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**The Villancico in New Spain 1650–1750:
Morphology, Significance and Development**

by

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**Thesis submitted
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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Abstract

For almost three centuries, the sacred villancico was the primary vernacular musical form of Spain and its New World colonies. Consisting of a through-composed estribillo, or refrain, and a set of strophic coplas, or verses, these ‘devout and honest songs’ (as they were styled by the Third Mexican Provincial Council of 1585) featured in the Matins services of the cathedrals and convents of Mexico throughout the colonial period. This thesis traces the morphology, development and significance of the villancico in New Spain during the one hundred year period from 1650 to 1750, examining the musical development of the genre within the institutional contexts of cathedral, convent and girls’ school. The biographies and villancico oeuvres of the composers Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, Antonio de Salazar, Manuel de Sumaya, and others who moved in their orbits are reconsidered in light of new music and documentation, while the supposed New World phenomenon of the villancico de negros, or African dialect villancico, receives fresh attention. In separate chapters, the feminine side of genre is examined. The musical aspects of the life of the Hieronymite nun Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz are considered from the viewpoint of the music historian, while the practice of the villancico in the feminine institutions of New Spain is explored. Focussing on period documents as a means of enriching the historical narrative, the thesis is intended as an interpretation of the villancico genre for the English-speaking reader.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

Acomp.	Spanish acompañamiento, accompaniment
CENIDIM	Centro Nacional de Investigación, Documentación e Información Musical
GCA-Gc	Music Archive of the Guatemala cathedral
INBA	Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes
MEX-Gcm	Music Archive of the Guadalajara cathedral
MEX-Mc	Music Archive of the Mexico City cathedral
MEX-Oc	Music Archive of the Oaxaca cathedral

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Preface

As an orchestral musician in Mexico, one often plays concerts in church venues. Many cities, even those of good size, have no suitable space for an orchestral concert, but even the most humble cities possess at least one colonial period church, or sometimes several, with sufficient space for an orchestra. Playing concerts over the past twenty-five years in church venues in the Bajío region of Mexico has given me hundreds of occasions to observe and move through these church spaces, many of them quite splendid reminders of the colonial past. My colleagues and I often use the sacristies of these churches for the most mundane purposes, as a place to change into concert attire and store instrument cases, afterwards filing into the space in front of the altar to play a concert. Looking out into the nave of churches such as San Agustín in Salamanca or La Valenciana in Guanajuato, with their splendid baroque retablos and walls hung with religious paintings, I often began to wonder about the colonial past—a subject my colleagues were famously not interested in, nor had any information about. After a time, the dichotomy between the splendour of the church spaces and the unremarkable use we made of them began to strike me. But even more striking was the idea of a past which lay all around, unnoticed and undiscovered. If there had been a baroque past here, I began to think with some sense of wonder, then it must have been a Hapsburg past, much like that of Austria, where I had studied and lived for so many years. A chain of questions arose from thoughts about Mexico's baroque past—what music had sounded in these spaces, what instruments was it played on, how did the voices of the singers sound? If the Austrian Hapsburgs had cultivated the opera theatre so intensively as royal patrons, how had this played out in the musical history of Hapsburg Spain and its colonial extension, Mexico? The operatic theatre had not been cultivated at all, I would

come to find, but rather the villancico, the primary vernacular form of the composers of New Spain.

It was in the posing of these basic questions that the idea for the subject of this thesis was formed. As yet my enquiries into the musical past of Mexico were a private pursuit, as I carried on with my orchestral career, occasionally visiting archives in search of colonial period music. When offered a doctoral studentship by Canterbury Christ Church University in 2011, I had the opportunity to engage full-time with the questions I had posed myself—quite naturally these generated many others. And so I began my study of the baroque villancico, the musical form par excellence of Spain and its colonies, and the subject of this thesis.

Scope of the Study

The history of the villancico in New Spain extends over a long period, from a first mention in the Mexico City cathedral chapter records in 1538 to a final 1786 prohibition of non-Latin texts in the Puebla cathedral. For this period of almost two and a half centuries there is archival evidence that the singing of vernacular songs at Christmas, Corpus Christi and other church feasts was an uninterrupted yearly practice in the cathedrals of New Spain. However, no Spanish language music from sixteenth century Mexico survives; cathedral chapter records and a 1589 inventory of music from the Mexico City cathedral are the indirect but firm evidence indicating that the villancico was practiced. Apart from an important body of villancicos composed by the Portuguese maestro de capilla Gaspar Fernández between 1609 and 1620 for the Puebla cathedral,

only two lone villancicos from the first half of the seventeenth century survive.¹ From 1651 onwards, manuscripts exist in numbers that make a study of the development of the novohispanic villancico feasible, therefore this year was chosen as a starting point. The Italian Ignacio de Jerusalem (1707–1769) was appointed as maestro de capilla at the Mexico City cathedral in November 1750, after an arduous exam conducted by local musicians. In many ways, Jerusalem stands at the end of the long villancico tradition in New Spain—this musician from Lecce had a fundamentally different conception of the villancico, composing them as an acquired second language rather than in the ‘rigorous style of Spain’ in which the local musicians were fluent.² Thus, the year of Jerusalem’s ascent to maestro de capilla in Mexico City seems a good termination point, making a round century.

An entire century would seem a rather vast period for the study of a specific genre; however, there are several factors which mitigate the difficulty presented by this time span. The numbers of extant villancicos which have survived in archives and collections of Mexico is much less than in Spain, where many cathedrals, convents and parish and collegiate churches possess extensive music archives. The vicissitudes of time, two revolutions, the dissolution of the religious orders in the nineteenth century, and the anti-clericism of the early decades of the twentieth century have not favoured the survival of music archives in the religious institutions of Mexico, their natural home. However, enough musical material has remained to make a composite picture of the villancico as practiced in New Spain a reasonable undertaking—the amount of music

¹ Fernández’ villancicos are the subject of a forthcoming doctoral thesis by Ileri Chávez at Princeton University.

² Joseph de Torres, *Reglas generales de acompañar* (Madrid: Imprenta de Música, 1736), 97. ‘...el estilo riguroso de España’.

which has survived is neither too vast nor too small. Above all, a representative cross-section of composers active in New Spain is available for study; this extends across several institutions which are likewise a representative sample. Because of its geographical and cultural proximity to colonial period Mexico, the music and musicians of the Guatemala cathedral will be included as far as possible in this thesis. The musical archive of the archdiocese of Guatemala provides many sources for novohispanic music which were not preserved in their institutions of origin—this collection provides material where there would otherwise have been important gaps. Nonetheless, there are some regrettable lacunae in novohispanic source materials. Nothing is known of the villancico in the Guadalajara cathedral due to lack of musical sources. The survival of only a single villancico by the Zapotec composer Juan Matías (ca.1618–ca.1667), musician and maestro de capilla of the Oaxaca cathedral, marks a similarly unfortunate lacuna in source materials. Despite these gaps, an appreciation of novohispanic villancico production throughout the period under consideration is possible; the musical network of the novohispanic cathedrals was small enough to make a relatively complete study possible.

Within the temporal scope of 1650 to 1750, a study of all the musical elements of the villancico is proposed: formal construction, harmonic and rhythmic aspects, instrumentation and voice distribution, and the relationship of text to music. Harmony is somewhat of an imprecise formulation in the context of the villancico—the composers themselves referred to villancico composition as counterpoint. Nonetheless, the musical language of this ‘counterpoint’ has sufficient kinship to harmony to refer to it as such. Music theory from contemporary baroque sources is included in this study; when possible, a musical topic is elucidated referring to contemporary Spanish music treatises. The treatises of Pietro Cerone and Andrés Lorente circulated in Mexico; more

than theoretical works, these were practical guides for the maestro de capilla in discharging his daily tasks, including composition.³

A relevant amount of socio-historical contextualisation has been considered within the scope of the thesis. On the one hand, the villancico played a role as a binding social force for novohispanic elites; this may be seen in the many bequests made by wealthy persons, many of them churchmen, perpetuating the performance of villancicos on saint's days and other occasions. On the other, the villancico was the lyric theatre of the Spanish-speaking world—the Matins service was a place where men and women listened to music together, not segregated by sex as in the strictly controlled theatre venues. Apart from these socio-historical contextual elements which consider the place of the villancico within elite circles, consistent effort has been made to discover the characteristics of the band of performers, maestros and prelates who together made up the creative and administrative side of the villancico. Indeed, the social dynamic which existed between musicians and prelates is nothing short of fascinating, and is highlighted in the thesis wherever it has been practical to do so. Finally, general history is drawn upon as often as possible as a contextualising element.

Several matters lie outside the scope of the thesis. The long pre-1600 development of the villancico as a form can only be a matter of peripheral concern here; likewise, the rich literary history of sacred verse in Spanish must largely be left to the literary historian. The fascinating question of the influence of the Arabic verse forms *kharja* and *zéjel* on the development of the villancico must be put aside for Romance and Arabist scholars. The villancico was no doubt cultivated outside the cathedral

³ For the circulation of books on music in New Spain, see Alfred Lemmon, 'Towards an Inventory of Music Theory Books in Colonial Mexico'. *Anuario Musical*, 33, (1987): 131–139.

churches and convents mentioned in this thesis—the legendary skill of indigenous musicians must have found application in parish and village churches, just as it does today in Texcoco, Oaxaca and many other areas. However, without source materials, the contribution of native musicians to the villancico in New Spain must remain a matter of speculation.

Aims of the Thesis

One primary aim of this thesis is to bring more novohispanic villancicos to light. Topical villancicos such as the negro and the jácara have thus far received the most attention from both scholars and the musical public. However, a large repertory of more high-minded pieces written for a variety of occasions exists. A particularly striking example is the corpus of villancicos composed for the Virgin of Guadalupe, or those written for the important and representative feast of Saint Peter, the novohispanic saint por excelencia. In the thesis, equal time will be devoted to the more serious side of the novohispanic villancico, while some of the more overtly folkloristic interpretations which have been attributed to the genre in its New World manifestation will be contested.

The Spanish musicologist Javier Marín has spoken of the difficulty of forming an estimate of novohispanic composers whose works remain almost entirely unedited.⁴ While this thesis cannot purport to remove this difficulty, every effort has been made to form new estimations of the extant oeuvres of the major novohispanic composers, and

⁴ Javier Marín, 'Ximénez de Cisneros [Zisneros], Nicolás'. *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, ed. E. Casares (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 1999–2002): x, 1036–1037.

to discover the works of other musicians who moved in their orbits. A particularly grateful circumstance has been the return of the villancicos of the Estrada collection to the Mexico City cathedral archive after having been in private hands for over fifty years. This large corpus of villancicos by the Mexico City authors Antonio de Salazar and Manuel de Sumaya challenges long-held conceptions about these two maestros, making a new estimation of their vernacular output necessary.

A related aim is the revision of available biographical information on novohispanic composers. In this field, the ascendancy of the American musicologist Robert Stevenson has been almost complete, indeed, many of the articles on novohispanic composers in *New Grove*, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* and the *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana* are simple recastings of the original information given by Stevenson in his journal, the *Inter-American Music Review*. Although Stevenson's pioneering work in the field of colonial period music remains an invaluable source, the endless repetition of the facts originally gathered by him has led in many cases to a degree of scholarly stagnation. One remedy to the paucity of new factual information on composers has been the study of the 'Correspondence' branch of the Mexico City cathedral chapter records. While the records of the meetings of the cathedral chapter provide a great deal of information about the business dealings of the musicians, the character of the musical life of the cathedral emerges with more clarity in the correspondence of the musicians. The ongoing evaluations and auditioning of the musicians by the maestro de capilla have provided a good amount of musical material related to the villancico—I might name, for example, the opinions of Salazar on the vocal abilities of particular chapel members, or the results of a 1715 bass viol audition conducted by Sumaya as highlights. Sumaya in particular emerges as an erudite musician of strong character in the 'Correspondence'

branch—new findings concerning his confrontations with the older Francisco de Atienza are presented here, along with documentation of his conflicts with chapel musicians and church administrators over funds from work done outside the cathedral, the so-called *obvenciones*.

A further aim of the thesis is to highlight the feminine contribution to the history of the villancico, indeed, the music collected by the nuns of the Santísima Trinidad convent in Puebla is of primary importance in understanding the historical development of the genre. Likewise, the villancicos of the Colegio de Santa Rosa at Valladolid-Morelia provide a departure point for a discussion of the rise of the novohispanic feminine conservatories during the decade of the 1740s.

The thesis is divided into ten large sections, each of which may be read as a stand-alone essay on some aspect of the history of the villancico in New Spain. The initial chapter seeks to describe the geographical, social and institutional contexts of the villancico as practiced in New Spain, while the second provides a general introduction to the genre for the English-speaking reader. The third chapter explores the biography and villancicos of the Andalusian immigrant to Puebla, Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla—apart from an appraisal of Padilla’s surviving villancicos from the decade of the 1650s, an analysis of the harmony and bass of the vernacular music of the epoch is provided. Additionally, a section on the somewhat unfamiliar metre of minor proportion, **C3**, is included. Indeed, it could be argued that difficulties and misunderstandings concerning this metric aspect of the villancico have hampered its study, particularly in Anglophone circles. The fourth and fifth chapters, both entitled ‘Excursus’, explore the villancico de negros and the villancico verse of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, respectively. Not initially foreseen as part of the thesis project, these two themes proved to be inescapable—controversies over the ‘ethnic’ villancico continually come to the fore in discussions of

the genre, while the influence of the great Mexican poetess may not be ignored, particularly by scholars interested in feminist approaches to music. Both ‘Excursus’ chapters are fitted broadly into the place they would occupy in a normal chronological sequence, that is to say the second half of the seventeenth century. The ‘Excursus’ chapters are followed in Chapter 6 by an account of the villancico in the later seventeenth century, which has as its primary subject the vernacular production of the Puebla and Mexico City maestro de capilla, Antonio de Salazar. The latter part of Salazar’s tenure as maestro in Mexico City coincided with the change of dynasty in Spain, thus Chapter 7 has been given the title ‘The Bourbon Century’. This chapter continues the historical narrative with the period in which Manuel de Sumaya assumed the leadership of the Mexico City musical chapel, 1715 to 1739. This musician, a central figure to the history of the villancico in colonial Mexico, has traditionally been considered to have been a musical Italianiser on the basis of the supposed authorship of an opera on the often-set libretto by Silvio Stampiglia, *Partenope*. The discovery of an earlier opera libretto translation by Sumaya, *Zealeuco*, calls into question the nature and genre of the composer’s lost attempts at the lyric theatre—the *Zealeuco* libretto appears to have been altered in such a way that the final product more resembles a traditional Spanish *comedia* than an *opera seria*. Chapter 7 further explores Sumaya’s Mexico City villancico production, focussing on the problem of the degree of Italianisation the music of this composer may be said to possess. Chapter 8 is concerned with the villancico in those ubiquitous feminine institutions of New Spain, the convent and the *colegio de niñas*, or girls’ school. The discussion of the boom in feminine musical education fostered by paternally-minded Spanish prelates in the decade of the 1740s leads to an account in Chapter 9 of the epoch of Ignacio de Jerusalem, the last of the Mexico City

maestros de capilla whose work is handled in the thesis. A set of general conclusions, forming Chapter 10, is provided at the end of the thesis.

The thesis is accompanied by a separate Appendix containing examples of the novohispanic villancico by representative authors, among them Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, Juan Baeza de Saavedra, Antonio de Salazar, Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana, Manuel de Sumaya, Joseph de Gavino y Leal, Ricardo de la Main and Francisco Xavier Ortiz de Alcalá. The Appendix is meant to provide an overview of the compositional development of the villancico in New Spain, as well as to illustrate aspects of the genre discussed in the text of the thesis.

General Considerations on Translations

As the thesis is intended for English-speaking readers, a great deal of translation and interpretation of texts in Spanish has been necessary. All translations in the thesis are mine, and are designed to be as literal a transcription as possible of the Spanish originals. The translations of villancico texts have been made only to approximate the general meaning, and not the cadence, of the originals. Verse is notoriously difficult to render into another language, so that the disproportionate effort necessary to make parallel poetic effects in the translations has not been undertaken. However, general atmosphere and meaning has been preserved. In contrast, the prose diction of the cathedral documents cited in the thesis has been followed quite closely, in order to capture the tone of the original records. In some cases, punctuation has been added to the English version in order to clarify the difficult syntax of the originals. The same process has been followed when citing the prose of period books and treatises.

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Chapter 1: New Spain in Historical Context

At the beginning of the period with which this thesis is concerned, the one hundred years from 1650 to 1750, Spanish, specifically Castilian, culture had thrown down profound roots in vast areas of central Mexico.¹ Apart from the Central Mexican heartland of Mexico City and Puebla, mining centres such as Zacatecas and San Luis Potosí had sprung up in the north, while Mérida in the Yucatán peninsula and Guatemala in Central America represented important outposts of Spanish culture. New cities and towns, fashioned in a regular rectangular grid reminiscent of the Roman *urbes*, were the locus of communities which aspired to the Spanish ideal of a civilized Christian life. In the hinterland of these new towns and cities, vast agricultural estates, themselves reminiscent of the Roman *latifundia*, supplied the cities and towns with agricultural products.²

The dual powers of Crown and Church reigned over the inhabitants of New Spain. During the time of the Spanish Habsburgs, until the change of dynasty in 1700, the interests of the Spanish church and state appeared at most times to be identical; the proverbial *pietas austriaca* was a tangible quality which determined political and social courses of action to an extent that seems surprising to us in the present day.³ The

¹ Rather than a nation-state in the modern sense, seventeenth-century Spain was a collection of regional entities bound together by a nominal allegiance to the Spanish king, and more importantly, by a strong sense of the Catholic faith. Emigration to Mexico was tightly controlled by the commercial authorities in Seville (and later Cádiz), resulting in a predominance of elements from the region of Castile in novohispanic elite culture. See José Álvarez Junco, 'The Formation of Spanish Identity and Its Adaptation to the Age of Nations'. *History & Memory*, 14, no. 1/2 (2002): 13–36.

² For an account of the hacienda system in the political economy of New Spain, see Alan Knight, *Mexico: The Colonial Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 151–164. Knight's lucid analysis of indigenous labour, both enforced and free, may be found on pages 89–102 of the same work.

³ The concept of the *pietas austriaca* is explored in the foundational study by Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca: Ursprung und Entwicklung barocker Frömmigkeit in Österreich* (Vienna: Verlag für

Hapsburg rulers could not be present in all parts of their sprawling empire, which stretched from Milan and Naples in the Italian peninsula to the Spanish possessions in the Netherlands; from the homelands of Castile, Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Navarra, Galicia and the Basque provinces in Iberia proper, to far-flung Mexico, Peru and the Philippine islands across the oceans. In the stead of the king, a viceroy ruled in Mexico City, at once a representative and a living embodiment of the king's power. Appointed by the king from the Spanish aristocratic class, or the upper ranks of the regular and secular clergy, the viceroy was charged with the civil government of New Spain, the expansion of the Catholic faith, the administration of justice, the protection of the Indian population, the royal interests in the treasury and the defense of the realm.⁴ The viceroy was the living image and alter ego of the king, identified so much with the royal person that he was considered to be like a limb of the king's body.⁵ Nevertheless, a local elite of landowners and merchants, whose interests did not always coincide with those of the king's administrators, exerted a powerful influence on the affairs of New Spain. Along with the viceroy and the civil authorities, the Church wielded not only spiritual, but also considerable temporal power over the inhabitants of New Spain. By virtue of their atemporal status, the Church and the religious orders became the largest landholders in New Spain; important amounts of capital from gifts, bequests, foreclosed mortgages and tithes were concentrated in the 'dead hands' (mortmain) of the Church and the orders, making the Church a 'corporation' and the Jesuits a 'company' in the modern senses of

Geschichte und Politik, 1959). A fine visual representation of the pietas austriaca may be seen in a canvas by Claudio Coello (1642–1693), Charles II Adoring the Blessed Sacrament, which hangs in the sacristy of the Escorial palace. In Coello's high baroque theatrical representation, the last Spanish Habsburg is depicted surrounded by the men of his court, kneeling in contemplation before a miraculous host which had been rescued from profanation by Protestants in the Dutch city of Gorkum.

⁴ Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), 36–37.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 40.

these terms.⁶ Religious conformity was an important aspect of novohispanic society; the Holy Office guarded New Spain against persons suspicious in matters of the faith, particularly foreigners who might be tainted with Protestantism.⁷ The Church was the major and sometimes munificent patron of artistic, literary and musical endeavours; indeed, the cathedral or parish church may be seen as the focal point of the higher aspirations of novohispanic society until the late colonial period.

Mexico had a very concrete importance for Spain as a monetary lifeline: the mines of New Spain, along with those of the viceroyalty of Peru, provided the silver which financed the ruinous European military struggles in which Spain was engaged throughout the seventeenth century. Though mining never ceased to be important, it declined during the seventeenth century, shifting the domestic focus away from it as a primary economic activity. As the historian John Lynch notes, the shift away from mining freed up the sharply contested labour force for other tasks, increasing buoyancy in other sectors such as textile manufacture, shipbuilding, and not least, the powerful agricultural economy of the large estates, the haciendas.⁸

With the growth of the domestic economy came a measure of detachment from the home country, Spain. A growing sense of American identity can be perceived in many of the cultural artefacts being produced after mid-seventeenth century, for example the 1662 paean to the Virgin of Guadalupe, *Primavera Indiana*, published by the novohispanic cleric and writer Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora (1645–1700). Altogether, for the elite class of Spanish descent, a rich cultural life was emerging in the

⁶ Knight, *Mexico*, 77.

⁷ Charles Nunn, *Foreign Immigrants in Early Bourbon Mexico 1700–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 47.

⁸ John Lynch, *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change 1598–1700* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 305–310.

relative peace and abundance of seventeenth-century Mexico. This was a stark contrast to the perpetual financial and social crisis that beset the home country during the seventeenth century as a result of war, heavy taxation, epidemic disease and unrest caused by a demographic shift from the countryside to the cities.⁹

Novohispanic society, though not as sharply pressed as that of the home country, was subject to its own set of tensions. The preferment of peninsular Spaniards for higher office both in ecclesiastical and secular life was a constant source of strife in New Spain; likewise, envy was caused by the predominance in colonial trade of Spanish-born merchants. The stereotyped images of the avaricious Spanish parvenu, the *gachupín*, and the American-born wastrel made degenerate by an easy climate, the *criollo*, came to ‘haunt and poison’ relations between the two; what had once been contention within the cloister and cathedral chapter spilled over into private and public circles as the American-born Spanish population of New Spain grew.¹⁰ If the conflict between *gachupín* and *criollo* was endemic, racial tensions in novohispanic society were also evident. Spaniards and American-born persons of Spanish descent formed a small racial elite possessed of a ‘jittery wariness’ of the vast numerical superiority of Indians, blacks, and persons of mixed race living in their midst.¹¹ The ascendancy of the population of Spanish extraction depended on an elaborate system of racial classification, with the indigenous peoples being treated as a separate ‘republic’ and persons of African descent or African admixture placed at the lower rung of the societal ladder. Admission to ecclesiastical or civil office, the religious orders (including female

⁹ *Ibid.*, 173–213.

¹⁰ David A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish monarchy, Creole patriots and the Liberal state, 1492–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 380.

¹¹ Knight, *Mexico*, 170, citing Nancy Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 68.

religious orders, see below), municipal corporations, colleges and universities, and many confraternities and guilds was limited to persons who could prove *limpieza de sangre*, blood purity, which in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Mexico had come to mean the degree of ‘whiteness’ an individual could demonstrate.¹² This social stratification according to race had significance for the life of the cathedrals; even admission as a choirboy was dependent on legitimate birth and racial purity, although this rested on documentation subject to some degree of manipulation.

1.1 The Institutional Context: Cathedral and Convent

Cathedral and convent, the institutional contexts of the music under consideration in this study, stood in the larger social context briefly described above. As has been stated, the cathedral provided a locus for many of the artistic manifestations of novohispanic society: music, painting, architecture, literary production and oratory (delivery of rhetoric from the pulpit was a primary novohispanic art) all had a pronounced religious tinge acquired from association with their practice in cathedral and convent.¹³ Indeed, to speak of Spanish art music in the seventeenth century is to speak of devotional music specifically made for use in the religious institutions of church and convent. An exception must be made for music associated with the spoken theatre, the Spanish *comedia*, although a long tradition of religious theatre with music also existed. The music of the *comedia* was closely akin, or many times one in substance with the

¹² John Huxtable Elliot, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830* (USA: Yale University Press, 2006), 171.

¹³ No better example of novohispanic oratory exists than the corpus left by Bartolomé Felipe de Ita y Parra, a native of Puebla who became a canon (1727) and later treasurer (1747) of the Mexico City cathedral. Ita y Parra’s oratory was instrumental in the campaign to have the Virgin of Guadalupe declared as patroness of the Americas. See Brading, *The First America*, 360.

villancico, as the many *contrafacta* with texts transformed from secular into a *lo divino* versions attest.

Devotional music was something more than a mere embellishment of the divine cult; it appeared as an indispensable element of ceremony, inseparable from it. The necessity for music is articulated quite often in terms of its contribution to the solemnity of church ceremony, as in this passage from the Mexico City cathedral chapter records of 1565 citing the opinion of the archbishop Alonso de Montufar (1498–1573), ‘...inasmuch as the gravity and majesty of the divine offices, it befits cathedral churches to have polyphonic song’.¹⁴ Likewise, admonitions about the importance of proper singing abound, such as this 1562 warning to Mexico City clerics by the cathedral chapter, ‘It is determined for the better service of the choir, and so that the divine cult is better executed that the chaplains and substitutes attend at the house of his most reverend lordship to learn singing with the *maestro de capilla*...and if they did not sing [the offices] they will be dismissed’.¹⁵ If the Spanish had been the special defenders of music at the Council of Trent, as the papal secretary Gabriele Paleotti’s final redaction of the Council’s acts suggests, this was a reflection of the importance that the music of the flourishing Spanish polyphonic school held for the Spanish Church.¹⁶ In the Baroque period, music would become yet more important for the Spanish Church as a

¹⁴ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, *Actas Capitulares*, libro 2, folios 136v–137, of 23 January 1565. ‘...por quanto a la gravedad y majestad de los officios divinos conviene que en las iglesias catedrales haya música de canto de órgano’. Hereafter, this archive is referred to as ‘Archivo del Cabildo’.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, libro 2, folio 68v, of 6 February 1652. ‘...determinaron, para que mejor se sirva al coro, y más decentemente se haga el culto divino, que los capellanes y substitutos vayan a casa de su señoría reverendísima a depender a cantar con el *maestro de capilla*...Y si no fueren a cantar, que serán despedidos’.

¹⁶ Craig Monson, ‘The Council of Trent Revisited’. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 55, no. 1 (2002): 23.

tool of mass persuasion, in what José Antonio Maravall terms the ‘external and mechanised devotion of post-Tridentine religion’.¹⁷

The office of maestro de capilla, the musician who presided over the polyphonic music of the cathedral, had been established in a constitution within the framework of the Third Mexican Provincial Council of 1585, although the provisions of the Council may be seen as a ratification of a de facto situation in the Mexican cathedrals. Most often a cleric of minor orders, the maestro de capilla stood at the centre of the musical life of the cathedral, responsible for every aspect of the day-to-day running of the musical chapel. The selection and training of choirboys was one of his most primordial tasks, and perhaps one of the most onerous, to judge from the frequent accounts in cathedral chapter records of chronic failure by maestros to fulfil this duty. The task of directing and conducting the musical chapel in a gruelling number of services also fell to the maestro de capilla; apart from the regular duties in the cathedral, a maestro was often called upon to perform in other religious institutions, in processions and in burial ceremonies, directing his band of choristers and instrumentalists. The dividing up of funds generated by this outside work, known in Mexico as *obvenciones*, often sparked off disputes and accusations of favouritism among the chapel members. The maestro was responsible for imposing discipline in these matters, and for maintaining musical discipline through constant evaluation of the chapel members’ performance. But the most important activity of the maestro de capilla was the composition of new works for the cathedral: a typical year of composition might see the production of a Lamentation or a Miserere for the triduum sacra of Holy Week, Latin responses for solemn Matins

¹⁷ José Antonio Maravall, *La cultura del Barroco, análisis de una estructura histórica* (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1975), 223. ‘...la devoción externa y mecanizada de la religión post-tridentina’.

(or in a good year, a Mass setting), and most importantly, several sets of villancicos destined for the Matins services of Christmas, Corpus Christi, the various Marian feast days, the day of the cathedral's patron or dedicatee, and the saints' days of preference, with Saint Peter holding the highest of rankings.

The musicologist José López-Calo notes a progressive isolation of Spanish musical chapels after 1600, due on the one hand to the virtual cessation of the importation of music from outside the individual institution, and the lack of music printing in seventeenth century Spain, on the other.¹⁸ Spanish musicians had ceased to publish their works abroad or at home, so that by mid-century the maestro de capilla had become a unique provider of new music for his respective institution. This is nowhere more evident than in the production of villancicos: if not ephemeral, these pieces were certainly occasional, with the maestro de capilla expected to provide many new pieces each year or face the displeasure of the cathedral chapter. The case of the Mexico City maestro de capilla, Francisco López Capillas (ca. 1608–1673) is indicative of this—after stating to the cathedral chapter in December 1664 that he was not responsible for producing the Christmas villancicos, the chapter responded, ‘it is determined that the maestro de capilla be notified to appear according to what has been custom for eighty years to compose the villancicos, as corresponds to him by obligation’.¹⁹ At mid-eighteenth century, villancico composition was still an essential requirement for a maestro de capilla. The edict of 9 January 1750 announcing the vacancy of the post of maestro in Mexico City read: ‘...we summon and call all persons

¹⁸ José López-Calo, *La música en las catedrales españolas* (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2013), 339–340.

