebre, y el portal,
las pajas, Brases, y Giles,
no es fiesta de Navidad.

For if you take from this feast
the manger, the stable,
the straw, Brases, and Giles,
it is no festival of Christmas.

Here we have a scene of people clamoring for villancicos with all their corny conventions as a central part of making Christmas feel like Christmas. As the mayor says, one reason villancicos were so conventional may be because the feast they were most closely associated with was one where customs are carefully preserved. Part of cultivating those traditions meant naming them explicitly in song, as we have already seen in Cererols's *Fuera que va de invención*, like a North American Christmas tree ornament in the shape of a Christmas tree. The villancico's emphasis on having fun with Christmas customs still contributed to a theological function, even though the piece presents no learned doctrines.⁵⁸ Music that could prompt hearers to laughter and enjoyment could attract parishioners and make them feel at home within the church community, and for Catholics incorporating people into the church was nearly equivalent to the gospel.

3.2 Abstract References to Music as Concept or Symbol

In the second category of metamusical villancicos are pieces that refer to music more as an abstract concept, rather than making a specific, identifiable ref-

⁵⁸ Illari, "Polychoral Culture," 161–185.

erence to another kind of music. Two early examples are *Gil, pues a cantar* by court composer Pedro Ruimonte (one of the few villancico settings to be printed) and *Sobre vuestro canto llano* by Gaspar Fernández, the Guatemala-born chapelmaster of Puebla Cathedral before Gutiérrez de Padilla.⁵⁹ When Ruimonte sets the word *cantar* (sing) to a long melisma, or when Fernández illustrates the term *canto llano* (plainchant) with imitative counterpoint around a Tenor part that sounds like a cantus firmus, these composers are using the characteristic emblems of vocal music to refer to the concept of singing in general.

3.2.1 Solmization Puns and Theology of Voice Alone

One of the most common ways of explicitly singing about singing was to use solmization syllables—*ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*—in the poetry. References to Christ as *sol* (sun) are ubiquitous, and as shown in the opening example by Gutiérrez de Padilla, composers missed no opportunity to put this word on a pitch that could be solmized with that syllable (G, C, or D in the three Guidonian hexachords). Solmization tropes brought the rudiments of musical artifice into the foreground, forcing educated listeners to take note of the constructed nature of what they were hearing. No pun was too obvious. In composer Miguel de Aguilar's *oposición*—his audition piece—for a position at Zaragoza, *Mi sol nace y tiembla*, any choirboy could have guessed what he would choose for the opening pitches: E for *mi* and G for *sol*.⁶⁰ Solmization syllables were sometimes used for their own sake, without a symbolic meaning, somewhat like the “fa la la” refrains in contemporary English madrigals. Here sign and signified become one: the voice bears no message except the musical voice itself.

59 Pedro Ruimonte [Rimonte], *Parnaso español de madrigales y villancicos a cuatro, cinco y seys*, ed. Pedro Calahorra (Antwerp, 1614; Zaragoza: Excmo. Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, Institución “Fernando el Católico” [C.S.I.C.], 1980); Gaspar Fernandes, *Cancionero musical de Gaspar Fernandes: Tomo primero*, ed. Aurelio Tello (Mexico City: Centro Nacional de Investigación, Documentación e Información Musical Carlos Chávez, 2001); for crucial emendations to the latter composer's biography, see Omar Morales Abril, “Gaspar Fernández: su vida y obras como testimonio de la cultura musical novohispana a principios del siglo xvii,” in *Ejercicio y enseñanza de la música*, ed. Arturo Camacho Becerra (Oaxaca: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social [CIESAS], 2013), 71–125.

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

Passages of self-conscious solmization are not alluding to a particular kind of song but to the abstract category of singing. In Aguilar's *Mi sol nace*, the words have a dual function: on one side they communicate linguistic meaning ("my sun," which is itself metaphorical), but on the other side these musical syllables go beyond language, to both symbolize and embody music-making. Aguilar made this obvious gesture at the beginning of a piece intended to demonstrate his own skill at composition, in keeping with the tradition we will trace in part 2 of Spanish composers using metamusical villancicos to establish their compositional pedigree.

At the same time, the syllables themselves could also take on deep symbolic meanings, as we will see in chapter 3. In his 1672 music treatise Andrés Lorente uses the six solmization syllables as an acrostic to help musicians tune "the spiritual music of the person"—that is, to live with moral virtue.⁶¹ One hexachord leads up to communion with God; the other goes down to perdition.

The system of three hexachords offered additional symbolic potential because they were seen as transpositions of each other.⁶² In 1678, Segovia Cathedral chapelmaster Miguel de Irízar began the festivities of Christmas with the *calenda* piece, *Qué música celestial*, in which he used the hexachordal system to depict heavenly music coming down to earth (music example 10).⁶³ The piece dramatizes the moment when the shepherds of Bethlehem first hear the music of the angelic choir (Luke 2) by having three speakers ask, in turn, "What celestial music is this which alters the air?" "What sovereign harmony is this which elevates hearing?" "What light is this that transforms the dense night into day?" Of course, as the first villancico of Christmas heard in Segovia Cathedral that year, "this music" also refers to the music being performed in the present. Irízar gives the first voice to the Alto 1, who sings down all the steps of the soft hexachord from D₅ (*la*) to F₄ (*ut*). The figure is an epitome of music itself, a textbook example of solmization that begins at the very top of the Guidonian gamut (the second highest note on the hand). The second voice (Tiple 1-1), then,

61 Lorente, *El porqué de la música*, 689.

62 These are overlapping six-note scales on the syllables *ut, re, me, fa, sol, la*. The natural hexachord began on C; the soft or *mollis* hexachord, on F; and the hard or *durus* hexachord on G: Cristle Collins Judd, "Renaissance Modal Theory: Theoretical, Compositional, and Editorial Perspectives," in Christensen, *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, 364–406; Gregory Barnett, "Tonal Organization in Seventeenth-Century Music Theory," in Christensen, *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, 407–455; Karol Berger, *Musica ficta: Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto da Padova to Giuseppe Zarlino* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

63 E-SF: 18/36.

The musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is labeled 'solo' and 'A.I.' It begins with a rest followed by a melodic line. The lyrics are: '¿Qué mű - si - ca ce - les - tial es la que hoy el ai - real - te'. The second staff is labeled 'Ac.' and shows a basso continuo line with sustained notes and rhythmic patterns. The third staff is labeled 'Ti. I-I' and shows a tenor line. The lyrics are: '¿Qué so - be - ra - na ar - mo - ni - a es la que el o - í - do e - le - va?'. The fourth staff is labeled 'A.I.' and shows an alto line. The lyrics are: '- ra?'. The continuo part (Ac.) continues below the solo line.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 10 Irízar, *Qué música celestial* (E-SE: 18/36, Segovia Cathedral, Christmas 1678), opening

imitates the first phrase exactly, but transposed down a fourth into the natural hexachord (from A₄ to C₄).

The shift from the “altered” soft hexachord, with B flat, to the plain natural hexachord, symbolizes the movement of music from heaven to earth. Between the two singers, the two phrases outline the plagal ambitus of the second mode (from A to A, with a final on D), thus presenting hearers with a paradigm of perfect music, according to the most ancient of rules known to a late-seventeenth-century Spanish chapelmaster. Meanwhile, the bass line for the continuo accompaniment adds a further heaven–earth contrast, as it moves in canon with the singers but with a rhythmic displacement so that the bass and melody voices form a chain of 7–6 suspensions. The way the bass voice moves at a delay from the solo voice suggests the way earthly music imitates or echoes heavenly music. On the other hand, the contrapuntal pattern is a textbook example of fourth-species counterpoint, so it could also be a way of representing heavenly music itself. This kind of heavenly music defies human expectations but is at the same time governed by its own laws. A listener untrained in counterpoint might only have perceived a mysterious, haunting affect, and in any case the passage does evoke a *soberana armonía* that “elevates the sense of hearing” or “lifts up the ear.”

A little-known source from the Puebla Cathedral archive shows how much musicians treasured this kind of ingenuity. In a separate part of the archive from Gutiérrez de Padilla’s other villancicos or his Latin-texted polyphony is a small handwritten notebook containing an anthology of exemplary works gathered by an unknown musician, apparently a student to judge from the immature handwriting. After selections from Palestrina is a set of “Villancicos

The musical score consists of four staves of music in common time. The first staff begins with 'en la sol - fa mi - re,' followed by 'pues a - gra - cia - da en un pun - to, en un pun - to se ve con.' The second staff begins with 'NAT: re mi fa sol' and continues with 'MOL: sol la la mi sol la mi.' The third staff begins with 're mi sol la mi re mi re sol la' and continues with 're de mi sol, la ad - mi - re. A - ve, mi - ra - sol, A - ve, y la gra - cia.' The fourth staff begins with 'fue que el mi - la - no nun - ca, nun - ca la mi - re, nun - ca la mi - re, y e - lla al' and continues with 'sol mi re, al sol, y la mi - re, el sol, el sol, el sol, sol.' Various hexachordal solmization syllables (la, sol, fa, mi, re) are placed above the notes, and musical abbreviations like MOL:, NAT:, and FIC: are used.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 11 Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Miraba el sol*, extant Tenor part from manuscript anthology (*MEX-Pc*: Leg. 34), estribillo: Melody matching solmization syllables in text (Abbreviations for hexachords: *NAT*, *naturalis* on C; *MOL*, *mollis* on F; *DUR*, *durus* on G; *FIC*, *ficta* alteration)

of various authors,” in which there is copied just the Tenor part of a setting by Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Miraba el sol el águila bella*.⁶⁴ The part is a virtuoso demonstration of solmization puns. The text of the estribillo and responsión is made almost entirely of solmization syllables, as in *ella al sol mire y la mire el sol*. Gutiérrez de Padilla sets every syllable to the corresponding pitches so that for much of the piece, singing the lyrics is almost identical to singing the solmization (music example 11).

But the piece is not nonsense—in fact, the poet (perhaps Gutiérrez de Padilla himself) has managed to craft a semantically and theologically coherent text based on an entirely separate conceit relevant to the feast of the Conception of Mary, that of the Virgin Mary as an eagle. The eagle, Spaniards believed, had the power to look directly at the sun without harming its eyes, and thus the eagle was a fitting symbol for Mary as Immaculate.⁶⁵ That Mary was conceived without original sin was enforced as official dogma in Spain long before the rest of the church approved it, and Puebla Cathedral was dedicated to Mary as Immaculate. Gutiérrez de Padilla takes advantage of the hexachordal system, which means that there are usually three possible notes that could be solmized with a particular syllable, to add an additional symbolic layer embodying the

64 *MEX-Pc*: Leg. 34.

65 Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid, 1611), s.v. *águila*.

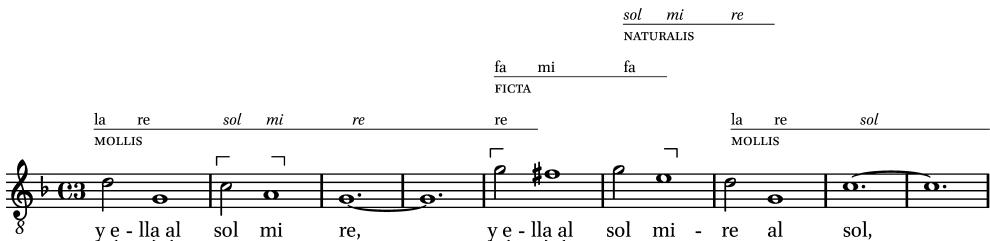


DIAGRAM 1 Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Miraba el sol*, estribillo: Hexachordal shift symbolizing Mary/Eagle in *mollis* turning to Christ/Sun (*sol*) in *naturalis*

eagle conceit through musical technique. To represent the eagle turning to the sun (and therefore Mary seeing the face of God), Gutiérrez de Padilla has the Tenor shift from the soft hexachord, through a ficta alteration, into the natural hexachord (diagram 1). He thus quite literally moves *al sol*—both because he moves to a note on *sol* and because he shifts to the hexachord that starts on the *sol* of the previous hexachord. Where Irízar shifted from the soft hexachord down to the natural for moving from heaven to earth, Gutiérrez de Padilla makes the same shift upwards to represent the eagle/Mary looking up to the heavens.

Even when solmization passages seem to lack lexical or symbolic meaning, they bear theological meaning as an embodiment of the voice itself, within the Neoplatonic system (explained more fully below). The voice expressed the essence of Man as the microcosm and a reflection of the Creator, a meaning it communicated independent of linguistic expression or musical-rhetorical patterns. Far from “signifying nothing,” as in the “aesthetics of pure voice” that Mauro Calcagno identifies in the contemporary Venetian theater productions of the Accademia degli Incogniti, much less any modern philosophical notions of the “voice itself” as separate from meaning, wordless passages in villancicos come nearer to signifying everything.⁶⁶

3.2.2 Music Itself as a Conceit

Solmization villancicos should be understood as a subtype of a category of villancicos in which music itself is the central conceit—not a specific type of

66 Mauro Calcagno, “Signifying Nothing: On the Aesthetics of Pure Voice in Early Venetian Opera,” *Journal of Musicology* 20, no. 4 (2003): 461–497; Martha Feldman, “The Interstitial Voice: An Opening,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 68, no. 3 (2015): 653–659; Roland Barthes, “The Grain of the Voice,” in *Image—Music—Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977); Mladen Dolar, *A Voice and Nothing More* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006); Adriana Cavareiro, *For More than One Voice: Toward a Philosophy of Vocal Expression*, trans. Paul A. Kottman (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005).

music (human, animal, or angelic), but music in the abstract. Such pieces often play on technical musical terms using the technique of *conceptismo* to create a double discourse about both music and theology. The most renowned of villancico poets today, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651–1695), used the conceit of Mary as a heavenly chapelmaster to create such a piece for the feast of the Assumption in Mexico City, 1676, though no musical setting survives.⁶⁷ The estribillo exhorts congregants to listen for Mary's voice (poem example 3). In the second copla Sor Juana uses the hexachord to trace the arc of Mary's exaltation from Annunciation to Assumption. Mary begins at *ut* with her response to the angel that she will bear Christ (*Ecce ancilla*, Luke 1:46–55), and ends on the *la* of the verse that recurs throughout the liturgies for the Assumption, *Exaltata est sancta Dei Genitrix/ Super choros Angelorum ad caelestia regna* (The holy bearer of God has been exalted above the choirs of angels to the heavenly realm). Copla 4 uses the dual identity of B as either natural (*mi* in the hard hexachord) or flat (*fa* in the soft hexachord or in *ficta*) as a symbol of Christ's dual nature as both human and divine, united in Mary's womb. Sor Juana demonstrates her own considerable learning in both music theory and theology—not to mention the elegance of her poetic craft—and also reveals how much she is expecting her readers to know.⁶⁸

When poetry like this was set to music, composers had the opportunity to match this intricate musical-theological discourse with another layer of symbols in the sounding music. This conjunction of verbal and musical play on musical concepts was no accident: the texts of villancicos were written specifically as lyrics for musical compositions, as Juan Díaz Rengifo stated in one of the earliest literary descriptions of the genre, and composers had every reason to favor poems that gave them opportunities for clever musical craftsmanship.⁶⁹ Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (chapter 3) and Joan Cererols (chapter 4) both took finely wrought, Gongoresque texts with musical conceits and added a rich musical commentary on those conceits in their intricate settings. Each chapter in part 2 traces a family of related villancicos with the same or similar texts and demonstrates that this type of high-concept metamusical villancico served a special purpose for Spanish musicians, enabling them to situate themselves within a tradition of composition.

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

68 Martha Lilia Tenorio, *Los villancicos de Sor Juana* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1999); Robert Murrell Stevenson, "Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz's Musical Rapports: A Tercentenary Remembrance," *Inter-American Music Review* 15, no. 1 (1996): 1–21.

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

POEM EXAMPLE 3 Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Silencio, atención, que canta Mariá*, excerpts
(Spanish text from Méndez Plancarte edition)

ESTRIBILLO

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

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

COPLAS

1. Hoy la Maestra Divina,
de la Capilla Suprema
hace ostentación lucida
de su sin igual destreza:
2. Desde el *ut* del *Ecce ancilla*,
por ser el más *bajo* empieza,
y subiendo más que el *Sol*
al *la* de *Exaltata* llega.
[...]
4. *Be-fa-be-mí*, que juntando
diversas Naturalezas,
unió el *mi* de la Divina
al *bajo fa* de la nuestra.
[...]

Today, she, the divine master
of the Supreme Chapel
makes a brilliant demonstration
of her unequalled virtuosity:
From the *ut* of “Behold the handmaid,”
since it is the lowliest, she begins,
and rising more than the sun/*sol*
she arrives at the state/*la* of [*She is*] exalted.
[...]
B (*fa*)/B (*mi*), since, joining
distinct natures,
[God] united the “me”/*mi* of the divine nature
to the “low *fa*” of our nature.
[...]

3.2.3 Pointing to a Higher Music: Heavenly and Angelic Music

Thus far we have seen how Spanish composers represented other kinds of music like birdsongs, instrumental music, and dances of different social groups within the villancico genre; and how they created songs that pointed to themselves, whether by parodying the genre's own conventions or by using solmization to draw listeners' attention to the act of singing itself. How, then, did composers use villancicos to refer not to any kind of earthly music, but rather to point to celestial (planetary) and heavenly (angelic, divine) music? When a villancico referred to the music of the spheres or to angelic music, the music signified was impossible to hear with earthly ears, so the human music would only function as a sign to the extent that a listener believed it to correspond to what those higher forms of music sounded like, or understood them to be mere imitations of something higher.

As we will trace in part 2, Spanish composers developed a family of conventional tropes for evoking heavenly music, and one of the most common was to set up a contrast between stylistic allusions to distinct types of human music with different values in a hierarchy of musical styles. The most elevated form of earthly music, learned counterpoint in the by-then classic style of Palestrina, was typically contrasted with more worldly types of music, such as the rhythms of dance and the melody-and-accompaniment style of popular songs. This hierarchy of human musics was mapped on to the greater hierarchy of earthly and heavenly music, so that old-style counterpoint stood in for angelic and divine music, though really it was the contrast between musical topics that gave it this meaning.⁷⁰ We have already seen this when Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla contrasts the music of Angolans and angels in his 1652 ethnic villancico. A typical example of the angelic trope is *Angélicos coros con gozo cantad*, a Christmas villancico by Antonio de Salazar from a Conceptionist convent in Puebla (music example 12).⁷¹ Salazar (ca. 1650–1715) was probably born in Puebla and may have sung in the Puebla Cathedral chapel under Gutiérrez de Padilla; he served as chapelmastor of Mexico City Cathedral from 1679.⁷² The convent collection features numerous pieces by Salazar, possibly composed or arranged specifically for this community. The convent was closely linked to the cathedral, and in fact some of the villancico parts by Gutiérrez de Padilla in the cathedral archive still bear the sisters' names, from some occasion when the parts were taken to the convent for the women to perform there.⁷³

The anonymous poem echoes the first Responsory of Christmas Matins (*Gaudet exercitus Angelorum*) as it invites the choirs of Christmas angels to sing

⁷⁰ This approach was used across confessional lines in early modern Europe, with well-known Lutheran examples by Heinrich Schütz, Dieterich Buxtehude, and J.S. Bach (all in music envisioning heavenly bliss after death): Gregory S. Johnston, “Rhetorical Personification of the Dead in 17th-Century German Funeral Music: Heinrich Schütz’s *Musikalische Exequien* (1636) and Three Works by Michael Wiedemann (1693),” *The Journal of Musicology* 9, no. 2 (1991): 186–213; David Yearsley, “Towards an Allegorical Interpretation of Buxtehude’s Funerary Counterpoints,” *Music & Letters* 80, no. 2 (1999): 183–206; David Yearsley, *Bach and the Meanings of Counterpoint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Lutherans cultivated a literature and iconography of musical encomium that overlaps in many ways with metamusical villancicos, partly because it drew on the same sources: Beate Agnes Schmidt, “‘Lauter Berenhäuterey’? Heinrich Schütz und das Lob der Musik,” *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 2018, 21–42.

⁷¹ MEX-Mcen: csg.256; edited in Cashner, *Villancicos about Music*.

⁷² Grove Music Online, s.v. “Salazar, Antonio de,” by John Koegel.

⁷³ Cesar D. Favila, “The Sound of Profession Ceremonies in Novohispanic Convents,” *Journal of the Society for American Music* 13, no. 2 (2019): 143–170; Tello et al., *Colección Sánchez Garza*.

Musical score for Salazar's *Angélicos coros con gozo cantad*. The score consists of six staves:

- Ti. I-1:** Treble clef, C3 pitch.
- Ti. I-2:** Treble clef, C3 pitch.
- A.I:** Treble clef, C3 pitch.
- T.II:** Treble clef, C3 pitch.
- A.II:** Treble clef, C3 pitch.
- B.II [instr.]:** Bass clef, C3 pitch.
- Ac.:** Bass clef, C3 pitch.

The music is in common time. The vocal parts (Ti. I-1, Ti. I-2, A.I, T.II, A.II) sing in unison. The instrumental part (B.II) provides harmonic support. The lyrics are repeated in each section. The vocal parts sing in unison. The instrumental part (B.II) provides harmonic support. The lyrics are repeated in each section.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 12 Salazar, *Angélicos coros con gozo cantad* (MEX-Mcen: csg.256), opening

their “Gloria” over the stable in Bethlehem on the night of Christ’s birth. Since *Bethlehem* in Hebrew means “House of Bread,” the villancico also celebrates the sacramental presence of Christ in the Eucharistic host on the Christmas of Salazar’s “present day.” Though the words speak to the angels, the musicians who sing these words also play the part of the angels, so that hearers are invited to listen for the angelic voices *through* the voices of the church ensemble. The call to the angels is sung first by the Tiple I-1, in a gesture beginning with a rising fifth and then falling by step, as though looking up to the heavens and then following the angels’ descent. In the Puebla convent choir, this part was performed by “Madre Andrea,” whose name is written into her part. As though answering the call, the other two voice parts of Chorus I enter in m. 3, Tiple I-2 in canonic imitation, and Alto I harmonizing with it homorhythmically. In m. 7 the second chorus joins with a similar imitative pattern, until all join together in a lilting, dancelike cadence on *cantad*. Salazar uses contrapuntal imitation again on *celestes esquendas*, inverting the opening motive (m. 26). For the command *bajad* (come down), Salazar switches from **Cz** triple meter to duple (**C** or *compasillo*), and creates a cascade of counterpoint passing from voice to voice, moving from high F₅ down to C₃ (music example 13). The general affect of the piece seems gentle and sweet, partly because of the largely static diatonic harmony and the lilting or dotted rhythms.

Puebla, the original American “city of angels,” was built on a site believed to have been revealed by angels to the bishop of Tlaxcala, and buildings and artworks dedicated to the angels are everywhere in the city.⁷⁴ Salazar belonged to the Confraternity of Saint Michael the Archangel in Puebla, according to a printed sermon by Fray Andrés de San Miguel of the same city. Andrés preached the sermon on Saint Michael, “The Chapelmaster of the Music of the Angels,” to a gathering of Salazar and his fellows in the Church of the Incarnation.⁷⁵ The

74 Miguel Ángel Cuenya and Carlos Contreras Cruz, *Puebla de los Ángeles: Una ciudad en la historia* (Puebla: Océano, 2012); Leopoldo A. García Lastra and Silvia Castellanos Gómez, *Utopía Angelopolitana: La verdadera historia de la fundación de Puebla de los Ángeles* (Puebla: Secretaría de Cultura/Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, 2008); Drew Edward Davies, “La armonía de la conversión: Ángeles músicos en la arquitectura novohispana y el pensamiento agustino-neoplatónico,” in *Harmonia Mundi: Los instrumentos sonoros en Iberoamérica, siglos XVI al XIX* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2009), 37–63.

75 Andrés de San Miguel, *Pvblica restitucion de seis sermones que haze Don Jyan Garcia-rena de Irvrieta, al Reverendo Padre Fr. Andres de San Miguèl, Religioso Carmelita Descalzo Angelopolitano, Lector que fuè de Sagrada Escritura, y de Theologia Mystica, y de Visperas*

The musical score consists of five staves. From top to bottom:

- Ti. I-1:** Treble clef, common time. Notes: -tre - llas y lu - ces, ba - jad, ba - jad, ba - jad, ba -
- Ti. I-2 A. I:** Treble clef, common time. Notes: lu - ces, lu - ces, ba - jad, ba - jad, ba - jad, ba - jad, ba -
- Ti. II A. II:** Treble clef, common time. Notes: -tre - llas y lu - ces, ba - jad, ba - jad, ba - jad, ba -
- T. II B. II [instr.]:** Bass clef, common time. Notes: lu - ces, y lu - ces.
- Ac.:** Bass clef, common time. Notes: (Accompaniment part).

 The score continues with a repeat sign and a basso continuo part (B. II [instr.]) from measure 6 onwards. The lyrics involve repeated phrases of "ba - jad," followed by "y el cie - lo de la" (with a melodic flourish over the "y"). The basso continuo part provides harmonic support throughout the piece.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 13 Salazar, *Angélicos coros con gozo cantad* (MEX-Mcen: CSG.256): Angels descending in imitative counterpoint

friar's self-deprecating introduction, saying he does not really know enough about music to address such a group, makes it clear that he is speaking to an elite congregation of accomplished men with practical and theoretical knowledge of music. The sermon uses the six solmization syllables as an acrostic device to teach about Saint Michael: *ut* reminds us of the angel's Hebrew name, rendered in Latin as *Quis ut Deus*; *re* (king) reminds us that Michael is the chief of all the angels; and so on. Don Salazar, he says, could compose a better ser-

de Theologia Escolastica; en la Provincia de S. Alberto de la Nueva España; Prior actual de Queretaro, Cadiz, 1724, 65–95 (MEX-Pf: 32080-41030403).

mon in music than he himself could preach in words, indicating both his high respect for the chapelmaster and giving a hint of how a theologically educated musical amateur listened to church music.

We do not know what music may have been performed at this service, but Salazar's villancico *Angélicos coros* would seem an appropriate choice. The surviving version was composed or arranged for the Convento de la Santísima Trinidad, another semi-private music venue with elite, high-level musical performance. In this and other angel pieces, the singers turn their attention heavenwards to address the angels directly, while they also stand in for, or sing along with, their heavenly counterparts. Angel pieces exhort the audience to lift their ears upwards as well and listen for a higher music.

These many ways of using one kind of music to represent another amount to a musical form of *conceptismo*. Just as the metaphor in a *conceptista* poem asks readers to reflect on the hidden resemblance between two apparently distinct concepts, metamusical villancicos bring together different types of musical references in a way that asks hearers to reconsider the nature of music itself. They invite an intentional, active process of theological listening. What they have to say theologically, they communicate through their music to anyone willing to engage with both aspects. In short, they are musical theology.

4 Theological Listening in the Neoplatonic Tradition

Villancicos on the subject of music consistently manifest a Neoplatonic theological worldview, an understanding of which is necessary to grasp the genre's religious functions. Having drawn out aspects of this theology inductively from the examples of metamusical compositions, in the final section of this chapter we turn to theological literature to establish a more systematic foundation. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Spain brought a revival of interest in Neoplatonic theology in the tradition of Augustine, partly because of new printed editions of his works.⁷⁶ Christian Neoplatonists followed Augustine in viewing the material world as a reflection of a higher spiritual reality which ultimately had its source in the Supreme Good which was the Godhead.⁷⁷ The

⁷⁶ Alison P. Weber, "Religious Literature in Early Modern Spain," in Gies, *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, 149–158.

⁷⁷ An important later source for this concept is the *Spiritual Hierarchy* attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. See also Tess Knighton, "'Through a Glass Darkly': Music and Mysticism in Golden Age Spain," in *A Companion to Hispanic Mysticism*, ed. Hilaire Kallendorf (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 411–436.

material world reflected higher truths only imperfectly, but nevertheless this world was also the only means through which those truths could be reached. In connection with Catholic sacramental theology, material objects and physical actions became means through which humans could encounter divine grace. Neoplatonic contemplation could be understood as a dialectical process of discerning the degree both of similarity and of dissimilarity between earthly objects and heavenly truth.⁷⁸

Neoplatonic thought was promulgated in Spain through the copious writings of the Dominican friar Luis de Granada, one of the most widely read authors in the empire.⁷⁹ His work is a self-acknowledged synthesis of patristic and Classical sources as well as a summary of common beliefs of his own time. The 1589 *Introducción del símbolo de la fe* (Introduction to the Creed) presents a Neoplatonic theological interpretation of the created world.⁸⁰ Granada teaches that the natural world is a reflection of a higher truth—God's own nature—and that the creation was given so that by reflecting on it people would come to know its Creator.⁸¹ In the friar's theology, music embodies the harmonious order of creation; he suggests music could provide a way to contemplate creation and its Creator.

Writers on music, too, developed a Neoplatonic approach, building on the concept of the medieval philosopher Boethius that there were three kinds of music (table 2).⁸² At the lowest level is *musica instrumentalis*—music played and sounded, music that humans can hear. Higher up is *musica humana*—the harmony of body and soul, and of one human being with another in society. Still higher is *musica mundana*—the harmonies created by the perpetual movement of the planetary spheres. The three Boethian types of music are

⁷⁸ I use terms like *contemplation* and *reflection* to refer to practices of listening, reading, and thinking in which people seek to understand and experience a higher meaning behind what is evident to their senses. This broad definition overlaps with the more precise technical use of the term *contemplation* in mystical theology, where it refers to a state in which a soul communes with God and becomes conscious of God's nature in a way that surpasses all sensation and imagination. That second kind of contemplation is a more concentrated, disciplined version of the first kind.

⁷⁹ Weber, "Religious Literature in Early Modern Spain."

⁸⁰ Luis de Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe* [Pt. 1], ed. José María Balcells (Madrid: Cátedra, 1989); Luis de Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, Biblioteca de autores españoles 6 (1583; Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1871).

⁸¹ Cf. Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *Oculta filosofía de la simpatia y antipatia de las cosas, arteificio de la naturaleza, y noticia natural del mundo* (Madrid, 1633).

⁸² Boethius, "De institutione musica libri quinque," in *Boetii de institutione arithmeticā libro duo De institutione musica libri quinque*, ed. Godofredus Friedlein (Leipzig: Teubner, 1867).

TABLE 2 Hierarchy of types of music in Neoplatonic thought, after Boethius (read from bottom up)

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

arranged hierarchically and each one points beyond itself to a higher level. The treatises used to teach musical composition in seventeenth-century Spain, most notably Pedro Cerone's *El melopeo y maestro* (1613) and Andrés Lorente's *El porqué de la música* (1672), present music within this cosmology.

A key source for Neoplatonic thought on music is the *Musurgia universalis* of 1650 by the Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher.⁸³ This encyclopedic treatment of “the working of music” in all its aspects was disseminated through Jesuit networks across the globe: a copy was sent as far as Manila, and two copies are preserved today in Puebla.⁸⁴ Kircher describes in detail the latest scientific knowledge about the anatomy of hearing and vocal production and the physiology of bodily humors and affects. He tries to explain precisely how particular musical structures work through these bodily systems, and he presents all of this within a cosmic view of music as part of the Ptolemaic universe.

4.1 *Hearing the Book of Nature Read Aloud*

Luis de Granada begins his *Introduction to the Creed* with an epitome of Neoplatonic-Augustinian thought: “The ultimate and highest good of man,” he writes, “consists in the exercise and use of the most excellent work of man, which is the knowledge and contemplation of God.”⁸⁵ The created world, he teaches, is a “book of nature” in which is written the grandeur, love, wisdom, and faithfulness of its Creator. The first goal of humankind, then, is to learn

83 Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis, sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in x. libros digesta* (Rome, 1650).

84 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); Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*, 48–50.

85 Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, 182.

to read this “book of nature” in order to come through it to the knowledge of God. The goal of contemplating creation is “ascending by the staircase of the creatures to the contemplation of the wisdom and beauty of the Maker.”⁸⁶

The reason one can “read” God through nature, Granada teaches, is that the created world is a reflection of God’s perfect order—a concept the friar repeatedly expresses using musical metaphors. He compares the perfect order of nature to a harmonious musical composition in which everything fits together *con sumo concierto* (with the most perfect concord). All the created things in this world, Granada writes, “like concerted music for diverse voices, harmonize together [*concuerdan*] in the service of man, for whom they were created.”⁸⁷ The movement of the heavenly spheres is like a great “chain, or, it can be said, this dance, so well ordered, of the creatures, and like music for diverse voices [...]. Because things so diverse could not be reduced to a single end with a single order, if there were not one who was like a chapelmaster [*maestro de capilla*], who reduces them to this unity and consonance.”⁸⁸

When Granada compares the world to music “in diverse voices” he obviously has in his “mind’s ear” polyphonic music of his own time, such as he would have heard at the Portuguese Royal Chapel as confessor to the queen. Likewise, when he compares God to a *maestro de capilla*, that has all the implications of that office in the Iberian context, which included composition, teaching, and leading the choir in some form of conducting. According to this metaphor, then, God is creator, prime mover, and sovereign ruler over creation, actively and intimately involved in its ongoing progress.

At the same time, these references to music are more than metaphors, since the universe for Neoplatonists is not only like music, it actually is musical in its structure. For Granada, not only does creation reflect God’s order; it actively proclaims that fact. It speaks or sings with its own voice to communicate God’s glory to the human who knows how to listen. Paraphrasing Augustine’s preaching, the friar writes: “Look around at all these many things from the heaven to the earth, and you will see that they all sing and preach their Creator; because all types of creatures are voices that sing his praises.”⁸⁹ While the full knowledge of God can only come with the aid of divine revelation through the Scriptures and the Church, Granada praises God that humans can study his nature in “the university of created things, which declare to us [literally, “give us

86 Ibid., 184.

87 Ibid., 191.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid., 185, glossing Augustine’s commentary on Ps. 26.

voices”] that you love us, and teach us why we should love you.”⁹⁰ He acknowledges, however, that apart from angels and birds, most of creation is mute and does not literally have its own voice with which to communicate its message of divine glory. This “message” is not a linguistic one, but rather, their message is simply themselves. “Now these admirable works do not speak or testify this with human voices [...]” Granada writes, “rather their speech and testimony is their invariable order and their beauty, and the artifice with which they are so perfectly made, as though they were made with a ruler and plumb line.”⁹¹

In this theological system, music has unique value because it actually provides a voice through which creation can make audible its message-of-being. If nature was a book, for a thinker in 1580s Iberia, then it was meant to be read out loud. As Margit Frenk has documented, books in this period were not read silently, but required someone to give them voice, and tomes like Granada’s devotional books were written with that intention.⁹² To read the “book of nature,” therefore, someone must perform it vocally—and this is what music could do. In the Christian Neoplatonic tradition, human music unlocks the musical voice contained within the substance of created things. Through metal pipes, horns, and bells; through wood viol cases, gut strings, and skin drums; even through reverberant stone church walls, the very matter of creation is made to resound with the perfectly ordered mathematical-harmonic proportions placed within it by the Creator—proportions which themselves reflect God’s own perfect order.

4.2 *Voice as Expression of Man, the Microcosm*

If pipes and strings testify to the order of creation, then the human body as the microcosm of creation is the ultimate instrument through which nature is given voice. Granada concludes his exposition of the six days of creation (based largely on the *Hexameron* of Saint Basil) by saying that God’s creation of man on the sixth day was like the conclusion of an oration, when the speaker draws together all his themes into a final epitome. Thus man is the summation of all that God had created in the previous five days and encompasses them all within himself.⁹³

90 Ibid., 186.

91 Ibid., 192.

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

93 Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, 243.

When Athanasius Kircher (in the tenth book of the *Musurgia*) continues this hexameral tradition with his own treatment of the six days of creation, he replaces the rhetorical metaphor with a musical one. Instead of creation being God's oration, Kircher presents it as a musical improvisation (a "Praeludium") on God's cosmic organ.⁹⁴ On the sixth day, Kircher says, God recapitulates all his themes and pulls out all the stops by creating man. As with Granada, Kircher's comparison to music must be based on some actual music he knew. His description closely resembles the structure of a Praeludium by the likes of Dieterich Buxtehude, which develops a motivic kernel through various sections and culminates in a fugue for the full organ.