¹⁹ Archivo del Cabildo, *Actas Capitulares*, libro 16, folio 122v, of 16 December 1664. ‘Determinóse se notifique al Maestro de Capilla acuda según ha sido costumbre de ochenta años a este parte a componer los villancicos, según que le toca por su obligación’.

with knowledge of plain and figured song, and especially in the science and art of music and the composition of villancicos [...] who wish to take part in the competition for the said ministry of maestro de capilla'.²⁰ The call was answered by the Italian musician Ignacio de Jerusalem, who produced the obligatory contest villancico in the prescribed space of twenty-four hours. This native of Lecce stood at the end of the villancico tradition in Mexico City; the atmosphere of Bourbon reforms and the airs of the Enlightenment would displace the time-honoured villancico in favour of the more liturgically correct Latin responses during the tenure of Jerusalem.

A second institutional context for the villancico lay within the walls of the numerous convents of New Spain. The strict application of claustration created a specifically feminine musical culture within the confines of the convent, where music was felt to be just as necessary to the proper celebration of the divine office as it was in the exclusively male musical province of the cathedral. Unlike the home country, where many convents engaged male chapelmasters and organists, the nuns of Mexico provided conductors and keyboard performers for the convent music from among their own ranks. These nuns were highly skilled musicians who oftentimes had entered the convent by exchanging their musical services as maestras de capilla, organists, instrumentalists, or singers, for the full or partial payment of their dowries. Musical abilities were acquired either in the ubiquitous schools for girls, the colegios, or in the convent itself, as a student or protégé of the religious community—the Mexican historian Josefina Muriel, basing her opinion on a lifetime of investigation into the feminine culture of New Spain, affirms that music classes were given at virtually all

²⁰ Archivo del Cabildo, Canonjías, libro 1, folio 99. '...citamos y llamamos a todas las personas inteligentes en el canto llano y figurado, y especialmente en la ciencia y arte de la música y en la composición de villancicos...que quisieren hacer oposición a dicho ministerio de maestro de capilla'.

convents and colegios where girls were being educated.²¹ Something of this flourishing female musical culture is reflected in the music of the Sánchez-Garza collection from the Santísima Trinidad [Holy Trinity] convent of Puebla, a collection of sacred music which forms a major part of this present study. One important aspect of the convent as a musical institution is the production of music destined for these organisations; indeed, the symbiotic musical relationship between cathedral musicians and nuns is exemplified in the Sánchez-Garza collection, where many villancicos by Puebla maestros de capilla, written specifically for the nuns of the Santísima Trinidad are to be found. The relationship between cathedral and convent in Puebla was no doubt echoed in other cities of New Spain such as Valladolid-Morelia, where evidence also exists of music written for female institutions.

A third institutional context for the villancico must be added to cathedral and convent, the above-mentioned colegios, where girls were taught music along with other 'feminine' arts such as needlework and making preserves. Surviving didactic materials from the eighteenth century used in the colegios show a concern for up-to-date musicianship. While hexachordal solmisation was still being taught to cathedral choirboys in the decade of the 1740s as the basis of music, the girls of the colegios were learning to realise the basses of Hasse, Corelli and Sammartini according to modern methods.²² Here, the villancico had its place as a didactic tool, as evidenced in the music collection which belonged to the Colegio de Santa Rosa in Valladolid-Morelia.

²¹ Josefina Muriel, *Cultura femenina novohispana* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000), 483.

²² Josefina Muriel and Luis Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2009), 99.

1.2 The Institutional Context II: The Cathedral Network of New Spain

As seen above, the villancico had its institutional context in the cathedral churches and the convents of New Spain, and was demonstrably present in the girls' colegios. These two feminine institutions are dealt with in a separate chapter in this thesis, so that our present concern is the cathedral music of New Spain, whose general history will be briefly considered here as a contextual element of the present study.

The transplantation in the sixteenth century of Spanish cathedral culture to New Spain had been both thorough and complete—this culture was in every aspect a faithful replication of the Spanish cathedral and its sociocultural appendages in a new geographical context. Along with this physical and spiritual transplantation of the Spanish cathedral to the New World, the ecclesiastical musical apparatus was replicated in every particular, often with the participation of emigrant musicians from Spain, most often a maestro de capilla, but also singers and instrumentalists. A characteristic physical feature of the Spanish cathedrals was also conserved in sixteenth and seventeenth-century New World constructions: the choir was placed in the central nave of the church with a line of sight to the main altar, the so-called *via sacra*. This placement of the choir conditioned and influenced the music of the novohispanic cathedral in several ways; one of the most important was the emergence of a polychoral treatment of virtually all liturgical texts as a standard compositional practice. The polychoral treatment of cathedral music extended to the facing organs on either side of the choir enclosure, which were built or adjusted to play in alternation.²³ This configuration may still be appreciated in the Mexico City cathedral, with its 1694

²³ For alternation practices in Spain and its colonies see Bernadette Nelson, 'Alternatim practice in seventeenth-century Spain'. *Early Music*, xxii, no. 2 (1994): 239–256.

Epistle and 1735 Gospel side organs.²⁴ A similar arrangement was in place in seventeenth-century Puebla, where a pair of organs faced each other across the choir after the dedication of the new cathedral edifice in 1649.²⁵

A striking aspect of cathedral music in Mexico is its parallel and contemporaneous development with that of Spain. The musicologist Emilio Ros-Fábregas notes that the Franco-Flemish missionary and music teacher, Pieter van de Moere (ca. 1479–1572), better known as Pedro de Gante, was teaching polyphonic music to the indigenous peoples in the area around Tenochtitlan-Mexico City as early as 1527.²⁶ A former member of Charles V's private chapel, Pedro de Gante was employing European music as a missionary tool; however the fledgling cathedral chapters in pre-Tridentine New Spain were no less concerned with music than the evangelising friars. The turbulence of the spiritual and physical conquest of Mexico did not hamper the transplantation of the Spanish musical apparatus to the new setting; indeed, one of the initial actions of the first bishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga (1468–1548), was to send to Seville in 1536 for books 'of hymns of all the year and of all the tones of the psalms'.²⁷

The musical establishments of the sixteenth-century cathedrals grew apace—Seville, the port of embarkation for the New World, served as a musical model and a

²⁴ The organist and scholar Edward Charles Pepe considers that the 1694 instrument was so extensively rebuilt in 1734/35 that the maker of the newer organ, Joseph Nassare, should be considered the author of both instruments. See Edward Charles Pepe, 'The Joseph Nassare Organs of Mexico City Cathedral and the Archival Record: Towards a Broadened Sense of Organ Restoration in Mexico.' *Cuadernos del Seminario Nacional de Música en la Nueva España y el México Independiente*, no. 5 (2010): 19.

²⁵ Antonio Tamariz de Carmona, *Relación y descripción del Templo Real de la Ciudad de Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España y su Catedral* (Puebla, 1650), fol. 4. '...the organs, which are two', '...los órganos, que son dos'.

²⁶ Emilio Ros-Fábregas, "'Imagine all the people": polyphonic flowers in the hands and voices of Indians in 16th-century Mexico.' *Early Music*, XI, no. 2 (2012): 177.

²⁷ *Archivo del Cabildo*, libro 1, folio 3, of 1 March 1536. '...de los himnos de todo el año y de los tonos de los salmos.'

source of repertoire for the new foundings, though it was by no means the only Peninsular model for the novohispanic institutions.²⁸ As noted above, the musical development of sixteenth-century Mexico took place contemporaneously with that of Renaissance Spain, and to some extent, Catholic Europe as a whole. The rediscovery by the Spanish musicologist Javier Marín of a Mexico City cathedral musical inventory made in 1589 places the nature of this contemporaneous development in stark relief.²⁹ The masses and motets of the foremost triumvirate of Renaissance Spanish polyphonists, Cristóbal de Morales (ca. 1500–1553), Francisco Guerrero (1528–1599) and Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548–1611), reached Mexico soon after their publication in Europe. An example of this contemporaneous transmission of musical repertoire may be seen in the case of four publications by Victoria, printed in Rome between 1581 and 1585, which are present in the 1589 inventory. The interconnected nature of musical life on the two continents can be observed in this commonality of repertoire. A fascinating case of synchronicity is the mention in a contemporary account of the singing of Cristóbal Morales' invitational *Circumdederunt* me at the exequies for Charles V held in Mexico City in 1559. This funeral piece is uniquely preserved in the cathedral of Toledo.³⁰ Along with Spanish polyphonists, Franco-Flemish repertoire is identifiable in the 1589 inventory—Marín notes the presence in the inventory of an anthology printed by Pierre Attaignant in Paris in 1532 entitled *Liber Viginti Missarum*, which contained Mass settings by Josquin, Sermisy, Gascogne, Manchicourt, Mouton,

²⁸ Toledo had special importance as a model for the Puebla cathedral. See Lucy Hruza, 'Multiple Settings of the *Salve Regina* Antiphon: Tomás Luis de Victoria's Contribution to the Renaissance Veneration of the Virgin Mary', in *Encomium Musicae: Essays in Honor of Robert J. Snow*, eds. D. Crawford and G. Wagstaff (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon Press, 2002), 420.

²⁹ Javier Marín López, 'The musical inventory of Mexico Cathedral, 1589: a lost document rediscovered'. *Early Music*, XXXVI, no. 4, (2008): 575–596.

³⁰ See Grayson Wagstaff, 'Cristóbal de Morales's *Circumdederunt* Me: An Alternate Invitational for Matins for the Dead and Music for Charles V', in *Encomium Musicae*.

Richafort, Divitis, Prioris and Gombert, among others.³¹ In a musical sense, sixteenth century Mexico appears very much an extension of Charles V's Europe, interconnected with that continent to a high degree in a transatlantic continuum.

The villancico, first mentioned in the Mexico City cathedral chapter records in 1538, was local repertory, however. This first mention involves the boy choristers, who would have an intimate connection with the villancico throughout its history; the canon Juan Xuarez was to be provided with 'that which he might honestly need to prepare the boy singers for the nativity of our lord Jesus Christ, for the chanzonetas of the feast and holy night of Christmas'.³² The composition of the texts for the chanzonetas (this term was used interchangeably with villancico, see below) at this time seems to have been the responsibility of the chantre, a cathedral dignity. Later in the century, as the number of occasions requiring chanzonetas expanded to include the entire octave of Corpus Christi, Assumption and 'other days that present themselves', the cleric and poet Arias de Villalobos was appointed as an official provider of texts at fifty pesos a year, with a recommendation that he should receive a hundred more for saying Masses that had originally been commended to other members of the cathedral chapter.³³ The existing repertoire of chanzonetas and other music in Spanish was catalogued along with the less ephemeral Latin repertoire in the 1589 inventory. The cataloguing of music in the vernacular was highly unusual, and although none of this music has survived, the register of textual incipits and ceremonial occasions contained in the inventory furnish

³¹ Marín López, 'The musical inventory', 579–580.

³² Archivo del Cabildo Catedral, Actas Capitulares, libro 1, folio 4v, of 15 November 1538. '...lo que hubiere menester honestamente para aderezar los niños cantores para la natividad de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, para las chanzonetas de la Pascua y noche santa de Navidad'.

³³ Archivo del Cabildo, Actas Capitulares, libro 4, folios 137–137v, of 10 October 1595. '... y otras [fiestas] que se ofrecen'.

an interesting glimpse into the local ambit. Several examples might be named, such as a villancico sung at the founding of the Jesús María convent in Mexico City in 1581, a four-voice villancico dedicated to the patron of silver workers, Saint Eligius, or another sung for the reception of the viceroy Lorenzo Suárez de Mendoza, fourth count of La Coruña, in 1580.³⁴ Without existing pieces it is difficult to say with certainty whether any local musical features appeared in the novohispanic villancico, but as all the maestros de capilla of sixteenth-century Mexico City were of Spanish origin and training, we may surmise that the same sort of parallel and contemporaneous development took place in vernacular music that is observable in the Latin repertoire.³⁵ López-Calo notes certain negative elements emergent in the villancico of the late sixteenth century—the textual integrity and dignity of what were supposed to be ‘devout and honest songs’ (the formulation of the Third Mexican Provincial Council of 1585) were challenged by the popularity they held for Christmas churchgoers, who thronged to hear new pieces each year.³⁶

The quest for novelty, which Maravall counts among the qualities of the Baroque, gathered force in the seventeenth century.³⁷ As noted above, the maestro of each religious institution increasingly became the sole provider of new music for that institution—emphasis was placed on the originality and newness of the villancicos which were performed each year. This quest for novelty was in part a function of the villancico texts which were produced fresh each year to be set to music by the local

³⁴ The title of the villancico to Saint Eligius portends some of the unrelenting cleverness that would pervade the poetry of the genre: Hoy elige Dios a Eligio, ‘today God elects Eligius’.

³⁵ Javier Marín identifies the Mexico City maestros up to 1654 as Spaniards, ‘Música y músicos’, 123.

³⁶ López-Calo, *La música en las catedrales*, 316.

³⁷ Citing Heinrich Wölfflin’s *Renaissance und Barock*, Maravall notes the taste for novelty in extensive sectors of seventeenth-century European society, *La cultura del Barroco*, 454.

maestro. Maestros de capilla were often granted free time so that they could compose new pieces for Christmas and other occasions, as in the case of the Mexico City maestro Antonio Rodríguez de Mata, who in 1618 successfully petitioned the cathedral dean and chapter for leave in order to compose.³⁸

To Christmas, Corpus Christi and its octave, and the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, a number of other occasions were added in the course of the seventeenth century, most importantly the widely celebrated Saint Peter's day on 29 June, making the compositional year a difficult and arduous exercise in New Spain; indeed, the aging maestro of the Mexico City cathedral Antonio de Salazar (ca.1650–1715) would complain in a 1710 letter to the cathedral chapter that the number of villancicos he had to produce had 'never descended from seventy in each year' since his arrival in 1688.³⁹ Apart from the occasions common to all the cathedrals of New Spain, the cathedral dedicatee's day was also celebrated with villancicos: in Mexico City, Oaxaca and Guadalajara this was the Assumption of the Virgin; in Puebla, Immaculate Conception and in Valladolid-Morelia, San Salvador. Besides the obligatory production dictated by the cathedral chapter for its yearly celebrations, numerous personal estates, confraternities and craft guilds endowed the composition of new pieces through a system of religious patronage, with the cathedral most often providing the institutional context for the performance of the commissioned villancicos.⁴⁰ The Mexican musicologist Jesús Ramos-Kittrell has devoted a study to this endowment system,

³⁸ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, libro 6, folio 72, of 27 November 1618.

³⁹ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral, Correspondencia, libro 10, without folio number, of 10 January 1710. '...no bajaban de 70 en cada un año'.

⁴⁰ Villancicos, sometimes commissioned from maestros de capilla or other cathedral musicians, were also performed in parish churches such as the Parroquial (today the Basílica) of Guanajuato, in convents such as the Regina Coeli in Mexico City or the Santísima Trinidad in Puebla, and the colegios of New Spain. However, substantial sources for the villancico are to be found primarily in cathedral archives.

which provided funds for the singing of masses, for religious scholarships, and for the physical construction and adornment of ecclesiastical institutions, among many other purposes.⁴¹ As Ramos-Kittrell notes, the cathedral fomented the observance of religious ceremonies as a primordial social activity—an exuberant culture of performative religion arose, partly as a result of the endowments made as acts of devotional piety, the author asserts.⁴² The villancico could not fail to have its place as a manifestation of this performative religious culture.

1.3 Musical New Spain at Mid-Seventeenth Century

The cathedrals of New Spain provided the primary institutional context for the villancico, which along with the important Latin *prima pratica* polyphonic repertory was cultivated in a contemporaneous and parallel development with that of the home country, Spain.⁴³ As has been noted, the musical apparatus of the Spanish cathedrals had been transplanted to the American continent with little variation—at the beginning of the period with which this study is concerned, the year 1650, differences in the musical lives of the cathedrals on the two sides of the Atlantic may be seen as being conditioned primarily by geography, and at the level of the individual musician, by the different sets of social circumstances. In order to understand some of the particulars of the musical life of the cathedrals of New Spain, a brief introduction providing

⁴¹ Jesús A. Ramos-Kittrell, ‘Music, Liturgy, and Devotional Piety in New Spain: Baroque Religious Culture and the Re-evaluation of Religious Reform during the 18th Century’. *Latin American Music Review*, 31, no. 1 (2010): 79–100.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 80.

⁴³ A very complete study of the polyphonic choirbooks of the Mexico City Cathedral has been made by Javier Marín, *Los libros de polifonía de la Catedral de México: Estudio y catálogo crítico* (Jaén: University of Jaén, 2012). The rich Puebla choirbooks await such a complete study, although the trail was blazed by Alice Ray Catalyne in her ‘The Double-Choir Music of Juan de Padilla, Seventeenth-Century Composer in Mexico’ (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1953).

geographical and preliminary biographical details is provided here. Throughout this thesis there will be occasion to examine the interconnected urban network of musicians and the related network of prelates, who between them determined the ecclesiastical musical life of New Spain.

The first consideration of American difference to Spain involves geography; the network of cathedrals was greatly inferior numerically and did not possess the density and cohesiveness that characterised the ambience of musical Spain. Considerable distances separated the nine cathedrals which constituted the musical network of New Spain at mid-seventeenth century: Puebla, Mexico City, Valladolid (Morelia), Guadalajara, Durango, Oaxaca, Mérida, Ciudad Real (San Cristóbal de las Casas) and Guatemala (Figure 1).

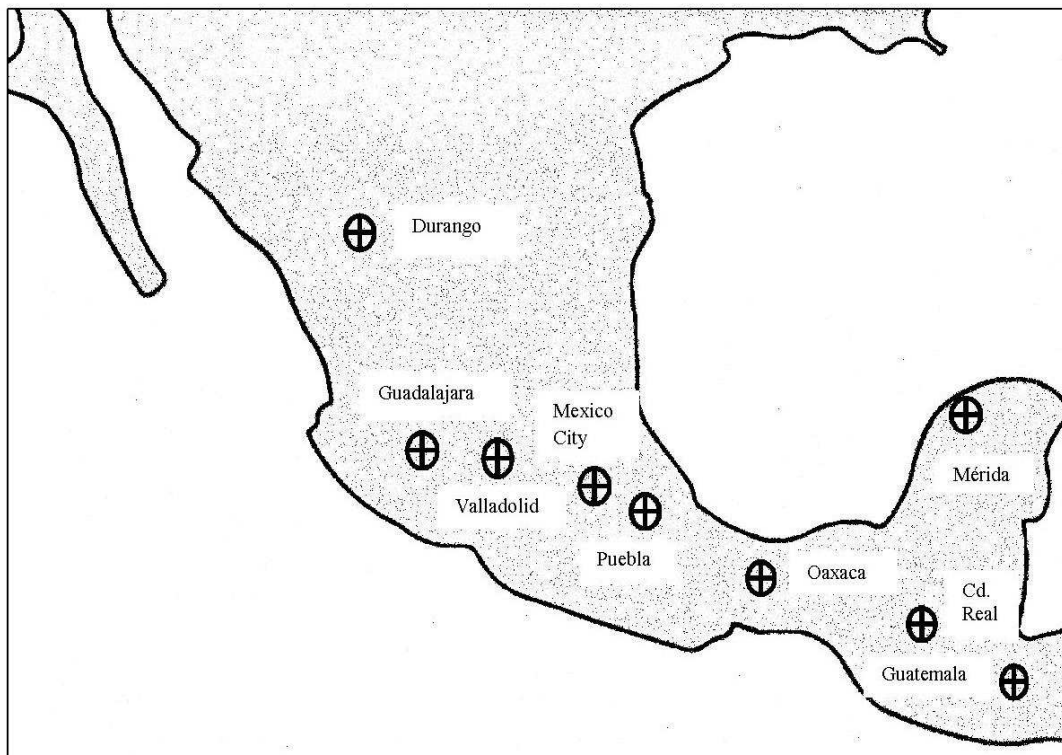


Figure 1, The novohispanic cathedral network at mid-seventeenth century

To these nine cathedrals in what is the present-day territory of Mexico and Guatemala, Álvaro Torrente gives a figure of no less than fifty-six cathedrals existing in Spain at the dawn of the eighteenth century, most of them with permanent musical establishments.⁴⁴ Both Torrente and López-Calo note the ‘intense mobility’ of Spanish musicians who moved quite freely between cathedrals, most often in search of better pay.⁴⁵ Because of the relatively fewer number of posts and larger distances in the New World, the mobility of musicians was less intense than in Spain, although exchange did occur, particularly between the closely-linked Mexico City and Puebla. An example of this mobility is the career of the Mexico City-born organist and maestro de capilla Francisco López Capillas, who served as organist, dulcian player and singer at the Puebla cathedral from 1641 to 1648 before returning to Mexico City to become maestro de capilla in 1654. López, who already held the title ‘Bachiller’ upon entering the Puebla cathedral ranks, had served in the Mexico City cathedral following the usual pattern of choirboy and apprentice musician, acquiring the degree of ‘Bachiller’ from the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico in 1626.⁴⁶ After suffering a pay cut in 1648 due to the reinstatement of the principal organist Pedro Simón, López quit the service of the Puebla cathedral for an unknown, but presumably musical destination, to resurface in April 1654 in the dual role of organist and maestro de capilla of the Mexico City cathedral, where he had been accepted without an examination, due to his

⁴⁴ Álvaro Torrente, ‘The sacred villancico in eighteenth-century Spain: the repertory of Salamanca Cathedral’ (Ph.D. thesis, St. Catherine’s College, Cambridge, 1997), 20.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 21. López-Calo, *La música en las catedrales españolas*, 339. See also Torrente, ‘Cuestiones en torno de la circulación de los músicos catedralicios en la España moderna’. *Artígrama*, 12 (1996–1997): 217–236.

⁴⁶ John Koegel, ‘López Capillas, Francisco’. *Diccionario de la música española*, vi, 1006.

‘proficiency and ability for the said ministries’.⁴⁷ Movement from Mexico City and Puebla to provincial destinations was less common than between the two, but not unknown, such as the appearance of the Puebla musician Antonio de Mora as maestro de capilla in Valladolid-Morelia in the decade of the 1660s, a time of consolidation for that cathedral.⁴⁸

Examples of both mobility and interconnection may be seen in Puebla in the years leading up to mid-seventeenth century, when the splendid Spanish prelate Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (1600–1659) was involved in a determined project to complete the building of the cathedral, which was dedicated in 1649. Palafox was a magnanimous patron of the cut of Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau in Salzburg—a figure with whom he shares several similarities, especially in the direct concern for the building of a splendid musical chapel.⁴⁹ Under Palafox’s aegis, from 1640–1649, the expenditure for music in Puebla ascended to 14,000 pesos, a figure cited in a contemporary account of the dedication in 1649 of the new cathedral.⁵⁰ In comparison, the Mexico City cathedral spent slightly over 8,000 pesos on its musical establishment in 1647.⁵¹ Palafox’s maestro de capilla during his tenure as bishop was the Andalusian immigrant Juan

⁴⁷ Archivo del Cabildo, libro 12, folio 40v, of 21 April 1654. ‘...suficiencia y habilidad para d[ic]hos ministerios.’

⁴⁸ Oscar Mazín Gómez, *El cabildo catedral de Valladolid de Michoacán* (Zamora, Michoacán: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1996), 238.

⁴⁹ For the musical patronage of Palafox, see María Gembero Ustároz, ‘El mecenazgo musical de Juan de Palafox (1600–1659), obispo de Puebla de los Ángeles y virrey de la Nueva España’ in *Palafox: Iglesia, Cultura y Estado en el siglo XVII* (Pamplona: University of Navarra, 2001). Both Palafox and von Raitenau experienced conflicts with the militant Company of Jesus in their dioceses.

⁵⁰ Antonio Tamariz de Carmona, *Relación, y descripción del templo real de la ciudad de Puebla*, folio 31r.

⁵¹ Robert Stevenson cites Isabel Pope’s figure of 5,500 pesos in *Music in Mexico: A Historical Survey* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1952), 168. Pope based her figures on a document dated 7 May 1647, MS 3048, folios 176–179, Biblioteca Nacional de España. The costs of the chorus chaplains, choirboys, succentors and master of the choirboys should be added to the 5,500 pesos cited above, giving a total of 8,096 spent on the cathedral music in 1647. Even if Tamariz’s figure of 14,000 pesos is due in part to the dedication of the cathedral, it was an unusually splendid outlay for music.

Gutiérrez de Padilla (ca.1590–1664), a cultivator of the polychoral idiom in his music in Latin and brilliant colourist in his villancico sets of 1651–1653 and 1655–1659, the only novohispanic sets from the seventeenth century to survive complete. Gutiérrez de Padilla had been active as a maestro de capilla in Spain at Jerez de la Frontera and Cádiz before coming to Mexico in 1622 to assist the Puebla maestro Gaspar Fernandes (ca.1570–1629), himself a Portuguese immigrant who had passed through Guatemala before arriving to Puebla.

The splendour of the cathedral music in Puebla abated somewhat after Palafox's departure for Spain in 1649—this departure was a result of the prelate's dispute with the militant Company of Jesus over ecclesiastical jurisdictions.⁵² At the time of Palafox's recall to Spain, a Spaniard was also at the helm of the Mexico City cathedral music, Fabián Pérez Ximeno (ca.1587–1654), who had been 'organist of His Majesty in the Royal Convent of the Incarnation, with three hundred ducats salary, a house, a doctor and dispensary' before having been invited by the cathedral authorities to come to New Spain in 1622.⁵³ Pérez Ximeno's double role as organist and also maestro de capilla from 1648 reflected the cathedral's more modest financial outlay for music in comparison with that of Puebla in the decade of Palafox. Pérez Ximeno's successor as maestro, the above-named Francisco López Capillas, would also be called upon to conduct from the organ bench as a savings measure. Like the Spaniards Pérez Ximeno and Gutiérrez de Padilla, López Capillas cultivated a modified prima pratica style in his many Masses, motets and psalm settings—a style that would be continued by his

⁵² Brading, *The First America*, 245.

⁵³ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 1, folio no. 68 of May 1651. '...organista de su Majestad en su Real Convento de la Encarnación en Madrid donde tenía trescientos ducados de salario, casa, médico y botica'.

Mexico City successors Antonio de Salazar and Manuel de Sumaya (ca.1678–1755) in their Latin language music.

The cathedrals of Mexico City and Puebla were the most important musical centres of New Spain during the entire colonial period, forming the core axis around which music and musicians circulated—however, there were other cathedrals in the provinces with musical traditions quite as old as these first foundations. The cathedrals of Antequera de Oaxaca (founded 1535) and Valladolid-Morelia (founded 1536) were established in areas where massive evangelisation of the sedentary indigenous populations by the religious orders had taken place.⁵⁴ After the initial heroic period of evangelisation, in which music played an important role, indigenous musicians were increasingly excluded from official musical life, except as ministriles, the lowest rung of cathedral instrumentalists.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, there had been a notable exception to this politic of exclusion: the Valley of Oaxaca was the birthplace of the Zapotec musician Juan Matías (ca.1618–ca.1667), whose talent was so prodigious that he rose through the cathedral ranks to become maestro de capilla of the Oaxaca cathedral in 1655, the only indigenous musician to attain such a post in three centuries of colonial rule.

The cathedral of Valladolid-Morelia was at a geographical and economic disadvantage compared to the first three cathedrals of New Spain; few outside musicians were attracted to the expensive and relatively remote city.⁵⁶ The arrival of an energetic Spanish prelate, Marcos Ramírez de Prado y Ovando (1592–1667) in 1640

⁵⁴ Alan Knight, *Mexico: The Colonial Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 33–34.

⁵⁵ Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), 84. Baker is speaking in the context of colonial Peru; however, the same phenomenon occurred in Mexico, to some extent. In New Spain the preference was always for musicians of European extraction when they were available, even for the humbler instruments such as sackbut and shawm. In Oaxaca and Valladolid-Morelia the relatively low number of Spaniards and creoles in relation to the population as a whole seems to have created a necessity for native musicians.

⁵⁶ Mazín Gómez, *El cabildo catedral de Valladolid*, 238.

gave impetus to the consolidation of the cathedral chapter, the construction of a definitive structure for the cathedral seat, and encouragement for the musical chapel under its maestro de capilla, the Spaniard Antonio de Mora (fl. 1652–1675), an instrumental musician and composer who had been active at Puebla.

The cathedral of Guadalajara (founded 1548) was the site of an active musical life comparable to that of Puebla and Mexico City, to judge from the cathedral chapter records.⁵⁷ When the Mexican musicologist Jesús Estrada visited the cathedral during the tenure of the president Manuel Ávila Camacho (this was from 1940–1946) in search of music from the colonial period, he found a disordered archive with very few pieces intact, a fact which Estrada attributed to the destruction caused by the 1914 revolution.⁵⁸ At the time of writing, there is no vernacular music from Guadalajara to connect to the cathedral chapter records, although a persistent search for the music that Estrada reported taking from the cathedral may yet yield results.⁵⁹ The cathedral at Durango (founded 1620) did not have a musical chapel until the arrival in 1656 of the criollo bishop, Pedro de Barrientos Lomelín, who had occupied the office of precentor at the Mexico City cathedral during the previous six years.⁶⁰ As the Mexican historian Lourdes Turrent notes, the cathedral offices of precentor (chantre) and succentor (sochantre) remain largely unstudied despite their determining character in the musical ceremony—Barrientos’ appearance in Durango is an example of a common type of

⁵⁷ RISM designation MEX-Gcm.