In Kircher's worldview, all the systems and elements of creation (stars, planets, humors, rocks, animals, and so on) intersect in the individual human body.⁹⁵ For Kircher, the human voice is the unique expression of the individual, reflecting each person's unique temperament and blend of the four humors.⁹⁶ Kircher defines the voice thus: "The voice is a living sound [or, sound of the soul], produced by the glottis through the percussion of respired breaths that serve to express the affects of the soul."⁹⁷ Since each voice is unique, only in concert do voices fully reflect nature and nature's God. Cantus, Altus, Tenor, and Bass parts provide a place for all types of human voices, Kircher explains, and correspond respectively to fire, air, water, and earth. Thus they form a choral microcosm both of humanity and of all creation.⁹⁸

Luis de Granada also ventures an explanation of the human voice in both musical and theological terms. He exalts the voice as the audible expression of the human body, and vocal music as the most perfect kind of music.⁹⁹ Granada praises the human voice as the highest of all musical instruments (indeed, as the paradigm for them), as a means of forming social relationships between people, and as a form of communication between human and divine. The voice is produced, he explains, when air from the lungs moves through the narrow opening of the voicebox, a design imitated in the construction of flutes and dulcians. The friar would have heard these instruments regularly in church. But unlike carved woodwinds, the body can change its shape to produce different kinds of voices, and this fact "is something that declares the power and the wisdom of that sovereign artisan, who in such a manner forged the flesh

⁹⁴ Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, vol. 2, 366–367.

⁹⁵ Ibid., vol. 2, 402.

⁹⁶ Ibid., vol. 1, 23–24.

⁹⁷ Ibid., vol. 1, 20.

⁹⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, 217–219.

⁹⁹ Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, 243.

of this windpipe so that in it could be formed a voice sweeter and milder than that of all the flutes and instruments that human industry has invented."¹⁰⁰ The voice therefore expresses human individuality, and voices of different types in concert enact harmony between people:

And there is no end of admiration for the variety that there is in this for the service of harmonious music [*música acordada*]. For some throats are narrow, in which are formed the trebles [*tiples*], and others in which are formed voices so full and resonant that they seem to thunder through an entire church, without which there could not be perfect music. All of which that divine presider traced and ordained, so that with this mildness and melody the divine offices and their praises should be celebrated, with which to awaken the devotion of the faithful.¹⁰¹

Granada wants his readers to hear God's glory reflected most fully in the concerted harmony of diverse human voices, which he says were created for the purpose of singing in divine worship. The voice in church is the definitive example of vocal music for the friar. Sacred polyphony glorifies God, then, simply by realizing the potential for which the voice (and the body) was made.

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

Now here it is to be noted that when to the voice which proceeds from this place is added the instrument of the tongue, we come to articulate and make distinctions with this voice, and thus is formed speech, serving us by this instrument and punctuating [*hiriendo*] with it sometimes in the teeth and other times in the interior of the mouth. And just as the flute produces different sounds by touching on different holes, likewise the tongue, touching in different parts of the mouth, forms different words. By this manner the Creator gave us the faculty to speak and communicate our thoughts and concepts to other men.¹⁰²

Granada might see music—with its own system of articulations and distinctions—as another way to "communicate our thoughts and concepts" just as well as spoken language, but he also presents music as a product of the voice before any articulation is added. This definition of voice would mean that in

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 252.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

vocal music there are always two layers—the articulated “speech” aspects, and behind these the wordless sustained voice. Citing Augustine’s *De doctrina christiana* (the classic exposition of Christian preaching and teaching), Granada—who was himself the author of six volumes on *Rhetorica ecclesiastica*—says that the main task of the student of rhetoric is to hear and identify the tropes and techniques used by another orator. In the same way, he says, the first task of humankind is to be a student of the natural world, and to learn to recognize in creation the signs of God’s artifice as the Creator, which manifest his glory.

This would mean that the hearer of music could and should seek out this level of musical structure while listening. In a polyphonic vocal piece like a villancico, the bulk of musical structure is borne by the sustained tones of the voice, singing vowels. Apart from the words being sung, musical elements like mode, meter, motivic development, and stylistic or topical allusions are all communicated by these musical voices, and not simply by the voice as the bearer of words. Music could thus reflect the divine through its sonic structure, apart from any sacred linguistic meaning that may be attached as well. If music’s value and sacredness are not comprised solely in the words being sung, then one must know how to hear the musical structure in order to receive the full benefit.

Listening to music within a Neoplatonic worldview, according to these theological sources, may be summarized as follows:

1. Music is a reflection of the natural order.
2. The natural order is itself a reflection of God.
3. By paying attention to nature one can come to know and believe in its Maker.
4. Therefore listening to music may be a primary way of “reading the book of nature” and coming to faith in nature’s Creator.
5. Music, especially vocal music, conveys sacred meaning to those who know how to listen, even apart from words.
6. The performance of music actively creates concord in society and between people and God.

Metamusical villancicos explicitly emphasize the challenge that was central to all music-making in the Christian Neoplatonic tradition, to use the imperfect medium of sounding music to evoke all the higher forms of music, to lead listeners in contemplation up the chain of being, beyond simply what was heard. The recurrence of the “Listen!” exordium in villancicos may indicate that the genre itself was fundamentally about getting people to listen. Metamusical pieces drew listeners’ attention to the artifice of the music they were hearing and pointed them toward a higher form of music. These villancicos invited listeners not simply to hear, but to “take heed,” to both discern deeper meanings

in what they heard and to put what they heard into practice. Understanding how Spanish Catholics made these links between hearing and faith, and the difficulties they faced in using music to connect one to the other, will be the challenge of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

Making Faith Appeal to Hearing

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

“Judaísmo,” in CALDERÓN, *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*

••

Churchgoers in the Spanish Empire were familiar with many kinds of stock characters who appeared alongside the shepherds and kings in Christmas villancicos. One of the most intriguing of these recurring figures 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 Charles II's own ensemble, the Royal Chapel, for the feast of Christmas at Madrid's Convento de la Encarnación. The music was composed by Matías Ruiz, chapelmastor at the monastery, to an anonymous poem, *Pues la fiesta del niño es*.¹ The villancico is basically a skit in which a deaf man and a friar walk into a church:

SORDO: Éntrome de hoz, y de coz.

PREG.: ¿Quién llama con tanto
estruento?

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 alegra mucho.

DEAF MAN: Here I come, like it or not.

CATECHIST: Who's that making such a
ruckus?

D: Speak up, for I don't understand
unless you raise your voice.

C: Lower your voice,
for I am not deaf, thank God.

D: Are you saying the baby is fat?
well, that sure makes me happy.

¹ Poetry imprint, *E-Mn*: R/34989/1; music manuscripts, *E-E*: Mús. 83–12; *Grove Music Online* [Grove], Oxford Music Online (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), s.v. *Ruiz, Matías*, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/>.

When he mistakes *gordo* for *sordo*, the deaf man is not the only object of humor. 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 the deaf man's words, "the deaf are those who do not listen nor understand the sound" (*que sordos son / los que no escuchan ni entienden el son*). 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. Perhaps this is why the manuscript parts call the piece *villancico de los sordos*, using the plural for *deaf* even though there is only one character labeled *sordo*.

This scene of mishearing and misunderstanding is emblematic of the Catholic Church's central problem in the new religious landscape after Columbus and Luther. Whether speaking to "heretics" or "pagans," whether debating the meaning of faith with Protestants or trying to translate it for Native Americans, Catholics often found themselves, knowingly or not, in "dialogues of the deaf."²

If faith was to come "through hearing," 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 many Catholics embraced music as a supernaturally powerful means of making faith appeal to hearing, from the intercultural experiments of Jesuit mission music to the programs of education and training for choirboys in the cathedrals. But the same problem of communication depicted *within* the villancico about deafness also affected the 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?

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 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

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.

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. 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. 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.

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. As we have seen in chapter 1, many villancicos explicitly treat this theme, overtly asking hearers, “Listen!” “Pay attention!” 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. Although in most churches villancicos were probably not staged theatrically with costumes, the pieces still feature named characters who interact with each other, and the words and music evoke vivid scenarios. 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.

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 them 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 consider the challenges of faithful hearing.

1 “The Sense Most Easily Deceived”

The sense of hearing had a paradoxical position in early modern Spanish religion. In the same scene of a Corpus Christi drama, court poet Pedro Calderón de la Barca has his characters call hearing “the sense most favored by faith” and “the sense most easily deceived.” How could it be both?

The mystery play (*auto sacramental*) *El nuevo palacio del Retiro* was staged in Madrid in 1634 to inaugurate the Spanish monarch’s new palace-retreat, the Buen Retiro.³ Calderón’s play for the politically significant occasion glorifies the character of 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. Since the Eucharist was believed to defy normal sensation and could only be grasped through faith, much of the play sets up debates about the relationship between faith and the senses.

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 the allegorical stock character of *Judaísmo*, the Jew who is unable to believe what he hears.⁴ The figure of Judaism becomes a chilling representation of the incapacity to acquire faith, *despite* the sense of hearing. Like public Inquisition trials these plays celebrated the authority of the Spanish church and state by giving a hearing to its foes and then ostracizing them. Judaism is forcefully excluded from the festivities celebrated within the play, which culminate in the consecration of

3 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).

4 On representations of Jews in Spanish drama, see James Nemiroff, “*Comedias judaizantes*: Performing Judaism in Lope de Vega’s Toledan Plays (1590–1615)” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2016).

POEM EXAMPLE 4 Calderón, *El nuevo palacio del Retiro*, ll. 1303–1336: Judaism rejects faith
(Spanish text from Paterson edition)

<p>¿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.</p>	<p>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.</p>
<p>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.</p>	<p>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 nadir, because your dark cipher I did not comprehend, because I have listened to Faith without faith.</p>

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 [...].

the Eucharist. Instead Judaism stands to the side and asks the character Faith to explain each event to him (poem example 4). 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 5). 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 but also 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?

Literary scholars have considered Spanish *autos sacramentales* to be “dramas of conversion” with the primary goal of teaching doctrine.⁵ Dominique Reyre interprets this 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.⁶ 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 this contest of the senses, hearing can only lead to faith if one has faith to begin with. After the dialectical manner of Thomas Aquinas, Calderón uses the character of Judaism to represent the antithesis of faith. He can hear and understand some of what Faith says but he completely lacks the capacity to receive it *with* faith. The character of Hearing himself is in a somewhat similar situation: he does not trust his own sense. Unlike Judaism, though, Calderón’s sense of Hearing relies on Faith, and thereby receives Faith’s blessing.

5 Bruce W. Wardropper, *Introducción al teatro religioso del Siglo de Oro; Evolución del auto sacramental antes de Calderón* (Salamanca: Anaya, 1967).

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

POEM EXAMPLE 5 Calderón, *El nuevo palacio*, ll. 567–602: Faith crowns Hearing (Spanish text from Paterson edition)

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.

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.

Dale el ramillete

She gives him the wreath

POEM EXAMPLE 5 Calderón, *El nuevo palacio*, ll. 567–602: Faith crowns Hearing (*cont.*)

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.

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.

In an empire where it was illegal to be Jewish, the depiction of Judaism might have been aimed at crypto-Jews whose conversions were seen by Christian Spaniards as insincere. It certainly added fuel to the fire of anti-Semitic prejudice. But the play's real target is Christians, who needed to be reminded not to trust their own experience or reason but simply to believe "the Faith" guarded by the Roman church.

Both characters warn listeners that without faith, the senses could deceive, and actually become obstacles to faith. It is not just that the character Hearing has to trust Faith, but that in facing the Eucharist he relies upon the words of Christ, *Hoc est enim corpus meum*, that he heard spoken by the priest. "The Faith" in Calderón's play is not a message sent by church leaders or a set of beliefs received by church members; it is the Church of Rome itself as the sole custodian of truth, whose authority alone grants people access to salvation or consigns them to damnation. The spiritual deafness of Judaism and the incertitude of Hearing apart from Faith communicate to listeners, Doubt yourself; trust the Church; and obey the king as its defender. But they do not provide a clear path out of the predicament of hearing being both the weakest and the most spiritually favored of the senses.

Music, instrumental and vocal, played a key role in Calderón's treatment of the relationship of hearing and faith (though no notated music has yet been found). Moreover, the play was performed in the context of a whole day of liturgical and processional music, including villancicos. The play's questions about the reliability of hearing were made all the more pressing by how vigorously the whole festival appealed to this sense. Later villancicos that directly addressed the subject of hearing and faith, like those examined in the next section, provide evidence for a broad public discourse about sensation and faith that manifests the same kinds of theological anxieties we have seen in Calderón's drama.

2 Well-Tempered Hearing

Two villancicos from the crown of Castile in the later seventeenth century demonstrate that devotional music could present a sophisticated discourse on sensation and faith, one that not only 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 poet Vicente Sánchez of Zaragoza, for eight voices and instruments in grand polychoral style.⁷ 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.⁸

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 example 6).⁹ 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 3).

2.1 Irízar: Battle of the Senses

The two surviving settings of this poem by Irízar and Carrión stage this contest of the senses in sound. The Segovia Cathedral archive preserves manuscript performing parts for both settings along with Irízar's draft score for his version.¹⁰ 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 pa-

⁷ E-SE: 18/19, 5/32; López-Caló, *La música en la Catedral de Segovia*.

⁸ E-SE: 28/25; both pieces in Cashner, *Villancicos about Music*, 133–152. Compare also the anonymous setting in E-CAN: AU 731, edited by Lola Josa and Mariano Lambea, <http://hdl.handle.net/10261/178374>.

⁹ Sánchez, *Lyra Poética*, 171–172.

¹⁰ 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 the score in the composer's own hand. Carrión's performing parts are in E-SE: 28/25.

POEM EXAMPLE 6 *Si los sentidos queja forman del Pan divino*, attr. Vicente Sánchez, *Lyra Poética* (Zaragoza, 1688), 171–172

ESTRIBILLO

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

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 ceguera 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.

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.

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 [host's] color has been changed,
regarding its appearance [accidents].
If in the clouds flashing rays
are hidden,
let the senses not resent it.

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

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

POEM EXAMPLE 6 *Si los sentidos queja forman del Pan divino (cont.)*

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.

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.

per.¹¹ The letters reflect a correspondence with a broad peninsular network of musicians, often about exchanging villancico poetry.¹² 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.¹³

¹¹ José López-Caló, "Correspondales de Miguel de Irízar," *Anuario musical*, no. 18 (1963): 197–222; Matilde Olarte Martínez, "Miguel de Irízar y Domenzain (1635–1684?): Biografía, epistolario y estudio de sus Lamentaciones" (PhD diss., Universidad de Valladolid, 1992).

¹² Pablo-Lorenzo Rodríguez, "Villancicos and Personal Networks in 17th-Century Spain," *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies* 8 (1998): 79–89.

¹³ Sánchez, *Lyra Poética*, 171–172.

TABLE 3 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
Hearing	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

In the earlier setting, for Corpus Christi 1674, Irízar creates a musical competition in festival style by pitting his two four-voice choirs against each other in polychoral dialogue (music example 14).¹⁴ Going beyond the typical polychoral texture, 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 solemnity: the voices sing relatively 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 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. 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.

¹⁴ Cashner, *Villancicos about Music*, 133–148. The score includes the heading, “Fiesta del SSantissimo de este año del 1674.”

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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 -

-dos, hoy to - dos con la fe se - an o - í - dos,

34

se - an o - í - dos, 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 -

no se den por sen - ti - dos los sen - ti - dos,

MUSIC EXAMPLE 14 Miguel de Irízar, *Si los sentidos queja forman del pan divino* (E-SE: 18/19, 5/32)

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.¹⁵ Battle pieces typically feature a slow, peaceful introduction followed by sections in contrasting meters and

¹⁵ Grove, s.v. *battle music*; Illari, "Polychoral Culture," 288–294. 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).

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. 31–33.¹⁶

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 philosophical tone of the strophes.

2.2 CarrIÓN: Internal Conflict

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 15).¹⁷ Carrión was capable of the festival style, as in his *Qué destemplada armonía*, which almost takes on the dimensions of a *cantada*.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ The style, as in other Spanish music of the later seventeenth century, 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 in the accompaniment versus sesquialtera in the voice). The descending pattern of leaps for *porque lo que ellos sienten* perhaps depicts

¹⁶ Compare, for example, the anonymous *Batalha* in P-BRad: Ms.963, f. 56: “Batalha de sexto tom. compediária 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).

¹⁷ Cashner, *Villancicos about Music*, 149–152.

¹⁸ E-SE: 20/5.

¹⁹ 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).

SOLO c3

ACOMP. c3

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.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 15 Jerónimo de Carrión, *Si los sentidos queja forman del pan divino* (E-SE: 28/25)

the senses 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 lead 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.

2.3 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 voices imitating instruments and 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.²⁰

Villancicos with “synesthetic” topics mismatch the senses in the spirit of paradox and enigma.²¹ 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).²² Cristóbal Galán juxtaposes hearing and vision in a villancico for the Conception of Mary, probably in Madrid.²³ Galán was master of the Royal Chapel from 1680 to 1684, and to judge from copies of his works in multiple archives, his music was performed all across the empire and likely served as a model for provincial composers who wanted to stay current with trends in Madrid. He had actually preceded Irízar as chapelmastor at Segovia Cathedral from 1664 to 1667.²⁴ Galán’s text exhorts listeners to “hear the bird” and “see the voice.” The visual language in this villancico recalls the common iconography of the Holy Spirit as a dove surrounded by golden rays, such as may be seen in the Convento de la Encarnación in Madrid, where the Royal Chapel frequently performed.²⁵ The poem makes *equivocación* (confusion) of sight and hearing, which is projected partly through irregular poetic meter (poem example 7).²⁶ 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 1 against the other two choirs by having Chorus 1 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.

²⁰ Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), s.v. *Tomé, Narciso*, <https://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/>; Gauvin A. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 110.

²¹ 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.

²² E-Mn: M3881/44.

²³ D-Mbs: Mus. ms. 2893, edition in Cabero Pueyo, *Der Villancico*, 567–568.

²⁴ Grove, s.v. “Galán, Cristóbal,” by John H. Baron and Jack Sage.

²⁵ 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.

²⁶ 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.

POEM EXAMPLE 7 *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.	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.
¡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.	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.

To notate these rhythms, Galán must use white notes for the regular ternary motion in Chorus 1, but blackened noteheads (mensural coloration) to indicate the hemiola pattern in the other choirs. But when each voice in Chorus 1 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 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.²⁷

For *qué equivocación* (“what confusion!”) Galán creates a sudden flurry of contrapuntal motion: this 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 11’s stepwise ascent A₄–G₅). As the estribillo 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.

²⁷ Robert L. Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2014), 36.

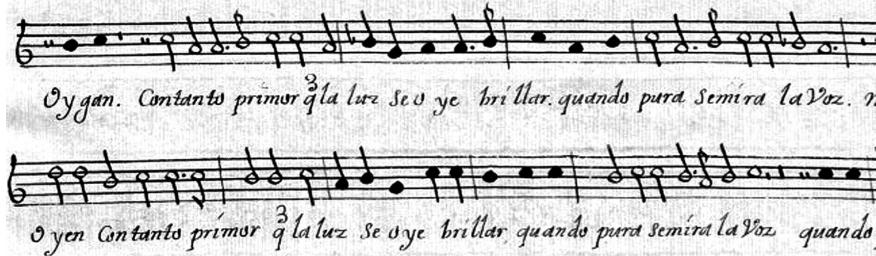


FIGURE 1 Galán, *Oigan todos del ave* (D-Mbs: Mus. ms. 2893), Tiple 1-2, end of estribillo:
Ironic play of coloration

2.4 The Triumph of Hearing

These villancicos, along with Calderón's drama, reflect a common physiological model of sensation and perception, as educated Spaniards would have learned from scientific and theological treatises in seminary and convent libraries.²⁸ A typical example is the 1557 natural-philosophy textbook *Phisica, Speculatio* by an Augustinian friar in New Spain, Alphonsus à Veracruce.²⁹ Veracruce summarizes the traditional Catholic teaching, which drew on Aristotle as interpreted by Aquinas, and his theories are consistent with those of Fray Luis de Granada.

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. As Granada 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 4).³⁰ 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

²⁸ Puebla's Biblioteca Palafoxiana, which combines the private library of Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza with the former libraries of the local seminaries and convents, gives a good sense of the range of such literature available in imperial Spain.

²⁹ Alphonsus à Veracruce, *Phisica, Speculatio* (Mexico City, 1557).

³⁰ Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe* [Pt. 1], ch. 27–35, pp. 439–494.

TABLE 4 The senses and faculties of the sensible soul (*ánima sensitiva*), according to 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

which the balance of humors in the body interacted with the interior and exterior senses to produce different “passions” or “affects” (Granada uses *pasiones* and *afectos* interchangeably). Based on a fundamental dichotomy like magnetism between attraction and repulsion, this “concupiscent” 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 (later challenged by Descartes). 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 physically had to 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.”³¹ But Hearing hears

³¹ Calderón, *El nuevo palacio*, ll. 577–582.

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 a known object."³² 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.³³ 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 by Irízar and Carrión 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 hearing's role in faith. Meanwhile the contrasts between versions reflect different styles not only of composition but of devotional practice in public and private settings.

³² Ibid., ll. 583–586.

³³ 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. His order matches that of Veracruz; perhaps he was influenced by a scholastic training to "correct" the philosophical order.

These villancicos on hearing and faith seem designed to teach listeners how to hear music even as they are listening. They cultivate a practice of hearing that is tempered by faith. 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. Galán attempts to create confusion among the senses: like Calderón's play, the villancico asks listeners to doubt what they are hearing with their external sense, but in a more positive spirit than Calderón, it urges listeners to turn in faith to their inner, spiritual senses. These pieces provoke listeners to a higher form of sensation, to a holy dismay and wonder that would lead to true, faithful perception.

3 Accommodating and Training the Ear

Catholic leaders after Trent sought to both accommodate and train the ear because the concept of faith required both hearing and doing. In defiance of what they saw as Protestant redefinitions of faith, Catholic theologians continued to develop the medieval theology of faith they inherited from Aquinas, in which faith was one of three virtues or capacities, along with hope and charity.³⁴ Simple belief in intellectual propositions was "unformed faith" (*fides informe*).³⁵ It was essential that every Christian believe certain things, but true Christianity required one to develop the higher state of "formed faith" (*fides formata*). This kind of faith "worked through" hope and love 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. 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 1566.³⁶ This Latin catechism was a model for teaching the clergy how to preach and teach—a guide both to the content of

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

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

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

the Faith and to the best ways of making it heard and understood.³⁷ From the outset the document makes hearing 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. The preface teaches that God communicated his own nature to humanity by taking on human flesh in Christ. In the words of John's gospel, Jesus Christ himself was the *logos* or *verbum* (John 1:1), the "Word made flesh." Where God had previously spoken through the law and the prophets, now he had spoken through his Son (Heb. 1:1). 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.³⁸

The theology of Christ (Christology) becomes the catechism's foundation for its theology of the church (ecclesiology). Christ the incarnate Word appointed apostles, chief among them Saint Peter, to be the custodians of the true faith, so that the community of the Church became the sacramental means through which people would come to know Christ after his resurrection. There was thus a close link between hearing the Word of the Church's teaching, obeying that Word, and encountering Christ who was the Word. 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" (1John 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" (1Tim. 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.³⁹ 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.

If believers had to hear, believe, and obey the Word in the Church, then church teachers needed to both make the Word audible and teach listeners how to hear it. "Since, therefore, faith is conceived by means of hearing," the catechism teaches,

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*

³⁷ *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. *Trent, Council of*.

³⁸ Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, 9.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 6–7.

teaching to the sense of hearing and intelligence, so that by these [mysteries and precepts], those who possess a well-trained sense should be filled up by spiritual food.⁴⁰

To do this, pastors should consider “the age, intelligence, customs, condition” of their charges, to give milk to spiritual infants and solid food to the maturing, to raise up a “perfect man, after the measure of the fullness of Christ.”⁴¹

This principle of accommodation was exemplified in vernacular expositions of the catechism, like the Spanish versions by Antonio de Azevedo, Juan Eusebio de Nieremberg, and Juan de Palafox y Mendoza.⁴² These books brought the Church’s 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 literature was to prepare pastors to teach unlettered disciples through words and voice. 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. He begins with an image described by Pliny: 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.⁴³

40 Ibid., 2, 8–9 (emphasis added).

41 Ibid., 8.

42 Antonio de Azevedo, *Catecismo de los misterios de la fe, con la exposicion del Simbolo de los Santos Apostoles. A do se enseña, todo lo que vn fiel Cristian esta obligado a creer, y vn cura de almas a saber, para enseñar a sus ouejas* (Barcelona, 1589); 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, místicos, y morales, Catecismo, y Axiomas doctrinales, para Labradores, y gente senzilla, especialmente; con otros Tratados* (Madrid, 1662).

43 Azevedo, *Catecismo*, f. 1b.

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.

For Azevedo, proper teaching required a certain discipline from both the speaker and the hearer. With the threat of heresy all around, Catholic teachers did not want parishioners believing everything they heard. 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. Azevedo would have approved of a villancico by Joan Cererols which repeatedly exhorts hearers to *callar y creer*—literally, shut up and believe.⁴⁴

If teaching 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," 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, like Irízar and Carrión's different ways of conveying an idea of disagreement through texture, counterpoint, and style. 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.

3.1 *Experiencing Spiritual Truth through Music*

This tension between accommodating and training the ear may be seen in Athanasius Kircher's attempts to explain the spiritual power of music. Weighing in on the Renaissance controversy of ancients versus moderns, Kircher defends the superiority of modern music on the basis of its increased ability to move listeners through varieties of musical structure and style.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ The same music, he says, would have had a different effect on someone else:

⁴⁴ Serrana, *tú que en los valles*, in Cererols, *Joan Cererols III*, 205–212.

⁴⁵ Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, bk. 7, p. 549.

⁴⁶ Cf. Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo della musica* (Florence, 1581), 90; John Dryden, *Alexander's Feast, or the Power of Music* (London, 1697).

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.⁴⁷

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."⁴⁸ Music not only makes the teaching of doctrinal truth appealing and persuasive; it actually transforms listeners through affective experience.

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.⁴⁹ 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:

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 is affected in various ways; and through this affections can be engendered in the person.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, bk. 7, p. 550.

⁴⁸ Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 35–51.

⁴⁹ Gouk, "Music and the Sciences"; Gouk, "The Role of Harmonics in the Scientific Revolution."

⁵⁰ Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, 552.

Kircher seems to assume that the affective properties of different modes and styles of music are inherent in the numerical proportions of the music. But because music's power depended on sympathetic resonance, the *effect* of music depended on the relationship between that affective content and the 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.⁵¹

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 musical 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 music, which he characterizes as strident and clangorous. These differences of style and perception are caused by 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.⁵²

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 to their natural inclinations.”⁵³ 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. “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.”

⁵¹ Ibid., 550.

⁵² Ibid., 543–544.

⁵³ Ibid., 544.

ing.⁵⁴ 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, his conditions were not easy to fulfill. There had to be congruence between the structure of the music and subject of that music, so that harmonic ratios, metrical proportions, and verbal rhetoric all aligned. But even this was still not enough without the fourth condition, the disposition of the hearer, whose humoral temperament had to be susceptible to being moved in the desired way.

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.⁵⁵ 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 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 who was serious about using music to make faith appeal to hearing. How could the Church 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,

54 Ibid., 550.

55 Ibid., 551.

would be impaired by both personal subjectivity and cultural conditioning, and these limitations created anxiety and fear about the role of hearing in faith.

Individual subjective experience was dangerous in the Spanish Empire. The Inquisition targeted people who claimed authority on the basis of sensory experience, especially women who advocated mystical prayer like Teresa of Ávila or Francisca de los Apóstoles.⁵⁶ Teresa's pupil Juan de la Cruz (ca. 1542–1591) taught his Discalced Carmelite community in Segovia to pursue union with God by turning away from all sensation. Sensory experiences were real, he taught, but they were like mother's milk given by God with the goal of bringing contemplatives to full maturity, where they would no longer need sensation. He defines union with God not in sensual terms but in ethical ones, as the total surrender and conformity of one's will to God.⁵⁷ Ignatius of Loyola (ca. 1491–1556) drew on his experience in the Spanish military to create the Society of Jesus, which required priests to submit their individual spirituality to the Church's authority and use the *Spiritual Exercises* to discern the validity of their experiences.

In such a climate, music's power over feeling might open the gateway to faith, but this power could also block one's progress. Juan de la Cruz shared with Ignatius a suspicion of complex music; his warnings to the Carmelite community rebuke the Spanish church's addiction to sensory stimulation. In his treatise on spiritual life, *The Ascent of Mount Carmel* (written in the 1580s but published after 1618), the reformer 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" (John 4:23–24). Juan 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 from what is good for their soul."⁵⁸ The monk admonishes his readers to be wary of overly artful preaching which only serves "to delight the ear, like some polyphonic music or the clanging of bells": "It matters little to hear someone perform one kind

56 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); Schreiner, *Are You Alone Wise?*, ch. 6.

57 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.

58 Ibid., bk. 3, ch. 43, p. 420.

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.”⁵⁹

Later Catholics who shared Juan’s ascetic bent, or his pastoral concern with spiritual growth, saw the power of music as a danger or even an opening for diabolical influence. But Juan’s criticism did not reach the broader church (in fact it was censored in some places), and did little to stem the tide of Catholic arts in the following century that appealed to sensory experience with increasing extravagance. Ignatius’s Jesuits quickly abandoned their founder’s skepticism about music in their missionary efforts, and their confidence is reflected in Kircher’s positive vision of music.

3.2 *Cultural Impediments to Hearing*

While individual sensation caused anxiety, Catholic missionaries were finding that building Christian communities overseas posed additional problems because cultural differences impacted what people heard in music. Jesuit missionaries found themselves in what Ines Županov has termed the “missionary tropics”—both a geographic zone and a process of cultural transformation (via troping or turning).⁶⁰ In the early stages of mission work the Jesuits, sailing under Spanish or Portuguese flags to outposts in Japan and later 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.⁶¹ In Spain’s American realms, the first Franciscan missionaries like Pedro da Gante used music with words in indigenous languages and assisted natives to develop their own accommodations to Christian ritual.⁶² But

59 Ibid., bk. 3, ch. 45, p. 425.

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

61 Victor Anand Coelho, “Music in New Worlds,” in Carter and Butt, *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 88–110; David Waterhouse, “The Earliest Japanese Contacts with Western Music,” *Review of Culture* 26 (1996): 36–47; Manuel Carlos de Brito, “Sounds from the Discoveries: Musical Aspects of the Portuguese Expansion,” *Review of Culture* 26 (1996): 5–22; Leonardo J. Waisman, “Urban Music in the Wilderness: Ideology and Power in the Jesuit *reducciones*, 1609–1767,” in *Music and Urban Society in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Geoffrey Baker and Tess Knighton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 208–229; Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*; Fromont, “Dancing for the King of Congo.”

62 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): 637; Paul A. Scolieri, *Dancing the New World: Aztecs, Spaniards, and the Choreography of Conquest* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2013).

a half century after the Aztec Empire fell, as the Spanish crown's nominal interest in evangelization gave way to the more strategic and lucrative goal of building a colonial society, church leaders became more interested in safeguarding the new civilization from the resurgence of pagan belief than in accommodating local culture. When the natives sang and danced, the Spaniards were not sure what they were hearing. The bishops of New Spain complained that they did not have enough linguists with sufficient knowledge of Náhuatl to verify that these songs were not in fact still invoking demonic powers. 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 in part by such songs in non-European languages, along with other syncretic musical and ritual practices.⁶³

The cultural aspect of acquiring a "properly trained sense," as the Roman Catechism puts it, is plainly stated in a dialogue published by the leaders of the Jesuit mission in Japan in 1590, which may reveal at least a trace of non-European perspectives on European music.⁶⁴ 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."⁶⁵ In *Colloquio XI* of this Latin dialogue, Michael, one of the "ambassadors," tells his friend who stayed home about European music:

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,

⁶³ Candelaria, "Bernardino de Sahagún's *Psalmodia Christiana*," 637–638.

⁶⁴ Duarte de Sande, *De missione legatorvm Iaponensium ad Romanam curiam, rebusq; in Europa, ac toto itiner adimaduersis DIALOGVS ex ephemeride ipsorum legatorvm colectvs, & in sermonem Latinvm versvs ab Eduardo de Sande Sacerdote Societatis IESV.* (Macao, 1590).

⁶⁵ 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.

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.⁶⁶

The Jesuit author, Duarte de Sande, puts this response in the mouth of Michael's friend Linus:

I am sure all these things which you say are true; for the variety of the instruments and the books which you have brought back, as well as the singing and the modulation of harmony, testify to a remarkable artistic system. Nor do I doubt that our normal expectations in listening to singing are an impediment when it comes to appreciating the beauties of European harmony.⁶⁷

These words likely underestimate the attitude of many non-Europeans whose ears had not yet been trained for European music.

The tension between the limitations of hearing and its capacity to lead to faith posed a significant challenge in such an intercultural context. 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? Once these processes of cultural adaptation and exchange had begun

66 Ibid., 155–156.

67 Ibid., 156.

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? How could the Church avoid a “dialogue of the deaf”?

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

Rather than providing clear solutions to this problem, some villancicos dramatize the limitations of hearing and poke fun at the difficulty some religious teachers faced in making faith appeal to this sense. “Villancicos of the deaf” 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 Ruiz for the Royal Chapel in Madrid.

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

For Christmas Matins 1651 in Puebla, Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla created a comic dialogue between a religious teacher and a “deaf” man named Toribio, which is labeled *sordo* in the performing parts (poem example 8).⁶⁸ This piece is part of Gutiérrez de Padilla’s earliest surviving complete cycle of Christmas villancicos, which are the first extant compositions known to have been performed in the new Puebla Cathedral, consecrated in 1649 (see chapter 3). This comic “deaf” villancico explicitly depicts the challenges of hearing the faith and making it heard. Playing with a conventional villancico type of a dialogue between a *docto* and a *simple*—a learned man and a simpleton—Gutiérrez de Padilla’s villancico stages a parody of the question–answer practice of catechetical instruction. The friar’s attempts to communicate with the “deaf” man fail, and this prompts the chorus to warn the congregation against spiritual deafness.

Gutiérrez de Padilla sets the anonymous poem as a dialogue between two soloists, each accompanied by a dulcian. This is 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.⁶⁹ The lyrics are preserved in one of the few imprints of villancico poetry from Puebla to match

68 Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Oyeme, Toribio (Sordo)*, MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/2.

69 In the 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

POEM EXAMPLE 8 *Óyeme, Toribio (El sordo)*, from setting by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, Puebla, 1651 (MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/2), excerpt

[INTRODUCCIÓN] DÚO

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

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

up with surviving music.⁷⁰ Gutiérrez de Padilla dramatizes the two characters' unsuccessful attempts to communicate through disjunctions of rhythm and mode (music example 16). Constantly interrupting each other, the two men follow each other's train of thought. Rhythmically, he gives the friar relatively

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.

⁷⁰ Thanks to Gustavo Mauleón for allowing me to view a few pages of this imprint, held in an anonymous private collection in Puebla.

A.I
Ó - ye - me, To - ri - - bio. Glo - ria es

B.II [Bajón]
- - - - - - - - -
[T.I Lyrics] ¿Hab - las me, cha - mo - rro?

8
to - do el va - lle. Ya es la tie - tra cie - lo,
¿E? ¿E? que no te oi - go.

17
y has - ta él, llan - to es go - zo. Pon - dré - me des - o -
No oi - go de e - se o - í - do.

25
- tro. Tú e - res lin - do ton - to, yo más que te es -
Des - o - tro oi - go me - nos.

34
- cu - cho... ...que me
¿Si ten - go bo - chor - no? ¿Qué es lo que me di - ces?

42
vuel - ves lo - co.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 16 Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Óyeme, Toribio* (*El sordo*) (MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/2), introducción, extant parts (missing Tenor I, Bassus I)

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). Modally, they cannot agree 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, the chapelmaster probably would have categorized this piece as mode 11 or 12.⁷¹ Thus the friar appropriately sings an opening phrase

⁷¹ Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 873–882; Judd, “Renaissance Modal Theory: Theoretical, Compositional, and Editorial Perspectives”; Barnett, “Tonal Organization in Seventeenth-Century Music Theory.”

The musical score consists of five staves of music. The top staff is for Tenor I (Ti. I), the second for Alto I (A. I), the third for Bass II (B. II) and Bassoon (Bajón), the fourth for Bassoon (Bajón), and the bottom staff for Basso Continuo. The music is in common time, with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The vocal parts sing in unison, while the bassoon and basso continuo provide harmonic support. The lyrics are in Spanish, reflecting the dialogue between the friar and the deaf man.