⁵⁸ Jesús Estrada, ‘Investigaciones sobre la música virreinal en las catedrales de México, Puebla, Guadalajara, Oaxaca y Durango’ *Historia mexicana*, 26, no. 4 (1977): 598. Estrada specifies only that the visit took place during Ávila Camacho’s presidency.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* The choirbooks of the Guadalajara cathedral, which survived the vicissitudes of the 1914 revolution and the ensuing decades of conflict between anti-clerical factions and the Catholic Church are the subject of an article by Leopoldo Orendáin, ‘Libros corales en la catedral de Guadalajara’ *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, VIII, no. 29 (1960): 37–46.

⁶⁰ Leticia Pérez Puente, *Tiempos de crisis, tiempos de consolidación: La catedral metropolitana de la ciudad de México 1653–1680* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2005), 298.

ecclesiastical mobility which could affect the musical life of an institution.⁶¹ Though Barrientos died after only two years as bishop of Durango, the former chantre had effectively established the musical chapel, which would gain in importance in the next century.

The two other cathedrals which existed at mid-seventeenth century in what is the present day territory of Mexico, Mérida (founded 1562) in the Yucatán peninsula and Ciudad Real in Chiapas (founded 1539, present day San Cristóbal de las Casas), had musical establishments, with the participation of native musicians who had learned plainchant and polyphony from the Dominican, Franciscan and Augustinian evangelisers.⁶²

Another early founding was the bishopric of Guatemala, established by a papal bull of 1534. This cathedral was beset by natural disasters, changing location three times between 1541 and 1777. At mid-seventeenth century the cathedral had its seat at Santiago de los Caballeros, the present day Antigua, Guatemala. As in the case of Durango, a vigorous Mexico City-born cleric, Bartolomé González Soltero, bishop of Guatemala from 1644 to 1650, presided over the cathedral and its music. According to Robert Stevenson, this prelate stressed the importance of cathedral ceremonial, codifying in the chapter records the duties of the organist and singers.⁶³ Despite its geographical remoteness, the Guatemala cathedral had close ecclesiastical and musical

⁶¹ For a discussion of the offices of precentor and succentor as they relate to the novohispanic cathedral, see Lourdes Turrent Díaz, 'La posmodernidad en la música de las catedrales'. *I Coloquio Musicat: Música, Catedral y Sociedad*, 1, no. 1 (2006): 47.

⁶² Robert Stevenson, *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 164.

⁶³ Robert Stevenson, 'Guatemala Cathedral to 1803', *Inter-American Music Review*, II, no. 2 (1979): 38.

ties to Mexico, particularly to Puebla—these ties would become increasingly important for the circulation of repertoire in the eighteenth century.

Two and a half centuries of time, the dissolution of the religious orders in the nineteenth century, and the vicissitudes of revolution and anti-clerical movements in the twentieth have not favoured the survival of the ephemeral sheets of paper which the villancico was notated upon. Some institutional contexts such as the Guadalajara and Mérida cathedrals have little or no music of this type left to study, while others such as San Cristóbal de las Casas (colonial Ciudad Real) possess only music from the nineteenth century. Yet enough villancicos have come down to us to make a study of the form as it was practiced in New Spain a feasible venture. The music collecting activities of three maestros de capilla of the Guatemala cathedral, Marcos de las Navas y Quevedo (fl. 1684–1704), Simón de Castellanos (maestro de capilla until 1736) and Manuel de Quirós (maestro from 1738, died 1765) fortuitously preserved not only the works of several novohispanic composers who would otherwise not be represented, but also those of many Spanish composers of the Royal Chapel, whose villancico oeuvres were destroyed in the Alcázar fire of 1734.⁶⁴ Nonetheless, the researcher of Mexican music archives must envy the wealth of local resources available in Spain, where the development of the villancico can be traced in greater detail, as Álvaro Torrente has done with the music of the Salamanca cathedral, or Antonio Ezquerro with Aragonese

⁶⁴ On the night of 24 December 1734 the old Alcázar at Madrid caught fire, burning to the ground in a devastating blaze that could not be completely extinguished until three days later. The Royal Chapel and its music archive were destroyed along with other treasures such as paintings by Velazquez, Titian, Rubens, Tintoretto, Ribera and Veronese. The loss of repertoire was especially sensible in the case of the organist and composer Joseph de Torres (ca. 1670–1738), who had spent his entire life in the service of the Royal Chapel.

sources.⁶⁵ In any case, the music that has survived in the Mexico City, Puebla and Guatemala cathedrals, along with that of the archives of the Santísima Trinidad convent and the Santa María de Santa Rosa colegio, provides sufficient material for the task at hand, an enquiry into the development and significance of the novohispanic villancico.

⁶⁵ Álvaro Torrente 'Function and liturgical context of the villancico in Salamanca Cathedral', in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*, eds. A. Torrente and T. Knighton (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), see also the previously cited 'The sacred villancico in eighteenth-century Spain'. Antonio Ezquerro, *Villancicos policorales aragoneses del siglo XVII* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2000), *Villancicos aragoneses del siglo XVII de una a ocho voces* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998).

Chapter 2: General Introduction to the Villancico

In his 1997 study *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico*, Paul Laird speaks of the villancico as a neglected but striking repertory which deserves a place among other canonised genres.¹ Laird's wish for greater recognition for the villancico repertory among the informed musical public has remained largely unfulfilled, or has even retroceded in the wake of the marketing of the colonial villancico as exoticised 'world music' in recent recordings.² Nonetheless, the villancico has become much better known as a genre among English-speaking musicologists subsequent to the publication of Laird's book, and is gradually coming to be understood in a European context. Understanding of the villancico among Anglophone scholars was aided considerably by the publication of the omnibus volume *Devotional Music in the Iberian World*, which appeared in 2007, a decade after Laird's monograph. Coedited by Álvaro Torrente and Tess Knighton, the book provided sixteen fresh and original approaches to the villancico, not ignoring any aspect of the genre.³ The Americas and the Philippine islands were given ample coverage in three articles by Geoffrey Baker, Bernardo Illari and David Irving, which provided a grateful addition to the relative paucity of literature on the villancico as practiced outside the Iberian Peninsula. Indeed, it has been suggested that the cultivation of the villancico in the New World is one of the major

¹ Paul Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico* (Warren, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), xvii.

² Javier Marín, 'De ida, pero sin vuelta: apuntes sobre la discografía reciente de músicas coloniales latinoamericanas'. (Paper given at the International Conference 'Sones de ida y vuelta: músicas coloniales a debate (1492–1898)', Universidad Internacional de Andalucía, Baeza, Spain, 5 December 2013). Marín noted the dubious nature of the confluence of baroque and modern popular styles in a series of recordings discussed in his conference paper.

³ *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*, eds. T. Knighton and A. Torrente (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007).

neglected areas in musical historiography. With the exception of the above-named book chapters and Illari's unpublished doctoral thesis, the subject has received only limited attention in the available literature, and virtually none in officialist texts.⁴

Thus, the purpose of this section will be to introduce the English-speaking reader to the particulars of the villancico in its formal and generic aspects, at the same time considering these aspects in a transatlantic and European context. Period sources will be examined in a discussion of these formal and generic aspects of the villancico—likewise, a brief summary of relevant scholarly literature concerned with form and genre is provided at the outset of the discussion. Some dimensions of the villancico as a genre might be said to be more properly the province of the literary historian, and remain beyond the scope of this thesis—several items of literary interest are listed below.⁵

2.1 Scholarship on Generic and Formal Aspects of the Villancico

The villancico has been recognized as both a musical form and genre from the time of its inception to the time it fell into disuse as a living practice in the second half of the eighteenth century. Nineteenth-century musicians were so little concerned with the sacred villancico that a source such as Felipe Pedrell's *Diccionario técnico de la música* dedicates only a few vague lines to the genre, while Hilarión Eslava's monumental

⁴ In a communication to the discussion list of the American Musicological Society, the University of Texas at San Antonio scholar Mark Brill complained of the lack of coverage on Latin America in Richard Taruskin's *Oxford History of Western Music*. E-mail of 17 January, 2014. As Brill comments, Taruskin mentions the villancico only once in passing, in connection with the madrigal.

⁵ The connection between the Arabic *jarcha* and the villancico is explored by Pierre LeGentil, *Le virelai et le villancico: le problème des origines arabes* (Paris: Editeur Les Belles Lettres, 1954) and Margit Frenk, *Las jarchas mozárabes y los comienzos de la lírica románica* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1975). Indispensable to both the musician and literary historian is the classic study by Antonio Sánchez Romeralo, *El villancico: estudios sobre la lírica popular en los siglos XV y XVI* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1969).

collection of music by Spanish masters of the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, the 1852 *Lira sacro-hispana*, contains a lone villancico among hundreds of pages of religious works for varying choral formations.⁶ In the later nineteenth and early twentieth century Spanish musical historiography had other concerns than the villancico—as the musicologist Ros-Fábregas notes, a nationalist construction of a Spanish (specifically Castilian) polyphonic school free of Franco-Flemish and Italian influences occupied the attention of the leading figures Pedrell, Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, Rafael Mitjana and the French admirer of Spanish polyphony, Henry Collet.⁷ Renewed interest in the villancico would come not from Spanish musicologists, but rather from the Catalanian canon and ex maestro de capilla of the Seville cathedral and the Corpus Christi parish church in Valencia, Vicenç Ripollès. In his 1935 monograph on the villancico and cantata in eighteenth-century Valencia, Ripollès provides a succinct description of the formal aspects of the genre, along with musical examples drawn from the archive of the Valencia cathedral.⁸ On the other side of the Atlantic, the Mexican composer Miguel Bernal Jiménez published a 1939 monograph similar to that of Ripollès, exploring the villancicos and other colonial period music contained in the music archive of the Colegio de Santa Rosa de Santa María of Morelia, Michoacán.⁹ In

⁶ Felipe Pedrell, *Diccionario técnico de la música* (Barcelona: Imprenta de Víctor Berdós, 1894). Hilarión Eslava, *Lira sacro-hispana: gran colección de obras de música religiosa* (Madrid: M. Martín Salazar, 1852–1860). The villancico in question is a two-choir piece by Matías Veana (ca.1656–ca.1707) in imitation Asturian speech with macaronic Latin insertions entitled ‘Benedicamus benedico’. Veana was maestro at two important convents in Madrid, the Royal Descalzas and the Encarnación.

⁷ Emilio Ros-Fábregas, “Foreign” music and musicians in sixteenth-century Spain’ in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Hapsburgs: Music and Court Ceremony in Early Modern Europe*, eds. J. J. Carreras, B. García, English edition T. Knighton (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 69–70.

⁸ Vicenç Ripollès, *El villancico i la cantata del segle XVIII a València* (Barcelona: Institut d’estudis catalans, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1935).

⁹ Miguel Bernal Jiménez, *El Archivo Musical del Colegio de Santa Rosa de Santa María de Valladolid* (Mexico City: Editorial Cultura, 1939). Bernal Jiménez’ monograph is of slender academic value in the present day. However, it did stimulate some interest in music of the viceregal period which might otherwise have remained unknown.

both cases, regional pride seems to have been the motive for bringing compositions from a local music archive to light; these publications were the prelude to renewed interest in the villancico, inspired by the authors' respective cities, Valencia and Morelia.

After these beginnings made by the practical church musician Ripollès and the Rome-trained expert for sacred music Bernal Jiménez, considerable space was dedicated to issues of form in studies of the villancico. Certainly this was the case of Isabel Pope's initial reflections on the villancico as a musical-poetical form, which shared a volume with transcriptions and commentaries on the Cancionero de Upsala by Jesús Bal y Gay and Rafael Mitjana.¹⁰ José Subirá's 1962 'historical sketch' (bosquejo histórico) of the villancico as a literary-musical entity attempted to provide a typology and historical framework for the genre from its beginnings on into the eighteenth century.¹¹ Subirá's comments on the villancico suffered from various inaccuracies; Subirá identified authentic villancico form wholly with that of the virelai, ignoring later formal developments. Subirá's chronological treatment of the sacred villancico is undifferentiated, equating the villancico to the Italian cantata without regard to period. Furthermore, contiguous performance of several numbers in a villancico set is assumed, without taking into account the liturgical readings which occurred between each of them (see 'liturgical function' below). In a 1979 publication, the specialist for Spanish

¹⁰ Isabel Pope, Jesús Bal y Gay and Rafael Mitjana, Cancionero de Upsala, Introducción, notas y comentarios de Rafael Mitjana, transcripción musical en notación moderna de Jesús Bal y Gay, con un estudio sobre "El villancico polifónico" de Isabel Pope (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1944).

¹¹ José Subirá, 'El villancico literario-musical. Bosquejo histórico'. Revista de Literatura, 22, (1962): 5–27.

polyphony Samuel Rubio contributed an outline history of the villancico.¹² As Álvaro Torrente remarks, this study was impeded by a gap in sources from between the time of Juan Bautista Comes (ca.1582—1643) and that of Antonio Soler (ca.1729—1783).¹³ Rubio had in fact utilised the only non-manuscript villancico sources available to him— at that time he was engaged in a study of Soler, while José Climent had published four volumes of Comes' vernacular music only shortly before, beginning in 1977.¹⁴ Though competent, Rubio's study was somewhat distorted by this chronological gap, and also by the unusual characteristics of the composers he had chosen.¹⁵ In English language publications, Laird dedicated ample space in his large scale study of the villancico to matters of form, while Torrente has commented at length on formal matters in two articles.¹⁶ Both these authors view the term villancico as a generic designation that includes the cantada, basing their view on liturgical function. This point merits further attention, and will be discussed below.

The difficulty of arriving at an all-embracing definition of the villancico in its many manifestations over three centuries often frustrated scholarly undertakings, as was the case of Isabel Pope's article on the subject in the first edition of *New Grove*.¹⁷ If not precisely contested, the villancico as a genre was not well understood in Anglophone

¹² Samuel Rubio, *Forma del villancico polifónico desde el siglo XV hasta el XVIII* (Cuenca: Instituto de Música Religiosa de la Excelentísima Diputación Provincial, 1979)

¹³ Álvaro Torrente, 'The Villancico in Early Modern Spain: Issues of Form, Genre and Function' *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies*, 8, (2000): 58–77.

¹⁴ José Climent (ed.), *Juan Bautista Comes, Obras en lengua romance*, four volumes (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1977–1979).

¹⁵ Torrente, 'The Villancico in Early Modern Spain', 62.

¹⁶ Laird, *Towards a History*. Álvaro Torrente, 'Italianate Sections in the Villancicos of the Royal Chapel, 1700-1740', in *Music in Spain during the Eighteenth Century*, eds. M. Boyd and J. J. Carreras (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and 'The Villancico in Early Modern Spain'. The forthcoming volumes 3 and 4 of the *Historia de la música en España e Hispanoamérica* published by the Fondo de Cultura Económico in Madrid promise to gather Torrente's somewhat dispersed considerations on the villancico into a common location.

¹⁷ Isabel Pope, 'Villancico'. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Eds. S. Sadie and J. Tyrell. London: Macmillan Publishers, 1980. xix: 767–770.

musicology despite the dissemination given to it by Pope, and by the prodigious American musicologist Robert Stevenson. Stevenson's conception of the villancico was one of a popular, if not outright folkloric genre—a genre which declined in the eighteenth century due to encroaching bad taste generated by Italian influence.¹⁸ This stance, which primarily concerned the novohispanic villancico, was unnuanced and did little to further understanding of the genre. The negative evaluation assigned by Stevenson and others to eighteenth-century Spanish music had largely been revised by the late 1990s with the publication of Laird's monograph and the omnibus volume *Music in Spain during the Eighteenth Century*. One large scale task that remains for the musicologist is the articulation of the stylistic changes that occurred contemporaneously with the historically crucial change of dynasty in Spain from Habsburg to Bourbon in 1700. Hispanist musicology is fully engaged in this process at the present, and indeed one of the purposes of this thesis is to examine these stylistic changes as they occurred locally in the novohispanic villancico. In order to do this, it is necessary to define the characteristics of the villancico as a genre in the seventeenth century.

2.2 Defining the Villancico circa 1600: Covarrubias' Lexicon, Cerone's Treatise and the Poetry Manuals of Rengifo and Carvallo

By the dawn of the seventeenth century the word villancico had acquired a relatively fixed meaning in the consciousness of the Spanish speakers who inhabited a sprawling empire stretching from Madrid to Manila. The lexicographer and prebendary of the

¹⁸ Robert Stevenson, *Music in Mexico: A Historical Survey*, 155. 'Acentos folklóricos en la música mexicana temprana'. *Heterofonía*, 10, no. 1 (1976–1977): 5–7.

Cuenca cathedral, Sebastián de Covarrubias (1539–1613), provides some insight into this meaning in his 1611 *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, the first major monolingual dictionary of the Spanish language. The villancico did not merit its own entry, but rather is mentioned in the context of two other musical terms:

Chançoneta, corruption of chansonette, diminutive of chanson. The villancicos that are sung on the nights of Christmas in the churches in the vulgar tongue with a certain type of happy and joyful music are called chançonetas.

Villanescas, songs that villagers are accustomed to sing when they are alone. But the courtiers, imitating them, have composed in that manner and measure happy little songs. The villancicos, so much celebrated in the feasts of Christmas and Corpus Christi, are of the same origin.¹⁹

Thus, we catch a brief but clear glimpse of the meaning that the term villancico held for the churchman Covarrubias, and the meaning he intended to convey to his readers: the villancico is a song in the vernacular with joyful music, sung in church on the occasions of Christmas and Corpus Christi. Though Covarrubias' duties in the choir would not have extended beyond plainchant, the *Tesoro* displays a sharp, discerning eye for musical matters.²⁰ The lexicographer's understanding of the term villancico can be

¹⁹ Sebastián Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611). 'Chançoneta, corrompido de cancioneta, diminutivo de canción. Dícense chançonetas los villancicos que se cantan las noches de Navidad en las iglesias en lengua vulgar, con cierto género de música alegre y regocijado.', 291. 'Villanescas, las canciones que suelen cantar los villanos cuando están en solaz. Pero los cortesanos remedándolos han compuesto a este modo y mensura cantarcillos alegres. Ese mismo origen tienen los villancicos tan celebrados en los fiestas de Navidad y Corpus Christi.', 74. The pagination of this book ends at 602 with the letter Q, beginning again with R as page 1. The C cedilla of the word 'chançoneta' has been rendered as Z in my translation, as it would be in later Spanish orthography.

²⁰ Covarrubias' lament for the decline of the vihuela and the corresponding rise of the guitar is often cited; see the entry for 'viguela'. Other terms of musical interest abound, such as 'tono', where Covarrubias enumerates eight ecclesiastical modes, 'harpa' (arpa), which Covarrubias describes as being played with a similar technique to that of the harpsichord or organ, and 'chirimías' where the sackbut is named as the bass of the shawm consort. The *Tesoro* names the 'tonada' as an air in the vernacular accompanied by the guitar.

corroborated in other period sources, such as the 1613 music treatise by Pietro Cerone (1566–1625), *El melopeo y maestro*.²¹

Cerone published his labyrinthine Spanish language treatise at Naples only two years after Covarrubias' lexicon had appeared. The Italian Cerone spent his life in the service of Spanish masters, first at Oristano in Spanish-controlled Sardinia, then at Madrid and later as a member of the Royal Chapel in the Spanish viceroyalty of Naples.²² *El melopeo y maestro* had enormous influence in the Spanish-speaking world, acquiring in the Spanish sphere an authority similar to that of Zarlino in a pan-European context.²³ Cerone is deprecatory in his mentions of the villancico, telling us that Spanish composers are not as hard-working as those of Italy; instead of composing Masses and motets, which according to Cerone is more fatiguing, Spanish composers are content to write 'a half dozen villancicos in all the year'.²⁴ In another largely deprecatory passage concerning the villancico, the author reminds us of the Tridentine prohibition against 'canto lascivum aut impurum', and laments the use of the vernacular rather than Latin in the church. A salient feature of *El melopeo y maestro* is Cerone's insistence on distinction between musical types. According to the author, the chanzoneta must consist primarily of consonances, be almost wholly homophonic, and possess a light, graceful, joyful character.²⁵ As in the lexicon, chanzoneta and villancico are used as cognate terms. Like Covarrubias, Cerone mentions the villancico alongside the villanesca, stating that both are forms that require repetition.

²¹ Pietro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro: tratado de música teórica y práctica; en que se pone por extenso; lo que uno para hacerse perfecto músico ha menester saber* (Naples: Bautista Gargano and Lucrezio Nucci, 1613).

²² Barton Hudson, 'Cerone, Pietro'. *New Grove*, v, 380.

²³ Many subsequent Spanish treatises cite Cerone, among them Andrés Lorente (1672), Antonio Roel de Rio (1760 and 1764) and Antonio Soler (1765 and 1766).

²⁴ Cerone, *El melopeo*, '...en todo el año media docena de villancicos', 152.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 693. Cerone provides explicit instructions for the setting of the madrigal, hymn, motet and Mass.

The confluence of these two terms in lexicon and treatise seems to have been more a matter of fashion than the two types sharing a like substance. Francisco Guerrero had published a volume of *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* in Venice in 1589, but preferred the native term *villancico* in the prologue to his book, *El viaje de Jerusalem* (1593), in which he speaks of arranging the printing and proofing of his *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* with ‘maestro Ioseph Zerlino, maestro de capilla de San Marco y de la señoría de Venecia’.²⁶ In the same prologue Guerrero uses *chansoneta* interchangeably with *villancico*, just as Covarrubias does in his definition. This would seem to suggest that by the final decade of the sixteenth century the term *villancico* was already being used generically to mean a vernacular composition for church use. The term *villanesca* appears much less frequently in this period than the terms *villancico* or *chansoneta*. It is entirely possible that Covarrubias felt more obliged to define the borrowed Italian word than the mundane native one, whose meaning was known well enough not to require comment. Likewise, as Guerrero refers to the pieces in his own collection of songs as *villancicos* and *chansonetas*, one could conjecture that the designation *villanescas* was used to stimulate sales of the volume in Italy.

If Covarrubias provides a ‘cultural’ definition of the *villancico* in his lexicon, Juan Díaz Rengifo (1553–1615) and Luis Alfonso de Carvallo (1571–1635) furnish formal technical models in their respective treatises on poetry, the 1592 *Arte poética española*, and the *Cisne de Apolo*, the ‘Swan of Apollo’ from 1602.²⁷ The authors of both treatises describe the *villancico* as consisting of a ‘head’ and ‘feet’ (*cabeza y pies*),

²⁶ Francisco Guerrero, *El viaje de Jerusalem que hizo Francisco Guerrero, racionero y maestro de capilla de la santa Iglesia de Sevilla* (Valencia: Herederos de Joan Navarro, 1593), 8. ‘Zerlino’ is of course Zarlino.

²⁷ Juan Díaz Rengifo, *Arte poética española* (Salamanca: Miguel Serrano de Vargas, 1592), Luis Alfonso de Carvallo, *Cisne de Apolo* (Medina del Campo: Juan Godínez, 1602).

terms which correspond to the common villancico morphology of refrain and verses, or estribillo and coplas as they would later come to be called. According to Carvallo, the head of the villancico must be a meaningful, pithy phrase which is then glossed, commented on, or explained in the several verses of the feet. After the commentary contained in the feet of the villancico, the head returns, either literally, or with new verse interpolated. Rengifo notes that sure rules of versification cannot be given for some villancicos, because they depend more on music than on verse form. Carvallo makes a similar observation, noting that new villancicos are being invented every day, which are 'more subject to the consonances of music than to the rules of poetry'.²⁸

Before leaving this period definition of the villancico in the time around 1600, it will be productive to return to Covarrubias' definition once again, as it provides some insight into the nature of the genre. The lexicographer tells us that the villanesca is a courtier's imitation of the songs that villagers sing when they are alone, and that the villancico is of the same origin. Thus, for Covarrubias, the villancico is a courtly stylisation of a rustic song. This would seem to be very much at odds with the often cited etymology which derives villancico directly from villano, a peasant or rustic. This seemingly logical etymology, repeated many times over in such sources as the New Grove Dictionary, Musik in der Geschichte und Gegenwart, Isabel Pope's study 'The Musical and Metrical Form of the Villancico' and Paul Laird's Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico, reveals itself to be problematic at several levels, however. At the musico-poetic level, the villancico seems to have been from the beginning a courtly stylisation by learned poets and composers, and not a direct imitation of rustic or

²⁸ Alfonso de Carvallo, *El cisne de Apolo*. '...que están más sujetos a las consonancias de la música que a las reglas poéticas.', 85.

peasant songs, having only the component of the little refrain, or estribillo in common with the songs of the villagers. However, the most serious defect in this etymology is the presence of the /s/ or /θ/ phoneme (or any number of variants between these sounds; this would have depended on the speaker's regional origin and social class) represented by the first letter 'c' in the word villancico. As the linguist Yakov Malkiel and the literary historian Charlotte Stern note in a joint 1984 article, this phoneme was neither part of the word villano, nor of the various diminutive endings -ico, -ete, or -illo as they occurred in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.²⁹ Indeed, Wilhelm Meyer-Lübcke, the great scholar of the Romance languages, may have been aware of this problem and did not venture the etymology villano > villancico in his *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, though he does class the Italian musical term 'villanelle' as deriving directly from Latin 'villanus', villager.³⁰ Malkiel and Stern propose a solution to the intrusive 'c', positing an unattested intermediate form *villance, 'in the manner of villagers', much in the way of the well-attested forms romance, 'in romance manner' and vascuence, 'in the Basque manner'.³¹ Malkiel and Stern's conjecture of an adverbial term *villance meaning 'in the manner of villagers' tallies very neatly with Covarrubias' definition: the courtly aspect of the villancico is accounted for in etymological terms, while the problematic direct derivation from villano is dispensed with.

²⁹ Yakov Malkiel and Charlotte Stern 'The Etymology of Spanish *villancico* "Carol"; Certain Literary Implications of this Etymology', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 61, no.2 (1984): 139.

³⁰ Wilhelm Meyer-Lübcke, 'villanus', *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1911), 712.

³¹ Malkiel and Stern 'The Etymology of Spanish villancico', 139.

2.3 Common Morphology of the Villancico: Estribillo and Coplas

Of all the European song types which could be considered to be distinct genres, the sacred villancico was arguably the most intensively cultivated for the longest period of time, from the early decades of the sixteenth century to the later eighteenth century, and beyond in some localities. From at least 1580, the sacred villancico as a genre may be largely identified with the common villancico morphology of estribillo, a refrain, and coplas, a set of verses which elaborate on the theme, metaphor, or concept set out in estribillo. Several scholars, foremost among them Álvaro Torrente and Bernardo Illari, have wished to nuance this view of the intermingling of form and genre—Torrente proposes that all vernacular songs performed in a sacred context might be designated as villancicos through their liturgical function, while Illari proposes the term ‘metagenre’ for the villancico, that is to say a genre in constant dialogue with other musical and poetical types, capable of absorbing and transforming influences from them.³² While these qualifying views separating form from genre are both useful and valid, for the purposes of this thesis, I would propose that villancico form and villancico genre may be seen as largely identical, at least for the period of time and geographical area under study—archival research of the extant novohispanic sources confirmed this view in an overwhelming manner. This might be attributed to a large extent to the relative absence of foreign musical influences in Mexico before the mid-eighteenth century—this lack of outside influence, and existence in a geographical (though not artistic) periphery tended to fossilise older musical practices.

³² Torrente, ‘The Villancico in Early Modern Spain’, 73. Bernardo Illari, ‘Polychoral Culture: Cathedral Music in La Plata (Bolivia), 1630–1730’ (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2001), 140.

The Spanish Crown's official emigration policy restricted the entry of foreigners into New Spain; in any case, few non-Castilians undertook the long and hazardous voyage to Veracruz to exercise their trades in the New World, although there are isolated cases of French and Italian musicians appearing in Mexico City around the end of the War of the Spanish Succession. This lack of foreigners circulating in Mexico meant in concrete terms that novohispanic composers and performers were not exposed to French, Italian, or (in the case of Barcelona) Viennese music during the first decades of the eighteenth century, as were many musicians in the Iberian Peninsula, particularly those of the Royal Chapel. Nor had there been the foment of the sporadic but influential theatrical undertakings as had taken place in Madrid in the later years of Charles II's reign. Thus, the Italianate sections which were finding their way into the villancicos of the Spanish Royal Chapel in the first two decades of the eighteenth century were simply not present in New Spain—nor was the incipient recitado [recitative] which would soon take root in Spain.³³ After 1700, the Mexico City maestro Antonio de Salazar continued to compose the same type of villancico that he had produced in the previous century, as did his counterpart in Puebla, the Spanish emigrant Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana (fl. 1680–1705). Dallo y Lana's successor in Puebla, Miguel de Riva Pastor (died 1712) carried on writing in the traditional villancico style for the Puebla cathedral and the Santísima Trinidad convent. The musical changes taking place in Madrid had not yet emanated outwards to New Spain.