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

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

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.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 17 Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Óyeme, Toribio (El sordo)*, responsión a 5, extant voices

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.

Next the Altus 1 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.” Gutiérrez de 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 Gutiérrez de Padilla would seem to use the same symbol to point to a deficit in hearing. When the rest of Chorus 1 joins in for the responsión, their repeated dotted rhythm and offbeat entries suggest mocking sobs (*sollozos*) and laughter (music example 17). A descending figure is passed through all the voices in imitation, leading to a harmonic form of descent when the Tiple 1 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.

Gutiérrez de 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 Covarrubias: not one who is *unable* to hear, but rather “he who does not hear.” Covarrubias adds, “There is no worse kind of deaf man than the one who is unwilling to hear.”⁷²

4.2 *Learning from the Deaf (Ruiz, Madrid Royal Chapel)*

Matías Ruiz’s *Villancico de los sordos* from 1671 Madrid, introduced at the outset of this chapter, invites more sympathy for the deaf and extends its parody to the catechist as well (poem example 9). 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 school bullies, telling everyone to speak up so he can hear. When the catechist and the *sordo* enter, Ruiz illustrates their inabil-

⁷² Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, s.v. *sordo*: “SORDO, Lat. surdus, el que no oye. No ay peor sordo que el que no quiere oyr.”

POEM EXAMPLE 9 *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)

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.

DEAF MAN: Here I come, like it or not.

PREG.: ¿Quién llama con tanto estru-
endo?

CATECHIST: Who is calling out with 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.
S: ¿Dice que está el niño gordo?
pues de eso me alegro mucho.

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 fiestas
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
la palabra al rey profeta?

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

POEM EXAMPLE 9 *Pues la fiesta del Niño es (Villancico de los sordos) (cont.)*

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

P: 2. Que llore el Omnipotente,
nadie en el mundo lo ha oído?

S: Es la verdad: De este oído
estoy un poco teniente.

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 quisieras.

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 oyen 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.

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

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

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

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.

POEM EXAMPLE 9 *Pues la fiesta del Niño es (Villancico de los sordos) (cont.)*

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

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

ity 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 18). The deaf man bursts on the scene with a scale from the top of his register to the bottom (F_4 to G_3). 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 Gutiérrez de 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.⁷³ 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 every statement: he mistakes *profeta* (prophet) for *estafeta* (mailman), and hears *decoro* (decorum) as *Moro* (Moorish). 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

⁷³ Andrew A. Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music in Hispanic Villancicos, 1600–1700" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2015), 179–203.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 18 Matías Ruiz, *Pues la fiesta del niño es* (*Villancico de los sordos*) (E-E: Mús. 83–12), estribillo

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 midwinter Castilian chill, as an older man would be. 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 Christian-

The musical score consists of seven staves, each with a different vocal part: Ti. I-1, Ti. I-2, A.I, B.I, Ti. II, B.II, and Ac. The vocal parts are written in soprano, alto, tenor, bass, and basso continuo. The time signature alternates between common time (C3), 8th time (8), and 2nd time (2). The key signature changes frequently, indicated by sharp and double sharp symbols. The lyrics are in Spanish and describe the deaf as those who neither listen nor understand sound, comparing them to a 'son' or 'dance' style.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 19 Ruiz, *Villancico de los sordos*, conclusion of estribillo, mm. 76–83: Possible evocation of *son* song or dance style

ity.⁷⁴ What the man lacks in knowledge, though, he makes up in heartfelt devotion, doting on the baby Jesus.

On the balance, 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 term *son*, which Covarrubias defines as a kind of dance. Indeed, this villancico features a distinctive harmonic and rhythmic pattern

74 Desiderius Erasmus, *The Essential Erasmus*, ed. John P. Dolan (New York: Meridian, 1993), 206.

with alternating ternary and sesquialtera groupings, which are most clear on the phrase *los que no escuchan ni entienden el son* (music example 19). 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*.⁷⁵ 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? Ironically, it was just at this time in Spain that Juan Pablo Bonet was laying the foundations of modern deaf education.⁷⁶ But these villancicos do not offer much hope for the deaf. 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.⁷⁷ Like the “ethnic villancicos” discussed in chapter 1, 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.

5 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.⁷⁸ In his vernacular catechism, Antonio de Azevedo—an Augustinian friar himself—describes real-life scenes of failed catechesis:

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

76 Susan Plann, *A Silent Minority: Deaf Education in Spain, 1550–1835* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997); Juan Pablo Bonet, *Reducción de las letras y Arte para enseñar a ablar a los mudos* (Madrid, 1620). Deaf people’s experiences of music might have expanded other Spaniards’ notions of hearing, had they only listened. See, for example, Jeannette DiBernardo Jones, “Imagined Hearing: Music-Making in Deaf Culture,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Disability Studies*, ed. Blake Howe et al., 54–72.

77 Cashner, *Villancicos about Music*, 7.

78 Henry Kamen, *Early Modern European Society* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 56–57.

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."⁷⁹

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:

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.⁸⁰

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

⁷⁹ Azevedo, *Catecismo*, 26.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 27.

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 Gutiérrez de 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.

5.1 *"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 the faithful 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 defied the senses.

It is clear from a rare listener's account of a villancico performance 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 of the art, which should be credited mutually to the virtuosity of the voices and the well-adjusted management of the instruments. Each Master set to music one of the following villancicos, which were part of the design of the chapter's order.⁸¹

81 *Relacion historica, y panegyrica de las fiestas, qve la ciudad de Zaragoza dispuso, con motivo*

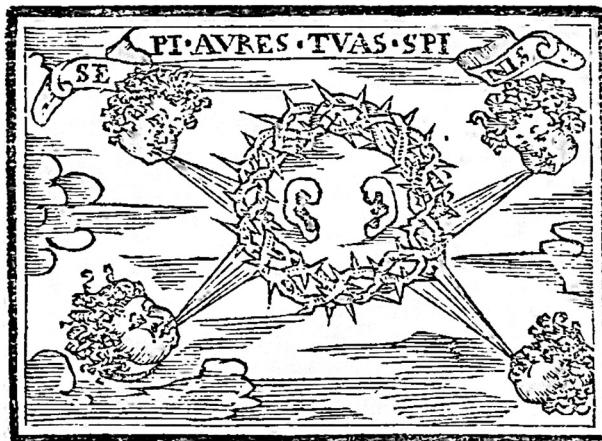


FIGURE 2 “Make a hedge around your ears with thorns,” from Covarrubias, *Emblemas*, 202

After quoting the texts, the writer concludes, “The two villancicos were sung nobly, and were heard with pleasure.” But truth be told, he admits “it would have been even better, if every ear was intelligent in points of consonance.”⁸² In the anxious theological climate of early modern Spain, though, not even an aural-skills course would meet the more pressing demand for spiritual discipline in listening. Sebastián de Covarrubias, the dictionary author, also published a book of *Moral Emblems*, which includes an image of two fragile human ears, protected from the four winds by a crown of thorns (figure 2).⁸³ Its Latin motto, from Sirach 28:28, reads, “Make a hedge around your ears with thorns.” In the poem and prose explanations, readers 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.”⁸⁴ “In this life, which is a battle,” Covarrubias warns, “if you wish to keep yourself safe, take refuge in Christ and his crown.”⁸⁵

del decreto, en que la Santidad de Inocencio XIII. concedió para todo este Arzobispado, el OFICIO proprio de la APARICION de Nuestra Señora del PILAR, en el de la Dedicacion de los dos Santos Templos del Salvador, y del Pilar [...], facsimile edition (1724; Zaragoza: Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, 1990), 97.

⁸² Ibid. 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*.

⁸³ Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Emblemas morales* (Madrid, 1610), 202.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 203.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 202.

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.

PART 2

Listening for Unhearable Music

∴

Christ as Singer and Song (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!

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 began to sing at 11 p.m.¹ Having heard the summons, the cathedral chapter gathered together with 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 people of mixed heritage.² 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 chapelmastor, the priest Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, had prepared yet another sumptuous banquet of music, including chant and Latin-texted polyphony both old and new.³ The main attraction for many listeners, though, was the new set of Spanish villancicos.

¹ The schedule was set by decree of the cathedral chapter, *MEX-Pc: AC 1633-12-30*: “Que a los maitines de nauidad dese año y de los venideros se llame desde las diez a las onze de la noche repicando la media ora y en lastra se toque la esquila para que puntualmente a las onze se enpiesen los dichos maitines [...].”

² Ángel Cuenya and Contreras Cruz, *Puebla de los Ángeles*; Leonardo Lomelí Vanegas, *Breve historia de Puebla* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2001); Sierra Silva, *Urban Slavery in Colonial Mexico*.

³ 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; Nelson Hurtado, “Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla: El insigne maestro de la catedral de Puebla de los Ángeles (Málaga, c. 1590; Puebla de los Ángeles, 8–IV-1664),” *Heterofonía* 138–139 (2008): 29–67; Robert Murrell Stevenson, “The ‘Distinguished Maestro’ of New Spain: Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 35,

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.⁴ Holding handwritten notebooks with their individual performing parts for this year's villancicos, they looked to Father Gutiérrez de Padilla for their cue. When the chanting concluded with a descending cadence, the chapelmaster made sure the chorus had the right starting pitches in their ears, perhaps with a sung or played intonation. He raised his hand and then lowered it to indicate the downbeat, 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*.⁵ 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 among the columns of the new cathedral's architectural choir.⁶ Moving in the same rhythm, following the natural accents of the poetry, the voices declaimed this text like a solemn choral recitative (music example 20):

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

no. 3 (1955): 363–373; Ricardo Miranda, "... de Ángeles también el coro": Estética y simbolismo en la misa *Ego flos campi* de Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla," in Mauleón Rodríguez, *Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla y la época Palafoxiana, 131–153*; Montserrat Galí Boadella, ed., *Rituales sonoros en una ciudad episcopal. Puebla, siglos XVI–XIX*, Ritual Sonoro Catedralicio (Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social [CIESAS], 2013); Swadley, "The Villancico in New Spain."

4 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), 175.

5 On indicating rhythm with the hand, see Lorente, *El porqué de la música*, 165–166.

6 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).

CHORUS I

T.I.
A.I.
B.I.

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

T.I.

10

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

8

MUSIC EXAMPLE 20 Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, opening

Some of those closest to the voices had already seen the poem in the published commemorative pamphlet and may have spent some time puzzling over the complex wordplay.⁷ 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.⁸ 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 a more lively texture, 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 began a tour-de-force of music about music, in which the composer and his ensemble took a verbal discourse about music and turned it into a *musical* discourse about music. When the first chorus refers to “what is sung,” they

⁷ Though no imprint of villancico poetry corresponding to this Matins service has yet been found, several other imprints do survive from Puebla Cathedral for Christmas and the Conception of Mary during Gutiérrez de Padilla's tenure.

⁸ *Villancicos que se cantaron en la S. Iglesia Metropolitana de Seville, en los Maytines de los Santos Reyes. En este año de mil y seiscientos y quarenta y siete* (Seville, 1647), Puebla, private collection, courtesy of Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez.

are referring to more than the literal level of human music. 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 analyze and interpret families of villancicos that represent Christ as both singer and song—this 1657 piece and another from around 1660 by Joan Cererols of Montserrat. Both invite hearers to listen for the harmonies between earthly, heavenly, and divine forms of music. Both families contain multiple settings of the same or similar texts: Gutiérrez de Padilla's *Voces, las de la capilla* is one of four known settings in its family, while *Suspended, cielos, vuestro dulce canto* by Cererols is one of the best-attested families of villancicos with eight settings of variant poetic texts through about 1700.⁹ These villancicos for Christmas connect Incarnation, voice, and creation, as they invite hearers to consider human music-making as a reflection of Christ's nature as the divine "Word made flesh" (John 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 Gutiérrez de 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 Gutiérrez de 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 tells us about how Spanish 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 discern the unhearable higher music of the divine. 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 gave 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.

This anonymous poem and Gutiérrez de Padilla's musical setting both demand and reward detailed analysis. In fact, that kind of close study is an

⁹ Both edited in Cashner, *Villancicos about Music*.

extension of the same kind of 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.¹⁰ 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 the composer'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.

Gutiérrez de Padilla's metamusical villancico was a performance of musical theology that challenged listeners to find the hidden connections between the world of song and the world of spirit. As the case studies in part 2 will demonstrate, Spanish chapelmasters also 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 and heavenly music, in the midst of shifting understandings of the cosmos, the human body, and society.

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

The anonymous poem evokes the musical voices of human singers, angelic choirs, ancient prophets, and even the cries of the baby Jesus (poem example 10, 11).¹¹ It demands a high level of intellectual engagement to tease out the intricate conceit. Exemplifying the technique of *conceptismo* after the manner of Góngora, the poem's concept brings together the voices of the choir and the voice of Christ.

¹⁰ On the sociology and aural capacity of seventeenth-century Spanish audiences, with focus on sacred drama, see Jose María Díez 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.

¹¹ Cashner, *Villancicos about Music*, 37–38, 119–132.

POEM EXAMPLE 10 *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, 5R
as in the manner of David the monarch.

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 15R
imitates the trills of the dawn.

[Repeat Respuesta]

The second copla encapsulates the conceit: Christ is a musical “composition” in which the divine chapelmastor “proves” his mastery at creating “consonances of a Man and God.” Like Spanish composers who established their superior musicianship over rivals 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*. This king “is a musician,” listening carefully for any defect in the composition or performance: “he notes even the most venial dissonances.” The poet connects the king with “David the monarch” and Jesus as both an infant and the *infante* or heir (as a

POEM EXAMPLE 11 *Voces, las de la capilla*, from setting by Gutiérrez de Padilla, 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.
25 Por el signo a la mi re,
puestos los ojos en mi,
a la voz del padre oí
cantar por puntos de llanto.
¡O qué canto!
30 tan de oír y de admirar,
tan de admirar y de oír.
Todo en el hombre es subir
y todo en Dios es bajar.
- 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.

COPLAS

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

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

man, to David's throne; and as divine, to the kingdom of God). David was the paragon of Biblical musicians as both the traditional author of the psalms and as founder of the first musical ensemble for worship in the ancient Hebrew temple (1Chr. 25). The phrase *a lo de* (in the manner or style of) implies that the child Jesus 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.

To establish this metaphor, the poem uses a series of musical terms to present Christ as the fulfillment of the Biblical prophecies made to and through David. 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 Sam. 7). Through the prophet Isaiah he renewed this promise, declaring that a child would be born “upon whose shoulder” would rest the “key” of divine, eternal authority (Isa. 22). As Biblical interpreters 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 later (plus three months and three days, to be exact).¹² The key of authority—*clave*—is the same word for clef; and it awaits “the thirty-three,” suggesting some kind of musical measure. In musical terms, the words of David and the prophets are just the lyrics; Christ’s life is the song.

The cryptic second section of the introduction (ll. 11–16) depicts the moment of Christ’s birth as a musical performance. Christ was born, the poem says, “years before the sign, “dexterity in hope.” A *divisa* could be a sign of any kind but typically meant a heraldic device, such as would appear on a crest or flag.¹³ The motto *la destreza en la esperanza* sounds like a phrase from Tacitus, *spes in virtute, salus ex victoria*.¹⁴ Together with the other heroic vocabulary (*hazañas, destreza, divisa*), this phrase represents Christ as fighting to save humanity, following after his ancestor David the giant-killer (1 Sam. 16).¹⁵ The sermons of Leo

¹² Cornelius à Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, Commentaria in scripturam sacram (London: J.P. Pelagaud, 1868), 17; Antonio Ricciardo [Ricciardus], *Commentaria Symbolica* (Venice, 1591), s.v. *XXXIII*; Pietro Bongo [Bungus], *Petri Bungi Bergomatis Nymvorvm Mysteria* (Paris, 1643), s.v. *XXXIII*; for an earlier use of same number symbol by Gutiérrez de Padilla, see Cashner, “Playing Cards at the Eucharistic Table.”

¹³ Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, s.v. *divisa*.

¹⁴ Tacitus, *Annals* 11:20.

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, calling the Creed “the

the Great read in Christmas Matins adjacent to this villancico also characterize Christ's birth as the beginning of a battle with the devil.¹⁶ The word *destreza* was used for musical heroes as well, to signify virtuosity, especially compositional ingenuity.¹⁷ It also recalls the technical term *diestro* in heraldry (*dexter* in Latin and English, for the right-hand side of a crest, from the perspective of the crest).¹⁸ The *divisa* could also be a musical sign such as a meter signature. Theologically the “sign” may refer at one level to Christ’s death on the cross and on another level to Christ himself.

In the estribillo (ll. 17–33) the poem imagines the musical voices at the moment of Christ’s birth. 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 ensemble of “men and beasts” (l. 20) joining the angels. The spheres sing “in one choir and the other” (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, a cue Gutiérrez de Padilla does not miss. As a theological symbol, “two by two” surely refers to Noah’s Ark (Gen. 5), connecting it with both the animals in the Christmas stable and to the biblical and patristic allegorical reading of the ark as the church.¹⁹ “Three by three” probably refers to the traditional nine ranks of angelic choirs.²⁰ “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 chiasmus or

signal and standard [*señal y divisa*] that we who are of the Lord, and vassals of the faith, are to bear.”

¹⁶ Catholic Church, *Breviarium Romanum*, 175.

¹⁷ Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, s.v. *destreza*; in its musical sense, see the title of Gaspar Sanz, *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española y método de sus primeros rudimentos hasta tañerla con destreza: con dos laberintos ingeniosos, variedad de sones [...] con un breve tratado para acompañar con perfección sobre la parte muy esencial para la guitarra, arpa y organo [...]* (Zaragoza, 1674). Gutiérrez de Padilla used *destreza* and *hazañas* together to characterize the baby Jesus as a heroic rogue in his *jácaras* of 1651 and 1659 (MEX-Pc: Leg. 1/2; US-Bli: PQ7296.A1V8).

¹⁸ *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española [DRAE]*, 23rd ed., s.v. *diestro*, <https://dle.rae.es/>; *OED*, s.v. *dexter*; Gregory S. Johnston, “Laterality in the Aural and Visual Cultures of Early-Modern Germany” (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Boston, MA, Nov. 1, 2019).

¹⁹ 1 Pet. 3:8–22; Saint Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate Dei*, ed. J.P. Migne, *Patrologia latina* 41 (Paris: Migne, 1841), 15.

²⁰ See the entry for the number nine in Bongo, *Numerorum Mysteria*; an example of the trope is the canon for nine choirs of angels on the frontispiece of Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*.

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.

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, 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 lines represent the voice of the baby Jesus. The poem refers to the song that is Christ through solmization (*por sol, en mi*) and allusions to liturgical chants (*Gloria* and perhaps the *Gratias agimus tibi*). The musical imagery continues the conceit of the King as musician, a *padre* (father, priest) like Gutiérrez de Padilla and many other Spanish chapelmasters. He sounds the pitch *A* (*la, mi, re*) in Guidonian solmization with his voice as a tuning note or intonation (hence the description at the start of this chapter).

The listener now hears singing (*cantar*), in the form of a song (*canto*). This is not the song of the creation chorus but the music they were awaiting—the voice of Christ. That voice sings in *puntos de llanto* (tones of weeping). Musically this seems to play on *canto llano* (plainchant), while theologically the reference to tears again highlights Christ’s suffering. 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.²¹

After the invocation of “voices” at the opening, the reader or listener has to wait all the way until this part of the poem to hear a direct reference to hearing. 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* 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, and it makes the reader a hearer.

At the center of this poem’s concentric circles of voices is the Christ-child himself. The song the speaker hears is “as much to be seen (or admired) as to be heard”—because the song and the singer are one and the same. If the song is Christ, then, “the sign of *A* (*la, mi, re*)” is not just a reference to musical tuning; it connects to the *divisa* of the introduction to present Christ himself as a sign.

²¹ Matt. 3:17; Mark 1:9–11; Luke 3:21–22.

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 use 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 puts it, 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.’”²²

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 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.

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

The poem sets up a chain of echoes: 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 of 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.

On one level, the composer crafts musical structures that 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

²² Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 670, on Luke 2; the quotation from Anselm is “Deus factus est homo, ut homo fieret Deus.”

structure, and sets them to memorable melodic and rhythmic patterns—well in keeping with the directives of Trent. 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 *romance* poetry.

In addition to projecting the text in a way that makes it intelligible, Gutiérrez de Padilla also uses two other text-setting techniques—text depiction and text expression.²³ The composer 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, Gutiérrez de 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 the composer’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.

2.1 Projecting the Words

Gutiérrez de 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

²³ Peter Burkholder defines text depiction as “using musical gestures to reinforce visual images in the text,” and text expression, as “conveying through music the emotions or overall mood suggested by the text”: Peter J. Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 9th edition (New York: Norton, 2014), 207. I add to these terms the concept of text projection, and my conceptions of depiction and expression are somewhat broader, as depiction need not only be limited to “visual images” but includes numerological symbols, puns, and other such figures.

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 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 composer's treatment of the introducción's internal divisions, however, breaks with the implicit structure of the poem as printed. In the imprint from the earliest known version, a performance in Lisbon in 1642 (see table 6), the first sixteen lines are divided into four quatrains, with the same text as Gutiérrez de Padilla's ll. 1–16. But in the version sung in Puebla in 1657, ll. 1–6 and ll. 11–16 are grouped together and each is followed by ll. 7–10, now repeated as a *respuesta*. Keeping the first six lines together emphasizes the central connection between *la capilla*, *el rey*, *Jesús infante*, and *David monarca*. The phrasing and cadences in Gutiérrez de Padilla's setting make this grouping seem natural, and this highlights the key difference between the villancico as a literary genre meant to be read and the villancico as a musical genre meant to be heard.

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 polyphony in this mode.²⁴ Gutiérrez de Padilla uses harmonic 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. For example, he 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, Gutiérrez de 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

²⁴ 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.”

the strophes in the introduction with full cadences. The musical setting thus aurally projects the text as though it were arranged in lines of eight syllables with a *caesura*. This structure mirrors the pattern of *romance* poetry as heard, rather than as written in the narrow columns of villancico imprints.²⁵

The opening phrase demonstrates Gutiérrez de Padilla's subtle attention to the sound and stress of the words (music example 20 above). Chorus 1 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. That first word, in a common device of this composer'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*) Gutiérrez de 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.

2.2 *Depicting the Words*

The rest of the setting is as meticulously crafted as this opening phrase on the level of text projection. It is on the level of text depiction, though—representing the meaning of the text through musical figures and symbols—that Gutiérrez de Padilla demonstrates his full mastery of the craft. For the word *cuenta* at the beginning, he not only has one choir literally count rests, but he also has the other choir sing this word 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." Gutiérrez de Padilla sets "the lightest dissonance" in mm. 14–19 by creating just that: he has the Altus 1 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.

²⁵ Tomás Navarro Tomás, *Métrica española: Reseña histórica y descriptiva* (1956; New York: Las Americas Pub. Co., 1966); this structure is used in the *Cantar de mío Cid*: Ramón Menéndez Pidal, ed., *Crestomatía del español medieval*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Universidad de Madrid, 1965), 32–50; cf. also Old English and Germanic poetry.

In the *respuesta*, he continues this literal approach. Where Chorus II sings about awaiting “the thirty-three,” Gutiérrez de 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,” the composer uses the **C** sign to indicate a shift to duple meter (m. 45). After this the musicians shift from free declamatory style to a more regular rhythmic pattern, moving more quickly together in *corcheas* (modern eighth notes).²⁶ Here Gutiérrez de 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). He sets the numbers in the poem literally, employing 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), Gutiérrez de Padilla shifts meter signature again, returning to ternary meter—in Spanish terminology, a new *tiempo*. The theorist Lorente says this term can denote both the meter and the symbol that sets the meter.²⁷ After the time signature **Cz**, then, he 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” (Rev. 22:13), this halt is fitting. Since Christ existed before all time theologically, Gutiérrez de 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 mire, puestos los ojos en mi*. Likewise, Gutiérrez de Padilla’s metamusical conceits play on the terms in the most literal sense, realizing the solmization syllables in several ways at the same time (music example 21). 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 mire* (mm. 68–69), the Tiple I 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, Gutiérrez de 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).

²⁶ This is the term used by Cerone and villancico poets (see *Suban las voces al cielo* in chapter 5).

²⁷ Lorente, *El porqué de la música*, bk. 2, 149.

Musical score for Gutiérrez de Padilla's 'Voces, las de la capilla' (mm. 66–72). The score consists of two staves: Tenor I (Tl. I) and Tenor II (T. I). The key signature is C major, and the time signature is 2/4. The lyrics describe a sign of A (la, mi, re). Solmization labels are placed above the notes: [mol] la - [fic] mi - [nat] re and [mol] mi. The vocal parts are labeled A (la, mi, re) below them.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 21 Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, estribillo (mm. 66–72): “The sign of A (*la, mi, re*)” (*mol*, *mollis*; *nat*, *naturalis*; *fic*, *ficta*)

The solmization villancicos discussed in chapter 1 demonstrate that Guidonian solmization was still a fundamental part of Spanish music instruction through the eighteenth century. The syllables 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 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.²⁸ Even if fully trained singers did not often resort to the actual syllables in reading 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), Gutiérrez de 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 (sesquialtera) 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). Just as the ascent pushed up into sharps, so the descent sinks down into added E flats (Chorus I, mm. 100–104).

²⁸ Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz, y norte musical*; examples of manuscript student notebooks are in E-Bbc: M732/13–16; see also David E. Cohen, “Notes, Scales, and Modes in the Earlier Middle Ages,” in Christensen, *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, 307–363.



FIGURE 3 Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, end of estribillo in Tenor I partbook:
Coloration on figure for “God descending”

When Gutiérrez de 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 22). There is a clearly audible contrast between the rhythm of “God descending” and that of “Man ascending.” 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.

Gutiérrez de 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 a *peregrino tono* (“wandering song,” or the plainchant *tonus peregrinus*); the second, on the contrasting rhythmic values of *la máxima y breve*. Gutiérrez de Padilla may also quote a fragment of the actual chant tone here, as the stepwise descent A–G–F in the Altus matches the medial cadence of the tone and the F–E–D in the Tenor and Tiple matches the final cadence (music example 23, figure 4).²⁹

In the last phrase of this copla, when the poem speaks of Christ “going up the octave” or theologically “ascending on the eighth day,” Gutiérrez de 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*, which, as the eighth psalm tone, Cerone calls *octavo irregular*.³⁰

²⁹ 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.

³⁰ Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 354.

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Ti. I
A. I

jar, y to - do en Dios es ba - jar,
jar, es ba - jar,

T. I

y to - do en el hom - bre es su -
y to - do en Dios es ba - jar, to - do es
to - do en el hom - bre es su - bir, y to - do en Dios es ba - jar, ba -

A. II
T. II

to - do en el hom - bre es su - bir, y to - do en Dios es ba - jar, es ba -

B. I
[instr.]

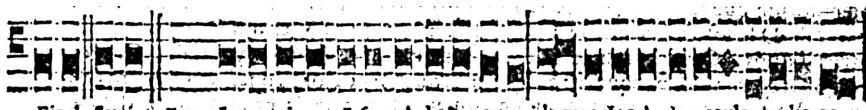
114

Dios es ba - jar,
- bir, y to - do en Dios,
ba - jar, y to - do en Dios es ba - jar,
- jar, y to - do en Dios es ba - jar,
- jar, to - do en Dios es ba - jar,

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y to - do en Dios es ba - jar.
- jar, y to - do en Dios es ba - jar,
ba - jar, to - do en Dios es ba - jar,
y to - do en Dios es ba - jar.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 22 Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, estribillo (mm. 106–126): Contrasting motives and rhythmic patterns for “Man ascending” and “God descending”



Final. Sacra. Ent. In e xi tu I fra el de Aegypto; do mus Jacob de populo barba ro.

FIGURE 4 The *tonus peregrinus* ("tono irregular o mixto," "octavo irregular") in Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 354

Tenor I: Da - ba un ni - ño pe - re - gri - no to - no al hom - bre y
 Alto I: Da - ba un ni - ño pe - re - gri - no to - no al hom - bre y
 Tenor II: Da - ba un ni - ño pe - re - gri - no to - no al hom - bre y

MUSIC EXAMPLE 23 Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, copla 1 (mm. 127–132): Point of imitation quoting the chant *tonus peregrinus* on words *peregrino tono*

Tenor II: y de la má xi - ma y bre ve
 Alto II: y de la má - - - xi - ma y bre - ve
 Bassus I [inst.]: y de la má - - - xi - ma y bre - ve

MUSIC EXAMPLE 24 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)

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 Christ. In medieval theory these were the longest and shortest note values, with the maxima worth eight breves (the breve corresponding to a modern double-whole note). Gutiérrez de 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 24). 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 copla (mm. 147–156) is ten measures (*compases*) long, which is precisely equal to the length of a true maxima plus a breve.

2.3 *Expression and Madrigal Style*

This analysis shows that Gutiérrez de Padilla's setting as a whole is intimately connected to the sound and meaning of the poetry. The chapelmaster has his 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 25). 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, Gutiérrez de 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.³¹

By referencing different levels of musical style, Gutiérrez de 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.³² The same words are used to describe the music of Christ as a musician in José de Cáseda's *Qué música divina* (see chapter 5). In 1682 a New Spanish nobleman used the same adjectives—*gravísima y suavísima música*—to characterize the Matins music he endowed at Mexico City Cathedral.³³ 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 suit-

³¹ The play on numbers, “three by three” and so on, is strongly reminiscent of the madrigal *As Vesta Was from Latmos Hill Descending* by Thomas Weelkes (published in Thomas Morley's collection *The Triumphes of Oriana* in 1601). The music of Weelkes and other English madrigalists did circulate in Iberia as far as Lisbon, to judge from the 1649 catalog of João IV.

³² On *suave* and other common vocabulary used for music in Spanish poetry, 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).

³³ Dianne Lehmann Goldman, “The Matins Responsory at Mexico City Cathedral, 1575–1815” (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2014), 140–141.

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Tl. I
A. I

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

Tl. I
A. II

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

Tl. II
A. II

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

B. I
[instr.]

52 - no - ro,

- no - ro, y dos a dos, u - no a u - no y

8 - no - ro, hom - bres y bru - tos y Dios, tres a tres y dos a dos, u - no a

hom - bres y bru - tos y Dios, tres a tres y dos a dos,

tres a tres, dos a dos, u - no a u - no,

dos a dos, dos a dos, tres a tres y dos a dos, dos a dos,

u - no y dos a dos, tres a tres y dos a dos, dos a dos, u - no a u - no,

tres a tres, dos a dos, u - no a u - no,

MUSIC EXAMPLE 25 Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Voces, las de la capilla*, estribillo (mm. 48–59): Evasion of madrigal style

ably “solemn.” In Gutiérrez de Padilla’s piece, the term is used within a villancico to refer to a higher form of music-making.

This stylistic reference also echoes the way the music of Christmas is portrayed in contemporary Nativity images. The composer’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 1638–1639.³⁴ 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 harp was associated with both heavenly music and earthly church music, and the lute, with musical genres performed outside of church, such as the madrigal. Villancicos crossed both domains, and therefore could incorporate references to both styles within them. 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.³⁵ 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.³⁶

3 Devotion to Christ as Singer and Song

By inviting hearers to listen for the voice of *Jesús infante*, Gutiérrez de Padilla’s villancico presents a new, musical twist on an ancient theological trope. The concept of devotion to Christ as “unspeaking Word” reaches back to the beginning of John’s gospel, where Christ is “the Word made flesh,” through the subsequent elaborations of this concept by Augustine in the fifth century and Bernard of Clairvaux in the twelfth. A model sermon of Luis de Granada and the exegetical commentaries on the Gospel infancy narratives by Cornelius

³⁴ Now in the Musée de Grenoble. Gutiérrez de Padilla had been chapelmastor of the cathedral of Jerez de la Frontera in 1612–1616; Gembero-Ustároz, “Muy amigo de música.”

³⁵ 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).

³⁶ 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.

TABLE 5 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 Hippomensis 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 (Antwerp, 1628)</i>	Colegio del Espíritu Santo
Corderio, B.	<i>Catena Patrym Graecorum in Sanctvm 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 (London, 1638)</i>	Colegio del Espíritu Santo
Luis de Granada	<i>Sylva locorum communium omnibus diuini verbi concionatoribus [...]: in qua tum veterum Ecclesiae Patrum tum philosophorum, oratorum et poëtarum egregia dicta aureaeq[ue] sententiae [...] leguntur (London, 1587)</i>	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 (Zaragoza, 1610)</i>	"Biblioteca del seminario"

à Lapide continue this tradition in post-Trent Catholicism, in widely available texts that would have been familiar to a university-educated priest like Gutiérrez de Padilla. The historic libraries of Puebla's seminaries and convents included numerous compendia of patristic commentaries on Scripture, model sermons, vernacular devotional books, and learned Latin theological treatises (table 5). *Ex libris* markings still identify the books from Puebla's Oratorian Society, to which Gutiérrez de Padilla belonged.³⁷

The *Verbum infans* trope links the theology of "the Word" to the theology of music. It positions listening to music as a way of encountering Christ through the sense of hearing, and its focus is on the voice of the infant Jesus himself. Granada 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:

37 Mauleón Rodríguez, "Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla desde el ámbito civil."

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.³⁸

Even more important than these angelic voices, Granada preaches, is the voice of the newborn Christ himself, “crying and trembling with cold in the stable.” Granada 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.”³⁹

Granada explicitly compares the voice of this incarnate Word with music. The Dominican friar, an avid student 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 [*la palabra de Dios enmudecida*], 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 [*calladamente llora*]; but this cry is greater eloquence than that of Tully [Cicero], and even than the music of the angels of heaven.⁴⁰

Granada’s image of the infant Christ as an orator encapsulates the trope of Christ as the *Verbum infans*. For this passage he 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:

³⁸ Luis de Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, Biblioteca de autores españoles 11 (1595; Madrid, 1945), 40.

³⁹ Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, 37–38; cf. Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 670, on Luke 2.

⁴⁰ Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, 39.

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.⁴¹

Bernard is himself drawing on an older tradition of the theology of the Word going back to Saint Augustine, who in dozens of Christmas sermons reiterates the trope of *Verbum infans doctor humilitatis*—the infant word, teacher of humility.⁴² The day of Christmas, Augustine preaches,

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.⁴³

As the master of a theology of communication through sign and signified (in *De doctrina christiana*), Augustine is teaching the faithful to ascend in a Neoplatonic chain of signification. The present-day Mass should point them to the signs through which Christ was manifested at his birth, which in turn pointed to Christ himself as the manifestation of God in “a voice of flesh.”

The *Verbum infans* trope fundamentally provides a way of thinking about communication between God and humankind. For Augustine, human communication was a reflection of the process of divine communication. He used the voice to help his parishioners understand the Incarnation. Prior to the Incarnation, he teaches, the Word of God existed from eternity, like a human thought before it is expressed in words. It “was not varied by punctuation marks whether short or long, nor drawn together by the voice, nor ended by silence.”⁴⁴ But just as a thought is transferred into words without ceasing to be a thought,

⁴¹ Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, *In nativitate Domini*, ed. J.P. Migne, Patrologia latina 183 (Paris: Migne, 1854), 128A, Sermo v.

⁴² Saint Augustine of Hippo, *Sermones de tempore*, ed. J.P. Migne, Patrologia latina 38 (Paris: Migne, 1841), 1004, heading for sermon 187.

⁴³ Ibid., 997, Sermo 185, In Natali Domini 2.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 1001, Sermo 187, In Natali Domini 4.

so Christ took on human flesh while remaining divine. The word makes communication possible because in speech, the abstract word is expressed in a concrete, physical way:

A word [*verbum*; or, thought] that we carry in the heart, when joined with a voice [*vox*; or, speech, spoken word], we bring forth to the ear, is not changed into the voice, but the whole word is assumed into the voice in which it proceeds, so that internally the idea the word makes intelligible remains, while externally the voice produces the sound that is heard. This word, then, brings forth in sound, what previously resounded in silence. The word, upon being made a voice [or, upon being spoken], is not changed into the voice itself, but rather, remaining in the mind's light, and having assumed the voice [speech] of flesh, it proceeds to the hearer, and does not leave the thinker. The word in silence is not thought by means of this voice [spoken word], whether it is Greek or Latin or whatever other tongue: but rather, the thing itself which is to be said, before all other differentiations of tongues, is understood in some naked manner in the chambers of the heart, from whence it proceeds, being spoken, to be clothed in the voice.⁴⁵

In this conception the Christ-child embodies divine communication not through spoken words, but through his very body.