Lacking the patronage of a royal court or the presence of foreign musicians bringing their national styles and instruments with them, the novohispanic composer

³³ Álvaro Torrente, 'Italianate Sections in the Villancicos of the Royal Chapel, 1700–40', 74.

tended to cultivate musical idioms as they had been handed down to him, with the traditional instrumentarium and vocal forces.³⁴ In the case of the villancico, this was the form as it had been cultivated during the seventeenth century—musically speaking this was an estribillo and coplas, sometimes varied with an introduction to the estribillo, or a *responsión* to the coplas, though these were mere additions to the basic scheme.

In this regular scheme, the through-composed estribillo was repeated after the last copla was sung, rounding off the musical form to ABBBA, with the B section repeated an undefined number of times, most often three or more.³⁵ This scheme has a number of formal implications which will be introduced here, but discussed in more detail in the study which follows. The first of these implications involves the formal articulation of the piece: the through-composed estribillo existed in opposition to the strophic coplas in a number of different ways. Textually, the estribillo was typically a simple construction with abundant repetitions of the words, which was then contrasted to the prolix strophic coplas. Setting the text of the estribillo was a relatively straightforward process in which the composer strove to deliver a recurring message to the churchgoer—fitting music to the coplas was a different and more complex matter, however, many times requiring the singer (or singers) to make rhythmic adjustments in order to retain prosodic accents. As stated, the coplas were a textual elaboration on the idea contained in the estribillo and could contain a good number of varying verses set to the same music. Indeed, the erudite critic Benito Feijóo (1676–1764) took the composer Sebastián Durón (1660–1716) to task for ‘varying six, or eight times the affect of a

³⁴ The viceroys do not seem to have acted as musical patrons to any perceptible degree.

³⁵ The coplas could precede the estribillo in some cases; this variation, sometimes called a *romance*, will be discussed below.

song' in the same copla.³⁶ Durón could hardly have accomplished this feat in a strophic song, so that variation in the affect of the poetry likely sparked Feijóo's negative criticism. Thus, the weightier section of the villancico in a textual sense fell in the varied coplas, with the estribillo being relatively simpler. Musically, these positions were reversed, with the estribillo receiving the bulk of the composer's attention, while the coplas were set to a shorter strophic period. A final important point of opposition between estribillo and coplas is the difference in choral forces being employed in each section. While the large choral mass was employed in the estribillo, the coplas were the province of soloists. This unique application of the concertato principle helped to preserve a measure of textual intelligibility, assigning the more difficult task of singing the wordy coplas to a soloist or soloists, while the larger choir, including the choirboys, took on the textually simpler estribillo. In smaller scale works, the same type of opposition of vocal forces may be seen—the villancico form embodied the concertato principle in both larger and smaller choral formations.

2.4 Liturgical Function of the Villancico

The liturgical function of the villancico as a responsory in the Office of Matins has wide-ranging ramifications for its development as a musical form and its existence as a genre. In the Roman liturgy, Matins was an elaborate service divided into three nocturns, each of which had a reading of three lessons drawn from the Scripture; for

³⁶ Benito Feijóo, *Teatro crítico universal* (Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, 1769), 275. '...variaba seis, u ocho veces los afectos del canto'. The *Teatro crítico* was a collection of essays on various subjects written between 1726 and 1739.

each reading there was a corresponding responsory.³⁷ In accordance with Roman tradition, the last reading was answered with the *Te Deum*, a practice which was followed in the cathedrals of the Spanish-speaking world.³⁸ José López-Calo traces the origin of vernacular songs being sung as responsories to late fifteenth-century Granada under the aegis of the archbishop Hernando de Talavera (1428–1507). Talavera had become archbishop of Granada in 1493, only a year after the final handover to the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabel of this last Muslim stronghold on the Iberian Peninsula. López-Calo cites as his source an anonymous contemporaneous biography of the Spanish prelate, which reads: ‘In the place of the responsories, he had devout verses sung, corresponding to the lessons. In this way the saintly man attracted the people to Matins and to the Mass’.³⁹ The anonymous biographer adds that Talavera became the object of criticism for allowing the Spanish language to be introduced into the church ceremony, but upon seeing how much the people were ‘encouraged and consoled’ by these songs, he took the criticism ‘as mosquito bites and darts flung by the hands of children’.⁴⁰ This controversy over the authorisation of vernacular songs in the place of Latin responsories in church ceremony was to be repeated many times over in the coming centuries. As the confessor of Isabel I of Castile, Talavera would have been one of the nerve centres of the court which was driving to unify Spain, possibly even enjoying tacit royal consent for what López terms the ‘initiative’ to introduce the

³⁷ Edward J. Quigley, *The Divine Office: A Study of the Roman Breviary* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1920).

³⁸ *Ibid.* However, the *Te Deum* was not sung on the Sundays of Advent, from Septuagesima to Palm Sunday, or the three days before Easter, where there were nine responses at Matins.

³⁹ López-Calo, *La música en las catedrales*, 314, citing the anonymous manuscript held by the Royal Academy of History (Spain), *Breve suma de la santa vida del Reverendísimo y Bienaventurado don Fray Hernando de Talavera*, catalogue no. 9-25-6, folio 149v. ‘En lugar de responsos hacía cantar algunas coplas devotísimas correspondientes a los liciones [lecciones]. Desta manera atraía el santo varón la gente a los maitines como a la misa’.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, ‘animado y consolado’, ‘...por picaduras de mosquito y por saetas echadas por manos de niños’.

villancico.⁴¹ In any case, as the Spanish musicologist notes, the villancico had become universal practice in Spain and its colonies by the mid sixteenth century.

Although Talavera's anonymous biographer mentions the Mass as well as Matins as the occasion for the singing of 'devout verses' in the vernacular, the sacred villancico became specialised to Matins in Mexico.⁴² A salient example of this use of the villancico in Matins may be found in the chapter records of the Puebla cathedral—in 1633 the chapter stipulated the hour and usage of the villancico in Christmas Matins:

...at eleven the said Matins will commence, and in them all the lessons will be sung in totum without leaving out a single thing, and the chanzoneta will serve as the response, which will be recited praying while the singing takes place.⁴³

There were several exceptions to the specialisation of the villancico to Matins: the most important exception were the siestas, a sort of spiritual concert given during Corpus Christi and its octave, intended to attract people into the church to contemplate the Host being displayed on the altar. The siestas had a long tradition in the novohispanic cathedrals—as early as 1614 the Mexico City chapter records report that:

...this year three hundred pesos will be divided among the musicians who assisted at the solemnities of the octave of the feast of Corpus—at the hours extraordinary to those of the choir—with their instruments, as much those of the keyboard as those of the harps, guitars, and the cadre of instruments of the ministriles.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Ibid., 'iniciativa'.

⁴² Bernardo Illari disputes López-Calo's assertion that the custom of replacing the great responsories of Matins with villancicos was taken up in other Spanish cathedrals, Illari, 'Polychoral Culture', 152. This contestation is problematic, as Matins became the main occasion for chanzonetas and villancicos throughout the Spanish-speaking world.

⁴³ Archivo del Venerable Cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla, Actas Capitulares, libro 10, folio 376v. '...a las once comienzen los dichos Maitines, y en ellos se canten todas la lecciones in totum sin dejar cosa alguna de ellas y que la chanzoneta sirva de responsorio, el cual se diga rezado mientras se estuviere cantando'.

⁴⁴ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral, Actas Capitulares, libro 5, folio 367v, of 27 May 1614. '...se reparten este año trescientos pesos entre los músicos que acudieron a la solemnidad del octavario de la fiesta de Corpus—a las horas extraordinarios a las del coro—con instrumentos, así de teclas como de arpas, guitarras, e instrumentos de la copla de ministriles'.

Almost a century and half later, the ceremonial book of the Cathedral stipulated that the church musicians would appear all the eight days of Corpus, singing villancicos with all of the musical chapel present, ‘from two in the afternoon until three’.⁴⁵ This appears to have been an uninterrupted yearly practice; certainly the number of mentions in the cathedral chapter records of payments to musicians for the Corpus celebration attest to the longevity of the siestas.⁴⁶

Another exception to the Matins specialisation were the unusually prolix villancicos sung upon the profession of a nun—this was an occasion which called for a thorough musical celebration, with the nun’s adopted religious name being interspersed liberally in the sung verses. Finally, the villancico de calenda sung at the Christmas Eve vigil constituted another important non-Matins occasion. The Mexico City ceremonial book is quite explicit about calenda practice—‘the choir attends and sings a villancico’ after the reading of the calenda, or Christmas Proclamation.⁴⁷ The *Diario Manual* further stipulates that, ‘after the singing is finished, lights and the image of the captive Holy Child are placed in the gentleman Archbishop’s seat in the choir’.⁴⁸ It is probable that the villancico de calenda sung at the vigil was repeated the next day at Christmas

⁴⁵ *Diario Manual de lo que en esta Santa Iglesia Catedral de Mexico se practica, y observa* (1751), National Library of Spain MS 12066, folio 54v.

⁴⁶ Unfortunately, musical evidence of this yearly activity in the Mexico City cathedral is missing, with only two extant villancicos dedicated to the ‘Santísimo Sacramento’, the most holy Sacrament, to be found in the Estrada collection. While no villancicos written for the octave Corpus Christi are preserved in the Oaxaca music archive, the Sánchez Garza collection evidences several occurrences of Spanish importations for the occasion by the authors Diego de Casseda, Sebastián Durón, Cristóbal Galán, Juan Hidalgo, Carlos Patiño and Diego Joseph de Salazar (save for the first and last, all maestros of the Spanish Royal Chapel). The Colegio de Santa Rosa also evidences Spanish importations for Corpus by Gregorio Remacha and José de Nebra, among others. However, the richest source of music written for the siestas of Corpus is the archive of the Guatemala Cathedral, with numerous works for the occasion by both local and Spanish authors. Joseph de Torres figures extremely prominently in works written for this occasion; over two dozen villancicos for the Holy Sacrament by this author are to be found in the Guatemala archive.

⁴⁷ *Diario Manual*, folio 108r. ‘Asiste la capilla y canta [un] villancico’.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* ‘...después que se acabe de cantar, y en el coro se ponen luces y la imagen del Santo Niño Cautivo en la silla del S[eñor] Arzobispo’.

Matins; in the Puebla archive these pieces appear bound with other Christmas villancicos in the part books, many times on the same page with the following piece.

Despite these exceptions, when villancicos and chanzonetas are mentioned in such sources as the chapter records of the various cathedrals, the 1751 Mexico City ceremonial book (which codified previous usage), the numerous endowments for memorials, or the many chapbook imprints of villancico texts, the reference is invariably to Matins. A number of examples will serve to illustrate this connection, for example the endowment in Oaxaca in 1668 of villancicos for the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, with the stipulation that, ‘...the Matins must begin to be sung at five in the afternoon with all solemnity and its villancicos at the end of the lessons, in each nocturn’.⁴⁹ A 1701 request by the choirboy Joseph Victoriano to be kept on after his voice had broken is an example of the many types of singing required of trebles: ‘For the nine years that I have been serving in the choir, in the time that I had a treble voice, I sang everything that presented itself, such as versicles and ecclesiastical songs, and the villancicos in Matins’.⁵⁰ The ceremonial book of the Mexico City cathedral is also explicit about Matins: on first class days, the musical chapel sings ‘the responsories or villancicos of the lessons’, indicating the highly interchangeable nature of the two.⁵¹ Finally, the many chapbook imprints from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries show the division of villancico texts into the three nocturns of Matins, often mentioning Matins explicitly on the cover, as in Figure 2 below. ‘Villancicos which were sung in

⁴⁹ Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Oaxaca, Libro 1, folio 267–267v of 4 September 1668. ‘...los maitines se han de comenzar a las cinco de la tarde con toda solemnidad, y sus villancicos al fin de los liciones, en cada nocturno’.

⁵⁰ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Correspondencia, Caja 23, Expediente 2, 1701. ‘...que ha tiempo de nueve años que estoy sirviendo en el coro, y en el tiempo que tuve voz de tiple, canté, todo cuanto se ofreció, así de versículos, como de cantos eclesiásticos; como de villancicos en los maitines’.

⁵¹ Diario Manual, folio 3v.

the Holy Cathedral Church of Puebla de los Ángeles in the Matins of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ this year of 1682. Composed in musical metre by Antonio de Salazar, chapelmaster of the said Holy Church’.

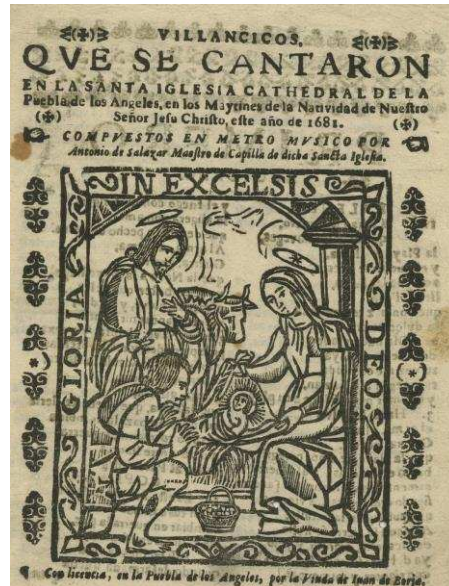


Figure 2, Villancicos sung at Christmas Matins

As has been noted, a villancico followed the reading of each Matins lesson, with the Te Deum sung as the last responsory. Thus, the villancicos required of a maestro de capilla for each occasion were eight in number—even with Christmas, Corpus Christi and the cathedral dedicatee taken as an absolute minimum, this meant composing twenty-four new pieces a year; invariably, there were more. This was a far cry from Cerone’s derisive ‘half dozen villancicos in all the year’ which he attributed to Spanish composers. Quite the opposite was true; the Spanish composer was called upon to produce a good number of villancicos each year, along with more durable Latin-texted works destined primarily for the triduum sacra of Holy Week. To this, the strain of looking for adequate texts which could pass even a minimum of theological muster should be considered—in many institutions this was considered to be part of a

maestro's work and required him to constantly seek large quantities of new verse to set. The necessity of this constant production of new music each year implied a serial type of composition in which many musical/rhetorical formulae were repeated time after time. The result was a small scale, but generally well-crafted set of eight pieces, helped along by the formal scheme of *estribillo*–*coplas*. Indeed, if the sacred oratorio of Carissimi or Charpentier could be described as an oil canvas painted on a large scale, the villancico was a delightful fresco, dashed off all at once by an able but many times hurried artisan.

2.5 Villancico Verse

In order to complete this introduction to the villancico it will be necessary to examine the vernacular texts which composers around the Spanish world were required to set year after year—these texts are arguably the most ephemeral aspect of the villancico, and have led in some cases to the generalised image of a popular or even folkloric genre. As seen above, the archbishop Talavera sought to move his congregations to greater devotion through having ‘devout verses’ sung in the vernacular. In the Baroque era, this apologia for the existence of vernacular songs in the church persisted; for example in the 1649 *Tratado del Oficio Divino* [Treatise on the Divine Office], the author Juan Bustamente asserts that ‘villancicos and other divine lyrics [...] not only do not cause indecency, but move more to devotion, and cause those who know less to have a better estimation of the feasts that they see celebrated’.⁵² However, complaints about the nature of these ‘divine lyrics’ had already been heard in Cerone’s *Melopeo y*

⁵² Juan Bustamente, *Tratado del Oficio Divino* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1649), 329. ‘...villancicos, y otras letras divinas [...] no solamente no causan indecencia, pero muevan más a devoción, y a los que saben menos, hagan mayor estimación de las fiestas que ven celebrar’.

maestro; the villancico featuring ‘diversity of languages’ made the ‘Church of God into an auditorium of comedias’.⁵³ Certainly, by mid-seventeenth century such text types as the villancico de negros (pseudo-African dialect), the jácara (stylised diction and lexis adopted from literary versions of criminal slang), and many other pseudo-languages had become a fixture in villancico sets, especially those for Christmas. These were hardly the ‘devout verses’ of Talavera, or the ‘devout and honest songs’ envisioned by the Third Mexican Provincial Council in 1585.⁵⁴ The historian José Antonio Maravall diagnoses the type of poetic manifestation embodied in the seventeenth century *comedia* (and verse such as the villancico) as a shift away from the superior culture of the Renaissance towards what he terms *kitsch*, or *Masscult*, the mass culture of the Baroque.⁵⁵ The mass demand in the seventeenth century for new cultural artefacts was met with a disproportional increase in the number of mediocre writers and artists producing for a public with a mediocre cultural level, Maravall posits.⁵⁶ This seems to have been the case in New Spain, where cleverness of invention, or *agudeza* as it was known in Spanish, was prized over substance in the numerous poetry contests which took place on a regular basis.⁵⁷ The relentless cleverness of the poetry contest entrants was often directed towards religious subjects such as Corpus Christi or the Immaculate

⁵³ Cerone, *El Melopeo y maestro*, 196. ‘...diversidad de lenguages’, ‘...Iglesia de Dios un auditorio de comedias’.

⁵⁴ Basilio Arrillaga (commentary), *Concilio III Provincial Mexicano, Celebrado en México el Año de 1585* (Mexico City: Eugenio Maillefert y Compañía, 1859), LXXX. ‘...canciones devotas y honestas’, ‘...*Cantilenas rithmicas devotas quidem et honestas*’. Arrillaga provided a Spanish translation and commentary on the dictates of the synod.

⁵⁵ Maravall, *La cultura del Barroco*, 187. Maravall adopts the terms ‘*Masscult*’ and ‘*Midcult*’ from the American author and essayist Dwight Macdonald.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 188.

⁵⁷ For the *certámenes*, the frequently held poetry competitions and the superficial nature of some colonial poetry, see Irving Leonard, ‘Some Curiosities of Spanish Colonial Poetry’. *Hispania*, 15, no. 1 (1932): 39–54.

Conception of the Virgin—these poetry contests were the training grounds for the versifiers who wrote the type of poem required each year by villancico composers.

At the opposite pole to the Masscult, Maravall notes the taste in Baroque literature for the difficult and the extreme—this current of the artificial and complicated in Spanish verse had its greatest exponent in Luis de Góngora y Argote (1561–1627), a literary figure whose poetical diction would be widely imitated, notably by the Mexican Hieronymite nun, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651–1695).⁵⁸ Góngora’s influence on Mexican verse of the seventeenth century was pervasive; no versifier of the day escaped the literary devices of culteranismo, which involved difficult metaphors and a Latinising vocabulary and syntax. Even a brief estimation of Góngora’s influence in Latin America (where there seems to have been a special affinity for his poetry) would require many pages of text, and remains outside the scope of this thesis.⁵⁹ However, the influence of Góngora’s style on the poetic component of the villancico will be noted in several of the analyses throughout.

Few villancico librettists were working at the level of Góngora, or his erudite literary follower, Sor Juana. This was not a necessity for the religious message which was to be delivered in the musical celebration of a Church feast. However, the versifiers of the villancico did wish to show off their wit and skill, producing polished verses for the Matins service at hand, which was as much a social occasion as a religious one. The result of these poetic endeavours was Maravall’s Masscult filtered through the prism of

⁵⁸ Maravall notes that these elements of the Baroque, the difficult and the artificial, were also to be found before and after that period, for example in the Mannerism of the later Renaissance, *La cultura del Barroco*, 421–422.

⁵⁹ For an example of the affinity between Góngora and the Mexican poets of the seventeenth century, see Martha Lilia Tenorio, ‘Augustín de Salazar y Torres: Discípulo de Góngora, Maestro de Sor Juana’. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 58, no. 1 (2010): 159–189. An indispensable general guide to Góngora’s influence in New Spain is provided by Alfonso Méndez Plancarte, *Poetas novohispanos (Segundo siglo) (1621–1721) I* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1945).

Góngora's difficult, elevated language. The penchant for cleverness in villancico verse did not abate with the advent of the eighteenth century. As will be seen in Chapter 7, Manuel de Sumaya continued the aesthetic of *agudeza* in his post-1710 Mexico City villancicos, favouring the complicated syntax and word play characteristic of novohispanic poetry.

Many of the principles of classical rhetoric were at work in the villancico—as Bernardo Illari notes in a chapter on the genre, the authors wished to show off their ingenuity (*ingenium*), wakening the admiration (*admiratio*) of the listener, just as the orators of the classical period had sought to do.⁶⁰ The chapbooks which were printed each year performed the vital function of helping the members of the cathedral chapter and other persons of privilege listening to the villancico to distinguish the words being sung, much like an opera libretto in a modern performance. After the celebration of the day had come and gone, the chapbook served as a reminder of the poet's powers of invention, his *ingenium* and *inventio*. The musical component of the piece had a relatively lesser value; it was the product of an artisan who often remained anonymous, or was known only to the performers. Nonetheless, the composer was occasionally mentioned on the chapbook cover with the formulation 'compuestos en metro músico por (name)', although this was not common.

As in other Romance languages, Spanish verse was composed according to number of syllables per line. The most common metre for the villancico was the octosyllabic line, although six and seven syllable lines appeared with great regularity. Composers used repetition of words and phrases freely in their musical settings, so that

⁶⁰ Illari, 'Polychoral Culture', 184.

poetic metre influenced musical rhythm to a much lesser extent than might be suspected. As the theorist and musicologist José González Valle notes, these textual repetitions possessed a marked rhetorical-dramatic character which was heightened through the rhythms employed in the musical composition.⁶¹ As will be seen below, the minor proportion, or **C3** as it was termed in music treatises, was ideally adapted to villancico composition, lending vernacular pieces a highly plastic declamatory quality. This ternary metre was used along with the compasillo (common time) for the setting of villancico texts, while the metres with larger note values were reserved for Latin compositions requiring more gravity.

Finally, any introductory note to the villancico as verse must reiterate its ephemeral and occasional literary nature; only the fewest number of these poems transcend the circumstances for which they were written. Verses of eight syllables and less were called *arte menor*, or minor art—this applied to the villancico in both a technical and general sense. However, when villancico verse was set to music, as it was invariably meant to be, the result was a well-composed song that served its purpose of delivering a religious message in an entertaining fashion. A certain tiredness with traditional villancico themes on the part of poets and composers begins to manifest itself in the middle decades of the eighteenth century; this would eventually lead to the suppression of the villancico and its replacement with Latin responsories. This did not occur simultaneously in all regions of New Spain; there were documented attempts to suppress the villancico as early as 1711 in Mexico City, and an actual suppression in

⁶¹ José González Valle, 'Relación música/texto en la composición musical en castellano del S. XVII. Nueva estructura rítmica de la música española'. *Anuario musical*, 47 (1992): 123.

Oaxaca in 1727. In Guatemala however, the villancico was still being cultivated at the end of the eighteenth century, both in locally produced and imported repertoire.⁶²

2.6 Summary

The standing of the villancico as a genre is uncontested; apart from the sine qua non of repeatability, Dahlhaus's 'constituent features' of genre are met—text, function, scoring (in the sense of the concertato principle applied to a vocal form), and formal model are all present in the sacred villancico over an extended period spanning almost three centuries.⁶³ As seen above, Sebastian Covarrubias, the author of the first comprehensive monolingual dictionary of the Spanish language, understood the villancico in terms of its vernacular text and liturgical function, while Rengifo and Carvallo defined the qualities of the villancico as a poetical form in their treatises. Cerone stops short of giving a formal musical model in the *Melopeo y maestro*, though he does define the harmonic qualities and strophic character of the *chansoneta*, a cognate term for villancico. However, an examination of Guerrero's *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* fills in this musical gap—these pieces show a developed formal model of refrain and verses, or the regular villancico model of A (estribillo) B (an undefined number of coplas) and A (repeat of the estribillo). The perusal of period sources detailed in the foregoing chapter indicates that the villancico had largely acquired the formal characteristics it would display in the ensuing epochs by around 1589, the year of publication of Guerrero's volume of villancicos.

⁶² The Guatemalan composer Nolasco Estrada produced a set of villancicos for St. Peter's day 1789. The year before, the chapel had revived pieces by the maestro of the Spanish Royal Chapel Joseph de Torres (ca.1670–1738), with added instrumental ritornellos by the Guatemalan local Raphael Antonio Castellanos.

⁶³ Carl Dahlhaus, *Schoenberg and the New Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 38.

Despite the solid standing of the villancico as a genre, there has been disagreement among scholars about whether textual subtypes such as the *jácara* and the *ensalada* are villancicos, or separate song genres. This is likewise the case of more than half a dozen designations for vernacular songs with a refrain and verses: *villanesca*, *cuatro*, *romance*, *tonada*, *responsión*, *duo*, *bailete*, *juguete* and others.⁶⁴ Here and throughout this thesis I will argue that villancico form and villancico genre are largely identical in New Spain; the great number of textual subtypes and the numerous designations as seen above may be considered as part of Illari's conception of 'metagenre'—the song form has absorbed and assimilated many other textual types, while retaining its musical shape. The musical elements of *recitado* and *aria* were much slower to make their way into the novohispanic villancico than was the case in Spain, and were usually associated with the *cantada*, which is arguably a separate genre.⁶⁵ The exception to the slower acceptance of the *recitado* and *aria* seems to have been the convent, where the Italianising elements emanating from Madrid were more readily adopted by the musically fashion-conscious criolla nuns.

Research in the various Mexican music archives shows that, with the important exception of the *siestas* of Corpus Christi, the novohispanic villancico became specialised to *Matins*. This had wide ramifications for many aspects of the villancico—its form, liturgical function and musical development were affected by this association with the *Matins* service. The social sphere occupied by the villancico must also be taken

⁶⁴ Miguel Querol Gavaldá comments on the extreme number of verse types as opposed to the simple musical formula of the villancico. See *Transcripción e interpretación de la polifonía española de los siglos XV y XVI* (Madrid: Comisaria Nacional de la Música, 1975), 126.

⁶⁵ A distinction is made in the *Diario Manual*, for example. In the spiritual concerts of the octave of Corpus Christi, the musicians '...are singing villancicos or cantadas with all their instruments', folio 54v. '...están cantando villancicos o cantadas con todos sus instrumentos.'

into account in a study of the genre; the many bequests funding the composition and performance of villancicos for Matins celebrations indicate the social importance of these songs. Far from being inclusive, it could be posited that the novohispanic villancico acted as a cement for a racial and social elite in the settings of cathedral and convent.

The influence of Luis de Góngora on colonial poetry has been noted. As a member of the cathedral chapter of Córdoba, the great poet sometimes descended from the rarefied sphere of the sonnet, occupying himself with villancico texts for the cathedral maestro, Juan de Risco. The similar case of Sor Juana's villancico output for the maestros Antonio de Salazar and Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana will be seen below.

Chapter 3: The Villancico in New Spain circa 1650

As seen in the introductory sections, the musical life of sixteenth-century Spain had been transplanted to the New World, and had developed in close parallel movement on both sides of the Atlantic. The musical atmosphere of seventeenth-century Mexico was thoroughly familiar to Spanish immigrant musicians who had come to exercise their trade in the New World—the repertoire, instruments and performing spaces were so similar to those of Old Spain as to be virtually indistinguishable. Whatever social and physical differences existed outside the world of cathedral and convent—these were many, to be sure—the commonality of musical tradition was overwhelmingly present. In this way, Mexico may be seen as a musical extension of the Spanish tradition in a new geographical context. It should not be forgotten that this tradition was by no means insular—the great Renaissance Spain of the Hapsburg Charles V and his descendants was present in the new geographical context, so much so that a Mexican maestro de capilla such as Francisco López Capillas could at mid-seventeenth century cite motets by Manchicourt and Richafort, or the *L'Homme armé* Masses of Morales and Palestrina in defense of the mensural notation of his *Missa Super Scala Aretinam*.¹ López had very likely sung these very same motets and Masses while in the service of the Church as a choirboy, or had played the bass voice on the dulcian, perhaps reading from the original part-books printed in France in the previous century—in any case, López shared this repertory in common with hundreds of other Spanish musicians in cathedrals and parish

¹ Lester Brothers, 'A New-World Hexachord Mass by Francisco López Capillas'. *Anuario Interamericano de Investigación Musical*, 9 (1973): 19. This mass is prefaced by a remarkable document known as the 'Declaración de Misa' in which López Capillas asserts his authority as maestro de capilla over the choristers, providing instructions on the proper execution of mensural notation.

churches throughout the Spanish Empire. Though Mexico was a three-month sea voyage from Seville, within the walls of the cathedral churches this distance ceased to exist, musically speaking. The cathedral churches of Mexico were no mere musical periphery, but splendid institutions that could stand alongside those of Spain, although they were located at a considerable geographical remove.

The villancico was an integral part of the transplantation of Spanish musical culture to the new territory. As seen previously, the existence of vernacular songs in the church is documented from 1538 in Mexico City, and their composition by the maestro de capilla foreseen in the proceedings of the Third Mexican Provincial Council of 1585. These ‘devout and honest songs’ were cultivated in a similar way on both sides of the Atlantic—Cerone’s prescriptions for the chanzoneta style held as true for the composer working in Puebla or Mexico City as for those in Seville or Málaga. The transatlantic stylistic continuum may be seen in the career of Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, a thoroughly Spanish maestro who settled in Puebla. Yet it is this church musician from Málaga who more than any other has come to symbolise New World identity, difference, and indeed exoticism, through a piece written for the Puebla cathedral in 1653, *Ah siolo Flasiquiyo*, a villancico de negros.² This study of the villancico in New Spain begins with the work of this ‘insigne maestro’, the distinguished master of the Puebla cathedral and author of some of the oldest available villancico sources stemming from the territory of colonial Mexico.