Augustine's theology of voice opened 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."⁴⁶ If the voice is an apt metaphor for Christ as the divine Word, conveying the divine nature to humanity, 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

⁴⁵ Augustine, *Sermones de tempore*, 1002, Sermo 187, In Natali Domini 4; on Christ as *verbum*, see Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 872–889.

⁴⁶ Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 673, on Luke 2.

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” (l. 7) through his heroic, sacrificial life. He himself holds the *clave* (musical clef/key of authority); he himself is the *divisa* (sign).

The note A is made a theological symbol of Christ himself as the sign, both *signo* and *divisa*. Both words draw on theological traditions that see Christ the Word as a “sign,” and therefore even as a letter. 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.”⁴⁷ 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” (Rev. 23): “just as no letter comes before *alpha*,” he preaches, nothing precedes Christ or follows after him, “for he is God.”⁴⁸ 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* (ll. 11, 23). The beginning of Christ’s human life is the moment when the idea is “clothed in the voice” and communication becomes possible.

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. Spaniards believed that the first cry of newborn boys was the inarticulate sound *a* (pronounced like English *ah*). Covarrubias defines the letter A as “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.”⁴⁹ This sound conveyed theological meaning about the nature of humankind: “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.”⁵⁰ By this account, keeping in mind Granada’s description of Christ’s newborn cries, the baby Jesus first cried out with the inarticulate vowel *A*, expressing in this sound his essence as *alpha* and *omega*, as incarnate Word. 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 into-

⁴⁷ Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, s.v. *divisa*; Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 685–686, on Luke 2.

⁴⁸ Augustine, *Omnia opera*, (MEX-Plf. 393-42010903) vol. 10, f. 118r, *In Natali Domini* 2; Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentaria in Acta Apostolorum Epistolas Canonicas et Apocalypsin* (Antwerp, 1627), on Rev. 1.

⁴⁹ Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, s.v. *A*.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

TABLE 6 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 collection
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

nation, for a new song to replace the “wandering song” given to “the first man” (ll. 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. In the baby’s cries could be heard “the voice of the Father” himself. Parishioners hearing the Puebla chapel choir were challenged to listen for this highest of all harmonies, the “consonances of Man and God.”

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 the composer’s fellow musicians, chapelmasters, and the educated elite of Puebla, the piece demonstrated his skill and established his place in a tradition of composition. This setting is one link in a chain of homage and emulation, within a specific family of villancicos.

Evidence survives for two previous villancicos beginning *Voces, las de la capilla* (table 6). The sources are a 1649 catalog entry for a setting by Francisco de Santiago from the collection of Portuguese King John IV, and a 1642 poetry imprint of a performance by the royal chapel in Lisbon.⁵¹ There is also

⁵¹ *Villancicos qve se cantarão na real capella do muyto alto, & poderoso Rey Dom Ioamo IIII.*

a source for a variant version of the text, *Cantores de la capilla*, performed for Epiphany 1647 at Seville Cathedral and probably composed by chapelmaster Luis Bernardo Jalón.⁵² The 1642 Lisbon print represents the same branch of the textual family as Gutiérrez de Padilla's 1657 setting, while the 1647 *Cantores* text forms a distinct branch. In the 1649 catalog, among the "Christmas Villancicos of Fray Francisco de Santiago" there appears the following entry: "Vozes las de la capilla. solo. Ya trechos las distancias. a 9."⁵³ The catalog only gives the text of the first line, but this matches the Lisbon and Puebla versions (the corresponding music was lost with the Portuguese King João IV's collection in the Lisbon earthquake and fires of 1755).

Compared to the texts beginning with *Voces*, the 1647 text *Cantores de la capilla* is less complex, metrically regular, and coherent (table 7). The 1647 *Cantores* text only differs in small but revealing details from both versions of *Voces*, *las de la capilla*. In the first four lines, Jalón's text has *Cantores* (singers) instead of *Voces* (voices) and *Niño* (child) instead of *Rey* (king). Lines 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*.

Cantores reads like an attempt to simplify and explain the dense *concepcionismo* of *Voces*. Where *Voces* has an ambiguous or cryptic line, *Cantores* has a less multivalent one. 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. 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 key lines *a la voz del padre oí/ cantan por puntos de llanto*, are missing. The theological connection between David and Christ as musician-kings is weakened, and instead of saying that "the King is a musician," *Cantores* has "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. Some of the musical terminology is deployed

⁵² *nossa senhor. Nas matina da noite do Natal da era de 1642* (Lisbon, 1642), P:Ln: RES-189-3-P (no. 2). Thanks to Álvaro Torrente for bringing this source to my attention.

⁵³ *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.

⁵⁴ Craesbeck, *Primeira parte do index da livraria de mvsica*, caixão 26, no. 674.

TABLE 7 Comparison of three extant variant texts of *Voces, las de la capilla* villancico family (later correspondences to 1642 text in boldface)

1642 Lisbon (Santiago?)	1647 Seville (Jalón?)	1657 Puebla (Gutiérrez de Padilla)
Voces las de la capilla, cuenta con lo que se canta, que es músico el Rey, y nota las más leves disonancias.	Cantores de la Capilla, cuenta con lo que se canta, que es Músico el Niño, y nota las más leves disonancias.	Voces las de la capilla, cuenta con lo que se canta que es músico el Rey, y nota las más leves disonancias
A lo de Jesús infante y a lo de David monarca, 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.
La clave, que sobre el hombre para el treinta y tres se guarda, años antes la divisa, la destreza, en la esperanza.	Una clave con tres tiempos pone con destreza tanta, que el pasado y el futuro al compás presente iguala.	Puntos ponen a sus letras los siglos de sus hazañas.
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 medio, que a la entrada puso, y una inspiración que para el Calvario guarda. (cf. Seville copla 4)	La clave que sobre el hombro para el treinta y tres se aguarda. Años antes la divisa, la destreza en la esperanza por sol comienza una gloria, por mi se canta una gracia, y a medio compás la noche remeda quiebros del alba.
ESTRIBO	ESTRIBO	
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,	O que lindamente suenan! o que dulcemente cantan al compás que lleva el Infante, 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 aguardaron uno	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 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	que llegó a tiempo oportuno, quien antes del tiempo fue por el signo a la mi re, puestos los ojos en mi, con que mil maravillas vi	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

TABLE 7 Comparison of three extant variant texts of *Voces, las de la capilla* (cont.)

1642 Lisbon (Santiago?)	1647 Seville (Jalón?)	1657 Puebla (Gutiérrez de Padilla)
cantan por puntos de llanto, O qué canto tan de oír, y de admirar!	tan de ir [sic] y de admirar, que si lo acierto a decir, todo en el hombre es subir, y todo en Dios es bajar,	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, y con el favor usanos, los corazones humanos, vuelven guecos.	y todo en Dios es bajar.	Todo en el hombre es subir y todo en Dios es bajar.
ECO: Ecos, pues zagalejos: ECO: Lejos, desvalidos, Eco: Idos, distraídos, ECO: Traídos, son sustenidos, 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.		

COPLAS

A suspensiones del cielo hacen sus esferas pausas, porque el Ángel, que las mueve cuenta le admira, se pasma.	A Suspensiones el Cielo hace en sus esferas pausas, porque el Ángel que los mueve cuanto le admira le pasma.
Los compases son del tiempo, que ya sus compases guarda, quien al tiempo lleva siglos, quien lleva al siglo distancias.	Los compases son del tiempo, que ya sus compases guarda quien al tiempo lleva siglos, quien lleva al siglo distancias.
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,

TABLE 7 Comparison of three extant variant texts of *Voces, las de la capilla* (*cont.*)

1642 Lisbon (Santiago?)	1647 Seville (Jalón?)	1657 Puebla (Gutiérrez de Padilla)
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 brutos breve morada.	
	Por sol comienza una gloria, por mi se canta una gracia, y a medio compás la Noche remeda quiebros del Alba.	
		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 consonan- cias.
<i>Ya trechos &c.</i>	<i>O que lindamente &c.</i>	<i>Ya trechos &c.</i>

inaccurately. It is hard to know what real meter might be indicated when *Cantores* has Christ the composer writing in *compás mayor* in a *proporción abreviada* using a *clave con tres tiempos*. 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, the speaker of *Cantores* is looking at singers.

Gutiérrez de Padilla’s 1657 text, by contrast, is much closer to the 1642 *Voces*, with only a few major differences. First, as already noted, Gutiérrez de 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 Gutiérrez de Padilla’s *respuesta* (the first time through) is meant to follow the sixth verse, just as it is notated in the musical manuscripts. But this grouping in six lines and adding a repeated section goes against the patterns implied by the poem’s metrical structure and appears to be a unique interpretive decision, perhaps with the goal of creating dialogue between the two choruses. Second, Gutiérrez de Padilla, like Jalón, omits the *eco* portion of the 1642 text, ending with

Todo en Dios es bajar. Gutiérrez de 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*).

The metrical patterning of the three texts suggests that Gutiérrez de Padilla's version reflects an earlier stage of the tradition than either of the other two, despite its later date. First, Gutiérrez de Padilla's text alone features a *respuesta* section. This structure was more commonly used in villancicos before 1640, though Gutiérrez de Padilla, now in his senior years, continued to use the form in the 1650s.⁵⁴ Second, the Puebla text alone includes a *línea de vuelta* (hinge line) structure, a holdover from the form of the courtly villancicos of the sixteenth century.⁵⁵ In Gutiérrez de Padilla's text, the line *Ya trechos las distancias* connects the end of the coplas (*de un hombre y Dios consonancias*) and the start of the estribillo when that section is repeated. The 1642 Lisbon *Voces*, and the catalog entry for Santiago's *Voces*, both contain this same line (*Ya trechos las distancias*), but the Lisbon version has different coplas from Gutiérrez de Padilla, and the end of the coplas does not rhyme with *distancias*. The rest of the estribillo has a consistent pattern in Gutiérrez de Padilla's version: a series of fully rhyming, eight-syllable verse pairs, bracketed before and after by half-lines, and followed by a *redondilla abrazada*. The line *Ya trechos* breaks this pattern and only makes sense when the estribillo is repeated.

By contrast, the estribillo of *Cantores* is much more irregular in syllable counts and rhymes. Its metrical irregularities are confined to the 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, which develops unrelated themes and seems like a superfluous addition. These differences suggest that *Cantores* was adapted from *Voces* with the goal of tempering its Góngora-like difficulty, and that it is not an especially skillful adaptation.

If *Cantores* is a later adaptation of *Voces*, why did Gutiérrez de Padilla revert to an earlier stage of the textual tradition? The print of *Cantores* was likely known to him, since the only surviving copy survives in a binder's collection in Puebla. He must have had access to a source from the earlier textual tradition. There is reason to believe that the three composers known to have set texts in this family were personally connected in a professional network. I propose

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

55 Navarro Tomás, *Métrica española*.

TABLE 8 Connections between composers and settings of the *Voces* villancico family

Composers	Connections
Santiago and Gutiérrez de Padilla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Santiago chapelmaster in Seville while Gutiérrez de Padilla chapelmaster in Cádiz, 1616–1622 – 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>
Gutiérrez de Padilla and Jalón	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Jalón's <i>Cantores</i> text circulated in Puebla via poetry imprint – Gutiérrez de Padilla's <i>Voces</i> likely composed with knowledge of Jalón's setting

that these chapelmasters deliberately chose to set their particular versions in order to establish a kind of kinship with Santiago, the earlier master (table 8). Their musical relationships provided intergenerational connections for Spanish musicians who were priests (like Gutiérrez de Padilla) or men of religious orders (like Santiago), whose vow of celibacy precluded lineages of blood. These *maestros* learned and then transmitted their craft through apprenticeship. 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 Seville are shown in table 9.

In Gutiérrez de 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 the more experienced composer Estevão de Brito in the competition to succeed his teacher.⁵⁶ A new stage of apprenticeship began after Gutiérrez de Padilla emigrated to New Spain, when he was selected in 1628 to assist the ailing Puebla chapelmaster Gaspar Fernández.⁵⁷ He composed the villancicos for Corpus

⁵⁶ Gembero-Ustároz, "Muy amigo de música"; *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Brito, Estevão de," by Robert Murrell Stevenson.

⁵⁷ Morales Abril, "Gaspar Fernández: su vida y obras como testimonio de la cultura musical novohispana a principios del siglo XVII."

TABLE 9 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 1643–1644
	Luis Bernardo Jalón	1600?–1659	1644–1659	
Puebla	Gaspar Fernández	1580?–1628	1606–1629	Chapter appoints Gutiérrez de Padilla as assistant 1622; Gutiérrez de Padilla composes 1628 Corpus Christi villancicos
	Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla	1590?–1664	1629–1664	Gutiérrez de Padilla grants García power of attorney 1660; García possibly provides music for Christmas 1660–1664; chapter appoints García interim successor 1664, permanent 1670
	Juan García de Céspedes	1619?–1678	1664–1678	

Christi in that year, probably both as a way to fill in for Fernández and to prove his own mastery.⁵⁸ He then succeeded Fernández after he died. Now the master, Gutiérrez de Padilla cultivated his own apprentice in Puebla, Juan García de Céspedes. When Gutiérrez de Padilla's health began to fail in 1660, he signed a "power of attorney" document giving legal rights to García, a member of the Puebla ensemble whose name appears throughout Gutiérrez de Padilla's part-books. García then succeeded Gutiérrez de Padilla after his death in 1664.⁵⁹

The Seville chapelmasters established a kinship-like lineage in the same way. Francisco de Santiago first served as assistant to Alonso Lobo during his old age in 1616.⁶⁰ 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.

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

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

60 *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana [DMEH]*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio, 10 vols. (Madrid: Sociedad general de autores y editores, 1999), s.v. *Santiago, fray Francisco de*; Robert Murrell Stevenson, "Santiago, fray Francisco de (born ca. 1578 at Lisbon; died October 5, 1644, at Seville)," *Anuario Musical*, 1970, 1–11.

TABLE 10 Gutiérrez de 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
Gutiérrez de Padilla	<i>Voces, las de la capilla</i>	1657	Santiago	<i>Voces, las de la capilla</i>	Pre-1644
Gutiérrez de 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	Gutiérrez de Padilla	<i>Exultate justi</i>	Pre-1660

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. Musicians could also voluntarily demonstrate kinship. Younger musicians could deliberately affiliate themselves with teachers and paragons through composing musical homages (table 10). Francisco Vidales, organist in Gutiérrez de Padilla's Puebla chapel, demonstrated his affiliation to the chapelmastert by writing a parody mass based on one of his motets.⁶¹

It makes sense, then, that both Jalón and Gutiérrez de Padilla would try to establish musical kinship with Santiago by adapting a text he had set. Gutiérrez de Padilla likely knew Santiago personally from his own early career in Andalusia, when he was climbing the ladder of prestigious positions in the region, including Jerez de la Frontera (1612–1616) and the cathedral of Cádiz (1616–1622).⁶² His years in Cádiz overlap with Santiago's tenure in Seville (1617–1643), leaving about six years when the two chapelmasters in these two closely linked port cities could easily have interacted personally or through correspondence. The Seville composer's position at the helm of the flagship music program in the Spanish world would have made him a prime target for emulation or competition.⁶³

61 *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Padilla, Juan Gutiérrez de," by John Koegel. Cf. the successive reworkings of the same Victoria motet at Mexico City Cathedral through the eighteenth century: Dianne Lehmann Goldman, "Between *stile antico* and *galant*: An Authorship Complex of Eighteenth-Century Responsories for the *Santísima Trinidad* at Mexico City Cathedral," in *Haydn and His Contemporaries II*, ed. Kathryn Libin (Ann Arbor, MI: Steglein Publishing, 2015), 1–17.

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

63 Gutiérrez de Padilla's *Missa "Ego flos campi"* (MEX-Pc: LiPol xv) may even be an homage to Santiago's own lost mass of the same title, which according the João IV catalog, was

5 "All Who Heard It Were Amazed"

How can we understand the religious functions of this complex poetry and music in light of both its social use to establish a pedigree and its context within Catholic theological traditions? What were listeners supposed to take away from the experience of hearing this villancico? Though the piece certainly could provide plenty of exercise for the intellect of educated hearers and could serve to link its composer to a particular heritage, I contend that the music's primary function for most of the Puebla congregation was affective: it provoked awe and wonder in response to Christ's Incarnation.

This fit with the emphasis of a range of Catholic theological literature for Christmas, from the catechism to sermons and commentaries. 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 as children of God."⁶⁴ The Incarnation of Christ, this passage suggests, was not so much a concept to be understood as a miracle to be marvelled at. The proper response to meditating on "all of these mysteries," the catechism says, would be "that with a humble and faithful spirit they should believe, and adore."⁶⁵

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, 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."⁶⁶ In a model sermon, 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 [John 1], but in the arms of the Mother; not above choirs of angels, but among filthy

based on the motet *Ego flos campi a 8* by Nicolas Dupont, a Flemish composer in the Spanish Royal Chapel: Craesbeck, *Primeira parte do index da livraria de mvsica*, 417, caixão 34, no. 787: "Missas [...] Ego flos campi, a 8. Ferta sobre hum Motette de Niculas du Pont"; 381, caixão 32, no. 767: "Ego flos campi, a 8, Niculas du Pont. *De Nossa Senhora*."

⁶⁴ Catholic Church, *Catechismus*, 50.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 50.

⁶⁶ Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 50, on Matt. 6.

animals; not seated at 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.⁶⁷

Contemplating Christ's birth, Granada 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"?⁶⁸

Spanish devotional music for Christmas seems designed primarily to cultivate this same attitude of wonder. Gutiérrez de Padilla's setting of *Voces, las de la capilla* instills wonder not only in the words but in the virtuoso composition and performance of the music as well. The villancico 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*."⁶⁹ Indeed, Gutiérrez de 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 Responsoy 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.⁷⁰

67 Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, 37.

68 Ibid., 38.

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

70 Catholic Church, *Breviarium Romanum*, 175: "R. O magnum mysterium, & admirabile

In his sermon Granada alludes to this Responsory in terms quite similar to those in Gutiérrez de Padilla's 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."⁷¹

This Responsory was probably paired with Gutiérrez de 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 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."⁷² 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 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, 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 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 is an "admirable" sacrament—that is, one that can be seen—but it is also an audible sacrament.

By calling devotional attention to the infant's voice in its musical version of the *Verbum infans* trope, Gutiérrez de Padilla's villancico suggests that listeners can encounter Christ through hearing. The voices of the Puebla Cathedral ensemble's men and boys directed worshippers to imagine the sounds of the

sacramentum, vt animalia viderent Dominum natum, iacentem in praesepio: Beata Virgo, cuius viscera meruerunt portare Dominum Christum. V. Ave Maria, gratia plena: Dominus tecum."

⁷¹ 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!"

⁷² MEX-Pc: AC 1633-12-30: "Que a los maitines de nauidad deste año y de los venideros [...] se canten todas las liçones yn totum sin dejar cossa alguna dellas y que la chansoneta sirba de Responsorio el qual se diga resado mientrass se estubiere cantando."

angelic choirs and to contemplate a higher kind of music in the incarnate Christ. These higher forms of music would be audible only by faith, through the present cathedral music which was its echo.

Worshippers in Puebla who listened while looking toward the altar, newly decorated by Pedro García Ferrer, could combine the auditory gestures toward heavenly music with a resplendent vision of Neoplatonic ascent.⁷³ Starting on either side of the altar they would see paintings of shepherds and Magi greeting the infant Christ. Their eyes would be drawn upward to the central image of the Immaculate Mary being assumed into heaven, greeted by a heavenly consort of angels playing instruments and dancing in the round, in the light of the Holy Trinity.⁷⁴ The ascent to the heavenly realm, as depicted on the altar, began with an encounter with Christ in the lowliness of his Incarnation. Gutiérrez de Padilla's bishop, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, encouraged this type of devotion: his book *El Pastor de Nochebuena* invites worshippers to imagine themselves journeying with the shepherds to meet the newborn Christ.⁷⁵

Journeying with the shepherds meant imitating their faith. Lapide invites readers to learn from the shepherds' example: they did more than just hear the good news announced by angels; they believed it and then "went and told everyone what they had seen and heard" (Luke 2:20). 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."⁷⁶ Faith here means more than intellectual assent to a doctrine like the Incarnation; it means being "moved" to receive Christ.

But imagining a journey to Bethlehem, as the Puebla retable and Palafox's writings invited Puebla parishioners to do, was only a devotional aid in the service of a real encounter with Christ at the altar. 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."⁷⁷ Lapide cites Saint Cyril

⁷³ Merlo Juárez, Quintana Fernández, and Pavón Rivero, *La Catedral Basilica de la Puebla de los Ángeles; Montserrat Galí Boadella, Pedro García Ferrer: Un artista aragonés del siglo XVII en la Nueva España* (Teruel: Ayuntamiento de Alcorisa: Instituto de Estudios Turólenses, Excma. Diputación Provincial de Teruel, 1996).

⁷⁴ The complex is in part a visual embodiment of musical encomium: Schmidt, "Lauter Berenhäuterey? Heinrich Schütz und das Lob der Musik."

⁷⁵ Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, *El Pastor de Noche Buena: Practica Breve de las Virtudes; Conocimiento Facil de los Vicios* (1644; Barcelona, 1730).

⁷⁶ Lapide, *In Quatuor Evangelia*, 677, on Luke 2.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 672, on Luke 2.

to say that “symbolically, the manger is the altar, on which Christ in the Mass by consecration is as though born and sacrificed.” Despite these high theological ideals, though, in practice it was uncommon for lay people to receive the Eucharist physically. Instead, music could serve a mediating function connecting common people to the church through the sense of hearing. Devotional music could help worshippers experience intellectually and affectively something of the wonder and mystery of the Incarnation at Christmas.

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. Granada makes the Christmas story into a call to heartfelt worship:

But consider, that if the angels on that day sang and solemnized this mystery with *Glorias* and praises, giving thanks 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 and mercy given to strangers, what should those do who were redeemed and restored by it?⁷⁸

The devotee's response of awe, a central element of Christmas devotion, surpassed private experience and motivated people to share their response with others. Music could both motivate this kind of experience and provide a way to share it.

A villancico like *Voces, las de la capilla* contributed to these devotional goals by appealing both to intellect—the obscure conceits, the musical puns—and to the affective faculty through its appeal to bodily, communal reaction and participation. 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. If the goal of Christmas music was to echo the historical voices of Christmas and provoke the same kind of awestruck wonder, then we can understand the efforts of poets and chapelmasters to impress and even confound hearers through ingenious auditory artistry. For the listeners in Puebla Cathedral on Christmas Eve 1657, their relationship to the villancico *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.

78 Granada, *Sermon en la fiesta del nacimiento de nuestro señor*, 41.

Heavenly Dissonance (Montserrat, 1660s)

Suspended, cielos, vuestro dulce canto.
 Tened, parad, y escuchad
 la más nueva consonancia
 que forman en su distancia
 lo eterno y lo temporal.

ANONYMOUS, *Suspended, cielos* (Montserrat, ca. 1660)

••

Pilgrims who reached the mountaintop Abbey of Our Lady of Montserrat in time for Christmas services were primed for experiences of exaltation. Perched on a jagged peak overlooking the Barcelona region, the abbey church enshrined the statue of the Black Virgin of Montserrat, patron of Catalonia. Many came in search of miracles or in payment of spiritual debts, and though they came to see the Virgin, they also came to hear the abbey's famous school choir, the Escolania—today the oldest continuously operating singing school in the world.¹ This was the environment in which the villancico by Joan Cererols, *Suspended, cielos, vuestro dulce canto*, was first heard.² The chorus addressed the celestial spheres themselves, commanding them to cease their perpetual music and listen. A new song, “the newest consonance,” was forming in the person of the Christ-child. As *Verbum infans* his cries would form the basis for the music of a renewed creation. By the end of the piece, attentive listeners could actually hear the theme representing Christ’s voice become the *cantus firmus* of a new heavenly music. The piece was a school for spiritual listening within a Neoplatonic tradition: it challenged hearers to listen beyond this depiction of heavenly music for the higher, unhearable music of Christ himself.

The setting by Cererols is one of ten known versions of this villancico, performed between 1650 and 1700 across Iberia, with a later version appearing

¹ On Spanish Marian devotion and shrines, see William A. Christian Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

² E-CAN: AU 0116, Cashner, *Villancicos about Music*, 35–36, 49–18; Cererols, *Joan Cererols III*, xxv, 221–236.

as far afield as Ecuador. The themes of the poem—the relationship between worldly and divine music, the symbolism of consonance and dissonance, the theme of Christ as both singer and song—must have resonated with many musicians and worshippers. This is all the more notable given that these poetic and musical celebrations of the old earth-centered cosmological system were being developed precisely at the same time as Newton was formulating the theories that would destroy that worldview. The different versions of this villancico, then, allow us to see how Spanish Catholics understood music's place in the cosmos even as their understanding of the cosmos was being challenged.

John Hollander's study of seventeenth-century 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 (Rev. 8:1) "MUSICK shall untune the sky."³ Hollander uses the title to refer to a process of secularization and "disenchantment" across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By the end of the period, he argues, poets use the language of heavenly harmony in a purely conventionalized way devoid of real faith in the old cosmos. In villancicos of early modern Spain, poetic references to the heavens do become conventionalized, but they do not reflect a loss of faith in the Ptolemaic-Neoplatonic worldview. If anything they reflect some anxiety about the new ideas, manifested through an active retrenchment against them. Even in England, the poem that Hollander coopted for his title actually affirms traditional Neoplatonic views. Dryden, in the same line of thought as the villancico set by Cererols, emphasizes the untunefulness of worldly music (including the heavenly spheres) compared to the higher music of God. The Cererols setting embodies this conception of music in actual sounds, juxtaposing lower and higher levels of human music to prompt reflection on the relation of the material and spiritual worlds. Most notably, when the poem refers to Christ as "the newest consonance," Cererols uses dissonance as an ironic symbol to provoke listeners to imagine a divine music that transcends even the music of the spheres.

1 Cererols and the Boys' School Choir of Montserrat

Joan Pau Cererols Fornell was baptized in 1618 in the village of Martorell, in the shadow of Montserrat.⁴ He was the youngest child of Jaume Cererols, a

3 Dryden, *Alexander's Feast*; John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500–1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

4 Ferran Balanza i González, "Joan Cererols (1618–1680): L'entorn familiar; Regest dels docu-

well-to-do tailor. His mother died when he was ten, and it appears that only a few months later Joan was sent off to boarding school as a chorister at the Escolania of Montserrat. In the Escolania he would have received a thorough training in performance, practical music theory, Latin, and the other typical subjects taught in church schools. After graduating Cererols entered the novitiate of the Montserrat Benedictines at age eighteen, in 1636. He remained at the monastery until his death in 1680, having become chapelmaster of the Escolania and teacher in the Escola, as well as serving as sacristan of the abbey church. A painting made around the time of his tenure depicts the Escolania praising the Black Virgin, and the arrangement of the boys facing each other in double-choir formation, their instruments (*bajón, sacabuche*), and their looseleaf partbooks, all match with the performance practice of Cererols's villancicos.⁵

A monastery chronicle (probably written several decades after Cererols's death) says that Cererols was "chapelmaster and master of the choir-school boys for more than thirty years," having "left behind many written [i.e., manuscript] books of music."⁶ Moreover, Cererols was "an excellent poet," learned in letters and theology, and able "to speak Latin as fluently as if it were his mother tongue."⁷ This description fits well with the evidence of *Suspended, cie-los*, which pairs sophisticated poetry and elegant musical technique. Cererols's version includes several variant poetic readings that do not appear in any of the other seven sources, and most of these appear to be deliberate changes directed by a keen theological and literary intellect.

The chronicle stresses the influence of Cererols as a teacher in a line of great teachers:

He had the gift and talent of teaching and thus had so many students that there was hardly a church in this principality [Catalonia] whose chapelmasters and organists were not his students, aside from the many others that he had in other provinces of Spain, all of whom manifested the excellent qualities of their teacher, as the reverend Father himself

ments de l'Arxiu Parroquial de Martorell; Notes inèdites obre Gabriel Manalt i Domènech (1657–1687)," in *Joan Cererols i el seu temps: Actes del I Symposium de Musicologia Catalana*, ed. Francesc Bonastre (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1985), 25–75.

⁵ Josep de C. Laplana, *Museu de Montserrat: La sorpresa de l'art* (Abadia de Montserrat: Museu de Montserrat, 2011), 34.

⁶ Grigori Estrada, "Esbós per a un estudi de l'obra de Joan Cererols (1618–1680)," in Bonastre, *Joan Cererols i el seu temps*, 7, note 2.

⁷ Ibid.

also demonstrated those of Father Master Márquez, of whom he [Cererols] was a student.⁸

Indeed, the textual history of *Suspended, cielos* shows that Cererols was part of a network of influence and exchange that spread across Spain and the New World. Cererols may have drawn some of his own influences from a stay of several years in Madrid, after the religious orders of Catalonia fled there from the 1640 Catalan revolt. Cererols's time in Madrid coincided with the flourishing of new musical styles and forms at the royal court, led by the composers of the Royal Chapel, chapelmaster Carlos Patiño and court harpist and composer Juan Hidalgo.⁹ This means that Cererols was probably in Madrid when the first known version of *Suspended, cielos* was performed by the Royal Chapel on Christmas Eve 1651. Cererols's poetic text is quite close to the imprint from this performance. Additionally, the influence of new styles from the Madrid court may be heard in Cererols's music.

The large number of surviving copies of his music from outside Montserrat attests to his influence. There are no sources of Cererols's music original to Montserrat, because the monastery library was burned by Napoleon's troops in 1811. All his music survives in copies made by students, such as the sizable collections in Barcelona and Canet de Mar. Even without the original collection at Montserrat, for the first modern edition of music by Cererols in the 1930s, Dom David Pujols of Montserrat assembled no fewer than seventy-eight manuscripts.¹⁰ The thirty-five extant villancicos outnumber the surviving output of some of Cererols's better-known contemporaries.

The only complete musical setting is preserved today in a manuscript of the parochial archive of the church of Saints Peter and Paul in Canet de Mar, a village on the seaside about thirty miles north of Barcelona.¹¹ The undated manuscript attributes the music to Cererols.¹² The Catalan-inflected phonetic spellings in the source (*suspendet* instead of *suspended*, reflecting Catalan's final-obstruent devoicing) support an origin for the source in this region.¹³

8 Ibid.

9 Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain*; Rodriguez, "The Villancico as Music of State in 17th-Century Spain."

10 Cererols, *Joan Cererols III*.

11 Grateful acknowledgments are due to the rector and archive director for making a digital image of the manuscript freely available for this study. The Canet archive, under supervision of the Archdiocese of Girona, is being fully digitized.

12 Bonastre, Gregori, and Guinart i Verdaguer, *Fons de l'Església Parroquial de Sant Pere i Sant Pau de Canet de Mar*.

13 Scott Myers and Megan Crowhurst, "Catalan Voicing Phenomena: Final Obstruent Devoic-

The Canet source preserves a complete setting, with estribillo and six coplas, scored for an eight-voice double-choir ensemble with continuo accompaniment. The estribillo features the whole chorus in a variety of textures, while the coplas alternate between a Tiple duet and the four voices of Chorus I (likely soloists), both with accompaniment. The performing parts are covered in layers of fingerprints on the fold of each sheet of paper, indicating many years of performance. This extended composition demands a virtuoso ensemble, and is thus more likely to have been composed for the school choir at Monsterrat and brought to Canet as part of a personal collection.

In addition to this Canet manuscript, there is another source for this music, a previously unattributed set of manuscript performing parts in Barcelona's Biblioteca de Catalunya.¹⁴ The Barcelona source includes only the estribillo, with music almost identical to that in the Canet source, even in most details of coloration and accidentals, with one significant variant, a high ending for the first treble. This alternate version is missing its original Tenor I and accompaniment parts and lacks any setting of the coplas. It adds the dynamic markings *eco* and *falsete* in repeated phrases of polychoral dialogue. These terms became common in villancicos after about 1660 and probably reflect an attempt to make the piece suit changing aesthetics later in the century, though they might possibly record the copyist's memory of a performance tradition at Monsterrat.¹⁵

Suspended, cielos was originally a villancico for Christmas, as evidenced by all the surviving poetry imprints and the contents of the text itself. In the Barcelona version, however, one verse of the poem has been modified to suit a Eucharistic dedication instead of Christmas: *y con sollozos tiernos/ un niño soberano* (and with tender sobs,/ a sovereign child) becomes *y desde un pan divino/ un hombre soberano* (and through divine bread,/ a sovereign man). Not one of the seven poetry imprints from this tradition includes these altered lines, but instead all agree with the Canet version for Christmas. Confusingly, the Canet manuscript actually includes the label, in a different hand on the coverleaf, designating the piece for “the blessed Sacrament”—but it is clearly a Christmas piece. The meaning of the difficult poem might have escaped the grasp of a later archivist, in a hurry to categorize the piece.

ing,” in *Phonology: Case Studies*, Website (Austin, TX: The University of Texas at Austin, 2006), http://www.laits.utexas.edu/phonology/catalan/cat_voice2.html.

¹⁴ *E-Bbc: M/765/25.*

¹⁵ Compare, for example, the similar dynamic markings in Jerónimo de Carrión's *Qué des-templada armonía* from Segovia after 1684: Cashner, “Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music,” 331–336.

In the archive the piece is grouped with several other pieces by Cererols, and it is remarkable that one (*Pues que para la sepultura*) includes both the composer's score and the performing parts.¹⁶ This can only have originated with the composer himself, and must have been passed on through a chain of musicians connecting back to Cererols. This archival signature documents Cererols's musical network and influence. It includes a different setting of *Pues que para la sepultura* by Diego de Cáseda, chapelmaster in Zaragoza and composer of his own lost setting of *Suspended, cielos*, known from the poetry imprint. It also includes a work by Miguel Ambiel, a later occupant of the same post in Zaragoza (see chapter 5).

One musician who would seem a likely candidate for carrying the Cererols legacy to Barcelona is the organist Gabriel Manalt (1657–1687).¹⁷ Manalt was baptized in Cererols's own home town of Martorell. In such a small village, Manalt must have known the locally prominent Cererols family, and it seems likely he was a student at the Escola while Cererols was chapelmaster. Manalt was organist at the church of Santa María del Mar in Barcelona from 1679, according to records of his audition (*oposición*), until his death. He also served as interim chapelmaster from August 2 to September 26, 1685.¹⁸ In the notice of his burial at his home church in Martorell, Manalt was praised as “a man highly accomplished in the art of playing the organ, and unique in Catalonia.”¹⁹ The Montserrat chronicle includes organists among the students of Cererols, and there is a strong probability that Manalt knew or studied with Cererols. If so he certainly could have brought this manuscript to Barcelona, perhaps for use at Santa María del Mar.

2 The “New Consonance”

In the *conceptismo* tradition, the anonymous poem turns a glossary of musical terms into theological conceits, centered on the contrast between the out-of-tune heavens and the “new consonance” of Christ (poem example 12). The voice of Christ as incarnate Word is the new song before which the spheres must cease their chanting and simply listen. The implication is that what passes for consonance in the material world is dissonant or out of tune by comparison to

¹⁶ E-Bbc: M/765/14.

¹⁷ Balanza i González, “Joan Cererols (1618–1680): L’entorn familiar.”

¹⁸ Ibid., 70–71.

¹⁹ Martorell parroquial archive, *Llibre d’Òbits 1669–1689*, f. 146, quoted in ibid., 70.

POEM EXAMPLE 12 *Suspended, cielos, estribillo as set by Joan Cererols*

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

Suspend, O heavens,
your sweet chant.
Hold, stop, and listen
to the newest consonance
that the eternal and the temporal
are forming in their distance.
Listen,
for the hierarchies are intoning
in resounding harmonies
celestial counterpoint.
And with tender sobs,
a sovereign baby boy
bears the plainsong to the angels.

this new song. Indeed, Christ's weeping cries—those at his birth and those upon the cross, which the others presage—are to be the “plainchant” upon which the music of a new creation will be based, forming the polyphonic “cadence” of a new heavens and a new earth.