² See Chapter 4, ‘Excursus I, The Villancico de Negros’.

3.1 Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla

The inclusion of Spanish and Spanish American composers in *New Grove*, along with the publication of the *Diccionario de música española e hispanoamericana* and expanded coverage of Hispanic composers in *Die Musik in der Geschichte und Gegenwart* has reduced the need to include extensive biographical information in this thesis.³ Gutiérrez de Padilla's career is one of the best documented among the composers active in New Spain, having been the object of articles by Alice Ray Catalyne, Robert Stevenson, María Gembero Ustárroz, John Koegel, and most recently, the Mexican and Venezuelan scholars Ricardo Miranda and Nelson Hurtado.⁴ However, some salient points of Padilla's career are relevant to the present discussion and will be presented here, along with information generated through research in the Puebla archives. Born in Málaga around 1590, Padilla learnt music as a choirboy at the Colegio de San Sebastian in that same city. He served successively as maestro de capilla in Ronda, the collegiate church at Jerez de la Frontera and later in the cathedral of Cádiz, an upwards trajectory in the Andalusian church music network. Padilla competed for the

³ The *Diccionario de música española e hispanoamericana* brought together the widely dispersed information available on Spanish and Spanish American music. As the editor Casares remarks in the preface, it is an attempt to sum up the vast and complex contribution of Spain and Latin American to musical culture.

⁴ Alice Ray Catalyne, 'The Double-Choir Music of Juan de Padilla, Seventeenth-Century Composer in Mexico' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1953), Robert Stevenson, 'The "Distinguished Maestro" of New Spain: Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla'. *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 35, no. 3 (1955): 363–373, Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico, 47–52, María Gembero Ustárroz. 'El mecenazgo musical de Juan de Palafox (1600–1659), obispo de Puebla de los Ángeles y virrey de la Nueva España' in Palafox: Iglesia, Cultura y Estado en el siglo XVII (Pamplona: University of Navarra, 2001), John Koegel, 'Gutiérrez de Padilla, Juan'. *Diccionario de música española e hispanoamericana*, vi, 148–150 and 'Gutiérrez de Padilla, Juan'. *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, xviii, 873–874. Ricardo Miranda, 'Éxtasis de luz y fé: la policoralidad en la Nueva España' in *Polychoralities: Music, Identity and Power in Italy, Spain and the New World*, eds. J. J. Carreras and I. Fenlon (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2013). 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* (2008): 29–65. Stevenson and Catalyne initially identified Padilla as a Mexican composer, which aroused some curiosity in the United States.

post of maestro in Málaga in October 1612, placing second to the more experienced and already ordained Estévão de Brito.⁵ Padilla was received into the musical chapel of the Puebla cathedral in October 1622 as a singer and assistant to the Portuguese maestro, Gaspar Fernández (ca.1570–1629).⁶ The new musician was well paid at five hundred pesos per year, however, many duties were imposed on the newcomer, including the obligation to sing all services both inside and outside of the cathedral, the composition of chanzonetas when they were assigned, conducting the choir in the absence of the maestro and the onerous lessons in polyphonic singing [canto de órgano] for choirboys and other choristers, which took place from ten to eleven on all working days.⁷ Only a few details are known about how Spanish musicians were recruited for service in the Americas; however, Hurtado has located a letter in the Archivo General de Indias [General Archive of the Indies] which appears to be an answer to a request by Padilla for a prebendary in New Spain.⁸ The exact circumstances of Padilla's recruitment are not known—what can be said to be certain is that the passage to Veracruz was in itself a heavy investment for the institution concerned, not to speak of the regular financial outlay each year for a Spanish musician's services. New prospects were thoroughly vetted as musicians and ecclesiastics (a maestro de capilla and principal organist were

⁵ Andrés Llordén, 'Notas históricas de los maestros de capilla de la Catedral de Málaga (1583–1641)'. *Anuario Musical*, 19, (1964): 84–85.

⁶ Archivo del Venerable Cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla, Actas Capitulares, libro 7, folios 327v–328, of 11 October 1622. The corpus of villancicos by Fernández composed for the Puebla cathedral in the years 1609 to 1616 lies outside the chronological scope of this thesis. Some of this important body of villancicos has been transcribed and edited by Aurelio Tello in two publications, *Archivo musical de la Catedral de Oaxaca, Antología de obras* (Mexico City: CENIDIM, 1990) and *Cancionero musical de Gaspar Fernandes* (Mexico City: CENIDIM, 2001), volumes IV and X respectively of the series *Tesoro de la música polifónica en México*. The *Cancionero* is comprised of works from the period 1609–1610; a continuation by Tello has long been awaited.

⁷ Archivo del Venerable Cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla, Actas Capitulares, libro 7, folios 327v–328, of 11 October 1622.

⁸ Hurtado, 'Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla', 38–39.

clergymen) before being invited to come to Mexico to serve the Church—an examination was administered testing a new recruit's ecclesiastical knowledge before he was allowed to embark from Seville.⁹ Padilla's was one of two high-ranking recruitments in 1622, the other being Fabián Pérez Ximeno, organist of the Encarnación convent in Madrid and future maestro de capilla in Mexico City.

Gutiérrez de Padilla arrived to Puebla as a fully formed musician of about thirty-two years of age. He had gone through the regular stages of development in the career of a higher ranking Spanish church musician: choirboy, training in counterpoint, the acquisition of minor orders, and the ascent from chorister (or upper-echelon instrumentalist) to maestro.¹⁰ Padilla's early career in Andalusia is typical of the extreme mobility of many Spanish maestros, with its way stations in progressively more important institutions. The process of the formation of a seventeenth-century Spanish church musician has several implications: the successful musician had acquired a thorough practical and theoretical knowledge of the *prima pratica* style in all its aspects before reaching the rank of maestro de capilla—in addition, a maestro possessed the ability to compose villancicos quickly and fluently. The position of maestro entailed the managing of daily performances, a practical knowledge of conducting, singing,

⁹ The examination requirements are set out in the 'Libro primero de la gobernación espiritual de las Indias', MS 2935, Biblioteca Nacional de España. Apart from a complete knowledge of the precepts of the Catholic faith, a good knowledge of Latin was required, and knowledge of plainchant was desirable for all prospective clerical emigrants; see folio 23r. Philip II is the nominal author of this volume of edicts promulgated in 1568.

¹⁰ Among the instrumentalists, it was organists who most often became maestros de capilla. This was the case of Fabián Pérez Ximeno, Francisco López Capillas and later Manuel de Sumaya in Mexico City. Dulcian players, who in some respects were considered to be choristers, might also become maestros. This may be seen in the career of Antonio de Salazar, a former bajonero who was maestro in Puebla from 1679 to 1688 and then in Mexico City from 1688 until his death in 1715. Similarly, the bajonero Thomas Salgado was promoted to the post of maestro in Oaxaca in 1726 after a successful examination in composition and counterpoint. However, the principal organist of any musical chapel, as an ordained minister with a thorough knowledge of counterpoint, was compositionally and socially at an advantage to ascend to the post of maestro.

composition and notation, as well as the ability to transmit this knowledge to chorister students. Ability on an instrument and a working knowledge of the entire instrumentarium of the musical chapel was essential; the maestro was called upon to evaluate and assess the performance of the chapel members on an ongoing basis. Even with a reliable succentor to manage the cathedral plainchant, the maestro was required to have a good knowledge of it in order to compose and teach—plainchant was the foundation of music, as the reprinting of manuals such as Montano’s *Arte de canto llano* demonstrates.¹¹ Gutiérrez de Padilla would have fulfilled all these musical and educative functions in the Puebla cathedral as the assistant of Gaspar Fernández, using the practical knowledge and experience that he had acquired in his native Andalusia—knowledge and experience that were equally valid on both sides of the Atlantic.

Among Padilla’s duties was the composition of chanzonetas—he appears to have taken over this aspect of Fernández’ duties as maestro as early as 1624, when he received fifty pesos compensation for the paper and ink necessary for the Christmas chanzonetas.¹² Fernández does not seem to have exercised any compositional influence on his younger colleague, who, as remarked, had arrived in the New World fully formed from his experience in southern Spain. No music by Padilla is preserved at the Cádiz cathedral, though the chapter records indicate that he left a set of chanzonetas for the day of Saint Teresa of Ávila as collateral for leave time in 1618.¹³ The earliest extant

¹¹ Francisco de Montanos, *Arte de canto llano* (Salamanca: Francisco de Cea Tesa, 1610). An enlarged edition was printed in Madrid in 1648 with additions by Sebastian López de Velasco, maestro of the Descalzas Reales convent. In 1712 the acting maestro of the Spanish Royal Chapel, Joseph de Torres, reprinted the work in his own *Imprenta de Música*, with a new section on polyphony added. This version was reissued in 1734.

¹² Nelson Hurtado, ‘Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla’, 34.

¹³ Cited in Robert Stevenson, *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico* ((Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), 48. The existing catalogue of the Cádiz cathedral music archive

music by Padilla is a set of chanzonetas for Corpus Christi 1628, his sixth year in Puebla. The set is incomplete, with only the first tiple and first alto volumes of the original eight sets of bound parts surviving. The pieces were evidently polychoral, featuring six to eight voices in the *responiones* (a term used to mean the full choral section of the *estribillo*); the first tiple is often managed as a soloist, or in combination with two other solo voices (a 3). The *copla* sections of these pieces also feature more than normally solistic tiple parts. The entire set of chanzonetas is preceded by the Corpus Christi hymn, *Pange lingua*, for solo tiple. The unusual predominance of the soprano voice in this first set of surviving chanzonetas by Padilla may be explained by the presence in Puebla of the castrato singer and ex-slave Luis Barreto, who had been engaged from Mexico City to the Puebla cathedral in 1625. The soprano Barreto was recognised for his ‘singular voice and skilfulness’ by the Mexico City cathedral chapter, who considered his singing to ‘very much adorn the divine cult of this holy Church’.¹⁴ It is very likely that Gutiérrez de Padilla wrote the hymn setting and chanzonetas to showcase Barreto, a highly valued singer who earned 450 pesos a year at Puebla, only 50 less than the assistant maestro himself.¹⁵ However, Barreto was not to remain in

lists no music by Gutiérrez de Padilla. The archives at Ronda and Jerez de la Frontera have yet to be checked for youthful compositions by this author.

¹⁴ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, *Actas Capitulares*, libro 5, folio 114v of 27 February 1609. ‘...tan singular voz y destreza’, ‘...[con que] tanta se adorna el culto divino de esta Santa Iglesia.’ It is likely that Barreto was a master of vocal divisions of the type that Cerone recommends on pages 551–563 of *El Melopeo y Maestro*. The high pay commanded by Barreto would indicate a solistic voice that also served in the polyphonic repertoire—by comparison the Mexico City tiple Juan González was contracted in 1621 for one hundred pesos a year, *Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México*, *Actas Capitulares*, libro 7, folios 174v–175, of 12 November 1621. Adult singers are distinguishable from choirboys in chapter records by superior pay and the specification of a period of service—choirboys were normally paid fifty pesos per year, with the stipulation that they would serve until their voices broke.

¹⁵ Barreto’s career and manumission proceedings are discussed by Alfredo Nava Sánchez, ‘El cantor mulato Luis Barreto. La vida singular de una voz en la catedral de México en el amanecer del siglo XVII’, in *Lo sonoro en el ritual catedralicio: Iberoamérica siglos XVI–XIX*, ed. P. D. Cayeros (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2007).

Puebla a great deal longer; on 5 December 1628 the ex-slave sought to be readmitted to the musical chapel of the Mexico City cathedral—his petition was granted on the 12th of the same month.¹⁶ The demand for any type of male soprano, whether boys, skilled falsettists, or castratos, often outweighed the scruples of ecclesiastics in hiring practices for their musical chapels. The presence in Mexico City and Puebla of this singer of African descent is relevant to the discussion of Padilla’s well-known Christmas villancico, *Ah siolo Flasiquiyo*, as will be seen below.

The incomplete set of chanzonetas for the 1628 Corpus celebration displays striking poetical features. Constant reference is made to the body of Christ as bread—this theologically sound concept is manipulated by the anonymous poet in some surprisingly popularising verse:

Estríbillo a 3

Este es pan cuerpo de Cristo
y tal cual nunca le han visto
los cielos salir a plaza

this is bread the body of Christ
and such a thing the heavens have never seen
going out to market

Coplas a 3

Mejor es comprar de aquí
que es pan de dulzura y leche

It is better to buy from here
that which is bread of sweetness and milk

El que yo vender pretendo
Dios le amasó para vos

The bread that I would deign to sell
God kneaded for all of you

Responsión a 8

De estas roscas de este hogazo
este es pan, [etc.]

Of these rolls, of this loaf
this is bread, [etc.]¹⁷

¹⁶ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Actas Capitulares, libro 8, folios 205 and 205v of 5 and 12 December 1628.

¹⁷ As set out in the Preface, the translations of lyric texts in this thesis are mine throughout, and serve an informative function only. Spanish orthography has been updated to modern standards to improve intelligibility, although no punctuation has been added. When seseo (the confluence of the phonemes /s/ and /θ/ typical of American speech) is an important feature of a text, this will be noted.

Apart from the marketplace imagery of this poem, there are other unusual metaphors: the Eucharistic bread is referred to as a ‘dulcísimo bocado’, a sweet morsel; God serves up ‘platos en muchas formas’, dishes in many forms. Clearly, the theological content of these chanzonetas is being delivered at a visceral level, meant to speak directly to the people.

In this 1628 set, Padilla is working with an older formal model, in which a short estribillo is repeated after each copla, dovetailing into a full choral responsión, which hammered home the religious message and metaphors of the song. Padilla retained this formal scheme for the villancico during the decade of the 1650s, as did the Sánchez Garza authors Antonio de Mora (died 1668) and Juan de Baeza Saavedra (fl. 1662–1671), perhaps under the influence of their maestro de capilla. However, this model increasingly gave way to the estribillo–coplas–estribillo type, which permitted greater elaboration of the through-composed estribillo section. This model supplanted the older type and became the standard formal model of the villancico for Padilla’s successors in Puebla, Antonio de Salazar and the Spaniard Dallo y Lana.

At the death of Gaspar Fernández in 1629, the cathedral chapter elected Padilla to succeed him as maestro de capilla. Padilla was granted an extra forty pesos per year for writing the chanzonetas, as the chapter continued to call them, with the stipulation that he would hand over the pieces each year so that they could be archived. Padilla was admonished by the chapter the very next year for not complying—the forty pesos were withheld and a handover of the chanzonetas every six months was dictated.

Gutiérrez de Padilla presided over the musical chapel during the succeeding years, passing through the normal vicissitudes of a maestro de capilla. Many constants of the musical life of the novohispanic cathedrals can be observed in Gutiérrez de Padilla’s Puebla career. As remarked above, the system of obvenciones was a constant

source of strife between maestros de capilla and the singers of a chapel; this was a pervasive conflict in novohispanic cathedrals, as important sums of money were at stake, above all for the relatively low-paid choristers who did not enjoy a prebendary.¹⁸ The monies paid for services outside the church and from endowments, though subject to strict accounting procedures, were distributed at the discretion of the maestro de capilla—this led to frequent accusations of favouritism from the members of the chapel. Padilla was the subject of complaints in 1629, when the canons Góngora and Ocampo were asked by the cathedral chapter to investigate the amounts that were being held back from the singers by the maestros Fernández and Padilla. In 1639 the chapter attempted to regulate the income from obvenciones by stipulating that neither the maestro Padilla nor the members of the chapel could form working choirs without the participation of all. In 1655 Padilla was given ten days with pay to search for a decree made by Alonso de la Mota y Escobar (bishop from 1608–1625) regulating obvenciones. This controversy between maestro and choristers would be played out many times over in the novohispanic cathedrals, most dramatically in 1739 when the Mexico City chapelmaster Manuel de Sumaya removed the cathedral libro de obvenciones (the account book of this income) to Oaxaca.

The curious static quality of musical life in New Spain is evident in two other areas of contention where frictions arose with some frequency throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first of these involved the responsibility of conducting the choir, known variously as echar, marcar, dar, or llevar el compás. In the rigid hierarchy of the musical chapel, this was the exclusive duty of the maestro de

¹⁸ The Mexican scholar Lucero Enríquez notes that obvenciones could make up almost half of a chorister's yearly income. See 'Música y músicos en las actas del cabildo de la Catedral de México'. *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, 79 (2001): 185.

capilla, whose authority in and outside of the church was beyond all question—in his absence, tradition dictated that the eldest chorister, usually a cathedral prebendary, should take over this duty. Fernández and Padilla dissented over the division of conducting duties in 1627. The controversy was such that the cathedral chapter asked the canon Góngora to intervene, so that the two maestros could agree upon ‘...the order which is to be kept in marking time in the choir’.¹⁹ This type of dispute over conducting the cathedral choir is best understood in terms of hierarchical rankings within the musical chapel rather than artistic differences—from descriptions in Lorente’s *El porque de la música* it may be inferred that conducting was limited to defining the *tactus* with a hand or arm movement.²⁰ Apart from the higher pay, it seems to have been the authority over the musical chapel rather than the actual act of conducting that made the position of maestro a desirable one. The authority of the maestro over the members of the musical chapel was absolute—this tradition had been codified in the Third Provincial Mexican Council, which stated that a maestro was to receive ‘reverent obedience’ from the choristers and instrumentalists.²¹ This authority was invoked in conducting the chapel, but also in other matters. In 1658 the chapter directed Padilla to evaluate the ability of the chorister Juan García de Céspedes to conduct the musical chapel—García had already taken over some of the *maestro’s* duties as teacher of polyphony and plainchant to the choirboys in 1654. The result of Padilla’s evaluation is unknown, but García, who had started as a choirboy in 1630, became the interim maestro upon the death of Padilla in 1664. García’s promotion went unchallenged

¹⁹ Archivo del Venerable Cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla, Actas Capitulares, libro 9, folio 3, of 29 October 1627. ‘...el orden que han de tener en marcar el compás en el coro’.

²⁰ These instructions are contained on page 220 and 221 of Andrés Lorente’s *El porque de la música* (Alcalá de Henares: Nicolás de Xamarès, 1672).

²¹ Arrillaga, Concilio III Provincial Mexicano, lxxvii, ‘se obedzca reverentemente’.

despite requests by two other musicians to audition for the post; Padilla had effectively handed over his place in the chapel hierarchy to García, using the absolute authority of his position as maestro. There would be a much more turbulent handover of conducting duties in the first decade of the eighteenth century in the Mexico City cathedral—as will be seen below, a bitter dispute arose between Francisco de Atienza (ca.1657–1726) and Manuel de Sumaya over the assumption of conducting duties during the absences of the maestro Antonio de Salazar.

Another area of constant friction between maestros de capilla and cathedral chapters was inherent in the tradition of employing boys to sing the upper voices in polyphonic compositions. This European-wide practice had slightly varying manifestations in each country—in Spain, the choirboy's school became formalised quite early as an institution, and was transferred to the New World, much like other aspects of Spanish musical life.²² Employing choirboys for the polyphonic upper voices implied their maintenance and education. Though it was not formally specified by the Third Provincial Mexican Council, cathedral chapters often viewed the maintenance of the boys as part of the work of a maestro, for which he sometimes received a fee. The Council had similarly not made explicit whether the instruction of choirboys was part of the musical *escoleta* [little school] that took place by statute 'at the end of prima and until the bells stop striking for mass' on non-feast days, though this was often interpreted by churchmen as the work of a maestro.²³ One of Padilla's duties as assistant to Fernández had been to give a class on polyphonic singing to the choristers, choirboys

²² Javier Marín, 'La enseñanza musical en la Catedral de México durante el periodo virreinal'. *Música y educación*, XXI, no. 76 (2008): 9.

²³ Arrillaga, Concilio III Provincial Mexicano, lxxxvi. '...luego que se acabe el prima, hasta que se deje de tocar a la misa'.

and ‘those of the Holy Church who are or would be inclined towards it’ on working days between the hours of ten and eleven.²⁴ One hundred pesos were added to Padilla’s salary in 1624 as an incentive to continue this arrangement. As the cathedral chapter noted upon offering the pay rise, ‘every day the voices of the said tipples are changing and it is necessary to teach other new ones’.²⁵ This Sisyphean task of the maestro de capilla added to the already heavy rounds of feast day services, composition, conducting and day-to-day running of the musical chapel. The constant search for trebles was rendered doubly difficult by the requirements of *limpieza de sangre*, the proof of blood purity demanded of potential choirboys. This requirement, stipulating that candidates must be of legitimate birth to parents of ‘Spanish’ race (‘hijos de españoles’, as it was phrased), was not relaxed during the colonial period.²⁶ Indeed, in 1633 Padilla undertook a twenty-four day journey to Oaxaca to fetch a promising tiple to Puebla—boys of European race who possessed talent for music were a contested commodity in New Spain.

In the controversies over the teaching of choirboys one can observe the divide between the conceptions of the cathedral chapters and the maestros de capilla who served the Church. Padilla, like many other maestros de capilla, seems to have been quite indifferent to the task of teaching polyphonic music to the choirboys. His salary was lowered in 1651, with the observation that ‘a hundred pesos for the obligation of

²⁴ Archivo del Venerable Cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla, Actas Capitulares, libro 7, folios 327v–328, of 11 October 1622. ‘...que son o fueren de esta Santa Iglesia que se inclinen a ello’.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, libro 7, folio 72, of 16 July 1624. ‘...cada día van mudando las voces de los dichos tipples y es necesaria enseñar de nuevo otros’.

²⁶ Marín, ‘La enseñanza musical’, 16.

giving the lesson in polyphonic singing are withdrawn'.²⁷ The cathedral prebendary Domingo de los Rios protested in the chapter meeting that 'the said maestro de capilla should return all that he has taken from this allowance in consideration of not having taught'.²⁸ A survey of novohispanic chapter records indicates widespread neglect by maestros of this duty, seemingly an endemic situation. The aging Antonio de Salazar was admonished by the Mexico City cathedral chapter in 1711 on the grounds that 'he does not attend, nor has he attended at the said school and the fulfilment of his teaching obligations'.²⁹ In general, maestros de capilla exhibited a cavalier attitude towards a duty that was taken quite seriously by the cathedral chapters. Among all the duties of a maestro, teaching seems to have been the least liked, and the most neglected. This was certainly the case of Padilla, who preferred to delegate this duty to others throughout his career, despite admonishments by the church authorities and the loss of teaching income.³⁰

One final constant in the life of a seventeenth-century maestro such as Padilla was the yearly villancico production which the post demanded. A 1718 inventory of the Latin and vernacular music held by the Puebla cathedral provides a glimpse into Padilla's working year as a villancico composer. The inventory, which was conducted by the maestro Atienza, indicates that in 1718 the cathedral held all the sets of villancicos written for Christmas from the years 1621 to 1687, those for Corpus Christi

²⁷ Archivo del Venerable Cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla, Actas Capitulares, libro 12, folio 354 of 18 August 1651. '...se le quitan cien pesos por la obligación de dar lección de canto de órgano'.

²⁸ Ibid. '...el dicho maestro de capilla debía volver todo lo que ha llevado por esta ración atento a que no ha enseñado'.

²⁹ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Actas Capitulares, libro 27, folio 51v, of 18 April 1711. '...no había asistido, ni asistía, a dicha Escoleta y cumplimiento de su obligación en la enseñanza'.

³⁰ Hurtado provides a list by year of the musicians who undertook teaching duties for Padilla, see 'Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla: el insigne maestro', 48.

from 1626 to 1687 and those for the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin (the cathedral dedicatee) from 1623 to 1687. It is safe to assume that Padilla set all, or the great bulk of the poems written for these three occasions to music during the years from 1629 to 1663, that is to say from the year that Padilla assumed the post of maestro to the year before his death, which occurred in April 1664. Additionally, a note under this list in the inventory reads: ‘Authors of these festivities the maestro Padilla and the maestro Antonio de Salazar’.³¹ As Salazar did not become maestro until 1679, a large part of the inventoried music must have been Padilla’s. Apart from these three fixed occasions, the inventory records villancicos for Saint Lawrence each year from 1651 to 1658. There were almost certainly more; the chapter records record a one-time payment of four pesos made in 1632 for villancicos celebrating the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September). The payments in large amounts of sugar made to Padilla in December 1626 (two arrobas) and January 1647 (six arrobas) may well have been a bonus for Christmas and Marian villancicos.³² The amount of work over a period of at least thirty-four years was tremendous. Simply writing down the villancicos must have been an exertion—it appears that Padilla copied out the songs himself, as his deteriorating handwriting in the years from 1651 to 1659 attests.

No Spanish language music by Padilla from the years between 1628 and 1651 survives, except for a 1642 piece which has every appearance of being written for the nuns of the Santísima Trinidad convent, with whom Padilla seems to have had some

³¹ Archivo del Venerable Cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla, Archivo de Música, legajo 130, of 20 June 1718. ‘Autores de estas festividades el maestro Padilla y el maestro Antonio de Salazar’.

³² The arroba was a Spanish measure equivalent to a modern 25.36 pounds, or 11.5 kilos. Manuel Carrera Stampa, ‘The Evolution of Weights and Measures in New Spain’. *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 29, no. 1 (1949): 13.

degree of artistic partnership.³³ The Christmas villancico from the Sánchez Garza collection, *Oh que buen año gitanas* [Oh what a good year, you gypsies] changes the usual tripartite order of the villancico for a binary form, placing a very prolix twelve line set of coplas before the estribillo. This arrangement was sometimes given the name romance in Padilla's later sets of villancicos from the 1650s. The piece features the ubiquitous ternary metre of minor proportion (**C3**) which, as López-Calo notes, dominated Spanish vernacular music during the entire seventeenth century.³⁴ This metre, which allowed for an extremely fluid handling of villancico texts, will be discussed in detail below. A notable feature of the piece is the inclusion of an untexted alto clef part for tenor dulcian, which ranges between *f* and *f*¹. Alice Ray Catalyne, Robert Stevenson and John Koegel affirm in various articles that Padilla occupied black slaves in the manufacture of musical instruments.³⁵ There seems to be no evidence to support this, however Hurtado has located a document confirming the delivery by Padilla in 1646 of sixteen large dulcians, six tenor dulcians, six soprano dulcians (these were known as *bajoncillos*) and twenty sets of shawms to a certain Pedro de la Cueva, who was to sell them in Oaxaca.³⁶ This would seem to indicate some type of local manufacture—thus, it is possible that the Santísima Trinidad nun who performed *Oh que buen año gitanas* was playing an instrument manufactured in Puebla. Bishop Palafox, who is discussed immediately below, recommended in a 1646 edict that all

³³ A number of Puebla musicians authored villancicos for the nuns of the Santísima Trinidad convent, see 'The Villancico in Feminine Institutions in New Spain' below.

³⁴ *La música en las catedrales*, 347.

³⁵ Ray Catalyne, 'Music of the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries in the Cathedral of Puebla, Mexico'. *Anuario/Yearbook*, 2, (1966): 84, Stevenson, 'Puebla Chapel Masters and Organists: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Part II'. *Inter-American Music Review*, VI, no. 1 (1984): 29–139, Koegel, 'Gutiérrez, Juan Padilla de', *New Grove*, xviii, 873–874.

³⁶ Hurtado, 'Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla', 51, citing the *Archivo de Notarios de la Ciudad de Puebla*, Notaria 4, caja 170, 'Registro de escrituras otorgados a Diego de Brito, escribano público, unfoliated, of April 1646.

parishes in the district should keep ‘instrumentos de canto’ at hand. These were the instruments that aided or replaced a voice in the choir; in the edict Palafox names the dulcian, the cornett, and sets of recorders and shawms.³⁷ If Padilla was involved in the manufacture of church instruments, there would have been a sizeable domestic market for them in the bishopric.

During the decade from 1640–1649 the musical chapel of the Puebla cathedral reached the heights of splendour under the ‘Tridentine prelate’, Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza.³⁸ As noted in the introductory chapter, Palafox was a munificent patron who fomented the splendour and magnificence of cathedral ritual in Puebla. The diocese of Puebla, or Tlaxcala as it was more properly known, benefitted greatly from Palafox’s ambitious building and educational projects—the seminaries of Saint Peter and Saint Paul were founded under his aegis, the episcopal palace rebuilt, and over fifty new churches established.³⁹ For Gutiérrez de Padilla, Palafox’s munificence was an opportunity to assemble some of the most able musicians of New Spain, among them Francisco López Capillas. This singer, organist, dulcian player and future maestro de capilla of the Mexico City cathedral worked under Padilla from 1641 to 1648, the epoch of Palafox. In the years from 1640 to 1649, Palafox spent large sums on the completion of the Puebla cathedral, acquiring at the same time a large personal debt.⁴⁰ In a pastoral

³⁷ Edictos del ilustrísimo y reverendísimo señor don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, obispo de la Puebla de los Ángeles [...]de los ornamentos y vasos sagrados y las demás alhajas y instrumentos que son necesarios para las parroquias y lucimiento del culto divino (Puebla: Juan Blanco de Alcázar, 1646), folios 17r–18r.

³⁸ David A. Brading styles Palafox the ‘Tridentine prelate’, *The First America*, 228. Palafox’s adherence to the Tridentine principle of the ascendancy of the secular clergy over the orders was the source of a conflict with the militant Company of Jesus in Mexico, eventually leading to his recall to Spain.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 233.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 234.

1648 letter written to prepare the diocese spiritually for the opening, Palafox more than hints at his role in the magnificence of the new cathedral:

The machine of this sumptuous, and Royal Temple, not awaited, and already perfect, on which very close to two million have been spent since the first stone was laid, and which, by my orders, in only nine years, three hundred and fifty thousand; and this jasper, these vaults, this grandeur, these altarpieces, which exceed in beauty the greatest of the Orb, all aspire, and conspire, to our use.⁴¹

The lasting physical result of Palafox's patronage was a magnificent performing space for the choir. The organist and maestro Fabián Pérez Ximeno arrived from Mexico City in May of 1648 for a consultation on the new organs, which were to be installed on the two facing sides of the choir enclosure. At the time of the consecration of the cathedral in April of 1649 the chronicler Antonio Tamariz de Carmona wrote of the new space for the choir:

The entire circumference of the choir is surrounded on its exterior by cedar corbels, with a balustrade fashioned from the same material, which serves as a balcony and passageway for the organs, which are two; with galleries sufficiently ample for the musical choirs and other ministers...⁴²

María Gembero has assembled Tamariz de Carmona's references relating to music in the cathedral opening, an extremely helpful contribution to the understanding of this often-cited source.⁴³ According to Gembero's synthesis of Tamariz, the first act of the cathedral consecration was a solemn Vespers, followed by a Matins service at half past

⁴¹ Juan de Palafox, *Obras del Ilustrísimo, Excelentísimo y Venerable Siervo de Dios Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*, tomo III parte I (Madrid: Gabriel Ramírez, 1762), 297–298. '...este suntuoso, y Real Templo, no esperada, y ya perfecta, en que se han gastado desde su primera piedra muy cerca de dos millones de pesos, y por mis órdenes, solo en nueve años, más de trescientos y cincuenta mil; y estos jaspes, estas losas, esta grandeza, y estos retablos, que exceden en el primor a los más grandes del Orbe, todo aspira, y conspira a nuestro aprovechamiento'. The later Bourbons Ferdinand VI and Charles III found a useful apologist for their regalistic pretensions in Palafox, whose works were reprinted in Madrid.

⁴² Tamariz de Carmona, *Relación y descripción del Templo Real de la Ciudad de Puebla*, fol. 4. 'Toda la circunferencia del coro ciñen por la parte exterior unos canecillos de cedro con sus balaustres torneados de la misma materia, que sirve de balcón y pasadizo a los órganos, que son dos; con tribunas bastantemente capaces para los coros de los músicos y otros ministros...'

⁴³ Gembero Ustároz, 'El mecenazgo musical de Juan de Palafox', 489–492.

two on 17 April 1649. Tamariz makes no specific reference to villancicos—however, it is highly likely that Padilla provided a set of pieces for the festive occasion. Padilla and the musical chapel are mentioned several times in the course of Tamariz’ account; during the course of the procession on 20 April 1649 which brought the Blessed Sacrament to the new cathedral,

...in the middle went the chapel (which is composed by the distinguished maestro, licenciado Juan de Padilla, and his skilful and excellent musicians in great numbers, on whose stipends and payments 14 thousand pesos are spent each year), intoning[...]sweet motets at the foreseen altars.⁴⁴

López Capillas would not have been among the musicians in this procession, having left Puebla in July of the previous year.⁴⁵ However, several other musicians such as Nicolás Griñon (harpist and singer), Antonio de Mora (singer, instrumentalist and later maestro de capilla in Valladolid-Morelia), Domingo de Pereira (sackbut and singer), Manuel Correa (dulcian and singer), Pedro de Simón (organist and singer), the cornettist Juan Muñoz, and Padilla’s future successor Juan García de Céspedes were almost certainly among those singing the ‘sweet motets’ on this occasion. The patronage of Palafox had allowed Padilla to assemble a distinguished and well-paid ensemble.

No villancicos from the epoch of Palafox survive at the Puebla cathedral, although they must have been performed as in previous years, as the 1718 inventory shows. It could be conjectured that the villancicos performed in the presence of the bishop during his years in Puebla had a more serious caste than Padilla’s theatrically influenced sets from the decade of the 1650s. Shortly after arriving in Puebla, Palafox had manifested his general condemnation of the theatre in a 1640 pastoral letter

⁴⁴ Tamariz de Carmona, *Relación*, ‘...en el medio iba la capilla (que se compone del insigne maestro licenciado Juan de Padilla, y de diestros, y aventajados músicos, en tan gran número, que en su estipendio, y paga se gasta cada año 14. mil pesos, entonando[...]motetes dulces en los altares prevenidos’.

⁴⁵ Brothers, ‘A New-World Hexachord Mass’, 6.

forbidding clergy and members of the religious orders from attending theatrical performances. Palafox reserved special wrath for those who would ‘...bring those same theatres to the temples, a thing which is so opposed to the decency with which those holy places should be treated’.⁴⁶ Palafox’s views on the propriety of theatrical manifestations in the church echo Cerone’s complaints made earlier in the century concerning the ‘character’ villancico—according to Cerone, the temple of God was made into an ‘auditorium of comedies’ when these pieces were sung. Of the comedias, it was ‘the guitars, the music, the songs, awaking torpid imaginations, dishonouring the holy walls and the sacred ground’ that the prelate found so objectionable.⁴⁷ The ‘dishonest ideas’ and ‘disordered laughter’ caused by the theatre were not to be permitted in the prelate’s cathedral.⁴⁸ It is doubtful whether Palafox would have been pleased with the mounting numbers of characters which made their way into the villancicos performed in Puebla after his departure for Spain in the summer of 1649. A parade of these characters is featured in a chapbook from the Christmas celebration of 1649, several months after Palafox’s recall to Spain. The characters, seemingly a satire on the sympathies and antipathies of the absent bishop, are presented in an ensaladilla, which, as its name would suggest, is a salad-like mixture of theatrical personages. The first of these personages to visit the manger in Bethlehem is the ‘grave king Don Alonso’, king Alfonso the Wise—this could be read as a satire on the bishop’s well-known regalist leanings, which recognised the singular and supreme authority of the Spanish monarch. Palafox, the illegitimate son of an Aragonese aristocrat, had moved in

⁴⁶ Juan de Palafox, *Obras del Ilustrísimo*, 213. ‘...traer los mismos teatros a los Templos, cosa que tan opuesto es a la decencia con que se deben tratar aquellos santos lugares...’

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 222. ‘...las guitarras, la música, las canciones, despertando torpes imaginaciones, infamando las paredes santas, y suelo sagrado’.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* ‘los conceptos deshonestos’, ‘las risas desordenadas’.

the corridors of power prior to his stay in the New World, enjoying the favour of Philip IV's advisor, the Count-Duke Olivares—the prelate's regalist sympathies were well known to his Jesuit enemies, who lampooned him openly on the streets of Puebla.⁴⁹ The bishop's dislike of the theatre is satirised in a series of songs and dances which are announced by the paratheatrical shepherds present on the scene. Palafox's sympathy with the indigenous population, which he recorded in his *Virtues of the Indian* (1650) was probably the motive for the inclusion of a *guasteco* and a *tocotín*, two indigenous dances. Robert Stevenson professed to see 'local color delights' in the inclusion of these dances, although there is nothing in the content of the poetry to indicate this.⁵⁰ The second nocturn of this villancico set is rounded off with a *negrilla*, a song in pseudo-African dialect with its requisite dance, a *puertorico*—Palafox was known to have been popular with the population of African descent in Puebla, so much so that these persons suspended their accustomed street dancing and singing when the bishop fled from the militant Jesuit faction in 1647.⁵¹ The inclusion of this black-face song would seem to be a satire aimed at Palafox's sympathisers of African descent, as well as a dig at the bishop for his aversion to the idea of theatrical dancing. Finally, the third nocturn of the 1649 Christmas Matins at Puebla was occupied to two-thirds by the stylised *demi-monde* speech of the *jácara*, yet another theatrical manifestation. Effectively, the theatre had been brought into the temple—Padilla's villancico sets of 1651–1653 and 1655–1659 do not forego any of the theatrical manifestations present in the 1649 chapbook,

⁴⁹ Brading, *The First America*, 228.

⁵⁰ Stevenson, *Christmas Music*, 52. According to Edith Padilla Zimbrón, the Mexican Jesuits cultivated a poetic form known as the *tocotín* which alternated six and five syllable lines. This is indeed the case of the *tocotín* in the 1649 chapbook, perhaps a veiled Jesuit satire on Palafox. See 'El tocontín como fuente de datos históricos'. *Destiempos*, 3, no. 14 (2008): 236.

⁵¹ Gembero Ustároz, 'El mecenazgo musical de Juan de Palafox', 469.

except that the huasteco and tocotín are not included. Perhaps the departure of Palafox for Spain had removed the object of satire, the prelate's energetic defense of the indigenous peoples of Mexico.

With Palafox absent from Puebla, the expenditure for the musical chapel declined. A pay cut for all members was introduced in August of 1651, with Padilla being reduced from 740 pesos a year to 640. This figure indicates that Padilla continued to receive forty pesos annually for writing the villancicos, as the cathedral chapter was now calling them. At least three members of the musical chapel left Puebla for Mexico City during the course of the year: Domingo Pereira, Juan Muñoz (who apart from the cornett also played shawm and soprano dulcian) and the harpist Nicolas Griñon.⁵² Griñon's petition to be admitted to the Mexico City ensemble mentions the chapel's need of a harpist to accompany the villancicos—this was opportune for Griñon, as Christmas was almost at the door.⁵³ The departure of Griñon and the financial difficulties of the cathedral are the probable reason for the relative musical austerity of the 1651 Christmas villancicos, which appear to have been reduced from eight voices to six, and from two bass parts to one. Bound in six folders rather than the characteristic eight of the following years, the pieces largely forego the two-choir division which Padilla preferred for both Latin works and the villancico.

The constant factors in the life of a maestro de capilla mentioned above continued for Padilla in the following years. The extant villancico sets of the decade of 1650 attest to the yearly production required by the cathedral. Padilla was reminded in

⁵² The loss of Muñoz would have been particularly sensitive; ministriles who were specialists on soprano instruments were as much in demand as tiple singers.

⁵³ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 1, of 15 December 1651.

February 1656 to hand in his villancicos of the previous year, and to ‘make a memorial and inventory of the books of figured song [polyphony], motets and others for the service of this cathedral which he has in his possession’.⁵⁴ In 1658 and again in 1660 Padilla was reminded by the chapter of his obligations to teach polyphonic music to the choirboys. Likewise, the chapter insisted on a search for boys with voices that were apt for the musical chapel—these constant themes may be seen in an excerpt from the chapter records from 1660:

That it be discussed in this chapter [...] the form which the maestro de capilla has to observe in the teaching of plainchant and figured music, every day, to the singers and to the boys of the choir, according to the obligation which he has, and that this matter be settled. In the same way, [it is ordered] that the maestro should take care to seek out boys who have good voices, so that, once seen and examined by the gentleman chantre, who is charged with the naming of the altar boys, he do so with those who are most useful to the service of the church.⁵⁵

Hurtado notes that the cathedral chapter had petitioned Phillip IV in 1658 to provide Padilla a church living; this was the third occasion they had done so.⁵⁶ This attempt was also unsuccessful, as the cathedral records do not name Padilla as a prebendary, however, the chapter seems to have been well disposed towards the aging maestro. Stevenson, Hurtado and Miranda note that the chapter had ordered Padilla’s music be gathered together in 1663; they see this as a gesture of appreciation of the importance of

⁵⁴ Archivo del Venerable Cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla, Actas Capitulares, libro 13, folio 306v, of 8 February 1656. ‘...[que] haga mem[ori]a y invent[ari]o de los libros de canto de órgano motetes y lo demás del servicio de esta catedral que paran en su poder’.

⁵⁵ Archivo del Venerable Cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla, Actas Capitulares, libro 14, folio 277r, of 21 May 1660. ‘...que se trate en éste cabildo [...] la forma que ha de tener el maestro de capilla en enseñar la música de canto llano y de órgano, todos los días, a los cantores y mozos del coro según la obligación que tuviere y se dé asiento a esta materia. Así mismo que el dicho maestro de capilla tenga cuidado de buscar los muchachos que tuviesen buenas voces para que vistos y examinados por el Sr. Chantre, a quien toca nombrar los monacillos, lo haga en aquellos que fuesen más útiles al servicio de la Iglesia’.

⁵⁶ Hurtado, ‘Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla’, 53.

Padilla's music.⁵⁷ However, the vocabulary of the chapter record more readily suggests a proprietorial attitude:

...and that all the works of the m[aest]ro Ju[an] de Padilla and the other musical papers that would be necessary be transferred and that the mistreated books be repaired and that the transfer be for the appraisal and disposition of it and to bind whatever is convenient.⁵⁸

Padilla died in 1664; his transatlantic career between Andalusia and Puebla spanned a period of over fifty-five years. The composer's modern reputation rests somewhat on the novelty of his presence in the New World rather than on his compositional output. A new study of Padilla's double choir music in Latin would be a desirable complement to Ray Catalyne's 1953 thesis. Likewise, an estimation of his place in the development of the polychoral handling of the choir would be welcome—Puebla seems to have been a centre for polychorality well into the eighteenth century, possibly under the compositional influence of Padilla.

Padilla's immediate successor, Juan García de Céspedes (ca. 1619–1678), was a native-born Mexican who had been associated with the musical chapel of the Puebla cathedral from boyhood. García's surviving villancicos are contained in the Sánchez Garza collection, and will be discussed below in connection with the Santísima Trinidad convent.

3.2 Gutiérrez de Padilla's Puebla Villancicos

⁵⁷ Stevenson, *Christmas Music*, 51, Hurtado, 'Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla', 56, Miranda, 'Éxtasis de luz y fe', 267.

⁵⁸ Archivo del Venerable Cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla, *Actas Capitulares*, libro 15, folio 70v, of 2 October 1663. '...y que se trasladen todas las obras del M[aest]ro Ju[an] de Padilla y los demás papeles de música que lo necesitaren y le [sic] aderecen los libros maltratados y que el trasladar sea por tasación y la disposición de ella y de encuadernar lo que fuere conveniente.'

Padilla's villancicos for the Puebla cathedral were the subject of an edition of selected pieces from the 1653, 1655 and 1657 sets.⁵⁹ The edition, a joint effort by four musicologists under the guidance of the Peruvian resident of Mexico, Aurelio Tello, provided a number of competent transcriptions along with an introduction to the pieces. The volume, published in Venezuela, did not reach the Anglophone public, so that Hurtado's superior transcriptions of *Ah siolo Flasiquiyo* and *A la jácara jacarilla* never replaced Stevenson's 6/8 versions of these pieces. With a view to throwing new light on Padilla's villancico output, I have generally chosen examples that were not presented in Tello's edition for my analyses.

The insistence by the Puebla cathedral chapter on Padilla's handover of his work has preserved almost an entire decade of complete Christmas cycles, with only the 1650 and 1654 sets missing.⁶⁰ Apart from the pieces by Gaspar Fernández from the years 1609–1616, and the above-mentioned romance and incomplete Corpus Christi set by Padilla, these villancicos are the earliest known examples of the genre from the territory of colonial Mexico. It seems to have been the binding of these pieces into part books that has preserved this relatively early source. Binding of vernacular pieces is not found in any other novohispanic institution outside of Puebla. In Mexico City and Guatemala, villancicos were kept as loose leaves—this did not promote the survival of pieces as sets, and indeed no complete sets are to be found in these archives. This process of collecting and binding villancico parts may be seen primarily as a proprietorial gesture on the part of the church. From the time Padilla was named *maestro de capilla*, he received paper, ink and forty pesos a year for writing the *chansonetas*, with the provision that 'all

⁵⁹ Mariantonia Palacios et al., *Tres cuadernos de Navidad: 1653, 1655 y 1657 / Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla* (Caracas: Fundación Emilio Sojo, 1998).

⁶⁰ The 1659 set seems to be missing several pieces, however.

of them are to be handed in, so that they may be put into the archive of this Holy Church and kept there'.⁶¹ Thus, the church viewed the product of the composer as a piece of property, not to be used outside the confines of the institution except with express permission. The chapter does not seem to have been completely averse to sharing villancicos; the Santísima Trinidad nuns Belona, Inés and Andrea wrote their names on two 1655 pieces, *Alto zagales* and the *negrilla*, *Ah siolo Flasiquiyo*, indicating that the bound folders had been loaned to the convent, although probably well after Padilla's lifetime.⁶² The nuns had a set of parts to Padilla's 1655 *Las estrellas de rien*, copied in a neat hand—this piece survives in the cathedral archive as well as the Sánchez Garza collection. As has been remarked, there was some degree of artistic collaboration between the musical chapel of the cathedral and that of the convent.

3.3 Characteristics of Padilla's Puebla Cathedral Villancicos

With the intention of shedding light on the general characteristics of Padilla's villancico oeuvre, the pieces from the decade of the 1650s will receive an examination in this section, both as a body of work and with attention to individual pieces. As discussed in the 'Excursus' chapter below, a great deal of academic attention has been focussed on the villancico de negros, specifically the single piece *Ah siolo Flasiquiyo* from the 1655 Christmas set. A musical-technical description of the other villancicos of the decade remains outstanding—this section will attempt to rectify this lack of information. As

⁶¹ Archivo del Venerable Cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla, *Actas Capitulares*, libro 9, folios 119–119v, of 25 September 1629. '...todas las ha de ir entregando para que se pongan en el archivo de esta Santa Iglesia y se guarden en él'.

⁶² See Aurelio Tello, 'Músicos ruiseñores, vicisitudes de un villancico de supuesta autoría, fallida transcripción y arbitraria interpretación'. *Heterofonía*, 130–131 (2004): 27–40. Tello provides a list of the Santísima Trinidad musician nuns on pages 29 and 30 of this article. Andrea seems to have had a particular propensity for signing her parts, having done so in villancicos by Antonio de Mora, Padilla, Juan de Baeza and Dallo y Lana.

Gaspar Fernández for the beginning of the seventeenth century, Padilla is the only substantial source for the novohispanic villancico at mid-seventeenth century. As previously remarked, Padilla arrived to New Spain a relatively mature man of about thirty, having learnt music and composition in his native Andalusia. It would seem safe to assume that Padilla brought with him the formal villancico types that were current in the region at the time, along with the infra-national and international compositional techniques used for Latin texts. Given the scarcity of comparable villancico sources from the same time period in New Spain, it is difficult to estimate whether Padilla's output shows any stylistic idiosyncrasies. The few extant villancicos by Padilla's near contemporary Carlos Patiño (1600–1675), maestro of the Spanish Royal Chapel from 1634, do not exhibit the same number of formal variations as Padilla's. However, Patiño's villancicos were written for the court in Madrid, and were no doubt conditioned by the demand for novelty and fashion at the Hapsburg court. There are no extant villancicos by Padilla's fellow Spanish maestro Juan de Ribera, who led the musical chapel at Valladolid-Morelia, and only one by Pérez Ximeno, Padilla's Spanish-born Mexico City contemporary. Therefore, it is not possible to form an impression of the cultivation of the villancico in New Spain around 1650, except for the evidence provided by Padilla's work. However, we may form general impressions based on musical elements common to all vernacular music of this period, observing the basic elements of form, harmony and rhythm. In the following section, the formal, harmonic and rhythmic aspects of Padilla's villancico oeuvre will be considered, the first of a set of analyses tracing the progression of the villancico in New Spain. The polychoral treatment of vocal forces seen in Padilla's masses and motets also extended to the villancico—this important aspect of Padilla's villancico output will be examined here. Padilla's formal models will be a convenient point of departure for our discussion.

3.4 Formal Models in Padilla's Villancicos

Research of the music by this author in the Puebla cathedral music archive and the Sánchez Garza collection revealed that several different formal models are at work in Padilla's villancico sets—all of these involve the opposition of strophic coplas to a through-composed estribillo, a scheme which comes in several different guises, however. The first type, in which the estribillo sung at the beginning and end of a piece also recurs between each copla, is the oldest of formal schemes. This was the villancico as described in the poetry treatises of Rengifo and Carvallo, with its alternating cabeza and pies (head and feet). In several villancicos, Padilla varies this traditional formal scheme with a solistic introduction—this in turn leads to the estribillo, which is often designated as a *responsión*. In all of Padilla's villancico sets of this decade, the number of repetitions of the estribillo is clearly set out for the performer by indications in the parts. Padilla's indications would seem to preclude the ad hoc repetition scheme which some authors have suggested, in which an estribillo was repeated between the coplas as the performers desired.⁶³ In the second formal type, which would become the standard for later composers, the estribillo is repeated only one time after all the coplas have been sung. In some cases, the sheer length of the copla section precluded any repetition of the estribillo between them—a *jácara* from the 1655 set, entitled *La noche más buena*, contains no less than fourteen coplas, each of nineteen bars. The coplas form a dense account of the manger scene, cast in the stylised underworld diction of the *jácara*; this narrative would not have wanted an interruption by an intrusive estribillo. A third

⁶³ Stevenson, *Christmas Music*, 35. Isabel Pope and Paul Laird, 'Villancico'. Grove Music Online (Accessed 19 March 2014).

variant of the villancico scheme repeats the estribillo after two or three coplas have been sung—as in all the formal models of the villancico, the concertato principle is exploited through the opposition between soloists and full chorus, as well as through opposition of two choirs. A final formal model, which often receives the designation romance, is at work in several of Padilla’s villancicos of the decade. In this type, the solistic strophic coplas precede the estribillo, which is sung only one time at the end of the piece. Seen from a musical point of view, all of these formal models may be reduced to alternations between a through-composed A section and a strophic B section, with occasional use of an introduction thematically related to section A. Thus, we might illustrate the above examples, taken in order, as ABABABA (first type), ABBBA (second type), ABBBABBBA (third type), and finally the romance, whose strophic section we shall continue to call B, giving BBBA. This is a surprising number of combinations of the basic villancico components of estribillo and coplas, and is perhaps indicative of a number of older types which Padilla had learned in his youthful days in Andalusia. By comparison, villancicos written by Padilla’s Mexican-born successor Juan García de Céspedes and the indigenous Oaxaca maestro Juan Matías show only the ABBBA sequence, or the romance sequence of BBBA. Whether or not this simplified scheme was already the mid-seventeenth century practice of composers born in New Spain is not known, as sources are lacking. Later novohispanic composers would largely dispense with all but these two schemes for their villancicos.

The number of coplas in Padilla’s villancicos of the 1650s varies from a single line to as many as twenty lines in the jácara. The copla sections of this subgenre would have been sung in a manner that stood uncomfortably close to the style of the jácara in the comedias of Calderón and Lope de Vega. The singer had a great number of words to deliver in an a lo divino version of these extremely popular theatre songs. An example

of coplas from a *jácara* by Padilla, *La noche más buena*, may be seen in Figure 3 below. Like the secular version of the *jácara*, the lines might be divided up between two singers, as here between the alto and tenor of the first choir. The tenor's echo of the alto's last four bars are notable—each phrase is repeated, lending an epigrammatic weight to the end of each copla. As stated in the general introduction, the coplas were the province of soloists who could interpret and project the verbose, concept-laden poetry it many times contained. Likewise, linguistic flair was wanted for the characterisations of regional speech or pseudo-dialect which often appeared in the copla sections of the villancico—a text might involve approximations to Galician, Basque, or Portuguese speech, as well as the ubiquitous *Guineo* practiced on both sides of the Atlantic.

The *estribillo* sections of Padilla's villancicos show a tendency to extension. This is often the result of showcasing soloists in the initial section of the *estribillo*, then bringing in the fuller ensemble of up to eight voices. Padilla's use of solo voices in the *estribillo* sections of his villancicos is somewhat unusual in relation to later developments; only rarely does this occur in later pieces. Extensive solo passages were felt to violate the religious modesty of the choir, and were generally avoided.

Many times the *estribillo* gains extension by having the musical material repeated by the second choir—this is the case of the 1652 *A prevenciones del cielo, romance a 4 y a 8* [On the advice of the heavens, romance a 4 and a 8], where the short eighteen bar opening phrase is repeated by the second choir with new words. The division of vocal forces into two choirs is an important aspect of the villancico—the *concertato* principle of opposing and contrasting musical forces may be seen in the multiple choir division, which was one of the Spanish composer's most prominent musical devices. This division into multiple choirs is the subject of the next section.

Tenor 1



1. oi - ga me to - do val - ien - te a lo de
 2. el val - ien - te de la ham - pa que a lá - gri -
 3. al a - gua cuan - do se hie - la, al ai - re
 4. per - di - do le traen al mun - do cui - da - dos
 5. la da - ma es u - na vi - lla - na, que tie - ne
 6. vio la en un jar - dín a don - de
 7. por e - lla pues es - ta no - che que pa - re -

Alto 1



te - jas a - rri - ba es - cu - che si - no es - tá
 mas des - a - fi - a al cie - lo si - se en - ca -
 cuan - do ven - tis - ca cris - tal - es dis - pa - re el -
 de u - na per - di - da que en la tie - rra no cam -
 de pre - su - mi - da más pun - tos que el can - to
 que go - lo - si - na ca - yó mi - se - ra - ble -
 ce me - dio dí - a te - la man - tie - ne bi -



sor - do pau - se si - no es - tá de - pri - sa
 po - ta a la tie - rra si - se e - ri - za
 cie - lo o en(rry) - tre la nie - ve pi - ca
 pa - ra sin a - mor la va - len - tí - a
 lla - no y más tol - dos que la vi - lla
 men - te to - da su ba - chi - lle - ri - a
 za - rro por - que de to - das le em - bis - te

Tenor 1



pau - se si - no es - tá de - pri - sa
 a la tie - rra si - se e - ri - za
 o en(rry) - tre la nie - ve pi - ca
 sin a - mor la va - len - tí - a
 y más tol - dos que la vi - lla
 to - da su ba - chi - lle - ri - a
 por - que de to - das le em - bis - te

Figure 3, The first seven coplas of Padilla's jácara, En la noche más buena

3.5 Polychoral Treatment of the Choir

The division of the cathedral musical forces into two choirs was a general characteristic of Spanish music from the later sixteenth century forward.⁶⁴ Like other Spanish musical practices, the two-choir system had been transferred and adopted in the novohispanic cathedrals; in Puebla Padilla was cultivating it intensely in Latin pieces and villancicos alike. A digression will be necessary in order to explain the multi-choir system, which was at the heart of Spanish polychoral works. In a Spanish musical chapel, the first choir consisted of soloists singing one to a part, the second choir was doubled with instruments, and the third choir, when it was used, had multiple choristers on a part—we have the evidence of Cerone in the *Melopeo* to confirm this assertion:

The first choir sings with the organ with four single voices: the second is played by a consort of diverse instruments with each instrument accompanying its voice, or at least the parts of the soprano and bass so that the words may be understood: but the third (which is the fundament of all music) is sung with much company, putting three, four, or more singers to a part, accompanying them with some instruments [that are] full and of body, as are the cornetts, the trombones, the bassoons, and like instruments'.⁶⁵

This system held long in the Spanish-speaking world. In 1718, Manuel de Sumaya informed the Mexico City cathedral chapter that in order to fill the choir, he required ‘four individuals in the first choir, eight in the second and twelve in the third’, explaining that ‘the professors of this sweetest science [music] (which like others has been growing) found and discovered the way to compose for 6, 7 and 8 voices, others

⁶⁴ For possible chronologies of the development of polychorality in Spain, see Alfonso de Vicente, ‘Los comienzos de la música policoral en el área de la Corona de Castilla, algunas hipótesis y muchas preguntas’ in *Polychoralities*, 123–170.

⁶⁵ Cerone, *El melopeo*, 676. ‘El primero coro se canta en el órgano con cuatro voces sencillas: el segundo se tañe con un concierto de diversos instrumentos formado, acompañando a cada instrumento su voz; o por lo menos la parte de tiple y bajo, para que expliquen las palabras: mas el tercero (que es el fundamento de toda la música) se canta con mucha chusma, poniendo tres, cuatro, y más cantantes por parte; acompañandolos con algunos instrumentos llenos y de cuerpo, como son las cornetas, los sacabuches, los fagotes, y otros semejantes.

for 12, others for 16 and others for 20 (which is a composition for five choirs).⁶⁶ Sumaya was continuing a tradition that had arrived in Mexico City with the polychoral works of Victoria. The tradition had been carried on throughout the seventeenth century—for example, the year of the dedication of the new cathedral edifice, 1656, saw a ceremony meant to rival the splendour of the Puebla cathedral opening seven years earlier; this ceremony involved polychorality on a grand scale.⁶⁷ For the ceremony, the maestro López Capillas had devised a work in which four separate choirs sang a mass simultaneously, causing astonishment and admiration, according to a contemporary account.⁶⁸ This was the same splendid polychoral tradition which was inherited by Sumaya.

Noel O'Regan provides a succinct formulation of the type of composition Sumaya speaks of; this may serve to define the term 'polychoral' in the sense which Spanish composers understood it:

Polychoral music is taken to mean music in which two or more independent and consistent groups of voices take part, singing separately and together; the parts should remain independent in tutti sections, with the possible exception of the bass parts.⁶⁹

Independence of the parts was a *sine qua non* for the type of composition commonly designated as a 7 or a 8 voces; philosophically this was conceived of as a multiplication

⁶⁶ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Actas Capitulares, caja 23, expediente 2, of 19 September 1718. '...cuatro sujetos en el primer coro, ocho en el segundo y doce en el tercero'. '...los profesores de esta dulcísima facultad (que como las otras se ha ido aumentando) hallasen y descubriesen el modo de componer a 6, 7 y 8 voces, otros a 12, otros a 16 y otros a 20 voces (que es una composición de cinco coros)'.