Like many villancicos this one begins with an exhortation to listen, but here it is addressed not to the worshipper but to the cosmic spheres. This rhetorical device recalls numerous Biblical passages including two of the psalms for Christmas Matins, which describe the heavens as singing God's praises. Psalm 18 (Nocturne 1, psalm 2) begins “The heavens are telling the glory of God,” and Psalm 95 (Nocturne 3, psalm 2), which begins “Sing [pl.] to the Lord a new song,” is made to speak directly to the heavens with an antiphon drawn from Psalm 95:11, *Laetantur caeli et exultet terra* (Let the heavens rejoice and the earth exult).²⁰ The song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32 asks the heavens to listen: “Give ear, O heavens, to what I speak.” The prophecies of Isaiah, which were of central importance in the Christmas Matins liturgy (see chapter 3), begin by exhorting the heavens to listen, not only to the prophet's voice, but to that of God himself: “Give ear, O heavens, and let the earth listen as with ears, for the Lord has spoken” (Isa. 1:2). In the Apocalypse (Rev. 8:1) the heavens fall silent when the Lord's word is spoken, and before the angels blow their seven trum-

²⁰ Catholic Church, *Breviarium Romanum*, 169–179.

POEM EXAMPLE 13 *Suspended, cielos, coplas as set by Cererols*

1. Las fugas que el primer hombre
formó en desatentos pasos
al compás ajusta un Niño
de las perlas de su llanto.

2. Qué mucho si a los despeños
que le ocasionó un engaño,
bella corriente de aljófar,
grillos le previene blandos.

3. Una voz que ha dado el cielo,
de metal más soberano
a ordenar entra sonora
la disonancia del barro.

4. Concierto tan soberano
sólo pudo ser reparo,
con una voz tan humilde,
de un desentonío tan vano.

5. En las pajas sustenido
dulcemente se ha escuchado
ligar en pajas lo eterno,
reducir lo inmenso a espacio.

6. Divina cláusula sea
deste eterno canto llano,
que forma en su movimiento
de cada punto un milagro.

1. The flight/fugue that the first man
made in heedless paces
is set aright by a baby boy to the measure
of the pearls of his crying.

2. What wonder, if from the falls
that a deceit caused him,
the lovely mother-of-pearl stream
gently restrains him with shackles.

3. A voice that heaven has given,
of the most sovereign timbre,
to bring order, enters resounding
into the dissonance of the clay.

4. So sovereign a concord/concerto
could only be a resolution,
with so humble a voice,
of so vain a discord.

5. Upon the straw sustained
sweetly he has been heard
binding in straw the eternal,
reducing the immense to this space/slowly.

6. Let there be a divine cadence
of this eternal plainsong,
which forms in its movement
a miracle from each note/point.

pets of doom, “there was silence in heaven for about half an hour.” Later the whole chorus of angels, “living creatures” and saints in heaven, sings the canticle of Moses together (Rev. 15:3).

In this poem the spheres are to fall silent before the higher music of the angels, based on the *cantus firmus* of Christ himself.²¹ Above the planetary spheres of the Ptolemaic universe, “the hierarchies are intoning [...] celestial counterpoint.” *Jerarquías* was a technical term from theology for the levels of heavenly beings like the cherubim and seraphim, as in books of angelology

²¹ That the heavens should fall silent when the last trumpet sounds (Rev. 8:1) is also the central conceit of Dryden’s poem for St. Cecilia’s day.

like Blasco Lanuza's 1652 *Patrocinio de ángeles y combate de demonios* and the widely read *Celestial Hierarchy* attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite.²²

The coplas situate the miracle of Christ's birth in salvation history through subtle musical conceits. In copla 1, Adam's fall from grace and expulsion from Eden are presented as a "fugue" (the same word as "flight," like the musical term *catch* in seventeenth-century English), formed in "heedless paces" or "careless steps." *Pasos* could refer to the steps of melodic intervals or to the paces of rhythmic values; carelessness in either regard would destroy the counterpoint. Just as in a fugue, in which all the voices imitate the first one, Adam passed on his sin to every human that followed after him. Christ's voice, the poem says, specifically fixes the *compás* or measure, "through the pearls of his crying" (recall from chapter 3 that Christ also gave the *compás* in Jalón's *Cantores*). The second copla is the most obscure, even on a grammatical level, but the basic idea still seems to be connecting terms with musical significance like *despeños* (falls, as in melodic descents or ornaments?), *corriente* (running melismas or fast notes?) and *blandos* (flats). It seems to envisage Christ's tears (a metonym for his crying voice as well) as restraining humanity from the full consequences of the Fall by means of his passion. The other coplas conceive of Christ as a "sovereign concord" which "brings order to the dissonance of the clay"—that is, redeeming humanity by taking on frail human flesh and in his own body reconciling humans to God.²³ The incarnate Christ will form (or perform) a *concierto*—a unified composition made from disparate elements, or a concerto.

3 Worldly and Heavenly Music

Cererols sets this intricately musical text in a way that goes beyond the madrigalistic sort of word painting practiced by Gutiérrez de Padilla (chapter 3). Cererols uses the large-scale formal structure to mirror the musical discourse of the poem in musical terms (table 11). The musical structure presents listeners with a contrast of two melodic motives and two stylistic topics. The first, motive A, is sounded by the Alto 1 in the opening gesture (music example 26): it is a rising, then falling stepwise pattern, A–B–C–B–A. The pattern is symmetrical and palindromic; it inscribes an arc on paper and in an imaginative ear. From its first appearance it is associated with the heavens, which it seems to symbolize. When the choir exhorts the heavens to "hold, stop, listen," motive A is sounded in Tenor and Alto of both choirs in turn (mm. 21–22, 23–24).

²² See also Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, bk. 2, 393.

²³ Phil. 2; Eph. 2.

TABLE 11 Cererols, *Suspended, cielos*, formal structure of estribillo setting (Cadence types: lowercase, minor triad; uppercase, major triad, explicitly notated; italic, more emphatic close)

Mm.	Ll.	Cadence	Musical characteristics	Motive
1–20	1–2	<i>d</i>	<i>Exordium</i> , homorhythmic declamation in polychoral dialogue; Cz meter	A
21–28	3	A	Interjection, fragmented dialogue; C meter	
29–50	4–6	<i>d</i>	Dissonant, “modern,” soloistic, moving to imitative polyphony; return to Cz	A, B
50–52	7	C	Interjection, polychoral dialogue	
53–66	8–9	A	Dissonant music from mm. 29–50 returns	A, B
66–75	10	<i>d</i>	Classical counterpoint, fugue <i>a 8</i> ; switch to C meter	B
75–86	11	<i>a</i>	Dissonant suspensions, sustained contrapuntal texture	A
86–89	12	<i>a</i>	Interjection, polychoral dialogue	
89–102	13a	<i>d</i>	Classical counterpoint: double fugato, like cantus-firmus motet	B
102–108	13b	D	Tutti conclusion, homorhythmic polychoral dialogue	A

In mm. 29–33 Cererols sets *la más nueva consonancia* to the first four notes of motive A in Tiple 1-2, then has Tiple 1-1 imitate (music example 27). In mm. 57–65 the motive returns with same music that was used for *la más nueva consonancia*, which is also reworked for *y con sollozos tiernos* (and with tender sobs/sighs). The motive is especially prominent in the Alto II in mm. 77–78. Motive A recurs in the estribillo’s closing gesture, most notably in the Alto II of the final cadence, and in the alternate Tiple 1-1 ending of the Barcelona source. Versions of the motive saturate the paired copla strophes.

Everywhere this motive appears it is connected with a musical style that had relatively worldly or lowly connotations. It is a more homophonic, melody-oriented style featuring dissonances used in untraditional ways—in short, a modern style like the new sounds emerging from Madrid in the 1650s. The opening gesture is a polychoral declamation, an *exordium* addressed to the spheres. The concept of “suspending” is enacted both in the drawn-out rhythms and in the sevenths generated by motive A. The rests that follow the gesture are crucial for the effect, especially the grand pause after *escuchad* in m. 28. The most vivid evocation of worldly, modern style follows this exhortation, in Cererols’s depiction of “the newest consonance” (mm. 29–38).

The musical score for Cererols's *Suspended, cielos* features five staves. The top two staves are labeled 'Ti. I-1' and 'Ti. I-2'. The third staff is labeled 'A. I' and 'T. I'. The fourth staff is labeled 'Ti. II'. The fifth staff is labeled 'A. II' and 'T. II'. The bottom staff is labeled 'B. II [instr.]' and 'Ac.'. All staves are in common time and G major. The vocal parts sing the lyrics 'Sus - pen - ded, cie - los,' which is bracketed under the heading 'A'. The instrumental part (B. II) provides harmonic support with sustained notes and chords.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 26 Cererols, *Suspended, cielos*, opening with motive A

After the reverberation of the full ensemble's emphatic cadence on *escuchad* (m. 28) dies away, the voice of the Tiple I-2 (possibly a solo) would draw listeners in to the mysterious passage that follows (music example 27). Here a texture of solo and continuo alternates with the chorus in a kind of call and response. Cererols introduces a paradox here that will serve as an interpretive key for the whole work: as the Tiple I-2 sings motive A, he sings the word *consoneancia* on a strong dissonance of G against C♯ and A—not prepared according to traditional counterpoint rules. The same figure is repeated, and the offending dissonant pitch reiterated. Other modern elements here are the mixture of modes (suggesting mode 1 in *cantus mollis*) and the juxtapositions of F♯ vs. B♭. Cererols makes another notable dissonance, again with motive A, on the word *distancias* (mm. 40–41), an exquisite $\overset{7}{\text{G}}-\overset{6}{\text{F}}-\overset{6}{\text{E}}$ progression. In the passage about “tender sobs” or sighs (mm. 75–86) Cererols moves motive A against a background of dissonant suspensions resolving at different times, culminating in another voice-leading “crunch” in mm. 85–86. One additional sign of Cererols’s engagement with newer styles comes in the coplas: his setting for the even-numbered coplas makes a clear reference to the style of Italian sacred concertos, which well embodies the fourth copla, *Concierto tan soberano* (music example 30). Using this kind of affectively laden music for human “sobs” seems obvious, but why use it for representations of the heavens, and why in particular use a promi-

Musical score for Cererols' 'Suspended, cielos, Dissonance and "worldly" style for "the newest consonance"; motives A and B'. The score consists of five staves: Ti. I-1, Ti. I-2, A.I, T.I, and Ac. The music is in common time, with a key signature of C major. Motive A is labeled above the vocal parts, and Motive B is labeled below the vocal parts. The vocal parts sing in Spanish: 'la más nueva consonancia' and 'nueva consonancia'. The accompaniment part (Ac.) provides harmonic support with sustained notes and chords.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 27 Cererols, *Suspended, cielos*, Dissonance and “worldly” style for “the newest consonance”; motives A and B

nent dissonance for the crucial phrase *la más nueva consonancia*? To answer that we must look at the other primary motive and its associated style, because the meaning emerges from the contrast between the two.

Motive B is a scalar stepwise descent of a perfect fifth, sometimes with an extra note on the end: A–G–F–E–D(–C♯). It is first heard in the Tiple I-2 (mm. 35–38) on *consonancia*, emerging out of the paradoxical passage just discussed. In mm. 42–50 Cererols uses the motive as a point of imitation for “the eternal and the temporal,” and mirrors the motive with its inversion. In m. 66, after a repeat of the soloistic dissonance-on-a-consonance passage, Cererols uses motive B as the subject of an eight-voice fugue in the the already classic polyphonic style of Palestrina and his peers (music example 28). He changes to the duple meter traditional in Iberia for Latin-texted sacred music, and evokes

MUSIC EXAMPLE 28 Cererols, *Suspended, cielos*, fugato a 8 for “celestial counterpoint” on motive B subject

contrapunto celestial in inversions, transpositions, and strettos. The motive vanishes again for the passage about *sollozos*, but then returns boldly in m. 89 on *canto llano* like a “plainchant” cantus firmus in long notes for a section in the style of a traditional cantus-firmus motet (music example 29). Cererols actually extends the motive into a full-octave descent in the Tiple II of mm. 92–97.

Cererols thus creates a contrast between triple and duple meter, homophonic/soloistic and contrapuntal texture, modern and traditional style, unorthodox dissonance and strict control of consonance and dissonance. The first of these binaries tends to be associated with references to the spheres; the second, to the music of the angels and “the eternal.” References to Christ’s own voice as the *Verbum infans* seem to cross both territories.

89

Ti. I-1
Ti. I-2
A.I
T.I
Ti.II
A.II
T.II
B.II [instr.]
Ac.

93

MUSIC EXAMPLE 29 Cererols, *Suspended, cielos*, style of cantus-firmus motet on motive B

3.1 Listening for the World Beyond

Like Gutiérrez de Padilla did a few years earlier in *Voces, las de la capilla*, Cererols takes a contrast between hierarchical levels of human music-making and maps it onto a higher contrast between divine and angelic music on the one hand and worldly music on the other. He uses strict contrapuntal technique and a more serene style to point to the more elevated kind of divine music, and more subjective, affective, imperfect music for the lower level. Like the use of modern dissonance for *sollozos*, using old-style counterpoint for angelic music is part of a widespread, pan-European tradition of musical representation (see chapter 1). In addition to its associations with solemn liturgical music, this kind of counterpoint was suited to symbolize divine harmony because of its intricate patterning, its theoretic basis in Pythagorean ratios thus producing

185

Ti. I-i

Ti. I-i

Ac.

4. Con - cier - to, con - cier - to tan so - be -

4. Con - cier - to tan so - be - ra - no

192

- ra - no só - lo pu - do ser re - pa - ro, con u - na voz tan hu -

só - lo pu - do ser re - pa - ro con u - na voz tan hu - mil - de

MUSIC EXAMPLE 30 Cererols, *Suspended, cielos*, sacred-concerto style in even-numbered coplas

"sounding number," and, in a seventeenth-century context, its relatively inexpressive, objective affective content.

The other kind of music—the dissonant music for “the newest consonance”—is more challenging to interpret. On the most obvious level it portrays the music of the heavenly spheres. In that regard, it is important to recognize the difference between types of “heavenly” music. In seventeenth-century Spanish letters, *cielos* could mean either the planetary spheres or the spiritual “world beyond” them in which God dwelt with his angels and saints. That outer realm was the *cielo Empyreo*—the Empyrean. The two concepts match the English terms “the heavens” versus “Heaven” (diagram 2). Motive A and its associated styles, then, evoke not the music of the Empyrean, but the worldly music of the celestial spheres as part of the lower, created world, and necessarily imperfect in a Neoplatonic system in which only God is perfect.

The music of the spheres was still the worldly, imperfect music of change and decay. In fact, music served quite well as a symbol of the imperfect created world because all music known to human ears is ruled by both change—rhythmic, melodic, harmonic; changes of style from place to place and across time—and decay, from the dying sound of the lute or vihuela (see chapter 5) to the reverberation of voices and instruments in stone spaces after the breath has given out. Worldly music symbolized and embodied the Neoplatonic paradox—it pointed beyond itself to the highest divine harmony but was also marked by its difference from that heavenly perfection. In Christian theology, not only was the Creation imperfect, but it was also fallen, “subjected to



DIAGRAM 2 Map of the heavens and the Empyrean (*cielo Empyreo*) beyond
 BASED ON KIRCHER, *MUSURGIA UNIVERSALIS*, BK. II, FACING 366, 394

futility" because of human sin (Rom. 1:22, 8:19–23). The order that prevailed in the current world differed from the perfect order of creation in Eden, and from the renewed creation to be revealed in the Last Day.

But in addition to highlighting the imperfection of worldly music, the ironic dissonance in Cererols also seems to point to a higher kind of music that is not governed by earthly rules. Just as the order that prevailed in the fallen world differed from that in Eden, so the realm of the angels and saints in heaven would be ruled by different principles, as would the renewed creation to be revealed at the Last Day. When God finally created a new heaven and a new earth and filled it with the "glorified bodies" of the redeemed, what would be the natural laws of a place in which people did not die, there was no night or darkness, no seasons or turning (Rev. 21:23–25)—in short, no change or decay?

Musical consonance and dissonance were an apt symbol for this problem. Cerone, like other writers on music, acknowledges that harmony in worldly music depended on a controlled balance of these elements: “the difficulty and loveliness of composition, consists solely in knowing to place consonances and dissonances well, in their proper place, and in a good style.”²⁴ In the same way Luis de Granada recognizes harmony in cycles of life and death, light and dark in the world in which “there is a season for every purpose under heaven” (Eccles. 3:1–8).²⁵ He glorifies God for providing every creature with the means both to provide for itself and to defend itself, but the grim prospect this implies of “nature, red in tooth and claw” does not seem to have concerned him.²⁶ In the world “under the sun,” death was as natural as life, and so both dissonance and consonance had a symbolic role. The created world can never be perfectly tuned: lurking behind the apparent perfections of Pythagorean ratios in the overtone series—something that is physically inscribed in every created thing as a natural law—is the “wolf tone” of the Pythagorean comma. The intervals do not add up to perfection.

But in the world beyond, different rules must apply, and therefore the music of the Empyrean would have to be profoundly unlike any music we know. Worldly music can only be tempered, not tuned perfectly. The divine music of Christ who will make a new creation at the Last Day will “untune the sky,” in Dryden’s words, by revealing its decadent imperfection. How, then, could a composer use earthly music with its inherent imperfections to help the listener imagine that perfect harmony?

Strict counterpoint with a carefully controlled balance of consonance and dissonance, especially fugue and canon with inversions, was the most widely employed type of music to embody an image of heavenly perfection in sounding music. The old-style counterpoint in this villancico works symbolically through its relative perfection compared with the more modern styles employed in the same piece, which were associated with the expression of human feelings such as in the theatrical works of Juan Hidalgo. Throughout the estribillo, motive B, the plainchant-like linear descent, is associated with the more elevated contrapuntal style, and motive A, with the more expressive and dissonant style. Motive A is first heard at the opening with reference to the spheres. The passage on *la más nueva consonancia*, in particular, evokes planetary motions through the lilting, dance-like, triple-meter rhythmic feel,

²⁴ Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 616.

²⁵ Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, 191.

²⁶ Tennyson, Alfred Lord, *In Memoriam A.H.H.* (London, 1850), canto 56.

the oscillation between the minor triad on D and the major triad on A (with a tonic/dominant feel here), and the call-and-response of the voices that would echo back to each other in a reverberant space.

But writing a dissonance on *consonancia* in the same passage also suggests an even higher music that goes beyond the rules of earthly music. Something new has come into the world under the spheres. The dissonance symbolizes Christ, who as God incarnate both “entered into the dissonance of the clay” and created a new kind of harmony in his own body, the ultimate *musica humana*. Thus the dissonance can represent both the imperfect untunefulness of the worldly spheres *and* the higher consonance of the divine.

3.2 *Dissonant Planets*

Cererols's sonic picture of discordant heavens reflects a union of astrological, musical, and theological thought that was typical of seventeenth-century Spain. Astrology was still taught in Iberian university curricula in Valencia, Salamanca, Alcalá, and Lisbon through the beginning of the eighteenth century.²⁷ At this elite level it was taught as a branch of mathematics alongside arithmetic, geometry, and music. Astrology was also disseminated to common people through popular almanacs which drew a large audience on both sides of the Atlantic.²⁸ At the same time the new school of scientific thinkers known as the *novatores* were introducing the thought of Copernicus, Kepler, and then Newton into Spanish universities, but during the period in which the *Suspended, cielos villancicos* were composed, these new ideas coexisted with the traditional worldview from Ptolemy and Aristotle. While a variety of factors contributed to the gradual decline of astrology around the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was not simply superseded by the new astronomical science at either popular or professional levels. In Valencia, lecture notes reveal that faculty continued to teach astrology, even aspects that had been forbidden by the church, throughout the century; in Lisbon Jesuit institutions fostered astrological teaching even after it had fallen out of favor with the public; and in Mexico critics of astrology had to publish their arguments *within* the astrological almanacs.²⁹ Even the discovery of a completely new set

²⁷ Tayra M.C. Lanuza Navarro, “From Intense Teaching to Neglect: The Decline of Astrology at the University of Valencia and the Role of the Spanish *Novatores*,” *Early Science and Medicine* 22 (2017): 410–437; Agustí Nieto-Galan, “The History of Science in Spain: A Critical Overview,” *Nuncius* 23, no. 2 (2008): 211–236.

²⁸ Lauren Kassell, “Stars, Spirits, Signs: Toward a History of Astrology 1100–1800,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 41 (2010): 67–69.

²⁹ Lanuza Navarro, “From Intense Teaching to Neglect”; Luís Miguel Carolino, “The Jesuit

of stars in the southern sky only caused astrologers to extend or modify their old system, not to abandon it.³⁰

Athanasius Kircher figures here again as a central node in the network of scientific learning in the seventeenth century, and as a paradoxical figure who was aware of the new science but still championed the old astrological worldview. He sees a close affinity between the relationship of consonance to dissonance in music and the astrological interactions of the planets. Like most early modern Europeans, Kircher believed that the planetary bodies exerted both positive and negative influences on humanity, as witnessed also in literature by Shakespeare and Calderón. In Kircher's cosmology of music, published just a year before the first poem in this villancico family, the planets are arranged in specific patterns of consonance and dissonance that are best understood through the technical details of species counterpoint. The harmony of the spheres arises from these interactions such that even the apparently bad (dissonance) is, in an Augustinian line of thinking, actually a manifestation of a greater good:

Therefore there is nothing bad in the nature of things, that does not also yield to the good for the preservation of the whole universe. What else, therefore, are Mars and Saturn, than certain kinds of dissonances?— which dissonances, in relation to the perfect consonance of Jupiter, syncopated and tied in ligatures [*ligata*], resolve not only in sweet music but also in the best kind of ornamentation. What else is Mercury if not a certain kind of dissonance syncopated and tied between the Moon and Venus, which are like two consonances, so that the earth (which is born in freedom and not obligated to anything), thanks to the benign influence of the Sun, Venus, and the Moon, should not be corrupted. Truly, anyone who can consider this on a little higher level would find the seven planets to sing continuously in perfect, perpetual four-part polyphony [*tetraphonia*], in which the dissonances and consonances thereof are brought together, so that they should resolve in the most comely harmony of the world.³¹

Paradox: Intellectual Authority, Political Power, and the Marginalization of Astrology in Early Modern Portugal," *Early Science and Medicine* 22 (2017): 438–463; Anna More, "Thinking with the Inquisition: Heretical Science and Popular Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," *Romanic Review* 103, no. 1 (2012): 111–132.

³⁰ Claudia Brosseider, "Astrology in Seventeenth-Century Peru," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 41 (2010): 146–157; Tayra M.C. Lanuza Navarro, "Adapting Traditional Ideas for a New Reality: Cosmographers and Physicians Updating Astrology to Encompass the New World," *Early Science and Medicine* 21 (2016): 156–181.

³¹ Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, bk. 2, 383–384.

If the world was perfectly tuned, then this certainly reflected the order of God; but if it turned out to be untempered, then this imperfection, too, could be understood to point toward a higher perfection. Dissonance in the heavens, then, was no cause for abandoning faith in the old cosmos or its Creator. Rather, it had to be understood in its proper place as part of the created world with its cycles of birth and death, light and dark.

Contrapuntal rules for Kircher provide a way to understand the hidden forces that animated the universe.³² Kircher acknowledges not only that the planets influence earth, but also that they influence each other. Their motions must be understood relative to each other, and they are part of a dynamic system held in perpetual balance by the interaction of these attractions and repulsions.

Kircher symbolizes his conception of the spheres in an example of actual music, which is not meant to *sound* like the harmony of the spheres but rather to encode their relationships through musical technique: “so that the curious reader should have a certain example of the celestial polyphony, this can be seen demonstrated in musical notes according to our speculative idea” (music example 31).³³ He provides a detailed analysis of the example that unites contrapuntal and astrological theory (table 12).³⁴

In the example Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars form the *netodium*, that is, they sing the highest voice, in which notes the consonant Jupiter always unites in harmony [*ligat*] and undoes the influence of [*confringit*] the dissonant Mars and Saturn. The Sun proceeds truly as the *mesodium* [Alto], singing in perfect consonances, looking at the earth, the *proslambanomenon* [Bass] from the octave above, or an octave and a fifth. Venus, Mercury, and the Moon truly sing the *hypatodon* [Tenor], and Venus and the Moon, which are consonant, carrying Mercury in the friendship between them as a dissonant passing tone [*intermedium dissonum*], thereby tie him up in harmonic intervals [*modulis*], so that they absolutely restore consonances, as can be seen there in the notes of the Tenor part. The Earth truly receives from the substance of all these, therefore, the perfect mixture of consonances and dissonances, so that it constitutes the most perfect music with the planets, which we can imagine by using this musical example.³⁵

³² Gouk, “The Role of Harmonics in the Scientific Revolution”; Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*.

³³ Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, bk. 2, 383.

³⁴ He has been developing an allegory throughout the last book of his treatise based on the four strings of the Greek lyre, whose names he uses for each voice part.

³⁵ Ibid., bk. 2, 383–384.

Netodus
Mesodus

Hypatodus
Proslambanomenon

MUSIC EXAMPLE 31 Kircher, "Tetraphonium coeleste ex planetarum corporibus constitutum," four-part cadence of the planets, from *Musurgia universalis*, bk. 2, 383

TABLE 12 Contrapuntal and planetary relationships in Kircher, "Tetraphonium coeleste"

Voice	Planet	Pitch	Contrapuntal function (relative to bass)
Netodus	Jupiter	G ₄	Consonance, perfect octaves; Resolves Saturn and Mars
	Saturn	A ₄	Dissonance, upper part of "double neighbor"
	Mars	F _{#4}	Dissonance, lower part of "double neighbor"
Mesodus	Sun	E _{b4} –D ₄	"Most perfect" consonance with Earth, perfect octave and fifth (plus imperfect minor tenth)
Hypatodus	Venus	C ₄	Consonant, perfect octave; with Moon surrounds Mercury
	Mercury	B _{b3}	Dissonant passing tone between Venus and Moon
	Moon	A ₃ –G ₃	Consonant, perfect fifth and octave; resolves Mercury
Proslam- banomenon	Earth	C ₃ –D ₃ –G ₂	Fundamental bass, receives perfect mixture of consonance and dissonance, supports other voices

In this way Kircher attempts to unite the ancient Greek concept of the planets as notes in a scale (as also in Kepler) with an emerging early modern concept of polyphonic harmony. In the Soprano and Tenor voices, each pitch stands for one planet. Their consonance or dissonance relative to the bass, and the melodic motions linking them, symbolize the planets' influence on Earth and each other.³⁶ Venus prepares the dissonance of Mercury, for example, and the Moon resolves it. The Alto and Bass, though, each represent a single celestial body, and the symbolism is not as exact. (The Earth is the Bass because

36 The Tenor staff in the print should bear a Tenor (C₄) clef.

it is unmoving, but the Bass voice here also moves.) The Alto (Sun) and Bass (Earth) move in perfect first-species (note-for-note, all consonant) counterpoint. The Tenor (inner planets) is composed in the fourth species (ligatures and suspensions), while the Soprano uses the second species (two-to-one).

Kircher shows here both that the heavens could be understood in musical terms and that music could be understood in heavenly terms. Kircher's *clausula* or cadence of the planets demonstrates that Neoplatonic thought about music did not always begin with theory and descend to practice; it also used contemporary *musica instrumentalis* as a specific model or metaphor for the higher conceptions of music on the cosmic level. People comparing the heavens to music had real music in their ears. Kircher's *clausula* sounds like a perfectly ordinary seventeenth-century cadence (in mode I, transposed to *cantus mollis*), but for Kircher even the "mundane" details of the counterpoint such as passing tones and suspensions had high symbolic potential. This example suggests that composers and educated listeners thought symbolically in Neoplatonic terms even about the basic fabric of their compositions.

Cererols's villancico exemplifies this close link between musical practice and conceptions of the heavens, such as when it calls Christ a *divina cláusula*. In his use of a dissonance for the word *consonancia*, though, Cererols takes a different approach from Kircher. Kircher's cadence is, as he says, "perfect [...] polyphony," following contrapuntal rules exactly. Cererols, by contrast, breaks the rules with these unprepared dissonances. He uses paradox to point both to the dissonant creation and to suggest a higher consonance through the incarnate Christ. Cererols borrows modern style as if to say that dissonance is the new consonance.

Kircher makes a similar gesture in a different passage, where he describes the music of heaven as beyond human imagining, and resorts to paradox to evoke it. In the last book of the *Musurgia* Kircher presents the whole creation as a "Praeludium" played by God on a divine organ of creation.³⁷ In an engraving the organ is depicted in exacting detail as a real instrument: there is a pipe shown for every key of every rank. The odd arrangement of the keyboard, though, would catch a reader's attention and require explanation (figure 5). The keys are arranged in groups of seven rather than twelve chromatic pitches in octaves, with repeating groups of three black keys instead of the three-and-two pattern of earthly keyboards. The seven-key groups represent the days of creation, and the three black keys, it would seem, the Holy Trinity. Perhaps the keys correspond to a diatonic series, so that each seven-note group forms a

³⁷ Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, bk. 2, facing 366; Godwin, *Athaniasius Kircher's Theater of the World*, 177.



FIGURE 5
“Organ of creation,” keyboard (detail); Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, facing 366

diatonic octave (and would map directly onto the planets as well). Whatever the arrangement, this keyboard is not designed for playing earthly music. The Latin motto beneath the keys reads, “Thus does the eternal wisdom of God play upon the spheres of the worlds.” To imagine playing an actual *Praeludium* on this organ (say, by Kircher’s countryman Buxtehude or his fellow Roman, Frescobaldi) is to contemplate what Olivier Messiaen would later call “the charm of impossibilities.”³⁸ The image is a riddle that points to a divine music, governed by different rules than that of music in the lower world.

Cererols, then, could be presenting his hearers with an auditory symbol of this impossible music. By pointing out the imperfect artifice of the music itself, Cererols prompts listeners to reflect on how the imperfect reflects God’s perfection. In the theological context of this Christmas villancico, the “newest consonance” is, of course, Christ himself. As in Gutiérrez de Padilla’s villancico, this piece makes Christ the *Verbum infans*, the Word made flesh as an unspeaking infant. The “sighs” of the baby, referred to several times in the text, are the “new song” that becomes the cantus firmus of a renewed creation. Through Cererols’s interplay of motives and styles, listeners can actually hear the music of human and divine emerging over the course of the piece, culminating in the evocation of a motet based on motive B and ending with a final flourish based on motive A. Neither motive or style solely represents Christ’s voice; rather the theme is the paradoxical mixture of divine and human in the Incarnation.

It is even possible to hear the whole estribillo as following a similar Quintilian rhetorical structure to that of contemporary organ *praeludia*.³⁹ It opens with an attention-grabbing *exordium*, presents a central idea or *propositio* (*la más nueva consonancia*), and then discusses the idea through a series of statements, objections, and rebuttals (*narratio* with *confutatio/confirmatio* pairs—the contrasts of modern and contrapuntal styles), and closes with a rousing call to action (*peroratio*, the final phrase). If the villancico is an oration, then

³⁸ Olivier Messiaen, *Technique de mon langage musical* (Paris: A. Leduc, 1944).

³⁹ Lena Jacobson, “Musical Rhetoric in Buxtehude’s Free Organ Works,” *The Organ Yearbook* 13:60–79.

its main subject is Christ as *Verbum infans*. In Christ God entered the world of change and decay “to bring consonance to the clay.” Christ, particularly in his Passion and then in the Eucharist, was both consonance and dissonance, old and new, material and spiritual.

4 Genealogies of Heavenly Music

If this villancico by Cererols were the only one of its kind it might register as an interesting footnote, but in fact this setting is part of the best-attested family of villancicos yet discovered from the seventeenth century. Evidence survives for eight other settings of this poem in several variant textual families, from its first known appearance in Madrid at Christmas 1651 through performances in Toledo, Zaragoza, Seville, and a fragmentary setting from a convent in Ecuador (table 13). The composers of most of these settings were closely linked in a web of personal affiliations. Their choice to set a text previously set by a teacher, colleague, or rival enabled them to situate themselves within a tradition of both composition and theology.

Similar to the textual family of Gutiérrez de Padilla’s *Voces*, the earliest surviving versions of the *Suspended, cielos* family suggest an earlier common source, as yet undiscovered.⁴⁰ The *Suspended, cielos* estribillo is the most consistent element across the versions. The earliest imprint from the Royal Chapel in Madrid 1651 lacks a line that, despite other variations, is present in six of the other sources, and which makes metrical and poetic sense. An earlier source, with this missing line, would have the form shown in table 14. All of the versions except the highly abridged S10 are framed by eleven-syllable lines (ll. 1, 16). After the *exordium*-like opening line, there follow three quatrains, each in an *abbc* rhyme scheme where the final lines of all three stanzas rhyme with each other. The estribillo’s conclusion is sealed with the *lira*-like three lines with a 7-7-11 pattern of syllable counts. The main variants constitute omitting one or two of these quatrains or portions of them. The Cererols version omits the second. The composers of these texts, whether chapelmasters or others, may have had several motives for revision. For one, omitting the references to Matins “tonight” and the stable served to make the piece more adaptable for general purposes. Additionally, as polyphonic settings of villancicos became

⁴⁰ Gutiérrez de Padilla quite likely was familiar with this villancico as well, although no setting by him survives, since the 1651 Madrid imprint in which the text first appeared includes another text that the Puebla chapelmaster did set in 1653, *Alto zagales de todo el ejido* (see music example 3).

TABLE 13 Sources of *Ha de los coros/Suspended cielos*: Poetry imprints and musical settings

No.	Year	City, institution	Feast	Composer (poet)	Source	Family
<i>Poetry Imprints</i>						
1	1651	Madrid, Royal Chapel	Christmas	Carlos Patiño?	<i>E-Mn: R/34199/27</i>	A
2	1668	Calatayud, Colegiata Sta. María la Mayor	Christmas	Juan Muñoz	<i>GB-Lbl: 11450.dd.8 (54)</i>	A
3	1675	Alcalá, Iglesia ss. Justo y Pastor	Christmas	Antonio Garcia? (Attr. Manuel de León Marchante)	<i>León Marchante, Obras poéticas (Madrid, 1733), 139</i>	B
4	1680	Seville, Cathedral	Christmas	Alonso Xuárez?	<i>E-Mn: VE/83/10</i>	B
5	1681	Seville, Iglesia S. Salvador	Christmas	Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana	<i>E-Mn: VE/79/7</i>	B
6	1683	Zaragoza, Basilica El Pilar	Epiphany	Diego de Cáceda	<i>E-Mn: VE/129/2, GB-Lbl: 1073.k.22(07)</i>	B
7	1689	Madrid, Royal Chapel	Christmas	Juan de Navas?	<i>E-Mn: VE/88/80</i>	A+B
<i>Music Manuscripts</i>						
8	ca. 1660	Canet de Mar, Església de Sant Pere i Sant Pau (orig., Abbey of Montserrat?)	Christmas (mislabeled Eucharist)	Joan Cererols	<i>E-CAN: AU/n16</i>	A
9	ca. 1680	Barcelona, Unknown (Same origin as S8)	Eucharist	Anon. variant of Cererols	<i>E-Bbc: M/765/25</i>	A
10	ca. 1690	Ibarra, Ecuador, Conceptionist Convent (from Quito Cathedral?)	Christmas, Sanctoral, General	Anon. (Quito chapelmasther?)	Ecuador, Ibarra, Parish archive	B'

more complex and included longer sections there were practical advantages to shortening the text.

The two earliest sources precede this section with a *romance* of notable elegance, beginning *Ha de los coros del cielo* (poem example 14). These stanzas set the scene for the rest of the villancico and clarify its central musical conceit. They clearly address not Heaven (*el cielo Empyreo*) but the heavens, the planetary spheres. The fourth stanza goes beyond puns on musical terms to paint a dramatic moment of performance. The “sapphires,” scattered across the sky like notes on a “starry notebook,” must “make a rest” at the sound of “the newest consonance.” As though looking up in wonder at this new music, higher even than them, the astral musicians let their sheets of music fall closed.⁴¹ Like the

⁴¹ This suggests another allusion to the Last Day, when “the skies will be rolled up like a scroll” (Isa. 34:4; Rev. 6:14).

TABLE 14 Reconstructed original text of *Suspended, cielos estribillo*

Line	Text	End	Syllables
1	Suspended, cielos, vuestro dulce canto,	a	11
2	tened, parad, y escuchad	b	8
3	la más nueva consonancia	c	8
4	que forman en su distancia	c	8
5	lo eterno y lo temporal.	d	8
6	Escuchad,	b	4
7	que cantan los Serafines	e	8
8	esta noche los Maitines	e	8
9	en el Coro del portal	d	8
10	Escuchad,	b	4
11	que entonan las Jerarquías	f	8
12	en sonoras armonías	f	8
13	contrapunto celestial.	d	8
14	Y con sollozos tiernos	g	7
15	un Niño soberano	h	7
16	a los Ángeles lleva el canto llano.	h	11

painting of the Monsterrat Escolania beneath the Black Virgin, the musical terms here are specific to the performance practice of villancicos as opposed to Latin-texted polyphony. The spheres are singing from *cuadernos*—partbooks, not a choirbook—made up of one or two folded sheets of paper (*hojas dobladas*) gathered together in a folder (*cartapacio*).

Based on the variants of this romance and the coplas we may group the texts in two families and identify genealogical relationships (diagram 3). Family A starts with the romance, *Ha de los coros del cielo*, followed by the estribillo, *Suspended, cielos, vuestro dulce canto*, then several coplas. S2 has a unique set of coplas; the others all start with *Las fugas del primer hombre*.

Family B descends from a recension by Manuel de León Marchante, who somewhat simplified the earlier version.⁴² Family B moves all or part of the

⁴² Manuel de León Marchante, *Obras poéticas posthumas: Poesías sagradas, tomo segundo* (Madrid, 1733), 139.

POEM EXAMPLE 14 *Ha de los coros del cielo*, opening romance in *Suspended, cielos* tradition, earliest version (S1) (roman numerals are indications of different speakers in original source)

-
- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. (i.) Ha de los Coros del cielo?
cuyo misterioso canto
sagrada canción entona
por los siglos de los Astros. | 1. Ah, the choirs of heaven!
whose mysterious chant
intones a sacred song
upon the centuries of the stars. |
| 2. (ii.) Quién interrompe lo acorde
deste sagrado Palacio?
que la celeste armonía
pendiente está de su labio. | 2. Who interrupts the concord
of this sacred palace?
for the heavenly harmony
is hanging on his lips. |
| 3. (i.) Una novedad suspenda
uestros Músicos sagrados,
pues suspende a las esferas
lo voluble de sus arcos. | 3. A novelty suspends
your sacred musicians,
just as it suspends for the stars
the fickleness of their curving motions. |
| 4. (ii.) Hagan pausa los zafiros
deste cuaderno estrellado,
dejen doblada la hoja
los azules cartapacios. | 4. The sapphires of this starry note-book
make a rest,
the azure partbooks
let the folded sheet fall closed. |
| 5. (i.) La consonancia más nueva
escuchad, que la han formado,
hombre, y Dios en un pesebre,
cielo, y tierra en un establo; | 5. Listen to the newest consonance,
for they have formed it—
Man and God in a manger;
heaven and earth in a stable. |
| 6. (ii.) Despuéblense las esferas
de celestes ciudadanos,
pues bajan a ser sus glorias
alegrías de los campos. | 6. Let the spheres be emptied
of heavenly citizens,
for they descend to be the merry
<i>Glorias</i> of the fields. |
-

romance to the coplas in various ways. These texts share other variant readings that mark their descent from a common source (table 15, 16). This change demonstrates a transition in the later seventeenth century away from using introductory romance sections and toward beginning directly with the estribillo.⁴³ In many of the same ways that *Cantores de la capilla* simplified *Voces, las de la capilla* (chapter 3), León Marchante reduces the complexity and

43 Álvaro Torrente, "Cuando un 'estribillo' no es un estribillo: Sobre la forma del villancico en el siglo XVII," in Borrego Gutiérrez and Marín López, *El villancico en la encrucijada*, 122–136.

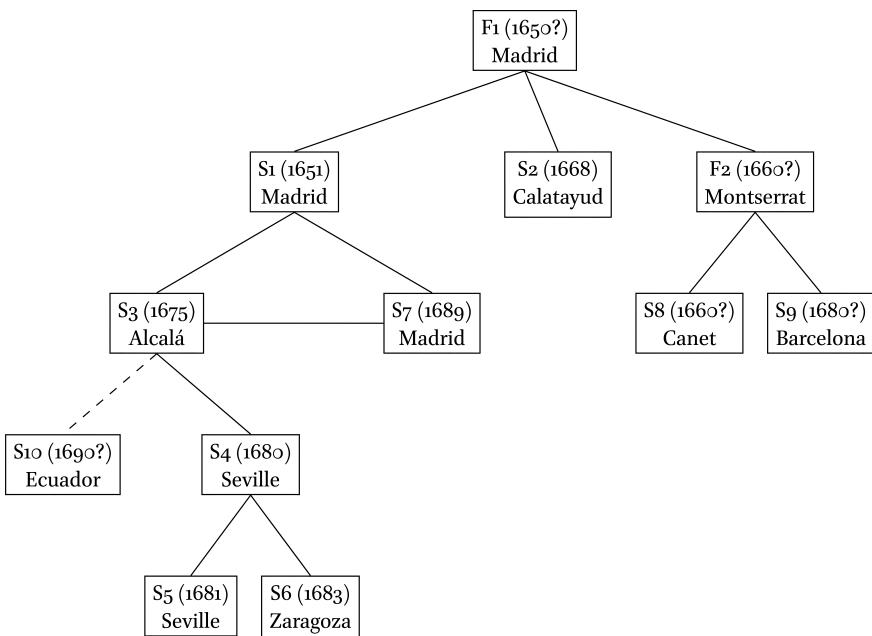


DIAGRAM 3 Genealogical relationships among sources in *Suspended, cielos* family (S1, source listed in table 13; F1, hypothetical source [*fuente*])

ambiguity of the earlier versions at the expense of some nuances of the theological and musical conceits. He omits the most grammatically and poetically difficult copla of the 1651 source (*Qué mucho si a los despeños*) along with three others. He changes the first word of *siglos de los astros* (centuries/ages of the stars) to *signos* (signs). Where *siglos* (also used in *Voces*) referred obliquely both to time and planetary motion, *signos* is more clearly a musical term that still has a planetary double meaning. León Marchante also changes the last word of *En las pajas subtenido* to *sostenido*, substituting a clear musical play on words (Christ “sustained” on the bed of straw/Christ singing a “sharp”) for the more arcane geometrical concept of a line that joins together two extremes of an arc, as Christ joins together eternal and temporal.

Sources 4–6 were all produced in a three-year period by composers (cited by name in the imprints) who were all personally acquainted with each other and regularly exchanged villancico texts. León Marchante wrote or edited a large number of texts for Toledo Cathedral, where they were set to music by chapelmastor Pedro de Ardanaz. Ardanaz’s correspondence with Miguel de Irízar, chapelmastor in Segovia and fellow student of Tomás Miciezes the elder, reveals that villancico poems were exchanged through a network that also included Diego de Cáseda, another fellow pupil who was chapelmastor in Zara-

TABLE 15 Variants in the estribillo of *Suspended, cielos villancicos*, compared with reconstructed original source (table 14)

Line	Family A			Family B		
	S1	S2	S8, S9	S3, S4	S5, S7	S6
1						
2				All omit <i>Tened</i>		
3						
4						
5						
6	=l. 2	Omit				
7		Omit			Omit	
8		Omit			Omit	
9		Omit			Omit	
10	=l. 2			Omit	Omit	
11				Omit		
12	Omit			Omit		
13				Omit		
			Add <i>Escuchad, ay</i>			
14						
15						
16						

goza.⁴⁴ Ardanaz probably also shared the texts with another Miciezes alumnus, Alonso Xuárez (Suárez) in Seville (S4). After Xuárez's version at Seville Cathedral for Christmas 1680, S5 was performed a year later at Seville's second most important church-music institution, the church of San Salvador, in a closely related but abridged text with only five coplas. The composer was Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana. S6 was sung twelve days later for Epiphany 1683 in Zaragoza in a setting by Cáseda.

⁴⁴ Rodríguez, "Villancicos and Personal Networks in 17th-Century Spain"; Cashner, "Faith, Hearing, and the Power of Music," 302–311.

TABLE 16 Variants in the romance and coplas of *Suspended, cielos villancicos*

Source	Romance	Coplas
Family A		
S1	<i>Ha de los coros</i> 6 stanzas before estribillo	<i>Las fugas que el primer hombre</i> 6 stanzas after estribillo
S2	<i>Ha de los coros</i> 4 stanzas before estribillo	<i>En las pajás de un Pesebre</i> 8 unique stanzas after estribillo
S8	Omit Start with estribillo	<i>Las fugas del primer hombre</i> 6 stanzas after estribillo (variants of S1)
S9	Omit (Same as S8)	Lost
Family B		
S3–S6	Move romance to coplas Start with estribillo	<i>Ha de los coros, Las fugas</i> 9 stanzas after estribillo, composed from 4 stanzas of romance as in S1 3 stanzas of coplas as in S1 2 new coplas interpolated
S5		Only first 5 stanzas of Family B
Hybrid A+B		
S7	Move romance to coplas Start with estribillo	<i>Ha de los coros, Las fugas</i> 12 stanzas after estribillo, composed from 6 stanzas of romance as in S1 6 stanzas of coplas as in S1

The 1689 Royal Chapel version returns to the original source in a similar manner to Gutierrez de Padilla turning away from *Cantores* back to *Voces*. Some of the chapel musicians probably remembered the 1651 performance, and their leader at that time, interim director Juan de Navas, likely had access to the original parts and imprint in the archive.⁴⁵ The text is closer to family A but includes some of León Marchante's revisions from family B. The two musical manuscripts by Cererols belong in family A, even though they lack the *romance*, because they do not have any of León Marchante's alterations. This suggests that this version of the text was arranged around 1660, before León Marchante adapted it.

45 DMEH, s.v. *Capilla Real*.

POEM EXAMPLE 15 *Suspended vuestro canto*: Ecuador version of *Suspended, cielos* (S10), extant text (added alternative texts shown in italics)

Suspended vuestro canto,	Suspended your song,
parad, escuchad, atended,	stop, listen, take heed,
que con sollozos tiernos	for with tender sobs
<i>que en embozos de carne</i>	<i>for in a cloak of flesh</i>
un niño soberano	a sovereign baby boy
<i>un santo soberano</i>	<i>a sovereign saint/holy one</i>
a los ángeles lleva el canto llano.	bears the plainsong to the angels.
Detened planetas	Hold back, planets,
parad, escuchad, atended	stop, listen, take heed,
y atended que resuena	and take heed, for it resounds,
que la fe y devoción ya juzga llano.	for faith and devotion already judge plainly.

This network extended to South America as well: source 10 resides in the remote parish archive of Ibarra, Ecuador, among a collection originally from the Conceptionist convent there. It is a fragment of an anonymous eleven-voice setting, in three choirs, based on a variant of this textual tradition, with only the third-chorus voices of the estribillo. The music may have been composed by one of the chapelmasters of Quito Cathedral and adapted by the convent sisters for their own use.⁴⁶ The manuscripts demonstrate that the piece was frequently performed and readapted for different occasions. The Tiple and Tenor parts bear the names of performers, “Sra. S. Martin” and “Sra. S. Seçilia” respectively. There is a second copy of the Alto part, copied in a different hand, with the indication for dulzaina, a double-reed instrument.

The text, as far as can be determined, has been made much more general so that it could be used for almost any occasion (poem example 15). Additional lyrics have been added in a different hand above the first line of lyric text. The text still mentions *planetas* but retains none of the themes of the other sources. Going farther than the variant Cererols manuscript (which changed *nino* to *hombre* for a Eucharistic purpose), the compositor has changed *nino* to *santo* (saint), allowing use for general sanctoral devotion. Some of the tropes continue to develop the earlier tradition. The music depicts “stopping” and “listening” with halting entrances set apart with rests, probably echoes of the other choruses (music example 32, 33). Like Cererols, this composer uses plainchant-

46 Grateful acknowledgments to Cesar Favila for allowing me to view a scan of this source.

Ti.
A.
B. [instr.]

Sus - pen - ded vues - tro can - to, pa - rad, es - cu - chad,

Sus - pen - ded vues - tro can - to, pa - rad, es - cu - chad,

MUSIC EXAMPLE 32 *Suspended vuestro canto* (Conceptionist Convent of Ibarra, Ecuador), surviving music, excerpt from beginning

Ti.
A.
B. [instr.]

a los án - ge - les lle - va, lle -
a los án - ge - les lle - va, a los án - ge - les

7
-va el can - to lla - no, el can - to lla - no.
-va el can - to lla - no, el can - to lla - no.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 33 *Suspended vuestro canto* (Ecuador), surviving music, excerpt from end

like stepwise lines on *el canto llano*. On the other hand, the piece emphasizes “faith and devotion” over cosmology, symbolism, and Neoplatonic contemplation. This shift may be representative of a broader change in orientation away from speculative and symbolic thinking and toward a more feeling-based personal piety around the turn of the eighteenth century.

5 The Problem of Perfection

The family of *Suspended, cielos* villancicos manifests a widespread cultural fascination with heavenly music, and with the use of music to represent itself. The genealogy of these pieces, passing from hand to hand among interrelated musicians, strengthens the argument that the metamusical villancico subgenre did function as a favored way for these composers to prove their craftsmanship

and establish a place in the musical community. The prevalence of a text so heavily dependent on Ptolemaic and Neoplatonic-Boethian musical cosmology challenges Hollander's hypothesis of secularization during the seventeenth century, at least for Catholic Spain. At the same time, the Cererols setting, with its ambiguous symbolic use of dissonance and contrasting musical styles, does suggest a certain anxiety about the relation of earthly and heavenly music that seems distinct to this period.

This piece reveals a latent theological problem within musical thought and practice in the early modern period: to what degree does the order of nature reflect the perfection of God? Is dissonance a necessary element of beautiful music, or is it a sign that something is wrong with the system from its root? Does earthly music reflect the divine or express the human? The development of the *Suspended, cielos* tradition, and the related pieces studied in the other chapters, suggests that there was a gradual shift in the function of Spanish villancicos about music from reflecting divine perfection toward expressing human affects, away from emphasizing how worldly music is like heavenly music and toward stressing its imperfections and difference from higher forms. This piece by Cererols stands at a midpoint where dissonance may function as a symbol through which listeners may contemplate the imperfection and sin of the fallen world; and as an ironic or paradoxical symbol that urges them to imagine a higher form of music. At the same time dissonance is beginning to serve a positive aesthetic purpose to elicit an affective response from listeners. Later composers, as we will see, pushed the artifice even farther, going to more extravagant ends to demonstrate the untunefulness and imperfection of earthly music.

The adaptations of this text for other purposes (the Eucharistic Cererols variant; the two alternate texts of the Ecuador manuscript) demonstrate the appeal of this topic, but also suggest that as the century progressed people began to see it as simply an attractive poetic conceit, missing the intricate theological complexity of the earlier sources. The eloquent exposition of Neoplatonic musical theology in the poetry imprints and the Cererols setting is watered down in the Ecuador manuscript to a series of vague conventions. This fits with Hollander's thesis of increasing conventionalism in poetry on music, but it does not corroborate his secularization theory. Though the Ecuador text does not depend on the details of any particular cosmology, that does not mean the authors or performers had ceased to believe in the old system. Besides, from only the third-chorus parts it is impossible to guess the full content of the villancico text. And even if the musical theology of the Ecuador setting is relatively vague compared to the rest of the tradition, the original piece still calls for no fewer than eleven voices to sing out an exhortation to the planets. The compli-

cated conceits of this poetic tradition as seen in the earliest sources may have fallen out of fashion, but the fundamental theological framework underlying this poetic tradition still continued to provide meaning. While Isaac Newton's new physics would soon illuminate the real structure of the solar system, in the years just after the publication of the *Principia mathematica*, there were four separate performances of a *Suspended, cielos* villancico in the Spanish Empire, where the old earth-centered worldview blazed its brightest just before sunset.

Offering and Imitation (Zaragoza, 1650–1700)

No son a los sentidos
 lo que suenan sus voces soberanas
 porque de este instrumento
 cuantas ellos percibían serán falsas.

VICENTE SÁNCHEZ, *Con dulces accentos* (Zaragoza, 1688)

••

As composers like Gutiérrez de Padilla and Cererols were imitating heavenly harmony in their music, they were also imitating earthly models in a tradition of metamusical composition. Their acts of imitation were also acts of offering. In human terms, they offered a tribute to mentors and contributed to a peer community. In the religious sense, this devotional music was an act of offering to God, through which listeners were given the opportunity to offer themselves.

This chapter focuses on the changing nature of imitation within a network of composers in the province of Zaragoza. We have already seen that Zaragoza was a principal node in the network of villancico composers and poets. The first case study in this chapter examines two successive settings of the same textual family by Pablo Bruna and Miguel Ambiel. This is a clear case of a younger composer imitating the work of a respected musician of the preceding generation—not only using the same words but adapting some of the same musical ideas as well.

The final section discusses the villancico *Qué música divina* by José de Cáseda of Zaragoza, preserved in a convent collection from Puebla, in which the conventions of the metamusical villancico tradition are pushed to a particular extreme. The increasing weight of convention in this type of music required composers to devise ever-new ways to represent the relationship between heavenly and earthly music. The piece compares Christ to a *vihuela*, and imitates this plucked-string instrument by effectively turning the vocal ensemble into a vihuela. The three villancicos studied in this chapter present music as an affective devotional practice of self-offering, in keeping with their ritual functions for Eucharistic and Marian devotion.

1 “Let Voices Ascend to Heaven”: From Bruna to Ambiel

Zaragoza was an important religious center in the crown of Aragon, with its two principal churches, the cathedral of La Seo and the basilica of El Pilar (today co-cathedrals).¹ A large proportion of the surviving villancico poetry imprints were published in Zaragoza, many of them commemorating performances of music by Diego de Cáseda or his son José. In the greater province of Zaragoza, the village of Daroca was home to the acclaimed organist Pablo Bruna. Miguel Ambiel, from the same province, received his early training in Daroca before graduating to highly prestigious posts in Zaragoza, Madrid, and Toledo.

The first known version of *Suban las voces al cielo* is a Eucharistic villancico composed by Pablo Bruna for four voices (ssat) with accompaniment, preserved in the archive of Girona Cathedral.² In 1986 Pedro Calahorra identified the relationship between it and a villancico with the same incipit by Miguel Ambiel.³ He called Ambiel's work a “parody villancico,” “an homage from a pupil to his teacher.”⁴ But there is more to the relationship than Calahorra's brief analysis could explore, and the differences between the pieces are as significant as the similarities. Moreover, a new, previously unattributed, source of the Bruna villancico provides further insight into this work.⁵

1.1 *Bruna: Voices as Flames of Self-Offering*

Born in 1611 in Daroca, Bruna served as organist at the collegiate church of Santa María de los Sagrados Corporales from 1631 until his death in 1679.⁶ His musicianship, which was not hindered by being blind from an early age, was renowned throughout the region. In 1639 he was offered the organist position at El Pilar in Zaragoza but declined it.⁷ Bruna's organ music was disseminated

¹ Ezquiero Estéban and González Marín, “Catálogo del fondo documental del siglo XVII del Archivo musical de las catedrales de Zaragoza (Zac).”

² Pedro Calahorra Martínez, ed., *Obras de los maestros de la capilla de música de la Colegiad de Daroca (Zaragoza) en los siglos XVII y XVIII*, Polifonía aragonesa 2 (Zaragoza: Institución “Fernando el Católico,” Sección de Música Antigua, Excma. Diputación Provincial, 1985), 29–34 (no archival signature given).

³ E-Bbc: M/733/1; Pedro Calahorra Martínez, “‘Suban las voces al Cielo’ Villancico polifónico de Miguel Ambiel parodia del homónimo de su maestro Pablo Bruna,” *Nassarre: Revista Aragonesa de Musicología* 2, no. 1 (1986): 9–42; Calahorra Martínez, *Obras de los maestros de la capilla de música de la Colegiad de Daroca (Zaragoza) en los siglos XVII y XVIII*, 35–45.

⁴ Calahorra Martínez, “Suban las voces al Cielo,” 9.

⁵ E-Bbc: M/759/44.

⁶ Pedro Calahorra Martínez, *Historia de la música en Aragón (Siglos I–XVII)* (Zaragoza: Librería General, 1977), 104.

⁷ Ibid., 123–125.

POEM EXAMPLE 16 *Que me quemo*, villancico for Eucharistic adoration by Jaume Pexa
(Lleida, 1643), estribillo

Que me quemo, ay que me abraso, de amor me rinde. Venga mi esposo porque gosarle quiero en pan sabroso.	How I am burning, ah, how I am being burned up, out of love I surrender myself. Come, my Bridegroom for I want to know your pleasures in the savory bread.
--	---

more widely through its inclusion in the anthology *Huerto ameno de varias flores de música* collected by Fray Antonio Martín y Coll and published in Madrid in 1709.

Bruna's villancico would function well for Eucharistic devotion, in both its poetic content and musical style. The piece fits a subtype of chamber villancico dedicated *al Santísimo Sacramento* (to the Blessed Sacrament) and intended not for the triumphalistic public festivities of Corpus Christi, but for more reflective occasions of Eucharistic adoration. This more intimate type of Eucharistic villancico frequently features mystically-infused texts with an emphasis on personal affective devotion to Christ in the sacrament. Bruna's madrigalesque counterpoint for four voices is similar to other such pieces from before 1660, in contrast to the solo and duo continuo-songs that predominate later.⁸

The central image in Bruna's villancico is the soul as a burning phoenix, consumed by the love of God. This use of fire symbolism may be found in other Eucharistic villancicos, such as a 1643 piece by Jaume Pexa from Lleida (Lérida) (poem example 16), with an estribillo similar to Bruna's.⁹ The part-books of Pexa's eight-voice piece bear the heading *De amores del exposo sancto* (About love for the exposed Sacrament), making clear that the piece was to be performed for Eucharistic adoration.

The anonymous poet of Bruna's villancico combines the conceit of the soul as a burning phoenix with a musical conceit announced in the first line: "Let

⁸ The Girona manuscript does include an accompaniment part labeled *entablatura*, but this is primarily a *basso seguente* rather than the independent continuo part found in Irízar and Carrión.

⁹ E-Bbc: M/765/15; see DMEH, s.v. *Pexa, Jaume*. The manuscript is in the same box of villancicos as the Barcelona version of Cererols's *Suspended, cielos*, as well as a piece by Miguel Ambiel and another by one of the Cásedas (probably Diego, the elder).

POEM EXAMPLE 17 *Suban las voces al cielo*, setting 1, poetic text set by Bruna, estribillo

<p>Suban las voces al cielo y digan que en esta mesa fénix se abrasa un alma de amores llena.</p> <p>5 Y mudando el aire en veloces corcheas, vuelen, vuelen juntas en síncopas que elevan y en bemoles blandos,</p> <p>10 trinados que suspendan, digan en paso todas: Ay, que se abrasa un alma, ay, que se quema.</p>	<p>Let the voices ascend to Heaven, and let them say that on this table a phoenix is consumed, a soul full of love.</p> <p>And transforming the air 5R into rapid quavers, let them fly, fly together in syncopations that they raise and in mild flats, trills that they suspend, 10R let them all say in time together:</p> <p>Ah, a soul consumed in flames, ah, a soul that burns.</p>
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voices to ascend to heaven" (poem example 17, 18). As a poem, the estribillo of *Suban las voces* may be divided into three sections. First, the opening quatrain in *romance* (ll. 1–4) establishes the primary conceit linking the voice and the phoenix. The next section switches to seven-syllable *romancillo* (ll. 5–11) and, rather like *Voces, las de la capilla*, presents a scene of music-making using technical keywords. The estribillo closes with a couplet (ll. 12–13) that epitomizes the conceit: "a soul that burns." Lines 4 and 13, both truncated to five syllables, mark ending points in the text, while assonance throughout unifies the poem.

The coplas differ between the Girona and Barcelona manuscripts. The first copla is identical in both sources, but the Girona version follows it with two stanzas, while the Barcelona version follows it with five unique stanzas. The Barcelona coplas all follow the same metrical scheme as copla 1: three octosyllabic lines and the refrain *arde*, with *a/e* assonance in the even lines. The Girona coplas, by contrast, change the metrical pattern after copla 1: they add an additional line and maintain assonance only in the last syllables; the *arde* refrain no longer forms part of the metrical structure. These differences suggest that the Barcelona coplas are closer to the original source of this textual family, while the different Girona coplas were likely penned by a later poet, possibly to replace verses that had been lost or forgotten. The theology and tone of the texts also suggests that the Barcelona source is older, as the Girona coplas are slightly more didactic. This recalls the way later versions in the *Voces, las de la capilla* and *Suspended, cielos* families simplified and explained their models (chapter 3, 4).

POEM EXAMPLE 18 *Suban las voces*, setting I, poetic text set by Bruna, coplas

[BARCELONA AND GIRONA]

- B1/G1. Fénix hermoso eres, alma,
 15 que entre cenizas renaces;
 si en Dios hallas nueva vida,
 arde.
- B1/G1. O soul, you are a handsome
 phoenix,
 who are reborn among the ashes; 15R
 if you should find new life in God,
 burn.

[BARCELONA ONLY]

- B2. De tu mismo fin procedes
 para siempre eternizarte;
 20 si está tu ser en no ser,
 arde.
- B3. En el peligro más cierto
 hallas lisonjas los males;
 si en el fuego no peligras,
 arde.
- B2. From your very end, you go forth
 to become eternal forever;
 if your being is in not being, 20R
 burn.
- B3. In the most certain danger
 you find evils to be flatteries;
 if in the fire you are not imperiled,
 burn.
- B4. A la vida lisonjeas
 cuando llegas a abrasarte;
 si con morir te eternizas,
 arde.
- B4. You flatter life
 when you come to be consumed in
 flames;
 if in dying you become eternal,
 burn.
- B5. Cuando el fuego te consume,
 30 la tumba es cuna en que naces;
 si del polvo resucitas,
 arde.
- B5. When the fire consumes you,
 the tomb is the cradle in which you are 30R
 born;
 if from the dust you resurrect,
 burn.
- B6. A mejor Arabia fénix
 hoy arrepentida partes;
 35 si la vida está en la muerte,
 arde.
- B6. To greater Arabia, phoenix,
 today you depart repentant/suddenly;
 if life is in death, 35R
 burn.

[GIRONA ONLY]

- G2. Lo vivido ya no es vida
 pues muriendo se acabó;
 y lo que queda quién sabe
 40 si dejará de ser hoy,
 arde.
- G2. The life lived is no longer life
 for in dying it is accomplished;
 and of what remains, who knows
 if it will cease to be today? 40R
 burn.

POEM EXAMPLE 18 *Suban las voces*, setting I, poetic text set by Bruna, coplas (*cont.*)

G3. Alma en el camino estás, mira aquella luz, por Dios, que es lástima y aun desdicha 45 perderse con tanto sol: <i>arde.</i>	G3. Soul, you are on the road, look at that light, for God's sake, for it is a shame and indeed a disgrace to be lost when there is so much sun: 45R <i>burn.</i>
--	--

Similar to Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, Bruna projects each phrase of poetic text through a distinct phrase of music, with its own rhythmic and harmonic profile, and closely follows the natural stresses of the words. The three poetic sections are also clearly articulated in the musical form through shifts of meter and character. Bruna also has his musicians depict the musical concepts in the poem in a madrigalistic manner. The singers perform “let voices ascend” by leaping upward on *voces* and then repeating the whole phrase again a third higher—a musical-rhetorical *anaphora*, since the term means both repeating a phrase and “lifting up.” Bruna follows the first section with a change of meter (to C), and his setting of *Y mudando el aire en veloces corcheas* uses appropriately flying *corcheas* (eighth notes), ascending and descending in pairs (*juntas*) (music example 34). Bruna sets *en sínkopas que elevan* exactly as would be expected, with syncopated phrases that leap upwards like flames. Bruna uses chromatic alterations for the phrase *bemoles blandos*, writing E flats in the outer voices and then setting up a striking Phrygian cadence in which the Alto leaps upwards into an unprepared seventh. Bruna writes dotted figures on *trinados que suspendan* that flow into textbook suspensions; the dotted gestures would invite any singer to add a trill. For *digan en paso* (let them say in turn) Bruna has the voices follow each other in fugal imitation, in an evenly paced rhythmic pattern.

In the coplas Bruna breaks up the declamation-focused setting with a syncopated rhythm on *si en Dios hallas nueva vida* (if you find new life in God): by dividing three measures of duple time into what sounds like four measures of triple, he animates this phrase with a new kind of rhythmic life. Similarly, in the ending refrain line on *arde*, Bruna syncopates the rhythm by playing off the voices in pairs, where in each measure one group has downbeat accents and the other has a minim rest followed by an offbeat accent. These rests create a breathless intensity that fittingly portrays the soul in ardor.

This passage points to a more dramatic quality of Bruna’s setting that goes beyond text depiction to express a mystical affect, partly through the use of chromaticism. For example, in m. 7, the voice and accompaniment undulate

Ti. 1
Ti. 2
A.
T.

Y mu - dan - do el ai - re en ve - lo - ces cor - che - as, en ve - lo - ces cor - che - as,
Y mu - dan - do el ai - re en ve - lo - ces cor - che - as, en ve - lo - ces cor - che - as,
Y mu - dan - do el ai - re en ve - lo - ces cor - che - as, en ve - lo - ces cor - che - as,

4
vue - len, vue - len jun - tas, vue - len, vue - len jun - tas en sín - co - pas que e - le - van, en
en sín - co - pas que e - le - van,
vue - len, vue - len jun - tas, vue - len, vue - len jun - tas en sín - co - pas que e - le - van,
vue - len, vue - len jun - tas, vue - len, vue - len jun - tas en sín - co - pas que e - le - van, en

9
— sín - co - pas que e - le - van y en be - mo - les blan - dos, blan - dos, tri -
que e - le - van, que e - le - van y en be - mo - les blan - dos, blan - dos, tri - na - dos que sus -
sín - co - pas que e - le - van, y en be - mo - les blan - dos, blan - dos, tri - na - dos que sus -

16
— na - dos que sus - pen - dan, sus - pen - dan, sus - pen - dan, di - gan en pa - so
— na - dos que sus - pen - dan, di - gan en pa - so to - das,
— pen - dan, tri - na - dos que sus - pen - dan, sus - pen - dan, di - gan en
— pen - dan, tri - na - dos que sus - pen - dan, sus - pen - dan, di - gan en pa - so to - das, en pa - so

MUSIC EXAMPLE 34 Bruna, *Suban las voces*, estribillo: Madrigalistic text setting (accompaniment omitted)

between a G-over-E \flat harmony and F \sharp -over-D, on the words “a phoenix is burning, a soul.” These minor-second gestures and chromatic alterations may be ways of depicting spiritual passion, and of creating a stylistic topic that could incite heartfelt devotion. Altered notes could symbolize the changes wrought by fire, which, as we will explore below, is a metaphor for the soul’s conversion to loving God.

1.2 Ambiela: Voices Rising in Intercession

The later setting in this villancico family was composed by Miguel Ambiela (1666–1733) to a text closely based on that set by Bruna. Where Bruna's piece concentrated on the symbolism of fire and the phoenix, Ambiela's is dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. The compositor of the text—quite possibly Ambiela himself—has excerpted from the earlier poem all the lines with musical vocabulary and built a new poem around them focused on raising voices to celebrate Mary as heavenly intercessor (poem example 19, table 17).

Ambiela lived through the upheavals caused by the end of the Habsburg dynasty, in a career that took him from the town of La Puebla de Albortón in Zaragoza province to the most prestigious positions in Spain, as chapelmaster of El Pilar in Zaragoza (1700–1707), Las Descalzas Reales in Madrid (1707–1710), and finally Toledo Cathedral (1710–1733).¹⁰ His training began at age 15, when in 1681 his parents sent him to study music in Daroca. Within four years Ambiela had been appointed chapelmaster at the collegiate church there, where Bruna had been organist. Since Bruna died in 1678, Ambiela likely did not study with him (as Calahorra speculated), but he probably did encounter Bruna's music during his time in Daroca, and may have even performed it.¹¹ He could have encountered the piece in the church's archive during the year he served as chapelmaster (1685–1686), before moving on to a position in Lleida. Ambiela's version of *Suban las voces* could have signaled to listeners in the parish that their new chief musician was at once the heir to the esteemed legacy of Bruna and a creative new voice of his own.

Supporting evidence that young Iberian composers modeled new music on older works encountered in local archives comes from the surviving manuscript lesson books from apprentice musicians. One such notebook, written in Catalan, concludes with a section on "Some Rules about Counterpoint Observed from the Method of Some Masters in Girona."¹² A student has copied out a list of guidelines followed by a selection of excerpts from pieces he encountered in the archive.

¹⁰ Calahorra Martínez, "'Suban las voces al Cielo,'" 1; *Grove*, s.v. *Ambiela*; Carmen María Álvarez Escudero, *El maestro aragonés Miguel de Ambiela (1666–1733): su contribución al Barroco musical* (Oviedo, Spain: Arte-Musicología, Servicio de Publicaciones, Universidad de Oviedo, 1982).

¹¹ Calahorra Martínez, "'Suban las voces al Cielo.'"

¹² *Algunas Reglas sobre els Contrapunts observadas del metodo de alguns mestres en Gerona*, E-Bbc: M/732/15.

POEM EXAMPLE 19 *Suban las voces al cielo*, setting II by Miguel Ambielo, estribillo

<p>Suban las voces al cielo y diga Capilla Regia que María al cielo parte pero nunca más entera.</p> <p>5 Y digan mudando el aire en veloces corcheas, vuelen, vuelen juntos en síncopas que elevan, con bemoles blandos,</p> <p>10 trinados que suspendan: sigan sus pasos todos hasta la esfera donde María goze glorias eternas.</p>	<p>Let voices ascend to Heaven and let the Royal Chapel say that to Heaven Mary departs, though more whole than ever.</p> <p>And let them say, transforming the air 5R into rapid quavers, let them fly, fly together in syncopations that ascend with mild flats, trills that suspend: 10R let everyone follow her paces up to the sphere where Mary enjoys eternal glories.</p>
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TABLE 17 *Suban las voces*: Comparison of estribillos set by Bruna and Ambielo

Bruna	Ambielo
Suban las voces al cielo y digan que en esta mesa fénix se abrasa un alma de amores llena. Y mudando el aire en veloces corcheas, vuelen, vuelen juntas en síncopas que elevan y en bemoles blandos, trinados que suspendan, digan en paso todas: Ay, que se abrasa un alma, ay, que se quema.	Suban las voces al cielo y diga Capilla Regia que María al cielo parte pero nunca más entera. Y digan mudando el aire en veloces corcheas, vuelen, vuelen juntos, en síncopas que elevan con bemoles blandos, trinados que suspendan, sigan sus pasos todos hasta la esfera donde María goze glorias eternas.

Ambiela's ambitious setting for six voices (SST, SAT, continuo) is preserved in manuscript performing parts in Barcelona, copied sometime before 1689.¹³ The front-facing leaf used as a title page bears a dedication to the Assumption of Mary in one scribal hand, and a series of doodles on the name Torrente in a second, sloppier hand—the work, it appears, of an idle-handed choirboy by that name. The same writer also copied his own bajón part and, at the top of the accompaniment part, dated and ascribed the piece quite specifically: “Acompañamiento Continuo a 6 Vozes del Maestro Miguel Ambiela año 1689 a 24 octubre.” The 24th of October was the feast of St. Raphael, Archangel, but since the villancico was clearly intended for the Assumption of the Virgin on August 15, this date was either a later performance or just the copying date. In 1689 the 23-year-old Ambiela was chapelmaster in Lleida, halfway between Zaragoza and Barcelona. On the title leaf, the same hand (Torrente) credits the piece to “Master Miguel Ambiela, who was from Lérida and before that from Daroca, where the wall is big and the city is small.”¹⁴ The copyist, writing in Castilian, spells *ciudad* with the Catalan-inflected phonetic spelling *ciutat*, just as in the Cererols manuscripts in the previous chapter, *suspended* was copied *suspendet*. The trace of a Catalan accent, along with the joke disparaging Daroca—a small town surrounded by huge medieval walls—both suggest that the writer was a member of Ambiela's chapel in Lleida. That young master Torrente highlights Ambiela's previous position in Daroca suggests that, regional rivalry aside, there was some local significance in Ambiela's connection to that city, likely because of the piece's connection to Pablo Bruna.