⁶⁷ James Early notes that building on the cathedral had been stepped up by the viceroy Francisco Fernández de la Cueva, eighth Duke of Albuquerque, possibly in response to the completion of the Puebla cathedral under Juan de Palafox in 1649. A second dedication took place in 1667 after the completion of the interior and closing of the dome, see Early, *The Colonial Architecture of Mexico*, 55.

⁶⁸ Brothers, 'A New-World Hexachord Mass', 7.

⁶⁹ Noel O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music in Rome 1575–1621'. Ph.D. dissertation, St. Catherine's College, Oxford (1988), ii.

of the harmony of a piece. The polychoral masses and motets by Padilla preserved in Puebla choirbook fifteen suit O'Regan's formulation of the style exactly—the most varied compositional devices are applied to two choirs in the predominantly eight-voice settings.⁷⁰ The application of polychorality to a modified *prima pratica* style in Latin works had its vernacular counterpart in the villancico, where groups of voices received independent treatment as separate choirs with a continuo bass.

In Padilla's Christmas villancicos for the Puebla cathedral vocal forces are consistently divided into two choirs. Only the 1651 and 1655 sets do not show a continuo bass for each choir. As remarked above, the absence of a second bass in 1651 was probably due to the departure of the harpist Nicolás Griñon. Longer gaps and incomplete passages in the 1655 set indicate the presence of a misplaced or lost bass part which was not bound with the others. Padilla's continuo bass parts, which are entirely without figures, are furnished with a text incipit to distinguish the pieces from one another. Padilla seems to have tailor-made these villancicos according to the vocal forces available in a certain year; 1652, 1653, 1656 and 1657 have two identical choirs of tiple, alto, tenor and continuo bass, while the voice distribution in 1655 and 1658 was tiple, alto, tenor and continuo bass in choir one, and alto, tenor and continuo bass in choir two.

To call these villancicos polychoral in the same sense as Padilla's eight voice mass settings would be to overstate the case. However, many of the same devices are at work in both musical languages; the choirs are given independent treatment, alternating with each other, then joining together without duplication of the parts. Padilla uses a six

⁷⁰ The contents of the choirbook are listed in Thomas Stanford, *Catálogo de los acervos musicales de las catedrales metropolitanas de México y Puebla de la Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia y otras colecciones menores* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2002).

voice texture with some frequency. More rarely, the number of voices is expanded to eight, as in Padilla's villancico, *En la gloria de un portalillo, a solo y a 8* [In the glory of a stable, solo and a 8].⁷¹ A notable feature of the polychoral villancico style is the careful avoidance of consecutive octaves and fifths; even in a hurried production contrapuntal rules were strictly adhered to.

With the independence provided by a chordal bass, a 'choir' could be reduced to a single voice with accompaniment; Padilla exploited this scheme frequently, particularly in the villancicos written for the Santísima Trinidad nuns, though also in those for the cathedral.⁷² Opposing a choir consisting of a soloist and continuo instrument with another made up of larger forces became a favourite device in Mexico City and Puebla later in the century, as will be seen below.

Juan José Carreras has noted that the polychoral treatment of the choir, although not of Spanish origin, was an important component of the compositional identity of Spanish musicians of the Baroque period.⁷³ This author asserts that compositions for multiple choirs, in which the art of 'counterpoint' (in the sense of a strict adherence to the rules and restrictions of part-writing) was practiced, were felt to possess a purity that the Italian musical art did not, as the Italian school leaned heavily on the ripieno treatment of the choir.⁷⁴ Throughout the period being studied, Spanish theorists were quick to defend the rigorousness and purity of their conception of counterpoint; Carreras cites the *Mapa armónica* [Harmonic map] of Francisco Valls at length, also adding the weight of Nassare's *Escuela música*. To these, one might add such a

⁷¹ See the Appendix for this piece.

⁷² See 'The Villancico in Feminine Institutions' below.

⁷³ Juan José Carreras, 'La policoralidad como identidad' in *Polychoralities*, 88.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 114.

statement as that of Sumaya, who felt that the ‘sweet science’ of music had grown as composers had learned to manage multiple choirs.

Thus, the Italian style of continuo bass was held at bay as Spanish composers on both sides of the Atlantic continued to cultivate their own type of improvised accompaniment. This influenced the harmonic development of the villancico, as will be seen in the next section.

3.6 Harmony and Bass of the Seventeenth-Century Villancico

López-Calo has used the term ‘bilingual’ in connection with Spanish composers of the seventeenth century.⁷⁵ Effectively, the musician who wished to serve the Church as a maestro de capilla was required to be fluent in prima pratica composition for Latin texts, and to possess a ready command of the style required for the vernacular villancico. As Noel O’Regan notes, the coexistence of the stile antico alongside the stile moderno in the sacred music of seventeenth-century Europe did not necessarily constitute a binary opposition, but rather a complex intertwined reality in which both types might be used in a single ceremony in order to suit the rhetorical demands of the text at hand.⁷⁶ This was the case of the Matins service, in which the villancico played such an important part. Spain was unique in post-Tridentine Catholic Europe in the extent to which vernacular songs were cultivated as part of the celebration of the Divine Office, and it was in these vernacular songs that Spanish composers exercised their

⁷⁵ López-Calo, *La música en las catedrales*, 345.

⁷⁶ Noel O’Regan, ‘The Church Triumphant: music in the liturgy’, in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth Century Music*, eds. T. Carter and J. Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 292.

particular brand of the *seconda pratica*, or *música viadana* as they sometimes called it.⁷⁷ The musical style employed for the villancico had a strong consanguinity with other European manifestations of the *seconda pratica*, or *stile moderno*—like these manifestations, the villancico depended on a chordal structure improvised over an instrumental bass, particularly in passages with a reduced number of voices. However, there were important differences; the expressive quality in harmonic language demanded by the rise of the lyric theatre was as yet remote from the churches of Spain. There had been no monodic revolution as in Italy, nor was there an imperious king and centralised court demanding sophisticated theatrical entertainments, as in France. What the Spanish Church required of its musicians were devout and honest villancicos to edify and instruct the people.

These songs, besides being in the vernacular of the people of the Spanish empire, were written in a straightforward musical language. The consonant harmony used in the villancico, or *chansoneta* as it was also known, was simplicity itself, avoiding artifice to heighten the delivery of the text, and thus the Church's message. As the theorist Cerone formulated it:

To compose *chansonetas* or little songs according to their true type it is advisable to use accompaniments of natural consonances in the composition; forming with them cheerful and lively songs, distinctive, polished, graceful and light or diminutive: pronouncing the words almost together in all the parts. Here there is to be no contrapuntal artifice or variety of invention as in the madrigal, but rather well-ordered consonant intervals; and at times brief fugues (at the beginning

⁷⁷ The vernacular was also cultivated in south-western France at Christmas. See Benoît Michel, 'The Noël *a grand chœur* of south-western France and the Iberian villancico: towards a comparison' in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World*. Robert Rawson notes an important flowering of vernacular church songs in the Czech lands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see *Bohemian Baroque: Czech Musical Culture and Style, 1600–1750* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2013). Chapter six is specifically concerned with the Christmas *pastorella* as a genre.

particularly), but of the most natural and everyday type. Here the steps of ligature do not have to be made, as the concord must be free and quick.⁷⁸

All the elements of the seventeenth-century villancico are enumerated here: according to Cerone the chanzoneta should consist almost entirely of consonances, with the voice parts moving homophonically, and the words pronounced together. Brief episodes of imitation are admissible, but not imitation of the complicated type. Tellingly, the artifice and variety of the madrigal are to be avoided in the chanzoneta. Its affect should be joyful and unencumbered by the prepared dissonances known as *ligaduras* (harmonic suspensions). Here were all the musical ingredients of the villancico set out in print, including the most important of all, the use of ‘natural consonances’, the octave, the fifth, and the major and minor thirds and sixths.

It was the intensive use of these consonant intervals within a framework of strict contrapuntal practice that set the villancico apart from some of its more popular European strophic relatives. Cerone comments a few lines after his formulation of the chanzoneta type, that other types such as the *frottola* and *estrambote* (Italian *strambotto*) are to be assigned to the order of ‘common and village songs’; they want consonances which are ‘more easy and more popular’—the choir may sing in unison or octaves, and consecutive fifths are permitted as a consequence of the *fauxbourdon* method.⁷⁹ The strict Spanish style would not permit such liberties. Within the structure of a succession of consonances, the rules of counterpoint were strictly adhered to—the

⁷⁸ Cerone, *El Melopeo*, 693. ‘Para componer las chanzonetas o cancioncillas con su verdadera orden, adviertan usar en la composición unos acompañamientos de consonancias naturales; formando con ellas cantares airosos, alegres, apartados, pulidos, graciosos, y ligeros o disminuidos: pronunciando las palabras casi juntamente con todas las partes. Aquí no hay de haber artificio de contrapuntos ni variedad de invenciones, como en los madrigales, sino intervalos consonantes bien ordenados; y a veces algunas breves fugas (en principio particularmente) pero de los más naturales y más docenales. Aquí no tienen que hacer los pasos de ligadura pues la solfa ha de ser suelta y veloz’.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* ‘cantares aldeanos y groseros’, ‘más fáciles y más populares’.

seemingly unstudied, popular villancico was in fact the product of sophisticated polyphonists working with the simplest of musical materials.

3.7 Harmonic Aspects at Mid-Seventeenth Century

As previously remarked, Gutiérrez de Padilla's Puebla villancicos are currently the only substantial source available from mid-seventeenth-century Mexico. Padilla's notation of these villancicos shows many inheritances from older practices—this is evident in two primary areas, the metric and the harmonic. The very important metric aspects of the seventeenth-century villancico will be considered separately below, so that the current discussion focusses on harmonic characteristics and structure of the bass. This aspect of the villancico has not been discussed in great detail, with the exception of the doctoral theses of Álvaro Torrente and Antonio Ezquerro.⁸⁰ The bulk of attention to the harmonic aspects of the villancico has fallen on the transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, when Italian influence on Spanish music began to be patent. Here, a closer estimation of harmony and bass as seen in the seventeenth century villancico will be essayed.

In many respects, the harmonic characteristics of the mid seventeenth-century villancico are unique in Europe, due to the Spanish composer's strict understanding of harmony. Indeed, the term harmony is used advisedly—the composers of the day conceived of their villancicos much more as counterpoint, as a series of consonances above a bass, enlivened by occasional harmonic suspensions and passing tones, or

⁸⁰ Torrente, 'The sacred villancico', 134–139, Antonio Ezquerro, 'La música vocal en Aragón en el segundo tercio del siglo XVII: tipologías, técnicas de composición, estilo y relación música-texto en las composiciones de las catedrales de Zaragoza'. Ph.D. thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (1998).

‘passing bad for good’ as Joseph de Torres wrote in his 1702 *Reglas generales de acompañar*.⁸¹

A survey of the pieces from Padilla’s villancico sets of the 1650s turns up only those with no key signature and those with a single flat. Some authors have seen a survival of modality in the retention of the opposition between B flat/B natural as the ‘key signature’ of the villancico.⁸² The compositional reality is somewhat more complex than a simple survival of modality—the Spanish composer of the mid-seventeenth century inherited a notational system which was strongly influenced by modality on the one hand, and hexachordal solmisation on the other. This notation served for a composer’s Latin language *prima pratica* output, as well as for the many villancicos he was required to produce each year. We may conveniently refer to López-Caló’s concept of ‘bilingualism’ in this regard; two languages are being spoken, one coloured by Renaissance practices and the other by the baroque thoroughbass. This may be seen very clearly in Padilla’s output for the Puebla cathedral. The driving force in a composition such as the *Ego flos campi* or *Ave Regina* masses is the pre-existing polyphonic tenor, with its modal flavour. In the masses, harmonic motion remains a function of the movement of the individual voices; it is horizontal rather than vertical in nature. In contrast, in the villancico, the governing principle is the thoroughbass, and interval between the lowest and highest voices determines the nature of the motion of the inner voices—this motion, as Cerone indicates, is largely homophonic. In this case,

⁸¹ Joseph de Torres, *Reglas generales de acompañar*. ‘...pasar mala por buena’, 68. A lucid discussion of these points contained in Torres’ *Reglas* may be found in Esther Morales-Cañadas, *Die Verzierung der spanischen Musik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. *European University Studies*, vol. 174 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1998), 170–186.

⁸² Michael Noel Dean, ‘Renaissance and Baroque Characteristics in Four Choral Villancicos of Manuel de Sumaya: Analysis and Performance Editions’. Ph.D. dissertation, Texas Tech University (2002), 102, 117.

the flavour of the composition is determined by its harmonic content, or chordal motion above the bass. In Padilla's villancicos, this chordal motion takes the form of an incipient tonality, although still notated in terms of hexachordal solmisation and church mode.

Gregory Barnett notes a relatively long period of transition, generally coinciding with the seventeenth century, in which the traits of major/minor tonality and modal practice intermingled in a puzzling mix.⁸³ The content of Padilla's villancicos is illustrative of this intermingling—there are indications of functional tonality within the framework of the natural or flatted 'key', such as the tonic–dominant relationship. However, Padilla's villancicos also display the 'close proximity of major and minor thirds' which Theo Schmitt names as indicative of music in the church modes.⁸⁴ Thus, we may view Padilla's villancicos as *seconda pratica* pieces in which the church modes still play a notational role, as well as a vestigial harmonic one. Some of these features characteristic of the intermingling of mode and tonality may be seen in Figure 4 below, taken from Padilla's *A prevenciones del cielo*. The tonality of the piece is established in the first two bars—Padilla is solidly in G minor, pairing the tonic with its D major dominant in bar two. As previously stated, the lone flat in the 'key signature' is a modal survival; the B flat is invariably paired with E flat, which is written as an alteration. This notational practice was especially persistent in novohispanic music; examples may be seen in villancicos as late as 1730 and beyond—the *mollis* key signature could admit

⁸³ Gregory Barnett, 'Tonal organization in seventeenth-century musical theory' in *The Cambridge History of Music Theory*, ed. T. Christenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁸⁴ Theo Schmitt, 'Zur Entstehung der harmonischen Tonalität'. *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 41, no. 1 (1984): 28. '...unvermittelten Nebeneinander von Klängen mit grosser und kleiner Terz'.

Tiple

Alto

Tenor

Bassus

A pre-ven - cion-es del cie - lo se re - go - ci - ja la tie - rra tro-can -

A pre-ven - cion-es del cie - lo se re - go - ci - ja la tie - rra tro-can -

A pre-ven - cion-es del cie - lo se re - go - ci - ja la tie - rra tro-can -

A pre-ven - cion-es del cie - lo se re - go - ci - ja la tie - rra tro-can -

Detailed description: This system contains the first four staves of the musical score. The top staff is for Tiple (Soprano), Alto, Tenor, and Bassus. The music is in 3/8 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: 'A pre-ven - cion-es del cie - lo se re - go - ci - ja la tie - rra tro-can -'. The notes are mostly quarter and eighth notes, with some rests.

8

- do por bien - es tan - tos, mon - ta - ñas de ri - cas per - las mon -

- do por bien - es tan - tos, mon - ta - ñas de ri - cas per - las mon - ta - ñas de

- do por bien - es tan - tos, mon - ta - ñas de ri - cas per - las

Detailed description: This system contains the next four staves. The music continues from the previous system. The lyrics are: '- do por bien - es tan - tos, mon - ta - ñas de ri - cas per - las mon -' on the first staff, '- do por bien - es tan - tos, mon - ta - ñas de ri - cas per - las mon - ta - ñas de' on the second, and '- do por bien - es tan - tos, mon - ta - ñas de ri - cas per - las' on the third. The fourth staff is the bass line. The music features a mix of quarter, eighth, and half notes.

15

ta - ñas de ri - cas per - - - las

ri - cas per - - - las

de ri - cas per - - - las

Detailed description: This system contains the final four staves. The lyrics are: 'ta - ñas de ri - cas per - - - las' on the first staff, 'ri - cas per - - - las' on the second, and 'de ri - cas per - - - las' on the third. The fourth staff is the bass line. The music continues with quarter and eighth notes, ending with a double bar line.

Figure 4, Tonality and modal survival in Padilla's A prevenções del cielo

only an E flat rather than the tritone E natural.⁸⁵ Here, the implied E flat is adhered to, resulting in E flat major, or the flattened sixth degree of G in bar four, followed by an equally orthodox C minor on beat two of bar five. In bar seven, D minor is to be observed in the three-part texture—this is Schmitt’s ‘close proximity of the major and minor third’, giving the piece a degree of modal flavour. Indeed, the F sharp returns in bar nine, resolving to a G in the next. The opposition between D major and D minor as seen in this example is typical of what Carl Dahlhaus termed ‘emerging tonality’.⁸⁶ Thus, tonal function may be said to be present in Padilla’s opening, with modal elements entering at various moments. Cerone states in his above-cited passage on the *chansoneta* that the processes of ‘ligature’ (preparation of harmonic suspensions) need not be observed in this type of song. Nonetheless, when dissonances occur in the *villancico*, they are handled in strict Spanish style, as in the 7/6 suspension in the tenor voice in bar sixteen, prepared as a consonance on the last beat of bar fifteen, or bars sixteen to seventeen, where the 4/3 suspension (alto) is prepared as a consonance on the weak beat of the previous bar.

Strict handling of dissonance seems to have part of the Spanish compositional identity. The prejudice against unprepared dissonances was such that Francisco Valls would unleash a furore in the next century with his *Misa Scala Aretina*, in which an unprepared minor ninth sounds briefly in the *Agnus Dei*. The one-flat key signature had its natural pendant with no alterations—this corresponded largely to C major, or the

⁸⁵ An exception was made when a tritone would result, as in bar nine.

⁸⁶ Carl Dahlhaus, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehung der harmonischen Tonalität* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988).

fifth church key (tono).⁸⁷ Below an example by Padilla from the Sánchez Garza collection shows major key harmonic practice at mid-seventeenth century (Figure 5).

The musical score is divided into two main parts: 'Solo tiple' and 'Acompañamiento'. The 'Solo tiple' part consists of two staves (treble and bass clef) with lyrics: 'Za - ga - le - jos a - mi - gos Za - ga - le - jos a -'. The 'Acompañamiento' part consists of four systems, each with two staves (treble and bass clef) and lyrics: 'mi - gos de - cid si ya hoy que sien - do la u - na han da - do las tres hoy que sien - do la u - na han da - do las tres han da - do las tres u - na, re - loj tan fiel sien - do la u - na han da - do las tres, que'. The score includes measure numbers 6, 11, 16, 27, and 43. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4.

Figure 5, Major key harmonic practice in Padilla's Zagalejos amigos

⁸⁷ Barnett introduces the term 'church key' in his above-named article. This is convenient, as there does not seem to be a usual English equivalent for the words tonos (Spanish), tuoni (Italian), or Kirchentonenarten (German).

The piece, entitled *Zagalejos amigos* [Little pastor friends] begins with solo soprano and an accompanying chordal instrument (harp or organ) in C major. This soprano solo consists of twenty bars with but a single dissonance, a passing tone in bar eighteen. In this solo section, the piece wanders through all the possible diatonic chords within the hexachord from C to A, though with only some sense of tonal direction. As Cerone predicts, the accompaniment consists of natural consonances—this could hardly be otherwise, as no figures were given in the bass, which was played from a separate part (see below). Nonetheless, the natural key signature also admitted alterations. This was a shared characteristic of both key and mode, and is indicative of the intermingling of the two in the villancico.⁸⁸ In *Zagalejos amigos*, F sharp may be observed in a tonal function, as the third of a D major, giving the secondary dominant in bar 29. Likewise, B flat is admissible as the cantus mollis of the hexachord beginning on F. Padilla introduces B flat in bar forty-five in the continuo part, as a continuation of an upward scalar movement from G. In modern terms, this gives a short excursion into the subdominant key of F major, indicated by the cadence in bar forty-six.

Padilla's villancicos feature a relatively quick harmonic rhythm—harmonic poles are not rested upon long enough to give a true feeling of key, thus tonality is only partially developed. It could be posited that this relatively swift change of chords was a function of the fleet ternary **C3**, the usual metric scheme for the villancico. Perhaps quick harmonic rhythm was also designed to maintain listener interest—certainly the string of consonant intervals making up the villancico gained volubility through the relatively lively harmonic movement. The harmonic recourses of the seventeenth-

⁸⁸ William Atcherson, 'Key and Mode in Seventeenth-Century Music Theory Books'. *Journal of Music Theory*, 17, no. 2 (1973): 204–232. Atcherson notes the interrelation of key and mode throughout.

century villancico are very simple when regarded alongside other models from Catholic Europe. One might cite the roughly contemporary example of Lully's 1665 *Miserere*, with its clearly developed C minor tonality and free use of unprepared dissonance—this would have been unthinkable unorthodox in a Spanish composition of the period. However, harmonic variety does not seem to be among Padilla's compositional ends in the villancicos sets of the 1650s; the purpose seems rather more to support the voices in a way that makes the text understandable. Even in the aristocratic circles of the Royal Chapel in far-away Madrid, the aim of the villancico was to speak to the listener in a direct manner, delivering the religious message while edifying and entertaining.

High clef notation in the villancico must be mentioned in connection with tonality. Padilla uses high clef notation in his Puebla villancicos, indeed the device was commonly employed in both Spain and the New World throughout the seventeenth century and well into the next.⁸⁹ As detailed above, only the natural or one flat key signatures were available in Spanish notation. The mode, or church key, had the advantage of being transposable—an advantage Spanish composers exploited in order to express keys other than those implied by the natural or flatted key signature. Thus, pieces sounding in G major were notated a fourth higher, with the top voices written in G clef, and the bass on fourth line C, or tenor clef, while the interior voices were notated in second line C clef (alto) and third line C clef for the tenor. The use of treble clef for the upper voices and tenor clef for the bass seems to have been an absolute indicator of transposition, indeed Luis Robledo notes the obligatory nature of transposing the G2 C2

⁸⁹ For example, Torrente notes that high clef notation was used in almost two-thirds the villancicos of Thomas Miciezes, maestro de capilla at Salamanca cathedral between 1694 and 1718. 'The sacred villancico', 136.

C3 C4 clef combination down a fourth.⁹⁰ Upwards notation seems to have been a purely compositional expedient, done to preserve the *durus/mollis* distinction in the key signature. Joseph de Torres notes a number of other possible transpositions, upwards and downwards, in his *Reglas generales de acompañar*, which were used to aid singers.⁹¹ The high clef combination occurs in several of the Sánchez Garza pieces for the Santísima Trinidad nuns, such as Dallo y Lana's 1690 *Ay que se esconde*, or Salazar's *Ay de cuánta fragancia*. The generally higher tessitura of the women's ensemble did not constitute an exception to the obligatory downward transposition.

3.8 The Seventeenth-Century Bass

A notable characteristic of seventeenth-century villancico basses is their simplicity. None of the pre-1700 music examined in this study exhibits any figuring in the bass, with the minor exception of the occasional indication of a raised or lowered third, shown by the symbols *b* or *#* above the note. Although this lack of figuring could be ascribed to the skill of the performer, as in the many unfigured Italian basses of the same period, there is the additional consideration of the simplicity of the harmonic properties of the villancico. Indeed, the villancico continuo was realised from parts containing only a bass line, with no figures or other voices to indicate harmonic content. These parts were generally designated with the abbreviation 'acompañamiento', *acompañamiento*, *guía* and *guión*, a guide, or simply *bajo*, bass. Given the simple harmonic nature of the villancico and the formidable command of spontaneous counterpoint possessed by the Spanish church musician, no more instructions than the

⁹⁰ Luis Robledo, *Juan Blas de Castro (ca. 1561–1631) vida y obra musical*. (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1989), 87–88.

⁹¹ Torres, *Reglas*, 127–134.

guía were necessary to realise a seventeenth-century bass. With a third or a sixth as the only likely intervals to be played above the bass, the performer proceeded by interval to construct an accompaniment. A bass part to Padilla's villancico, *Al triunfo de aquella reina* [At the triumph of yonder queen] may be seen below in Figure 6:

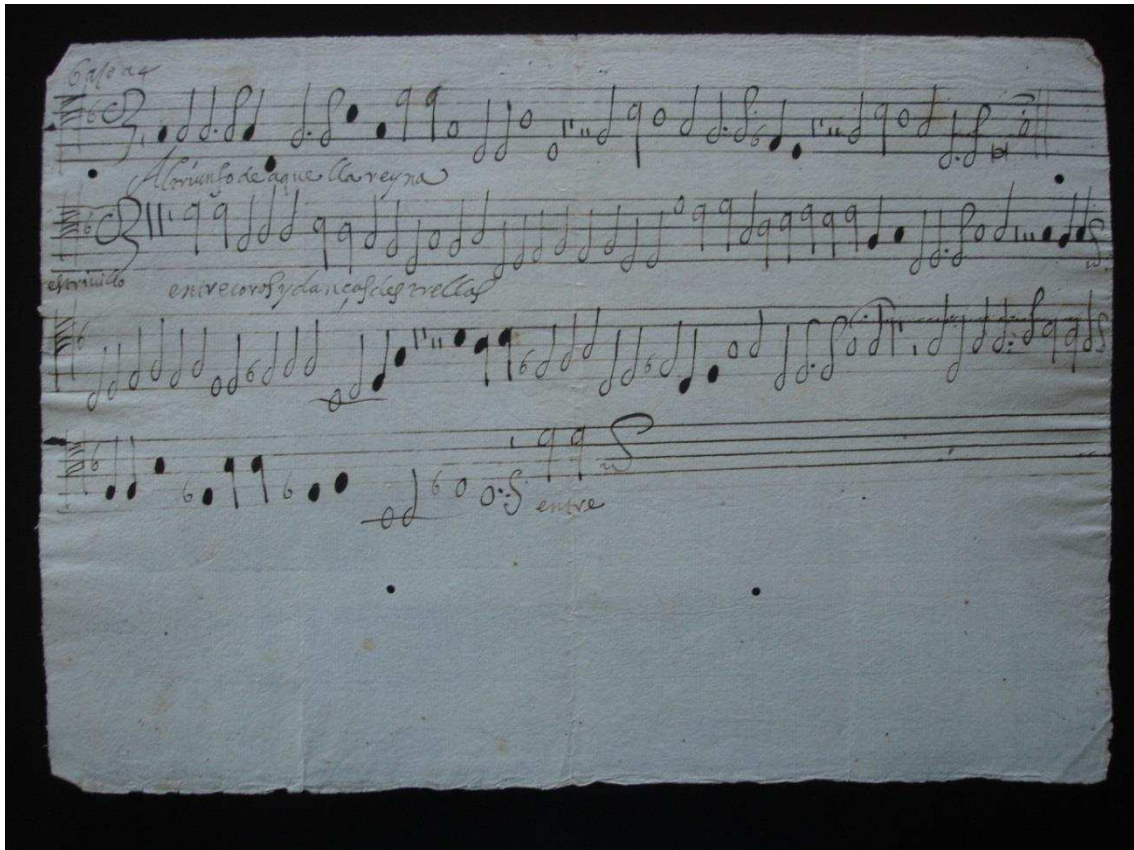


Figure 6, Accompaniment part, ‘bajo a 4’, to Padilla’s villancico, *Al triunfo de aquella reina*

As may be appreciated in the example above, the bass proceeds by intervals of a whole or half step, a fourth, a fifth, or the octave—these may be ascending or descending. Movement by the interval of a third or sixth is much less common, although not unknown. Chromaticism was not a feature of the seventeenth-century villancico bass, considerably simplifying the task of the accompanist. Nonetheless, the ability to realise a bass by scale step required some skill, and was in demand, particularly among harpists. Conversely, an instrumentalist who was slow at the spontaneous realisation of

a bass might be subject to criticism, as indicated in this 1709 report by the maestro Antonio de Salazar on the cathedral harpist Diego Xuárez:

Diego Xuárez harpist, with 200 pesos [per year] who, for the unburdening of my conscience under Y[our] L[ordship], does not play anything of utility on the harp because he is so little skilful that an accompaniment that is a bit difficult he cannot play to perfection without going through it first.⁹²

Extant Spanish music treatises are silent on the matter of continuo accompaniment until the publication of Torres' *Reglas generales de acompañar*.⁹³ The rules for accompanying from a bass part were probably transmitted orally from instrumentalist to instrumentalist. Indeed, the maestro of the Royal Chapel Sebastian Durón writes in his endorsement of Torres' manual that nuns and friars will be able to learn the rules of accompaniment in their cells without the aid of a teacher by studying the book, indicating that the method was fulfilling a need. Torres states in his introduction that the manual is a reduction of the labyrinthine sets of rules set out by Cerone and Kircher for regulating intervals above the bass. This was merely an appeal to the authority of the old theoretical masters; the core of the *Reglas* was a close paraphrase of Lorenzo Penna's practical music method, *Primi albori musicali*, published in Bologna in 1679.⁹⁴ At the heart of Torres' method is the prescription of chordal movement by interval—all possible movements of the bass are covered with explicit instructions as to the notes to be placed above. Formulas for the treatment of dissonances and their proper resolution

⁹² Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Correspondencia, Caja 23, Expediente 2, of 21 September 1709. 'Diego Xuárez arpista con 200 pesos para descargo de mi conciencia y de bajo de V[uestra] S[eñoría] no toca nada de provecho en el arpa porque está tan poco diestro que un acompañamiento que sea un poco difícil no puede tocarlo con perfección sin pasarlo primero'.