1.2.1 Outdoing and Overdoing

While Ambiela's poetic text copies the core of Bruna's text verbatim, the new musical setting is an homage rather than a parody—that is, a creative response to a model rather than a direct reworking. Ambiela does quote one motive from Bruna, and uses it at the same point in the text and with the same texture, the highest voice with continuo (music example 35): Bruna writes B♭–A–G–F♯–G–F♯ and Ambiela writes the same figure in his mode, F–E–D–C♯–D–C♯. Aside from this one direct quotation, similarities are found more on the level of procedure than style: Ambiela follows Bruna's basic formula for putting the piece

¹³ E-Bbc: M/733/1. Calahorra's edition misplaces one of the fugal entries: the Alto 11 that enters on *Vuelen, vuelen juntas* in m. 22 of the edition should enter on the fourth semi-minim of the m. 23.

¹⁴ E-Bbc: M/733/1: “Del Maestro Miguel Ambiela/ que fue de Lerida y despues de daroca en donde el muro/ es Grande y la Ciutat es Poca.”

Ti. I-i

di - gan mu - dan - do el ai - re en ve - lo - ces cor - che - as,

Ac.

Ti. I-i

vue - len, vue - len jun - tos, vue - len, vue - len jun - tos, vue - len,
vue - len, vue - len jun - tos en sín - co -

Ti. I-2
T. I

vue - len, vue - len jun - tos vue - len, vue - len, vue - len jun - tos vue - len jun -

Ti. II

vue - len, vue - len, vue - len, vue - len jun - tos, vue - len, vue - len
vue - len, vue - len jun - tos en sín - co - pas

A. II
T. II

en sín - co - pas que

Ac.

Ti. I-i

vue - len, vue - len jun - tos en sín - co - pas que e - le - van,
que e - le - van, vue - len, vue - len jun - tos, vue - len, vue - len jun - tos

Ti. I-2
T. I

- tos en sín - co - pas que e - le - van,

Ti. II

jun - tos en sín - co - pas que e - le -
que e - le - van,

A. II
T. II

e - le - van, vue - len, vue - len jun - tos en sín -

Ac.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 35 Ambiela, *Suban las voces*, estribillo: Compare Bruna, music example 34

together though the result sounds quite different. Both pieces begin with four voices in an upward-leaping gesture high in their tessituras. In both pieces this phrase is followed by a reduced texture (solo for Bruna, duo for Ambiela) and then a fugato passage for the full ensemble. Ambiela follows Bruna in embodying the musical terms in the text in several passages: both composers switch to **C** for the “change” in the passage *mudando el aire*; both use an imitative texture in “flying corcheas” with pairs of voices moving “together.” Where the

text speaks of syncopated notes, both composers write just that. Like Bruna, Ambielas illustrates *pasos* with imitative counterpoint.

On the other hand, aside from the opening and the motivic quotation, many of the similarities between pieces could be explained simply as two composers setting the same words, with highly specific references to musical practice, according to common musical-rhetorical conventions. The two pieces actually differ strongly in character. In contrast to Bruna's intimate, chamber-style piece in mystically tinged *cantus mollis*, Ambielas's villancico is a large-scale poly-choral piece in a public, celebratory manner, set in mode 9 (the authentic mode with an A final). Some of this difference stems from the pieces' differing liturgical functions. One is a chamber piece for Eucharistic devotion while the other is a pull-out-all-the-stops celebration for one of the highest feasts of the Spanish church year.

Paradoxically, though, it is actually in the ostensible differences between the settings where it becomes clearest that Ambielas's piece is an homage. Ambielas takes Bruna's model and increases its complexity in every way he can. Where Bruna begins with *anaphora* in one choir, Ambielas, with two choirs at his disposal, does his paragon one better by giving the transposed repeat to the second chorus and bringing them in even before the first chorus has finished their phrase. In the same place that Bruna has a solo passage followed by full chorus, Ambielas both imitates and expands on Bruna's approach: he begins his phrase not with a single voice but with two, and then writes a fugato for the full chorus. In the passage about *corcheas* and *síncopas*, where Bruna set each phrase of text in sequence, Ambielas uses his double-chorus texture to overlap the phrases, creating a rich texture of flying eighth-notes and syncopated figures in tension with each other. For the end of the estribillo, Ambielas extends Bruna's brief imitative passage into a double fugato.

As Calahorra noted, Ambielas treats the repeat of the estribillo after the coplas differently than Bruna as well. Each copla is sung by a soloist and then leads into a repeat, not of the whole estribillo, but only of a portion. The first copla leads into a repeat of the opening section; the second copla, into the middle section, and the last copla, into the concluding section. There seems to have been a trend later in the seventeenth century away from full repetitions of the estribillo, as composers were writing longer settings (eventually developing multisectional *cantadas* in the eighteenth century). Álvaro Torrente argues that in some cases the estribillo may not have been repeated at all.¹⁵ Ambielas here provides a novel and possibly unique solution to the problem.

¹⁵ Torrente, "Cuando un 'estribillo' no es un estribillo."

In a few passages, rather than expanding on Bruna's ideas, Ambielo contradicts them. These passages actually furnish the strongest evidence that Ambielo knew the earlier piece and composed his in direct response. For the text *bemoles blandos* (mild flats), Bruna does as any seventeenth-century Spanish composer would have done, and adds flats. Ambielo, by contrast, does not write a single flat for this phrase of text; in fact, he writes an extended passage loaded with sharps (music example 36). For *trinados que suspendan*, Ambielo does not write the classical suspensions that Bruna does (which by rule always resolved downward by step). Instead he writes a chromatic line that does nothing but ascend.

Certainly there are contemporary examples (like Cererols's dissonances on *la más nueva consonancia*, chapter 4) of representing something by embodying its opposite, but there are many more examples in metamusical villancicos of literal, even punning, matchups of poetic and musical devices. Indeed, the rest of Ambielo's setting abounds in such direct word–music relationships. Ambielo's choice to go against the text in these two passages, then, is probably a response to Bruna's model.

Here we see a central theme of the case studies in part 2: the tradition of homage and competition among composers in metamusical composition develops in parallel with changing notions of music's place in the cosmos, and its effect on people. As Calahorra observes, Ambielo's free-wheeling or even reckless approach to counterpoint is worlds apart from the more traditional style of Bruna. Bruna's work is relatively intimate, subtle, contemplative; Ambielo's is extroverted, exuberant, even ostentatious. For example, in Ambielo's first section in imitative texture, mm. 3–6, the voices fly past each other almost as though they are not all singing the same piece, creating frequent F♯/C♯ sonorities, and for one brief moment only the pitches A, G, and D are sounding. Calahorra provides an analysis of Ambielo's abruptly shifting cadences and pervasive use of seventh chords on the first beat of the measure.

Are these the marks of youthful ambition not yet supported by technique? Or is the effect of wild, heedless rejoicing exactly what Ambielo wanted? The pressure to imitate both the text and the earlier musical setting appears to have pushed Ambielo to a more extreme type of musical representation. Bruna was content with the mirror-in-a-mirror effect of singing flats while singing *about* flats; for Ambielo, by contrast, one must sing sharps. A decreasing confidence in music's power of representation, of music's faithfulness to the real world, results in a continuously escalating demand for self-conscious artifice.

Musical score for Ambiela's *Suban las voces*, featuring eight staves of music and lyrics. The voices include Ti. I-1, Ti. I-2, T. I, T. II, A. II, and T. II. The basso continuo part is labeled Ac. The music is in common time, C major, and consists of two systems of music. The lyrics are in Spanish and describe "flats" (Suban) set in sharps (los). The vocal parts sing in pairs, creating an offering and imitation effect.

Lyrics (approximate transcription):

- van con be - mo - les blan - dos, blan - dos, con be -
- van tri - na - dos que sus - pen -
- 8 -van tri - na - dos que sus - pen - dan, que sus - pen -
- van con be - mo - les blan -
- van con be - mo - les blan - dos, con be - mo - les blan -
- 8 -van con be - mo - les blan - dos,
- mo - les blan - dos que sus - pen - dan, tri - na - dos que sus - pen - dan:
- dan, con be - mo - les blan - dos, tri - na - dos que sus - pen - dan:
- 8 -dan, tri - na - dos que sus - pen - dan, tri - na - dos que sus - pen - dan:
- dos, con be - mo - les blan - dos, con be - mo - les blan - dos, sus - pen - dan:
- dos, tri - na - dos que sus - pen - dan, tri - na - dos que sus - pen - dan: si-
- 8 con be - mo - les blan - dos, tri - na - dos que sus - pen - dan:

MUSIC EXAMPLE 36 Ambiela, *Suban las voces*, poetry about “flats” set in sharps

1.3 *Offering Hearts and Voices through Music*

The function of Ambiela's homage to Bruna seems clear enough on the human level of a young composer building a reputation, using the metamusical villancico as a proof-piece. It fulfilled functions of offering on this level by giving the parish a chance to hear their choir perform a virtuoso representation of music through music, invoking awe and wonder, while allowing the composer to offer a tribute to his predecessor. The poem's musical terms are used as a relatively straightforward depiction of musical performance, without the ambiguity of the double theological-musical conceits of the metamusical villancicos by Gutiérrez de Padilla and Cererols. As these terms (*corcheas*, *síncopas*, *bemoles*) are not given any obvious theological meaning, they may seem like superfluous excuses for compositional showmanship. But these pieces are not just about a composer's ability to move notes around. The texts refer directly to actual music-making because the pieces are about music as a form of devotion. In both texts, music is represented as voices rising to heaven from souls afire with the love of God. In the Bruna version, the ardent soul is compared to a burning phoenix, and in the Ambiela, voices ascend with the Virgin to the heavenly realm. The villancico family builds on the link between fire and music in early modern physics: both "transform the air."

The phoenix functions in the villancico as an emblem of self-offering, an icon both of Christ's sacrifice and of the Christian's devotion. Worshippers in Daroca, singing or hearing Bruna's piece during rituals of Eucharistic adoration, would have been familiar with the phoenix as Covarrubias defines it: the phoenix is "said to be a singular bird who is born in the Orient, celebrated through all the world, raised in happy Arabia, [...] who lives six hundred and sixty years."¹⁶ Covarrubias cites Pliny along with Tacitus and other Classical authorities for the famous legend of this noble bird that builds its own funeral pyre and is then reborn from the ashes—just as the villancico describes it (coplas B1/G1, B5–B6). The phoenix's self-immolation was widely interpreted as a symbol of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection; Covarrubias recounts that some even claimed the phoenix was reborn in a regular cycle, and that one of its rebirths coincided with the year of Christ's death, "of which it seemed prophetic." Be these tales true or false, Covarrubias writes, "the sentiment is pious, and many have formed hieroglyphics of the phoenix, applying them to the resurrection of our Lord, [...] and likewise many emblems and imprints that are moral or deal with amorous subjects."¹⁷

¹⁶ Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, 400, s.v. *fenix*.

¹⁷ Ibid.



FIGURE 6 “IT BURNS HAPPILY”: The phoenix emblem from Covarrubias, *Emblemas morales* (1610), centuria III, no. 90, f. 290r

Covarrubias himself had joined these Christological and amorous facets of the phoenix myth in exactly this kind of moral emblem one year previous in his *Emblemas morales*. His emblem 90 combines the heraldic arms of the royal monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Saint Lawrence's grill, with a burning phoenix underneath a sun with rays (figure 6), and the motto *FOELICITER ARDET*.¹⁸ The motto is taken from Ovid: “If someone loves something that gives joy when loved, he burns happily, rejoices, and as by wind sails directly to the

18 Covarrubias Orozco, *Emblemas morales*, f. 290r-v.

beloved.”¹⁹ The explanatory poem applies the phoenix’s burning to the soul transformed by mystical love:

Always in the mortal breast there burns
the celestial, divine, and holy fire;
it causes no conflict with the elemental body
For it causes neither fear nor alarm:
as a new Phoenix, in love it burns
and though it is consumed in its old mantle
it changes it for another, more precious—
of royal purple, incorruptible, and glorious.

The image and its explanation correspond closely with the Bruna villancico’s conceit of the soul burning with holy fire, offering itself to Christ. The villancico and others like it could even be thought to function as an auditory emblem, which first presents a striking conceit (like the image and motto), then expands on it in the rest of the estribillo (like the verse explanation), and then explains in more detail in the coplas (like the prose on the reverse). The repeat of the estribillo after the coplas could even be compared to the typesetting arrangement of the image and poem on the *recto* and the prose on the *verso*, after which inevitably the reader will turn back and look at the emblem again with new eyes. The difference is that what the emblem describes and prescribes, the villancico embodies as a ritual experience.

The connection between the phoenix and the soul depended on specific conceptions of fire and of worship. For deeper understanding Covarrubias refers readers to the *Commentaria Symbolica* of Antonio Ricciardo, as this exhaustive reference lists no less than sixteen distinct emblematic uses of the phoenix. Three of these are pertinent to Bruna’s villancico:

- 3. The phoenix signifies our souls in this bodily pilgrimage. Indeed, while we are living here we are far removed from our homeland.
- 13. A phoenix in the midst of burning flames, with the words, *Ne pereat* [Let him not perish], signifies a man who in the present life gives himself to be burned up through [bodily] mortification, lest he perish eternally.

¹⁹ Ovid, *De remedio amoris*, quoted in ibid., f. 290v: “Si quis amat, quod amare iubat; foeliciter ardet, Gaudeat, & vento nauiget ille suo.”

15. A phoenix over flames, expanding its wings to the rays of the sun, with these three letters, V.E.V., and with the words, *Ut uiuat* (Let him live) [...] signifies a man, who puts all his hope in Christ the Lord, the sun of justice, from whom he hopes for renewal of life. The fire, then, signifies the Holy Spirit, who should be embraced, who chooses everything that is best [for the man], in order that he might be taken up from earthly heaviness, and live eternally.²⁰

In *Suban las voces*, the phoenix is the soul (Ricciardo's explanation no. 3), which is on pilgrimage ("Soul, you are on the road," l. 3, copla G3). The motto *Ne pereat* described by Ricciardo (no. 13) recalls the phrase *no peligras* in copla B3, which concentrates on mortification to avoid the "flatteries of the wicked." In definition 15 Ricciardo describes an image very similar to Covarrubias's phoenix emblem, and explains even more clearly that the soul's fire is the result of the purifying work of the Holy Spirit, causing those who surrender their own being (copla B2) to find new life in Christ, who as the sun is the source of all fire (copla G3). Just as Covarrubias used the imagery of flying on the winds, so Ricciardo also connects fire to the idea of ascending from earth to heaven.

This last symbol is central to the concept of music in *Suban las voces al cielo* from the opening line, and it depends on the way early modern Europeans understood the physics of fire. First, fire was linked to love because it was love that kept the four elements in harmony despite their perpetual war against each other, as Covarrubias summarizes in another emblem:

Heaven, fire, air, water, and earth
and all this, as much as has been created,
Love rules it, Love opens and closes it,
in a sweet chain, linked together,
and when one or the other wages war,
the conquered is always left bettered;
for the one is converted into the other,
taking life even from death.²¹

This love, Covarrubias clarifies, is "God himself." Divine love is the energy that allows the elements to transform themselves into each other for the mutual benefit of all.

²⁰ Ricciardo, *Commentaria Symbolica*, s.v. *Phoenix*, 132–133.

²¹ Covarrubias Orozco, *Emblemas morales*, centuria I, no. 45.

Similarly, Luis de Granada writes, drawing on musical language, that the Creator built the terrestrial world with its four elements “by such order and measure [*compás*] that, though they are opposed to one another, they have peace and harmony [*concordia*], and not only do they not disturb the world, but in fact they preserve and sustain it.”²² Much like Covarrubias’s concept of a chain, the four elements are linked with their neighbors in a “lineage of affinity and genealogy”: moving from earth as the lowest of the elements, up through air, water, and the highest, fire, the elements “do something like a saber dance [*danza de espadas*], each one continuing on amicably to the others in this way.”²³ Like the participants of a mock-war dance with swords (for which instrumental music survives from across the Spanish Empire), the elements appear to be at war but are actually moving together in a well-ordered round dance.²⁴

Fire ascended skywards because in this cosmology it was the highest and lightest of the elements, the closest to the world beyond the terrestrial.²⁵ Just below fire in the chain of being was air, and Granada describes the atmosphere as embodying this relationship: the air above earth was divided into three regions, the highest of which was “adjacent to the element of fire, and is therefore extremely hot.”²⁶ Highest of all, the sun and stars were giant balls of fire. The process of burning, then, changed elemental air into fire through the medium of flame: “we see the air become inflamed with fire, which is adjacent, and be converted into fire.”²⁷ As the element at the farthest extreme of the terrestrial realm, and as an agent of transformation in a world governed by love, fire was an apt symbol for love’s ability to change the soul and transport it into the heavenly realm.

The soul thus consumed by love was converted to a more spiritual form, just as a sacrificial fire changed an animal sacrifice into smoke that rose to heaven. This was a key theme in mystical literature, developed most fully in the *Llama de amor viva* of Juan de la Cruz (Granada, 1582; published in Madrid, 1630). Juan uses fire to represent the soul’s purification and transformation, while he uses the flames that rise from the fire to represent the holy acts that proceed

²² Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, 204.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ See the *danzas de espadas* in, for example, the Peruvian Codex Martínez Compañón and Antonio Martín y Coll, *Huerto ameno de varias flores de música* (Madrid, 1609).

²⁵ Early modern thinkers drew most heavily on the treatment of this subject in Aristotle’s *Physics*; see Helen S. Lang, *Aristotle’s Physics and Its Medieval Varieties* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992).

²⁶ Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, 207.

²⁷ Ibid., 205.

POEM EXAMPLE 20 Juan de la Cruz, *Llama de amor viva*, poem (ll. 1–6)

¡Oh llama de amor viva, que tiernamente hieres de mi alma en el más profundo centro!, pues ya no eres esquila, acaba ya, siquieres; rompe la tela de este dulce encuentro.	O you living flame of love, who tenderly wound my soul in the deepest center! since till now you are not harsh, now finish, if you wish— tear the veil from this sweet encounter.
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from a soul that has been thus purged and renewed (poem example 20). “This flame of love,” he writes, “is the spirit of [the soul’s] Bridegroom, who is the Holy Spirit; and the soul indeed feels this flame within herself, not only as a fire which holds her consumed and transformed in tender love, but even as a fire that, beyond this, burns [*arde*] in her and gives forth a flame.”²⁸ The Holy Spirit works within “the soul transformed in love” (or *into* love), bringing about a union of wills between the lover and the object of love. As the soul is being thus transformed, it gives forth “flames,” which are the soul’s acts of love for God. Flames go up for the same reason that stones go down, Juan says: a kind of gravitation draws each object toward the center of the element from which it is made, so the stone, made of earth, seeks the center of the earth, and the flame seeks the center of the realm of fire, beyond the sky.²⁹ The soul seeks out its own center, which is God, and the fire of the Holy Spirit transforms the soul so that it can be united with God: “From thence it seems to the soul that, each time this flame flickers up, making her to love with savor and divine temper, the flame is giving her eternal life, for it lifts her up, through the working of God, into God.”³⁰ Divine union, Juan teaches in *The Ascent of Mount Carmel*, requires the soul to go through a process of self-emptying, sacrificing all sensory pleasures and desires, and thereby to “ascend this mountain and make of herself an altar upon it, on which to offer to God a sacrifice of pure love, and pure praise and reverence.”³¹ Juan’s concept of flames as the acts of love radiating from a soul being transformed by the Holy Spirit accords well with the explanations of the phoenix symbol by Covarrubias and Ricciardo, in which the soul is transformed by the love of God and given new life through a purgative death.

²⁸ San Juan de la Cruz, *Llama de amor viva*, in *Obras completas*, 6th ed., ed. José Vicente Rodríguez and Federico Ruiz Salvador (Madrid: Editorial de Espiritualidad, 2009), 790.

²⁹ Ibid., 792–795.

³⁰ Ibid., 791.

³¹ Juan de la Cruz, *Subida del monte Carmelo*, 191.

A similar physical process was at play in vocal expression as in fire, according to Granada. The body as the microcosm of creation is composed of the four elements, and the voice is generated from the tension and exchange between them. The heart is hot because it is fiery, and in order to cool off this fire and prevent harm to the body, God surrounded the heart with the lungs, which are full of cool air. The heat of the heart is cooled by the air of the lungs, and then comes forth through the throat. In the throat, Granada explains, the air meets with the voicebox, producing the voice, and “in this once again [God’s] providence shines forth, since the hot air that the heart gives forth, being dangerous to itself, serves to produce such a beneficial thing as the voice and speech of man.”³² The voice, then, literally arises through a kind of chemical process from the fire in the heart.

Understood in this theological and scientific context, the villancico *Suban las voces* describes and embodies the worshipper’s soul singing as it burns with love, offering itself to God as a burnt offering like the phoenix. Its songs are the flames rising from the altar and are both the means and result of the soul’s regeneration. Through its explicit reference to the Eucharist the villancico unites the soul’s offering with that of Christ. In the first musical setting, Bruna represents these ideas like an auditory emblem and creates an affective world conducive to phoenix-like devotion. As the singers offer their voices to ascend to heaven like a burnt offering they invite listeners to join them in this devotional “act of love.” The piece’s function is not so much to provoke intellectual reflection or wonderment (as in previous examples) but to kindle the hearts of performers and listeners to affective devotion.

The villancico encapsulates the Catholic theology that true worship happens when the whole Christian community offers itself as “a living sacrifice” (Rom. 12) to God, in union with Christ’s sacrifice on the cross and in communion with Christ present in the Eucharist. As Augustine explains this idea, Christians do not sacrifice to pagan idols or emperors, but rather, only to the one true God do they “owe the service which is called in Greek *latreía*, [...] for we are all His temple, each of us severally and all of us together.”³³ Christians both offer and receive at the same time, because Christ as both God and Man sacrificed himself on behalf of all:

Our heart when it rises to Him is His altar: the priest who intercedes for us is His Only-begotten; we sacrifice to Him bleeding victims when we con-

³² Granada, *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*, 435.

³³ Saint Augustine of Hippo, *The City of God*, trans. Marcus Dods (New York: The Modern Library, 1993), 10:3.

tend for His truth even unto blood; to Him we offer the sweetest incense when we come before Him burning with holy and pious love; to Him we devote and surrender ourselves and His gifts in us; to Him, by solemn feasts and on appointed days, we consecrate the memory of His benefits, lest through the lapse of time ungrateful oblivion should steal upon us; *to Him we offer on the altar of our heart the sacrifice of humility and praise, kindled by the fire of burning love.* This is the sacrifice of Christians: we being many, are one body in Christ. And this also is the sacrifice which the Church continually celebrates in the sacrament of the altar, known to the faithful, in which she teaches that *she herself is offered in the offering she makes to God.*³⁴

The *Suban las voces* villancicos perform this kind of communal offering to God.

2 Christ as a *Vihuela* (Cáseda)

In the final case study, José de Cáseda's *Qué música divina*, one can hear echoes from the whole tradition of metamusical villancicos, in harmony with the themes of offering and imitation in the other pieces from Zaragoza province.³⁵ This villancico demonstrates what happens when imitation—both the musical tradition of metamusical villancicos and the philosophical concept of music's power to represent theological truths—is stretched to its limit. This Eucharistic villancico represents Christ as a *vihuela*, and unlike the previous examples it focuses not on heavenly music but on the human suffering of Christ on the cross. Cáseda forces his singers to make untuneful music that both highlights the imperfection of human music and also provides a vehicle for dramatic, affective human expression. Since this villancico survives in a manuscript from a convent in Puebla, it further demonstrates the transatlantic spread of this kind of music and allows us to consider the meanings of villancicos about music within the cloister.

José de Cáseda (fl. 1691–1716) was raised and trained within the closely integrated network of composers we have identified throughout the study.³⁶ His father Diego (composer of one setting of *Suspended, cielos*: see chapter 4) was

³⁴ Ibid., 10:6, emphasis added.

³⁵ MEX-Mcen: csg.154, in Cashner, *Villancicos about Music*, 41–42, 153–192.

³⁶ Pedro Calahorra Martínez, *La música en Zaragoza en los siglos XVI y XVII: II, Polifonistas y ministriles* (Zaragoza, Spain: Institución “Fernando el Católico,” 1977), 120–121; *Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Cáseda, Diego de,” by Robert Murrell Stevenson.

chapelmastor of Zaragoza's Basilica de El Pilar and later its cathedral of La Seo. José (or Joseph) first served as chapelmastor of cathedrals in Calahorra and Pamplona, and then was appointed to succeed his father after his death in 1695 at La Seo in Zaragoza, where José remained until at least 1705. Possibly through a connection with Seville emigré Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana, music by both Cásedas was carried across the Atlantic, where it became part of the repertoire at the Conceptionist Convento de la Santísima Trinidad in Puebla. The surviving manuscripts in the Colección Jesús Sánchez Garza include eight villancicos attributed to one of the Cásedas, three of which are clearly credited to José.³⁷

The looseleaf performing parts for *Qué música divina* are written in an unprofessional hand on cheap paper, indicating that they were probably copied by the convent sisters for use in their own community. Four sisters wrote their names in their parts: the Tiple 1 part belonged to "Tomasita," the Tiple 2 to "María de Jesús," the Alto part to "Maestra Besona," and the Tenor part to "Rosa María de Jesús"; only the instrumental bass lacks a name. The parts bear no date but a comparison with the watermarks of dated manuscripts in the same collection indicates a likely copying date of around 1700. The condition of the parts suggests that this challenging piece was performed frequently in the Puebla convent—a testament to the women's high level of musical ability.³⁸ In fact, a pasted-in strip of music in the Tenor part, which may have served as a way to abridge the coplas or adapt the villancico for solo performance, shows that later convent sisters valued this work highly enough to adapt it for new performative or liturgical demands. The poetic themes and musical style suggest that the original function was, like the Bruna villancico, for Eucharistic devotional services.

The estribillo is of unknown authorship, but the coplas were published in the posthumous works of Vicente Sánchez, paired with a different but closely similar estribillo.³⁹ An incomplete set of parts survives in Madrid for a setting of that version by "Maestro Casseda."⁴⁰ It is scored for four voices and a string ensemble of two violins, *violón*, and *vihuela de arco*, but only the second violin and Tiple 2 parts are preserved. The Biblioteca Nacional catalog attributes the piece to Diego de Cáseda, José's father. In the coplas, where the two pieces set the same text, the rhythm and phrasing is strikingly similar. If the attribution is

³⁷ MEX-Mcen: CSG.151, 154, 155; Tello et al., *Colección Sánchez Garza*.

³⁸ Favila, "The Sound of Profession Ceremonies in Novohispanic Convents."

³⁹ Sánchez, *Lyra Poética*, 190–191: "Que dulzes acentos/ variandose a coros/ alagan, atraen suspoiros sonoros/ que musicas graves/ en metros concordes/ admiran, encantan, elevan acordes [...]."

⁴⁰ E-Mn: MC/4106/4.

correct, then *Qué música divina* may be a case of the son using a metamusical villancico to pay homage to his father.

2.1 Christ as a Musical Instrument

The estribillo of Cáseda's setting reads like a catalog of the musical tropes we have been tracing (poem example 21). Now-familiar technical terms include *consonancia*, *quebros*, *accentos*, and *cláusulas*, while the poem draws on the stock of adjectives for music: *acorde*, *soberana*, *tierna*, and *armoniosa*. Like *Suban las voces*, the poem also connects music with the element of air through reference to the winds. The phrase *suaves, sonoros y graves* echoes *grave, suave y sonoro* in Gutiérrez de Padilla's *Voces, las de la capilla* and the similar description of sacred music in a Mexico City Cathedral endowment described in chapter 3. While the estribillo appears cobbled together from generic musical tropes, the coplas focus on a specific and at first puzzling conceit: that Christ is a “divine and human *cítara*.” The villancico uses this musical instrument, whose ambiguous definition led to a rich range of symbolic meanings, as a metaphor for the highest form of music.

The poem begins with a rhetorical exclamation of dismay at the power of a strange, unexpected kind of music. The final lines of the estribillo describe the “divine music” as elevating the senses and dismaying the body’s powers: here the poet distinguishes between two technical terms for human faculties, *sentidos* and *potencias*. As explained in chapter 2, early modern physiology distinguished between the exterior senses, which Granada calls *sentidos exteriores*, and the interior senses (the imaginative, cogitative, and other faculties), which the friar describes as *potencias*. In this villancico, the “divine music” “elevates the senses” but “confounds the powers.” The term *sentidos* would most likely refer to the exterior senses—hearing in particular—and *potencias*, to these mental faculties, what might be called “powers of reason.” Coplas 5 and 6 expand on this idea: the divine music “is not to the senses” (l. 28), but its “excellence” or virtuosity (*primor*) “elevates to the heavens the one who reaches it” (l. 32). Here copla 6 connects the divine music to the Eucharist: the mystery of either is more than the exterior senses perceive it to be, and therefore “sensation does not eat it, for your music is fodder for the soul” (ll. 31–34). In sum, then, this divine music defies the external senses but elevates the internal powers of the mind and soul.

This strange music, the coplas explain, is that produced by Christ himself in his suffering on the cross, envisaged in one place as a *cítara* and in another as a *vihuela*. Christ unites the high and low like two strings of the *cítara* tuned to each other at the octave (copla 1). The strings are stretched over the bridge of a *cítara* as he was stretched out on the cross. The *lazo* is the lash used to torture

POEM EXAMPLE 21 *Qué música divina*, poetic text as set by José de Cáceda

ESTRIBILLO

- Qué música divina,
acorde y soberana,
afrenta de las aves
con tiernas, armoniosas consonan-
cias,
- 5 en quiebros suaves, sonoros y graves, in trills mild, sonorous and solemn; 5R
acordes accentos
ofrece a los vientos
y en cláusulas varias
sentidos eleva,
10 potencias desmaya.
- What divine music,
tuneful and sovereign,
rivals that of the birds
with tender, harmonious consonances,
- it offers tuneful accents
to the winds,
and in varying cadences
elevates the senses,
confounds the [mind's] powers. 10R

COPLAS

1. Suenen las dulces cuerdas
de esa divina cítara y humana,
que aún sol que es de los cielos,
forma unida la alta con la baja.
- 15 2. De la fe es instrumento
y al oído su música regala
donde hay por gran misterio
en cada punto entera consonancia.
3. De el lazo a este instrumento
- 20 sirve la unión que sus extremos ata: is the union that ties together his 20R
extremes:
tres clavos son clavijas
y puente de madera fue una tabla.
4. Misteriosa vihuela,
al herirle sus cuerdas una lanza,
- 25 su sagrada armonía se vió allí
de siete órdenes formada.
1. Let the sweet strings sound
of that divine and human *cithara*,
who, the very sun/*sol* who is in the
heavens,
forms the high [string] and the low in
unity.
2. Of faith he is the instrument, 15R
and his music regales the ear
when, by a great mystery, there is
in every point a perfect consonance.
3. Serving as the string on this
instrument
- three nails are the pegs
and a crossing of wood was a sound-
board.
4. Mysterious *vihuela*,
when a lance wounded/plucked your
strings,
your sacred harmony was seen there, 25R
formed of seven orders.

POEM EXAMPLE 21 *Qué música divina*, poetic text as set by José de Cáseda (*cont.*)

5. No son a los sentidos lo que suenan sus voces soberanas porque de este instrumento 30 cuantas ellos percibían serán falsas.	5. They are not for the senses, that which your sovereign voices/notes sound, for, of this instrument as many notes as they perceived will be 30R false.
6. Su primor misterioso, que a los cielos eleva al que lo alcanza no lo come el sentido porque es pasto su música del alma.	6. Your mysterious virtuosity, which elevates to the heavens the one who achieves it: sensation does not eat it, for your music is fodder for the soul.

Christ; the *clavos* (nails) pounded into his hands are the *clavijas* (pegs) that hold the strings in place (copla 3). The plectrum is the lance that pierced Christ's side, *herir* being the same word for both "pluck" and "wound." As a *vihuela*, Christ's wound gives forth "seven orders"—that is seven courses of strings, and the seven sacraments understood in Catholic theology to emanate from the blood and water of Christ's wound (John 19:34).

2.1.1 *Vihuela and Cithara*

If Christ is a musical instrument, is he a *cítara* or a *vihuela*? The specific reference in copla 4 and other details make clear that the metaphor in this villancico is specific to the Spanish "seven-order" vihuela. But the symbolic use of the vihuela is piggybacking on a millennium of allegorical treatments of the other instrument.

The meanings of the term *cithara* in early modern Latin and its Spanish cognate *cítara* developed from a long practice of interpreting an ancient musical term of unclear meaning through the lens of familiar contemporary practice. The Jewish translators of the Septuagint a century before Christ used the Greek *kithara*, the term for some kind of lyre or harp used in ancient Greek writings, to translate several ancient Hebrew terms whose precise meanings in some cases remain unclear today.⁴¹ Tracing the use of *cithara* in the Vulgate back through

⁴¹ Bo Lawergren, "Distinctions among Canaanite, Philistine, and Israelite Lyres, and Their Global Lyrical Contexts," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 309 (1998): 41–68.

the corresponding passages in the Greek (the original text of the New Testament and the Septuagint translation of Old), through the Hebrew Scriptures, the most common Hebrew word standing in the same place as the Vulgate *cithara* is *kinnôr*. The *kinnôr* was some kind of lyre with plucked or strummed strings; Josephus said it had ten strings.⁴² In Genesis 4:21 this is one of the first instruments ever invented by “Jubal, the ancestor of all those who play the lyre and pipe” (NRSV). In the Septuagint, the names of these two instruments are translated as the *psaltērion* and *kithara*. Saint Jerome rendered this passage in the Latin Vulgate with the words *cithara et organo*, transliterating the Greek *kithara* and perhaps trying to recuperate the sense of a wind instrument in the other Hebrew word, which the Septuagint translators had turned into a stringed instrument.

This example is one of several that demonstrate how the precise meaning of a musical term could be lost in the transfer between Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In the Vulgate of 1 Sam. 16:16, the instrument David plays for King Saul is a *cithara*. In Hebrew this was again *kinnôr*, rendered in the Septuagint with another frequently used translation, *kinura*.⁴³ The same transfer of terms happens in the descriptions of worship in the Davidic tabernacle (1 Chr. 15:28; 16:4–6): in Hebrew David’s temple musicians play the *kinnôr*; in Greek, the *kinura*; and in the Vulgate they play *citharae*.

The most prominent Biblical locus for the Greek *kinura* and Latin *cithara* was in the New Testament Revelation to John, as Craig Monson has shown for contemporary Italy.⁴⁴ In Rev. 14:2–4, John hears a chorus of 144,000 virgins singing “a new song before the throne,” and the Latin follows the Greek in onomatopoetically echoing their sound, *sicut citharoedorum citharizantium in citharis suis*.⁴⁵ Many medieval exegetes commenting on the Latin Vulgate likely had no idea what actual instrument the term *cithara* referred to, and concerned themselves instead with allegorical interpretations. By the seventeenth century, the term had become a rich node of allegorical connections. In a 1603 commentary on the Apocalypse, the Jesuit Francisco Ribera draws on the

⁴² Geoffrey William Bromiley, ed., *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 1979–1988), s.v. *Music: Strings*.

⁴³ This Greek word may actually be a loanword from the Hebrew: Francis Brown, S.R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, eds., *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, based on the lexicon of William Gesenius as translated by Edward Robinson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), s.v. *kinnôr*.

⁴⁴ Craig Monson, *Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music, and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 88–95.

⁴⁵ Among English translations only the King James Version of 1611 attempts to capture this, with its “harpers harping on their harps.”

Venerable Bede to interpret the cithara played by the saints in Rev. 14 as symbolic of the saints' bodily mortification: "Counted among the cithara-players of God are all the saints, who, having crucified their flesh with its vices and sinful desires praise God with the psalter and cithara."⁴⁶ In a commentary on 1Sam. 19:10 (in which Saul attacks David with a lance while David is playing music), both Bede's theological concept and his vocabulary are closely similar to the villancico:

The cithara [*citara*] of David especially may figuratively demonstrate the cross of the Lord; the lance [*lancea*] of Saul may be compared to the nails [*clavos*] of the cross, as well as the soldier's lance, by which the Lord's side was opened.⁴⁷

Lapide takes the connection between cithara and crucifixion farther. Surveying the exegetic tradition to its earliest and most obscure sources (Angelomus of Luxeuil, Eucherius of Lyon), Lapide says that "allegorically, the cithara represents the cross of Christ; for just as the strings of a cithara are stretched out, thus Christ was stretched out on the cross."⁴⁸ Lapide cites Augustine to say that "the cithara represents the flesh of Christ": speaking apparently of the Greek three-stringed lyre, Augustine makes this a metaphor for the unity of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity, incarnate in the body of Christ.⁴⁹ The ambiguous meaning of the instrument name, then, gave theologians great flexibility in interpreting the instrument symbolically. All of these sources manifest a strong theological tradition behind the use of the cithara in Cáseda's villancico as an allegory for Christ's incarnate body and his crucifixion, a pattern Luis Robledo Estaire has also traced in connection to seventeenth-century New Spain and the vihuela in particular.⁵⁰ Monson shows that this symbolic tradition was

⁴⁶ Francisco Ribera, *Francisci Riberæ Villacastinensis Presbyteri Societatis Iesu, Doctorisque Theologi, In sacram beati Ioannis Apostoli & Euangelistæ Apocalypsin Commentarij* (Antwerp, 1603), 429.

⁴⁷ Saint Bede the Venerable, *Commentaries on the Scriptures*, in *The Complete Works of Venerable Bede, in the Original Latin*, ed. J.A. Giles, vol. 8 (London: Whittaker, 1844), 123. Bede's complete works had been published in Basel in 1563 (preserved in Madrid, *E-Mn: M/1069*); they were newly published in Cologne in 1688 (preverred in Puebla's Biblioteca Palafoxiana, *MEX-Ppx: BS535-B4*).

⁴⁸ Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentaria en Librum Primum Samuelis sive Regum*, in *Comentaria in scripturam sacram*, ed. J.M. Peronne, vol. 3 (Paris, 1891), 370.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 370, citing Augustine, *Sermo 3 de tempore*.

⁵⁰ Luis Robledo Estaire, "El cuerpo y la cruz como instrumentos musicales: Iconografía y literatura a la sombra de San Agustín," *Studia Aurea* 1 (2007), <http://www.studiaurea.com/>.

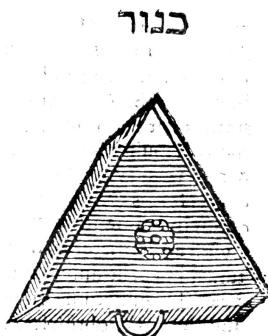


FIGURE 7

The Hebrew *kinnôr*, according to Athanasius Kircher,
Musurgia universalis, bk. I, 49

applied specifically to female monastics, citing Saint Bonaventure for articulating the “relationship between Christ’s suffering body, the kithara, and the female monastic”—which would give the piece a special resonance in the context of the Puebla convent community.⁵¹

By the time Lapide’s allegorical reading of the cithara was published, humanist research was already beginning to uncover the original meanings of the cithara and the Hebrew instruments given that Latin name. Athanasius Kircher dedicates separate chapters of the *Musurgia* to the musical instruments of the ancient Hebrews and Greeks, and attempts to clarify the differences between the Hebrew and Greek terms used for stringed instruments. Kircher cites the same passage from Gen. 4:21 discussed above, printing both the Hebrew and Greek versions, and notes the variance in translation of the instrument names. Kircher says that *cythara* is the translation for the Hebrew words (in his transliteration) “Assur, Neuel, Kinnor, Maghul, Minnim.” The *kinnor*, Kircher says, “is in fact of a similar character to the *Cytharae* of today,” and provides an illustration of what he thinks the Hebrew instrument looked like (figure 7).⁵² Note how the Latin term constrains Kircher: though he is attempting to compare the Hebrew instrument to a modern one, his use of the ambiguous Latin *cythara* works against him—what was “the cithara of today”? In his discussion of Greek music, Kircher speaks of *cytharae* without giving a clear definition. Comparing ancient and modern music, Kircher boasts that the *cytharoedi* of today (cithara players, using the same term from Rev. 14:2) are as superior to

⁵¹ Monson, *Divas in the Convent*, 93–94; see also Antonio Corijo Ocaña, “Amores humanos, amores divinos: La *Vita Christi* de sor Isabel de Villana,” *Scripta*, 2014, <https://doaj.org/article/53ef90d9991f4038bd6aa3ced925b189>.

⁵² Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, bk. I, 44–49.

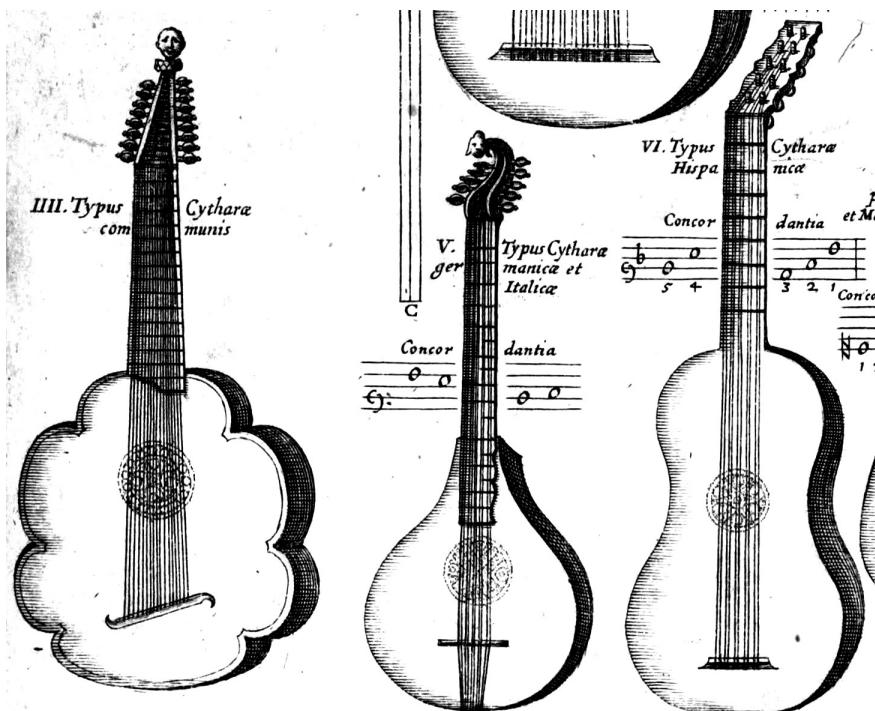


FIGURE 8 Modern “cytharae,” according to Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, bk. I, 477

their ancient Greek counterparts as their modern instruments are superior to the ancient ones.⁵³

Kircher does attempt to define the *cythara* as a term for modern plucked string instruments, though again the Latin word leaves his definitions ambiguous. In his illustrations of modern *cytharae* (figure 8), the “common Cythara” has a round body and seventeen strings (an orpharion?); the “German and Italian Cythara” has a pear-shaped body and five double courses (a cittern?). Most significantly, Kircher’s “Spanish Cythara” appears to be a vihuela or guitar with five double courses.

In describing modern instruments, using vernacular names would have increased the accuracy of his descriptions but diminished its universality, and all the rich associations of the cithara would have been lost. There is a pronounced tension throughout the *Musurgia*—and throughout early modern Catholic culture—between the desire to preserve the Latin Catholic traditions, with their ways of thinking by analogy and symbol, and the desire to investigate

53 Ibid., bk. I, 548.

the modern world scientifically and empirically. Kircher presents “scientific” knowledge about the ancient world and encyclopedic descriptions of modern practice, but he also wants to preserve the allegorical traditions of Catholic theology and speculative music theory. For example, the entire second book of the *Musurgia* is based on a sustained metaphor comparing all of creation to a Greek four-stringed lyre, another instrument often grouped with the cithara as a source for allegory.

John Hollander appraises the early modern situation similarly, seeing the substitution of modern instruments for the cithara in the early modern period (“apparently based on the notion that any obsolete instrument is the equivalent of any other”) as emblematic of how poets struggled to accommodate musical concepts from the ancient world to modern reality. Hollander describes a symbolic “lute–harp–lyre” constellation, uniting the contemporary instrument with those of David and Orpheus.⁵⁴ Hollander argues that by this point in the seventeenth century, the interest of poets and musicians writing on musical subjects turned away from musical philosophy (music of the spheres and so on) and toward actual musical practice. In a similar way, the poet of Cáseda’s villancico takes the cithara, with all the allegorical possibilities connected to it, and maps it onto a specific modern instrument—the Spanish seven-course vihuela.

Spanish church music was distinctive among European traditions in its widespread inclusion of several plucked stringed instruments not used elsewhere, the harp, guitar, and vihuela. The terminological and symbolic ambiguity of the cithara allowed Spanish artists considerable license in connecting their contemporary musical practice to the ancient sources. Many of the architectural choirs in Spanish cathedrals include depictions of King David with his cithara (or harp, or lyre) as a way of demonstrating continuity with the music of the ancient Hebrew Temple (a concept also expressed through the “Solomonic columns” built into the high altar of Puebla Cathedral in 1649).

On the walls and ceilings of the cathedrals of Puebla and Mexico City, these instruments may be seen in the hands of angelic musicians. The Chapel of the Rosary (Capilla del Rosario), built in Puebla around 1680, also includes a *Glorification of the Virgin* amid an angelic ensemble that includes either a vihuela or a guitar. Juan Correa’s painting of the same subject in the sacristy of Mexico City Cathedral (ca. 1685) specifically includes a vihuela in a heavenly consort of harp, lyre, lute, and viols (to mention only the stringed instruments). It is as though Correa takes the Biblical passage about *citharoedorum citharizan-*

54 Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky*, 44–51.

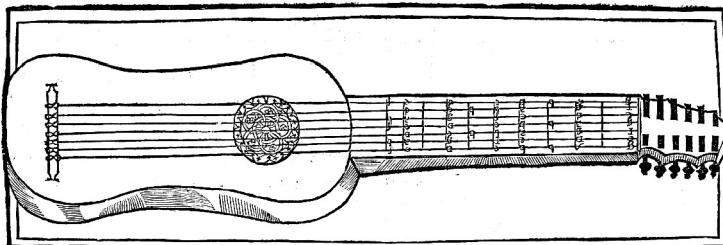


FIGURE 9 The seven-course vihuela, in Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos musicales*, f. 110r

tium in citharis suis and, drawing on the diverse interpretations of the cithara, includes in the heavenly ensemble every instrument used in contemporary cathedral practice that could possibly be considered a cithara.

By making the *cithara* into a *vihuela*, the villancico interprets that specific instrument symbolically. Fray Juan Bermudo describes the instrument in his 1555 *Declaración de instrumentos musicales*.⁵⁵ In his opening explanation of the Boethian three-fold division of music, the vihuela is the first instrument Bermudo lists as an example of “artificial” *musica instrumentalis*. Though the more common type of vihuela had six orders (that is, six pairs of strings), Bermudo also describes a *vihuela de siete órdenes*, as mentioned in Cáseda’s villancico (figure 9).⁵⁶ This instrument, Bermudo says, was particularly suited to playing polyphony, such as five-voice works by Gombert.

Indeed, vihuelas had been an important part of the Spanish royal musical ensemble from the days of Charles I. Vihuela intabulations survive of masses by Cristóbal de Morales and Francisco Guerrero.⁵⁷ Vihuelas were almost certainly part of Cáseda’s ensemble in Zaragoza, since the instrument is mentioned frequently in the cathedral chapter acts.⁵⁸ In Puebla, the cathedral chapter paid 100 pesos to one Diego de León in 1676 for playing the *vihuela de arco*, demonstrating the use of vihuelas in the cathedral and suggesting their use as well in the closely related musical ensemble of the Convento de la Santísima Trinidad.⁵⁹

55 Juan Bermudo, [Declaración de instrumentos musicales] *Comienza el libro llamado declaracio[n] de instrume[n]tos musicales [...] examinado y apruado por los egregios musicos Bernardino de figueroa, y Christoual de morales* ([Madrid], 1555).

56 Ibid., ff. 90v–110r.

57 Grove, s.v. *vihuela*.

58 Calahorra Martínez, *La música en Zaragoza II*.

59 Bárbara Pérez Ruíz, “Aportes metodológicos para una investigación sobre música colonial Mexicana,” *Revista de la Sociedad Venezolana de Musicología* 2, no. 3 (2002): 44.

We know that women religious played the vihuela because one of the two surviving vihuelas from this period, in the church of La Compañía de Jesús in Quito, Ecuador, is believed to have been the possession of the nun Santa Mariana de Jesús (1618–1645). According to contemporary accounts, Mariana was especially skilled on the instrument. The theological worth then attributed to the vihuela is shown in an account of one Christmas night (probably during Matins service), when Mariana “sat down to make music playing a vihuela, and she said that she wanted to offer this music among the angels who were attending there.”⁶⁰ This form of devotional performance fits well with the original meaning of the *kitharōdos* in Rev. 14, “lyre-player, harpist who plays an accompaniment to his own singing.”⁶¹ It is likely that the nuns of La Santísima Trinidad in Puebla also included at least one vihuela in their musical ensemble. It would seem strange for them not to use that instrument in performing a villancico that used it as a metaphor for Christ (though the example of *clarín* villancicos discussed in chapter 1 suggests that an instrument invoked symbolically need not be physically present).

In Cáseda’s villancico, the specific details of the vihuela—its construction, tuning, playing technique, and typical stylistic idioms—provide new allegorical possibilities for the poet to extend the cithara tradition. More importantly, this poetic conceit of Christ as vihuela also provides Cáseda as a composer with possibilities for actually representing the cithara symbol through sound.

2.2 *Representing the Vihuela, Representing Christ*

In the poetry of Cáseda’s villancico, the specifications of the vihuela become symbols for Christ, particularly for his body, which suffered on the cross, was raised, and became present to believers through the Eucharist. The vihuela’s seven strings here symbolize the seven sacraments. According to Bermudo, the most common tuning for the seven strings was in intervals of alternating fifths and fourths starting from a lowest string on *G* (*gamma, ut*), that is, *G*₂.⁶² That would make the strings *G*₂, *D*₃, *G*₃, *D*₄, *G*₄, *D*₅, *G*₅. Thus the highest and lowest strings are tuned in octaves, as copla 1 says: *forma unida la alta con la baja*. All the strings are tuned in perfect intervals, which may be part of the meaning in copla 2, *en cada punto entera consonancia* (in each point or note a whole con-

60 Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, *Santa Mariana de Jesús, hija de la Compañía de Jesús: Estudio histórico-ascético de su espiritualidad* (Quito: La Prensa Católica, 1956), 275, quoted in Egberto Bermúdez, “La vihuela de la iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús de Quito,” *Revista Musical Chilena* 47, no. 179 (1993): 73.

61 Bauer and Danker, *BDAG*, s.v. *kitharōdos*.

62 Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos musicales*, ff. 109r–v.

sonance). The *lazo* could refer either to the bow of a *vihuela de arco*, or to a plectrum that was sometimes used in place of the fingertips. The poet has even incorporated the instrumental symbolism into the structure of the verse, as the poem itself is composed primarily in lines of 7 and 11 syllables, beginning with the pattern 7-7-7-11-11—a pattern known as a *lira*.⁶³

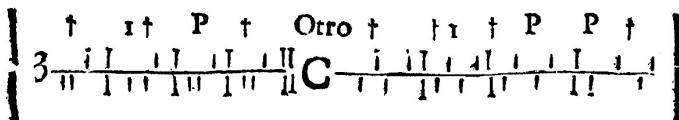
Whether or not an actual vihuela was used for this villancico, Cáseda represents the vihuela musically through the compositional structure. First, he features the continuo section prominently, spotlighting all the cithara-like instruments that might have been played. The piece begins with the Tiple 1 (sister Tomasita in Puebla) singing a solo against the continuo with widely-spaced open fifths and octaves between them. The vihuela or other continuo instruments filling in the intervening space would have stood out clearly. Again in m. 2, when the Tiple 1 makes the striking leap up to the B flat, she is joined only by the continuo. In m. 13, there is an abrupt harmonic shift initiated by the continuo alone, which here leads the singers rather than just accompanying them.

Cáseda also gives the continuo several solos throughout the piece. The first solo comes at the conclusion of the first three lines of poetry (m. 9). Surely the composer intended for more music to sound here than simply the falling fifth of the melodic bass line. Indeed, with the vocalists having just sung that the “divine music [...] rivals that of the birds,” it would seem natural for an instrumentalist to fill in a little trilling bird music here. Cáseda allows more possibilities in the coplas (mm. 52, 54, 57, 72, 76–77, 80): in the first example, the ensemble sings “let the divine strings resound,” and then there are two semiminims of vocal rest while the continuo ensemble can do just that.

Cáseda also has the singers themselves imitate the vihuela. In the opening gesture, the Tiple 1 sings her solo with continuo accompaniment, followed by the rest of the vocal ensemble in a homorhythmic echo (music example 37). The chord voicing resembles the tuning of a vihuela, with the open fifths and fourths in the three lower vocal parts of mm. 1–2. The dotted rhythm, sung all together, and the contrary motion between voices, mimic the effect of strummed open strings on a vihuela. The general texture of soloist against a regular rhythmic, chordal accompaniment also evokes someone singing while playing (like Santa Mariana de Jesús of Quito, and the *citharoedi* of Rev. 14). This image would be even clearer in the coplas sung by soloists with only continuo accompaniment.

63 A. Robert Lauer, *Spanish Metrification*, Website, University of Oklahoma (2002), <http://faculty-staff.ou.edu/L/A-Robert.R.Lauer-1/METRIFICATION.html>.

The musical score consists of five staves. The top four staves represent vocal parts: Ti. I (Treble clef), Ti. II (Clef change), A. T. (Alto/Tenor clef), and B. [instr.] (Bass clef). The bottom staff represents a basso continuo instrument. The vocal parts sing the lyrics "Qué música divina," with melodic variations between the voices. The basso continuo part provides harmonic support with sustained notes and chords.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 37 Cáseda, *Qué música divina*, estribillo, openingFIGURE 10 Strumming patterns in Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz y norte musical*

The vocal textures from m. 6 on are more typical of vocal music, particularly in the paired, ornament-like figures in the sections from mm. 11–15, 19–39. After m. 19, Cáseda realizes the common villancico poetic trope of birdsong by giving the singers birdlike trill patterns. At the end of the estribillo, Cáseda returns to musically representing the vihuela/cithara trope. In the last eight measures (mm. 47–50), the rhythmic pattern in the voices—a minim rest and two minims—again suggests strumming (see music example 38 below). The estribillo ends with an alternating pattern of minor chords on G and seventh chords over D, like the strumming of the two common vihuela chords, known to us as *i* and *V⁷*. If this passage were played by a vihuelist in an intabulation, the player would likely use a down-up-up strumming pattern, similar to the patterns recommended for guitarists and harpists in Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz's manual *Luz y norte musical* of 1677 (figure 10).⁶⁴ In this rhythmic pattern, Cáseda

64 Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz, y norte musical*, 9.

inserts rests between syllables of the words in this passage, and this rhetorical technique of *tmesis* creates the gasping effect of “dismayed,” arrested senses.

In the coplas, the homorhythmic, dotted opening phrase again seems to mimic strumming. For the phrase *forma unida la alta con la baja* (mm. 90–94), Cáseda sets the text on multiple levels at once. In mm. 90–91, the Tenor sings a pedal D₄, like a droning open string, against the Alto’s moving line. Thus the *alta* Alto is paired with the lowest voice. The Tenor, meanwhile, forms perfect consonances (octave and fifth) with the Bass, where a vihuela on that part would likely be playing open D and G strings. The Tenor is thus acting like one of the strings on the vihuela. All of these ideas are then repeated in the next phrase, mm. 92–93, now with G pedals, as though switching over to a different pair of strings.

These evocations of the vihuela would seem to fit with Hollander’s thesis that early modern poets shifted their interest from speculative views of music based on ancient sources toward the details of practical contemporary music. But in this case the tuning and performance practice of the contemporary vihuela are harnessed as tools for theological allegory, more powerful in their specificity than the vague term *cithara*. In classic Neoplatonic fashion, the piece shows listeners how to hear *musica instrumentalis* while listening for the higher Music of Christ. The real, sounding vihuela is only a symbol of Christ. It is Christ’s musical “excellence” that is praised, not that of any human virtuosi.

2.3 *False Music*

“Of faith he is the instrument,” Cáseda’s poem says of Christ, “and his music regales the ear [or, hearing]” (copla 2). That music, the poem says, is Christ’s death on the cross. But, as copla 5 says, “those things that his sovereign voices [or, words] sound are not for the senses.” This phrase (*no son a los sentidos*) echoes Thomas Aquinas’s description of the Eucharist: “That the true body of Christ and his blood are in this sacrament, cannot be grasped by sensation [*neque sensu*] nor by intellect, but by faith alone, which rests on divine authority.”⁶⁵ When the villancico says, “sensation does not eat it” (l. 33), it recalls Aquinas’s explanation that Christ’s body is eaten in a sacramental, not literally physical way. Like the contests of the senses in chapter 2, this villancico challenges the credibility of sensation even while appealing to it. It prompts hearers to listen past what their ears perceive to grasp a higher truth. The real music of Christ’s passion surpassed human understanding: in the words of the villan-

65 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica: Tertia pars*, vol. 7 (Paris: Ludovicus Vives, 1859), question 75, article 1, p. 274.

cico, “as many voices as the senses perceived from this instrument will be false” or out of tune. All this seems to be a way of saying in line with Aquinas that those who rely on their senses, understood through reason alone, to grasp the mystery of Christ in the Eucharist will fail. Like Calderón’s “Judaísmo” (chapter 2), they would be hearing Faith without faith.

The reason why the music played on Christ the vihuela sounds “false” is that in his crucifixion Christ is taking on humanity’s sinful nature in order to create harmony between humanity and God. Here we see an intensified version of the dissonance trope in *Suspended, cielos* by Cererols: music that breaks earthly rules points to “the new consonance” created by Christ. Cáceda’s villancico allows listeners to contemplate that Music, the “mysterious excellence” or “virtuosity” of Christ the divine musician, which “elevates to the heavens the one who reaches it.” Since Cáceda’s music with its open fifths and strumming patterns effectively turns the whole ensemble into a vihuela, the piece becomes an active exercise in putting the human community in tune with Christ.

Cáceda’s exercises in depicting musical “falsehood” go well beyond the mild dissonance used by Cererols, though. In his opening (music example 37), Cáceda writes direct octaves between the voice and accompaniment (in the leap up to B flat, mm. 2), and emphasizes them by cutting out all the other voices. In the next two measures, Cáceda sets the word *acorde* (tuneful) to bald parallel fifths between outer voices. Cáceda suspends the Alto’s B flat, so that these fifths move into a dissonant seventh sonority.

These contrapuntal solecisms are what Bermudo calls musical *falsedad*. He gives specific examples of parallel fifths and octaves, comparing them to “barbarism in grammar.”⁶⁶ In condemning this error, which he says is common for beginners and instrumentalists, Bermudo uses some of the same key terms as Cáceda’s villancico:

I want to say that there are those taken for musicians who have learned without a teacher and with much labor, and they are poorly equipped [*son faltos*], and they know few principles. This pestilence is especially great for keyboard players. This is what that outstanding musician of blessed memory, Cristóbal de Morales, told me once, that if what many organists played would be written out we would find great faults. And he had good reason to say it: because they can play two octaves and two fifths and not perceive it [because of the organ’s timbre]: while singing it they would recognize the falsehood [*falsedad*].⁶⁷

66 Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos musicales*, f. 128v.

67 Ibid.

Direct and even parallel fifths do indeed appear regularly in the notated examples of vihuela harmonization.⁶⁸ Just as in popular guitar music today, the construction of the instrument made linear voice leading more difficult than simply shifting hand positions to create parallel motion, and this idiom suited the chord-based music typical of the instrument.

Cáseda has his musicians create “false” music through “dangerous” and even intentionally erroneous counterpoint. In the section beginning in m. 40, Cáseda tries out *cláusulas varias* (various cadences), creating an effect as though all the voices are continually trying to cadence (music example 38). Each of the voices sings a typical cadential pattern, but at different times and not quite aligning relative to the others. The chromaticism becomes more acute as the passage continues, culminating in a bizarre collision in mm. 53–55. The bottom four voices here on their own in m. 36 would appear to be cadencing on F, with the C in the Bass to move up by fourth and the cadential E in the Tiple 2 to resolve up to F. But the top voice seems determined to cadence on G, so that in the second minim of m. 53 the top voice is an augmented fourth above the Bass (F sharp against C), while the Alto’s E is made to seem dissonant even when by rights it should not be. In m. 54 the voices manage to cadence on D, with the top voice settling back down to F sharp, though the Tenor has re-entered just at this point to sing an unprepared dissonant B flat over the Bass (making an augmented fifth against the Tiple 1’s F sharp).

The final section of the estribillo (music example 39) continues in this direction, as Cáseda’s music evokes the poetic idea of “elevating the senses” and “dismaying the [bodily] powers.” He begins with a wedge pattern between the Tenor and the accompaniment, again juxtaposing B flat (in the Bass) with F sharp (in the Tenor). Cáseda brings in the next two voices, each one singing one of the two patterns already introduced: the Alto has the ascending line, and the Tiple 2 has the descending one. But their entrances are flipped from that of the Bass and Tenor, so a reverse wedge is created. As this is happening, in m. 61, the Tiple 1 enters from out of nowhere with a high A, skipping down to what is apparently an F natural (based on the F sharp specified at the beginning of the next measure). The A creates a $\frac{5}{3}$ sonority: on its own it is an imperfect consonance with the Bass, but against the E flat in the Tiple 2 it certainly has the effect of elevating and dismayng, amplified by the direct fifths it then forms

68 Rui Araújo and Nuno Mendonça Raimundo, “A Thorough Analysis of the Improvisatory Models of the Songs of Luis Milán and Their Applicability in the Reconstruction of Vihuela Accompaniment Parts” (Paper presented at the conference *“De canciones y cancioneros: Music and Literary Sources of the Luso-Hispanic Song Tradition,”* Princeton University, April 7, 2018).

Musical score for Cáseda's *Qué música divina*, mm. 40–55. The score consists of two staves. The top staff begins at m. 40 with voices (Ti. 1, Ti. 2, A., T.) and basso continuo (B. [instr.]). The lyrics "y en cláu - su - las va - rias," are repeated. The bottom staff begins at m. 47 with the basso continuo (B.). The lyrics "y en cláu - su - las va - rias," are also repeated.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 38 Cáseda, *Qué música divina*, mm. 40–55: Conflicting “cadences” and false *ficta*

with the Bass as it skips down to F. As though to ensure that listeners did not think this a mistake, Cáseda repeats the whole passage again in m. 67, though with the voices rearranged.

The practice of *musica ficta*, still widespread in the Spanish Empire, depended on the singer’s ability to recognize places where the written pitches needed to be inflected.⁶⁹ As Cáseda’s villancico progresses it requires more and more improvised accidentals, until it starts to become unclear how to apply the rules, such as in the strange collision of cadences in mm. 53–55. The Tiple 2 might begin the last phrase (starting in m. 34 on F), singing the E as part of a cadential formula on F and therefore natural; but when the cadence comes on

69 Berger, *Musica ficta*.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 39 Cáseda, *Qué música divina*, mm. 63–80: Elevating the senses, dismaying the faculties; rhetorical *tmesis* as strumming

D, an E flat might be preferable. Either option clashes with the notated F sharp in the Tiple 1. In mm. 69–70, on *potencias desmaya*, the ficta situation becomes actually impossible. To maintain the fugal motive, the Tiple 2 would have to sing three minim B flats and then a semibreve B natural, leading up to C. But in the same place as the Tiple 2 B flats, the Tenor has a notated sharp sign on the B (the only way of indicating B natural in this mode). The accidental in the Tenor part is clearly a sharp, written in the same hand and with the same ink as the rest of the music. This creates a cross relation—in Spanish, a *falsa relación*—between the B flat and B natural.

Any educated musicians confronted with this score would attempt to “fix” these problems (probably by singing all B naturals in the Tiple 2). But any solution chosen feels wrong. Is the music supposed to sound out-of-tune? How



FIGURE 11 Melodic patterns “in danger of being falsified” (sung with improper ficta) in Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 629

should musicians apply ficta, how to tune intervals, when the composer is forcing them to break the traditional rules? The music is false: it cannot be emended with the further falsehood of *musica ficta* or anything else. That this should happen most blatantly at the opening of the piece on the very word *acorde* is significant. The fifths recall the tuning of the vihuela’s strings, and the kind of music typically played on the instrument. They were also the very paradigm of bad musicianship and untuneful composition.

Pedro Cerone specifically warned composers not to write passages that would tempt singers to add incorrect accidentals and “falsify” the music. Cerone uses the terms *falsa* and *falsificar* at different times to mean either *musica ficta* or “wrong” notes (as in “false relations”). In certain situations (of which he gives a notated example, shown in figure 11), “the singer can easily add a sharp to the fifth, thinking it to be a cadence [*cláusula*]; for he will see that the notes are moving in the manner of a cadence, saying *Sol fa sol, Re ut re*, and so on, and raising the note he will make it become false [*falsa*], and very dissonant to the ear.”⁷⁰ This is precisely the kind of passage Cáseda has written in his setting of *cláusulas varias*: the parts all have typical cadential patterns like the ones Cerone describes, and the voices would be tempted to raise certain pitches at the wrong times. As with the parallel fifths that Bermudo warned against, Cáseda appears to be breaking the rules deliberately and with symbolic intent.

Through his musical falsehoods, Cáseda has pushed the Neoplatonic theology of music to the point where earthly music, rather than attempting to reflect heavenly perfection, even if only partially, now overtly highlights its own falsehood. The emphasis is shifting toward using music not to reflect heaven at all, but to aim primarily at “elevating the senses” and “dismaying the powers.” The goal for the hearers is moving from intellectual contemplation to affective experience. This change need not be seen as part of a “disenchantment” process, as Hollander portrays it, though. In order for Cáseda’s flaunting of contrapuntal rules to have meaning, the rules must still be preserved. Breaking them for expressive purposes (whether affective expression or symbolic expression, as of the Neoplatonic imperfection of *musica instrumentalis*) actually reflects

⁷⁰ Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 629.

a continued faith in the validity of those rules. Cáseda is not disregarding the old musical-theological system, but rather insisting upon it so strongly that he passes over a reasonable limit and seems to contradict himself. As the tradition of metamusical villancicos developed, there was an increased demand for composers both to imitate the conventions established by predecessors and to differentiate their own works in some way. At the same time the concept of imitation itself, as a musical-rhetorical practice within a Neoplatonic framework, was changing. The three villancicos studied in this chapter demonstrate the first kind of imitation—that of influence and homage—because they manifest a certain degree of strain as each successive composer pushes the tradition of musical self-representation further towards a limit of intelligibility.

In contrast to the metamusical villancicos by Gutiérrez de Padilla and Cererols, Bruna and Ambielas variants of *Suban las voces al cielo*, by contrast, are less focused on abstract levels of music like the music of the spheres or the angels. Instead they use human music-making as an analogy for the dynamics of spiritual communion, self-offering, and intercessory prayer. The ensemble of convent sisters who sang Cáseda's villancico in Puebla embodied through their voices the structure and style of the vihuela, a performance that in turn interpreted that instrument as a physical sign pointing to Christ's sufferings. The body of Christ on the cross, made present in the Eucharist, was thus linked to the body of the instrument, manifested symbolically through the bodies of these women who had offered themselves in devotion to Christ.

3 Conclusions

Villancicos about music challenged composers to use the craft of music to communicate theological ideas about music itself. They presented hearers with the opportunity to listen for higher forms of music through sounding music. This complex music required that listeners be equipped with the requisite musical, poetic, and religious knowledge and aural training to interpret it. 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.

This was an idealized theological vision of both the Church and of listening, in which reliable teachers communicate without difficulty to trusting hearers, all in perfect concord with the Holy Spirit's voice speaking down through the hierarchy of the Christian community. Real life was never so pristine. Even if we could transport ourselves to Puebla Cathedral in 1657 or Lleida in 1689 we

would not be able to answer the question of whether parishioners really heard villancicos with faith—even whether they actually listened at all. But we do know what was presented to their ears, and that is music that directly explored the power of music to shape faith.

Evocations of angelic fugues and planetary cadences, castanets and vihuelas, prompted listeners to reflect on the connections between worldly sounds and heavenly truth. In other words, villancicos were musical theology, sounding embodiments of a worldview in which the Divine suffused Creation, through which God's nature could be revealed to those who had learned to listen with faith as the book of nature was read aloud. If we take villancicos seriously as expressions of faith, we must conclude that Spaniards believed music in performance could bring concord to individuals and the community, after the pattern of the heavens. In other words, they actively brought together Boethius's three kinds of music. At the same time we must ask from a more mundane perspective what social factors motivated early modern Spaniards to reiterate this theological vision of music so vigorously.

I would argue that the notion of social harmony posed a special appeal to people living under the Spanish crown. The century after Columbus had transformed the complexion of the empire. In America the minority of pure-blooded Spaniards lived under a constant threat of Native and African uprising, and the heirs of the Aztec Empire and the Kongo Kingdom had to navigate a colonial society in which they could only be *indios* and *negros*. In Iberia, too, the influx of Native American goods and African slaves, not to mention the Aztec and Inca gold underwriting the Habsburgs' growing debts, destabilized the social order. The theft of land and enslavement of fellow human beings put strain on Spanish religion as well, forcing Spaniards to justify themselves. Ethnic villancicos seem the most obvious manifestation of imperial Spain's struggle with difference, but they are only one way that music enabled Spaniards to make sense of this colorful and chaotic new world. Images of human society all united in harmony, of a diversity of voices moving together not in unison but in counterpoint, reinforced the social hierarchy in a way that must have given comfort to the ruling class of Spain, just as it added to the fear and confusion of their colonial subjects.⁷¹ Every clarion call reminded them that God had ordained the structures of worldly power, just as surely as the sun was the fourth planet around a stationary earth. Of course, in the decades after Galileo and Newton's discoveries, people were becoming aware that the cosmology used to justify the old regime did not square with empirical observation; but in Spain

⁷¹ Baker, *Imposing Harmony*; Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*; Illari, "Polychoral Culture."

the response was to insist all the more strongly on the beauty of the old world-view. Even as Spaniards began to emphasize the imperfection of music and creation toward the end of the seventeenth century, they still did so as part of a Neoplatonic conception.

At the same time, though, the villancicos we have studied do not all present a simple picture of social conformity. From the worldly thrill of *jácaro* outlaw ballads to the expressions of doubt and misunderstanding in the dialogues of the deaf, villancicos did invite a degree of critical reflection on the Church's role in contemporary society. They were not just impositions of dogma or diverting but meaningless doggerel. They asked hearers to doubt their own experiences and to temper their sensation with faith. They asked people to listen with faith, for faith. And through their appeals both to social cohesion and to personal affective response and commitment, they exhorted people to move past simple belief into lives of faithfulness.

Still, given the depths of injustice and hypocrisy in the Spanish Church during the era of slavery and colonialism, it is not hard to understand the critique of Juan de la Cruz (chapter 2) that Spaniards had their ears so full of sweet harmonies that they were deaf to the actual call of Christ.⁷² Music could help faith come through hearing, but as the friar Antonio de Azevedo warned, what was heard had to come from “the word of Christ,” and people needed to be equipped to understand and receive it.⁷³ Otherwise “all is vanity and a chasing after wind” (Eccles. 1:14). All the harps and shawms and polychoral counterpoint in imperial Spain amounted to no more than “noisy gongs and clanging cymbals” (1 Cor. 13:1) if they did not convert hearers of the word into doers (Jas. 1:22).

72 Juan de la Cruz, *Subida del monte Carmelo*, bk. 3, ch. 45, p. 425.

73 Azevedo, *Catecismo*.

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Sigla for Libraries and Archives

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

Abbreviations

- A. *Altus*, Alto
Ac. *Acompañamiento*, Accompaniment, Continuo
AC *Actas del cabildo* (chapter acts)
B. *Bassus, Bajo*, Bass
f., ff. folio, folios
l., ll. line, lines
m., mm. measure, measures

NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
p., pp.	page, pages
SATB	Soprano (Tiple), Alto, Tenor, Bass
T.	Tenor
Ti.	<i>Tiple</i> , Treble

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