⁹³ Torres makes reference in the *Reglas* to a manuscript accompaniment method, now lost, by Juan del Vado (ca. 1625–1691), a musician of the Spanish Royal Chapel and music teacher to Charles II. According to Torres, the manuscript was also called 'Reglas de acompañar'.

⁹⁴ Begoña Lolo, *La música en la Real Capilla de Madrid: José de Torres y Martínez Bravo* (h. 1670–1738) (Madrid: Ediciones de la Universidad Autónoma, 1990), 117.

are also given at some length. Torres' manual is likely a codification of previous practice, based on Penna, del Vado, and the author's own experience as an organist in the Royal Chapel. The examples given by Torres indicate the transition to a de facto major/minor tonal system, in which sonority is determined by the major or minor third above the bass, and practices associated with the old church keys are left behind. As will be seen below, this is the tonal language of the villancicos authored by the generation of composers who succeeded Padilla.

3.9 Rhythm and Metre in the Seventeenth-Century Villancico

We have seen that seventeenth-century Spanish continuo practice had several idiosyncratic elements pertaining to the villancico as a genre. Likewise, certain metric idiosyncrasies can be observed in the seventeenth-century villancico—among these is the predominance in the genre of the metre known as the *proporción menor*, the minor proportion, or **C3**. Along with the *compasillo* [common time], this ternary metre formed the whole of the rhythmic palette of the villancico for the entire seventeenth century, and in New Spain, well beyond.

In much the same way that the tonal notation of the villancico reflected the persistence of modal principles, the notation of rhythm and metre indicated the survival of mensuration, with its notions of perfection and imperfection of the figures. The notational system of the minor proportion warrants a brief excursus here, as it is one of the true complications of the baroque villancico for those uninitiated in seventeenth-century Spanish notation. As may be seen in Figure 7 below, a number of problems of interpretation of rhythmic figures arise, even for the scholar who is familiar with mensuration. Consultation of the standard notation manuals by Wolf and Apel is only of

triple *13* *padilla*
nada lejos de razón *derazón*
nideca q' llo q' se cree, quido jmar y omisee, g'lay
respara v no son, g'lay tres, g'lay tres, g'lay tres, g'lay
respara v no son
1. tan y mi do en ser es tan, esse ser nario di vi no
que sera fin ma ladino, nada les di fin qui ra.
2. presubstien y uno es, el dios q' lo rige tu lo
y si exa mi na el modo, fal tarat de lo que ones
antes de la buena union, de tar per se na se. vec, con loj
la vij ta de la razon, as de a partaren fee firme y di
o son de la fee, g'lay tres, g'lay tres, g'lay tres, g'lay tres
por q' se confirme con firme a las tres, g'lay tres

Figure 7, Tiple voice to Padilla's Nada lejos de razón [Nothing far from reason], a villancico to the Holy Trinity

partial help in understanding the two primary problems posed by the minor proportion, which are the perfection or imperfection of the semibreve and the colouration or blackening of that same figure.⁹⁵

The more recent studies by Sachs and Houle on rhythm and metre do not deal directly with this late manifestation of mensural practice; these authors are silent on Spanish treatises altogether, except for a brief mention of Cerone in Houle's thesis.⁹⁶ Perhaps the best recourse for understanding villancico notation is to be found in a period source that has been mentioned several times, Lorente's *El porqué de la música*. A reading of the passage on pages 165 and 166 of this eminently practical manual solves many of the problems of interpretation for a modern transcriber. In the minor proportion, Lorente informs us, the semibreve is a perfect figure which is divided into three minims; blackening the note head reduces the value of the semibreve to two minims. Thus, in the tiple part shown above, the blackened semibreves in the first system have a value of two minims, while the binary-appearing semibreves at the end of the system are equal to three minims each, or one bar of **C3**. As in other mensural music, the breve may be made imperfect by the figure which follows it. This may be observed in the sixth system, the beginning of the coplas section, where the white semibreve is followed by a minim, thus forming a single bar. There seem to have been a good number of local variations in notational practice of this metre. Padilla consistently blackens the minim which precedes the blackened semibreve, while some of his Puebla

⁹⁵ Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900–1600* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1942). Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1919).

⁹⁶ Curt Sachs, *Rhythm and Tempo: A Study in Music History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1952). George Houle, 'The Musical Measure as Discussed by Theorists from 1650 to 1800' (Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1960). Houle, *Meter in Music, 1600–1800: Performance, Perception, and Notation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

successors do not. Likewise, the sequence minim–semibreve may occur without colouration, as in the second bar of the second system in the above example. Finally, the use of the punto de perfección (dotting of the breve) to indicate cadence points is extremely varied by composer and cathedral. In the above example, Padilla indicates cadences in the third, fifth and sixth systems at the words ‘tres’, ‘está’ and ‘union’; this was valuable information for the singer as to breathing and resting points in the composition.

The notation of the minor proportion raises several musical questions for the performer. The blackened note heads coincide with two rhythmic phenomena, hemiola and syncopation. In 1942, Apel had already raised the question of an implied accent in the hemiola, arguing that colouration implied a modification in accentuation, particularly when the same values could be represented in white notes.⁹⁷ However, based upon an examination of many different villancico texts, colouration in **C3** does not seem to suggest any accentuation beyond normal declamation of the text—natural speech rhythm seems to be the determining factor in the placement of these figures.⁹⁸ The semi-mensural notation of the villancico also poses the question of tempo to the performer. In concrete terms, the question of a tactus-like handling of the ternary unit arises—this would seem to be implied in the use of the semibreve as the basis for a bar. Lorente, and later Nassare, are both largely silent on tempo, however Lorente indicates that the three minims of the minor proportion are organised as ‘una al dar y dos al

⁹⁷ Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 127.

⁹⁸ Some modern performers have taken black note notation to mean added rhythmic emphasis. One could cite, for example, the liner notes from Jeffrey Skidmore and Ex Cathedra Consort’s *Fire Burning in the Snow*, Hyperion 67600 (2007), where Skidmore asserts of Araujo’s *Dixit Dominus*, ‘Two triple-time sections recall the typical toe-tapping black notation found in all the villancicos and it is hard to imagine any resistance, at least from the musicians and the congregation, to adding percussion at these points’, 2.

alzar’.⁹⁹ The phrase is too idiomatic to translate easily, however, by ‘dar’, the downbeat or ictus is meant, and by ‘alzar’, the upbeat or counter-movement to the ictus. Thus, in Lorente’s conception, the bar of minor proportion consisted of two sections, one downwards and one upwards, or ↓↑↑ in graphic terms. From Lorente’s conducting instructions given on pages 220 and 221 of his treatise, it can be gathered that the ‘dar’ of the minor proportion was a downwards hand movement, while the upwards ‘alzar’ was given by the conductor not on the second beat, but the third. This would seem to indicate a modern equivalent of 3/4, beaten in one by the conductor. This is consistent with a tactus of MM 40–50 for the semibreve, giving a modern 3/4 crotchet at MM 120–150. The texts examined in this study are easily pronounceable at this speed and seem to preserve the joyful affect of the villancico.

The compasillo, represented by the symbol **C**, appeared as a foil to the ubiquitous minor proportion. The words were delivered more slowly in this binary metre than in the fleet **C3**, adding emphasis to the text. Lorente reports that the compasillo was conducted in two exactly equal movements of the hand, one downwards and one upwards. Interestingly, the treatise states ‘if in the course of a work there were a change of tempo, there must also be [change] of metre’, with the implication that the tactus remained equal for all types of metre.¹⁰⁰ Lorente also comments on the ternary tiempo menor de proporción mayor, in which three semibreves were sung to the bar.

⁹⁹ Lorente, *El porqué de la música*, 165. Pablo Nassare’s massive *Escuela música según la práctica moderna* (Zaragoza: Herederos de Diego de Larumbe, 1724) was a practical guide for the maestro de capilla, much like Lorente’s earlier treatise.

¹⁰⁰ Lorente, *El porqué de la música*, 221. ‘Y si en el discurso de la obra hubiere mutación de tiempo, también la ha de haber de compás’.

This metre was used very rarely in the villancico, although it was not completely unknown.¹⁰¹

Lorente states in his treatise that the minor proportion is the metre ‘most exercised in villancicos and happy and joyful music’.¹⁰² Torrente notes the predominance of the this metre in the seventeenth-century villancico and other music in the vernacular.¹⁰³ Padilla’s villancicos for Puebla confirm the predominance of the metre in New Spain; no single piece is without a section in **C3**, and the compasillo does not appear frequently. Padilla’s successors in the cathedrals of New Spain did not alter the villancico formula of minor proportion interspersed with the compasillo—other metric schemes seem to have been reserved for music in Latin, while the villancico remained unchanged. The persistence of a single metric type without evolution over an entire century is a curious phenomenon; perhaps the number of pieces demanded per year made the application of a formula a necessity, or the poetic affect of joyousness wanted no new musical devices. In any case, as the novohispanic villancico progressed towards major/minor tonality at the end of the seventeenth century, its rhythmic and metric framework remained unaltered. However, the Spanish language seems to have found an ideal vehicle in the adaptable and malleable minor proportion, which found applications as much in the corral de comedias as in the sacred villancico.¹⁰⁴ Guatemala choristers seem to have preferred notation in **C3** into the eighteenth century; several

¹⁰¹ Two examples were found in the course of this study, Pascualillo que me quieles, a Christmas villancico a duo by Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana from GCA-Gc and Alégrese los astros by Manuel de Sumaya, from MEX-Mc.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 166–167. ‘...el que más se ejercita en los Villancicos, y Músicas de alegría, y regocijo.’

¹⁰³ Torrente, ‘The sacred villancico’, 140. To Torrente’s example of the Cancionero de Sablonara one might add the large number of ‘solos’ and ‘tonos humanos’ by Juan Hidalgo held by the Spanish National Library under the classification MC 3880.

¹⁰⁴ For the adaptability of the minor proportion to Spanish poetry and speech rhythm see Bernat Cabero Pueyo, ‘Der Villancico des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in Spanien’ Ph.D. thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1999. Pages 181, 194 and 234 deal in particular with this theme.

pieces are to be found with a pair of violin parts written in 3/4, but with chorus parts in the minor proportion, dated as late as 1751.¹⁰⁵

3.10 Conclusions

The Spanish maestro de capilla of the seventeenth century spoke two languages in his compositions, one in the villancico which paralleled European-wide continuo practice, and another which continued the prima pratica style in a modified manner in Latin works. The Spanish continuo style diverged from its European counterparts in its strictness; rather than free treatment of dissonance over a continuo bass to express the emotional rhetoric of a text, the Spanish composer followed a more or less rigid contrapuntal orthodoxy which was transferred to the homophonic texture of the villancico. His treatment of the number of voices in a composition was likewise rigorous, preferring six, seven or eight real voices in separate choirs to Italian ripieno choral practice.

The simplest of harmonic means were used in the musical setting of the villancico, which consisted of a through-composed estribillo and strophic coplas in various formal arrangements. The simplicity of a sequence of consonances above a thoroughbass, broken only by occasional prepared dissonances belied the considerable contrapuntal sophistication possessed by the seventeenth-century maestro de capilla. The basses of the mid seventeenth-century, which were realised on the harp or organ by interval and largely without the aid of figures, reflected this harmonic simplicity.

¹⁰⁵ Manuel de Sumaya, Pajarillos sonoros, GCA-Gc. This may also be seen in pieces by Joseph de Torres in the same collection, for example the Cuatro al Santísimo, Carta maravillosa with violin and oboe in 3/4 and C3 choral parts.

As is evident from a perusal of Padilla's music from the Puebla cathedral music archive, the tonal notation of the seventeenth-century villancico shows the inheritance of hexachordal solmisation and vestiges of modality in its retention of the *durus/mollis* key distinction and use of high clefs. However, the tonal language of the seventeenth-century villancico shows advanced progression towards the major/minor system later codified by Rameau. Likewise, notation of rhythm and metre displayed a tendency towards conservation of the old metric system of the proportions, particularly in the preference for the ternary minor proportion in the villancico—as research of the contents of the music archive of the Puebla cathedral and the Sánchez Garza collection shows, the minor proportion was omnipresent in the work of Padilla and his contemporaries. This metre was transformed, however, by moulding it to meet the expressive demands of the text.

Chapter 4: Excursus I, The Villancico de Negros

The *negrilla*, little black song, or *negro de Navidad*, black Christmas song, was a villancico in pseudo-African dialect, generally produced for Christmas. The African characters who feature in these pieces are many times introduced in the course of a succession of various personages visiting the manger in Bethlehem, as seen in the Puebla chapbook of 1649. Other times, the *negrilla* was introduced individually, although pairing with pieces featuring other characters such as Galicians or gypsies was the most common process. The villancico de negros had tradition in Spain, where it had been practiced in both the Royal Chapel and the provinces since the middle of the sixteenth century. The use of African and other pseudo-dialects in the villancico led the serious-minded Cerone, who had sung this type of piece in the Royal Chapel during the reigns of Philip II and Philip III, to protest against the appearance of ‘...now a Portuguese, and now a Basque, and then an Italian, and then a German, first a gypsy, and then a negro’.¹ Cerone’s moralising had no effect whatsoever—linguistic caricatures in the villancico experienced a boom during the seventeenth century on both sides of the Atlantic.

The linguistic caricature of the negro type was appropriated and refined by no less a poet than Luis de Góngora, who used the imagined speech of African characters in a set of *letrillas sacras* (little sacred verses) written for the cathedral of Córdoba, where the poet held a prebendary.² The *letrillas*, which were collected by Góngora’s

¹ Cerone, *El melopeo*, 192. ‘...ahora un Portugués y ahora un Vizcaíno, cuando un Italiano y cuando un Tudesco; primero un gitano y luego un negro’.

² For Góngora’s ecclesiastical career, see M. Ellen Blossman, ‘Góngora y Argote, Luis de (1561–1627)’ in *Absolutism and the Scientific Revolution 1600–1720: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. C. Baker (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), 141.

fellow Cordoban Gonzalo de Hozes and published posthumously in 1633, had tremendous influence in Mexico, where Góngora's poetry was widely imitated.³ The refrains of repeated nonsense syllables such as 'elamu, calamba, calambu, elamu' which occur quite often in the villancico de negros were not the sole invention of Góngora, but the Cordoban poet used them to such good effect that they became a standard practice for his literary successors. The conventions of the negro pseudo-dialect predated Góngora's use of it; the Golden Age playwrights Lope de Rueda and Lope de Vega, among many others, used this speech for comic characters in their plays. The acid-tongued man of letters Francisco de Quevedo noted in his *Libro de todas las cosas* [Book of All Things], 'If you write plays, and you are a poet, you will know Guinean by changing the r's to l's, and vice-versa, like Francisco, Flancico: Primo, Plimo'.⁴

The *habla de negros*, or *Guineo* as it was known in Quevedo's time, had a number of recurring phonetic features which mark it as a pseudo-dialect rather than an imitation of actual Afro-Hispanic speech. According to the linguist John Lipski, the Spanish spoken by African characters in Golden Age plays was part of a character stereotype—however, this language did contain some genuine African elements.⁵ Nonetheless, the actual contact with Spanish and Portuguese pidgins which were the model for the stage dialect lay in the remote past of the fifteenth century; by Lope de Vega's day the *habla de negros* had become codified into a standard formula. The

³ For two of Góngora's negros composed for the cathedral of Córdoba, see *Las obras de don Luis de Góngora en varios poemas. Recogidos por don Gonzalo de Hozes y Córdoba, natural de la ciudad de Córdoba* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reino, 1633), folios 74v and 75v. Góngora names the maestro de capilla Juan de Risco as the musicaliser of the poems starting on the folio numbered 57v. This folio number seems to have been a printing error, as the folio appears between 71v and 73v.

⁴ Francisco de Quevedo, *Parte primera de las obras en prosa* (Madrid: Melchor Sánchez, 1658), 199. 'Si escribes comedias, y eres poeta, sabrás Guineo, en volviendo las RR. LL. y al contario como Francisco, Flancico, Primo, Plimo'.

⁵ John M. Lipski, *A History of Afro-Hispanic Language: Five Centuries, Five Continents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 52.

transposition of the phonemes /r/ and /l/ is the most conspicuous feature of this stock stage dialect, and figures prominently in the villancico de negros. Quevedo's Flancico < Francisco shows this transposition with absolute clarity; this name was one of the most common assigned to the fictitious Africans of the villancico—the reverse occurred as well, as in the extremely common 'plimo' for primo (cousin) noted by Quevedo. Apart from the /l/ /r/ transposition, 'Flancico' also shows the disappearance of /s/ before consonants, with its attendant nasalisation. This dropping of /s/ before a consonant was (and is) a trait of Andalusian speech, as was the disappearance of /s/ at the end of a word—villancico authors exploited this quite often in the characters' first person plural exhortations to dance and sing, 'bailemo' < bailemos and 'cantamo' < cantamos.⁶ The loss of final /s/ is not identifiable as an African-influenced phenomenon; nor is the yeísmo (confluence of /ʎ/ and /j/) which occurs so frequently in the habla de negros.⁷ These were two traits associated with the speech of lower-class Andalusians, whether rural or city-dwelling—in effect, the linguistic characteristics of one marginalised group were attributed to another.⁸ A notable phonetic device was the substitution of /r/ for the intervocalic /d/, as in 'turo' < todo—this word was used often to denote the collective African, as in 'turo nenglo'.⁹ There were others, such as the dropping of final /n/, seen quite often in the word 'Belé' < Belén (Bethlehem), or nasalisation such as 'nenglo' for

⁶ The weakening or disappearance of final /s/ is a characteristic of present-day Caribbean Spanish, particularly Cuban varieties. This lends a strikingly realistic appearance to *negrilla* passages where first person plural verbs occur, as 'bailemo' and 'cantamo' above. I would suggest that this has led some scholars to conclude that the *negrilla* is a true imitation of Afro-Mexican speech. However, conservation of final /s/ is a historical constant in Mexican Spanish, as many authors note. See Juan Lope Blanch, *Cuestiones de la filología mexicana* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2004), 8.

⁷ John Lipski, 'Speaking "African" in Spanish and Portuguese: literary imitations vs. (socio) linguistic reality', 7–8. (Transcript of a paper given at Arizona State University, February 2012).

⁸ Eleanor Cotton, *Spanish in the Americas* (Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, 1988), 81.

⁹ Lipski, 'Speaking "African" in Spanish', 8.

‘negro’.¹⁰ Space does not permit a complete listing of all the phonetic phenomena associated with the *negrilla*; those listed above are the most common. The phonetics of the *Guineo* have been studied by Edmund de Chasca, among other scholars—as Stevenson later, Chasca failed to draw a clear line between the speech of real-life hispanicised persons of African descent and the codified stage speech of the *habla de negros*.¹¹ Thus, both linguist and musicologist implied the continuous presence of a linguistically incompetent real-life African Other whose speech was being imitated by poets. This problematic conception denied the true historical situation of the black population of Spain and its colonies, in which the descendants of African slaves became native speakers of Spanish, albeit socially marginalised ones.

Certain high-frequency lexical items are associated with the *villancico de negros*. Apart from the name ‘*Flancico*’, one of the most common is the title ‘*siolo*’, a doubly corrupted form of Portuguese *senhor*. This word had acquired a paragogic vowel in the *fala de preto*, the Portuguese version of the *habla de negros*, forming ‘*seoro*’ > Spanish ‘*siolo*’, with the regular /l/ /r/ transposition. Lipski notes the frequent occurrence of ‘*plimo*’; familial relationship of the African collective is indicated quite often with ‘*palente*’ < *pariente* (relative), or ‘*mano*’ and ‘*helmano*’ < *hermano* (brother).¹² Skin colour is referred to with some frequency: ‘*negla*’, ‘*nenglo*’, ‘*neglica*’, ‘*negliya*’ (the latter two are diminutive forms) from *negro*, and also ‘*moleno*’ < *moreno* (dark-skinned). Naturally, the Africans speak of their opposites, the ‘*brancos*’ < *blancos* (whites). Paraphernalia from the manger scene is common; the Africans are often seen

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Edmund de Chasca, ‘The Phonology of the Speech of Negroes in Early Spanish Drama’. *Hispanic Review*, 14, no. 4 (1946): 322–339.

¹² Lipski, *A History*, 220.

peering into the ‘poltal’ < portal (stable). The Christ child is often asleep during visits from the Africans, giving rise to the frequent use of the verb ‘duelme’ < duerme, third person ‘sleeps’. Finally, the ‘siola Malia’ could not be absent from the manger scene. There are frequent references to musical instruments in the *negrilla*—in Padilla’s pieces one hears of the *cascabel* (a small bell) and the *zambomba* (a friction drum); Manuel de Quirós (Guatemalan maestro de capilla, died 1765) has the *tamboril* (tabret, a small drum) and the Spaniard Sebastian Durón the guitar and the *rebec*. All of these instruments were associated with the ambience of southern Spain—again, the rural population of Andalusia is being associated with fictitious Africans; the folk instruments of one marginalised group stand for those of the other. The reference to the *zambomba* is particularly significant; this drum type was closely associated with Christmas celebrations in rural Spain.¹³

Linguistic ridiculousness is the primary characteristic of these African characters, and would have been the most apparent feature for the listener. The *negrilla* seems to have had great appeal for listeners—these pieces did not lose favour at any point during the period under study, recurring on a steady basis with other topoi such as shepherds and gypsies. The intentional linguistic parody worked at a conscious level. Other elements of character, which always have a satirical intention, are hidden within the texts, working on the listener subliminally. The Africans of the *villancico* are rarely treated as individuals—they are most often seen moving in groups, as in the *estribillo* of this 1746 Christmas *villancico* by Manuel de Quirós, *Venga turo Flanciquillo*:

¹³ John Schechter ‘Zambomba’. *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*. Ed. S. Sadie. (London: Macmillan Press, 1984), iii: 889.

Tiple solo: Venga turo Flanciquillo Turo Maltín, turo Furné A aleglal al siolo Que nace en Belé A5: Vamo allá, vamo allá Tiple solo: Mano Melchol, mano Gaspar Tocaremo la tarumbela Cantamo la zanguanguá A 5: Oíl, oíl, oíl, mila, mila Tiple solo: Que quelemo matachines Pues ligelos lanzalines Turo lo neglillo ezá	Come on all you Francis's Come on all you Martins and Furnés To cheer up the Master Who is born in Bethlehem Let's go there, let's go there Brother Melchor, brother Gaspar Let's play on the mix-up And sing the hooky song Listen, listen, listen, look, look What we want, all you revellers Well, lightly you dancers All the little blacks are here
A5: Entlemo en tlopa Ziolos, ziolas en el potal Tenel, tenel, tenel pala Que duelme el chiquiyo Ziol Furné, ze, ze, ze, ze No le dispeltemo ziol Maltín Chi, chi, chi, chi, chi, chi, chi La vuel[t]a colamo ligela	We'll enter in a troop Masters, mistresses, into the stable Take, take, take, that The little Master might sleep Furné, ze, ze, ze, ze Don't wake him master Martin Chi, chi, chi, chi, chi, chi, chi We'll slip around the corner

There is a decided depersonalisation of the fictitious Africans in the device ‘turo Flanciquillo, turo Maltín, turo Furné’—*todo* and *toda* are being used here in the singular to denote an entire class of a thing or object. Thus, Flanciquillo is not seen as an individual, but as member of a collective group of Flanciquillos, Maltíns and Furnés proposing to enter the stable in a troop. This is done furtively, as the phrase ‘colamo ligela’ (let’s slip in quietly) implies; there is a subtle subtext in the villancico characterising the Africans as shifty but loveable. This emerges in the terms ‘tarumbela’ and ‘zanguanguá’, imaginary words composed from regular Spanish forms. Brother Melchor and brother Gaspar—again seen as a collective rather than individuals—are playing on a musical instrument, the ‘tarumbela’ whose name is composed from the

word *tarumba*, meaning mixed-up or confused. The ‘*tarumbela*’ accompanies the ‘*zanguanguá*’, presumably a song about avoiding work, from *zanguano*, a slacker. The African collective are characterised by a love of song and dance, as Geoff Baker has noted in an analysis of Sor Juana’s *villancicos de negros*.¹⁴ Indeed, the function of African characters in the Christmas *villancico* is almost invariably to entertain the Christ child with their singing and dancing—‘*alegal*’ < *alegrar* (cheer up) might easily be added to our list of frequent *negrilla* lexis. In Quirós’ piece, as in many others of this type, there is a musical representation of the faceless but happy collective. As may be seen in the transcription below (Figure 8), the full chorus answers the solo tiple, giving the commentary ‘*vamo allá, vamo allá*’ (let’s go there). Later in the piece, the comment ‘*entlemos en tlopa*’ (let’s enter in a troop) is heard from the chorus. More importantly, the group sings a set of nonsense syllables, ‘*ze, ze*’ and ‘*chi, chi*’.¹⁵ This device, which lends itself so readily to being musicalised, was omnipresent in the *villancico de negros*—no doubt the listener was charmed and amused by the cathedral *capilla* singing a lively nonsense chorus representing a troop of dancing and singing Africans. Baker has noted the political intentions behind the *negrilla*, placing it in the context of Maravall’s vision of the coercive functions of Baroque culture.¹⁶ Something of the kind is undoubtedly at work in the *villancico de negros*; this is an elitist satire on the imagined speech of a subaltern group. As Baker remarks, this linguistic satire is meant to help preserve a fixed racial hierarchy, and to sustain a self-image of cultural

¹⁴ Geoff Baker, ‘The “ethnic villancico” and racial politics in 17th-century Mexico’, in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*, eds. A. Torrente and T. Knighton (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), 406.

¹⁵ The choice of the letter *z* rather than *s* for ‘*ziolo*’ and the nonsense refrain ‘*ze, ze*’ may indicate a parody on rural Andalusian speech, where the phenomenon of *ceceo* (pronunciation of sibilants as /θ/) occurred. Gypsy speech is often characterised in the *villancico* through *ceceo*.

¹⁶ Baker, ‘The Ethnic Villancico’, 401.

Tiple solo

Ven - ga tu - ro Flan - ci - qui - llo Ven - ga

Accompañamiento

6

tu - ro Flan - ci - qui - llo tu - ro Mal - tín

11

tu - ra Fur - né a a - le - glal al Sio - lo que

15

Tiple 2 and Alto

na - ce en Be - lé va - mo a - llá va - mo a - llá

Tenors 1 and 2

8

va - mo a - llá va - mo a - llá

Dulcian

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'Venga turo Flanciquillo'. It is written in 3/8 time and consists of several systems of staves. The first system features a 'Tiple solo' part in the treble clef and an 'Accompañamiento' (accompaniment) part in the bass clef. The lyrics are 'Ven - ga tu - ro Flan - ci - qui - llo Ven - ga'. The second system continues the vocal line with 'tu - ro Flan - ci - qui - llo tu - ro Mal - tín'. The third system has the lyrics 'tu - ra Fur - né a a - le - glal al Sio - lo que'. The fourth system is a choral response, with 'Tiple 2 and Alto' and 'Tenors 1 and 2' parts. The lyrics for this section are 'na - ce en Be - lé va - mo a - llá va - mo a - llá' and 'va - mo a - llá va - mo a - llá'. There is also a 'Dulcian' part in the bass clef. The score includes measure numbers 6, 11, and 15.

Figure 8, Full choral response to the solo tiple in Manuel de Quirós' Venga turo Flanciquillo

superiority among the elite group. Altogether, the assertion of cultural superiority by Peninsular and American-born Spaniards seems to have been one of the primary purposes of the novohispanic villancico—the villancico might involve displays of wealth and religious piety, the promotion of the social bonding of the elite group and the transmission of encoded hierarchical messages, as in the case of the *negrilla*. However, there would have been a considerable disconnection between the linguistic behaviour of the characters in the villancico de negros and that of the actual population of African descent in the colony, most of whom were native speakers of Spanish by mid-seventeenth century.¹⁷ Many slaves and free blacks were in constant contact with local prestige varieties of Spanish through their work as domestic servants in elite households. As Lipski notes, these persons would have spoken local forms of Spanish, though they ‘may have retained certain ethnolinguistic markers as a consequence of their inevitably marginalised state’.¹⁸ However, these markers would hardly have been the gross phonetic deformations to be found in the villancico de negros. There seems to be little connection between real persons of African descent such as the singer Luis Barreto (who would have sung with perfect diction in Spanish and Latin), the mulatto maestro de capilla of the Durango cathedral, Alonso Ascencio (fl. 1625–1663) and the one-dimensional fictitious Africans inhabiting the world of the *negrilla*.¹⁹

¹⁷ Lipski, *A History*, 98.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹⁹ Ascencio described himself as ‘pardo’, a term applied to brown-skinned individuals in the colonial era. Ascencio had played the dulcian at the Mexico City cathedral from 1623 to 1654 before becoming maestro in Durango. This singular occurrence of a person of African descent reaching this high position was due to Ascencio’s skill and long experience, as well as the geographical isolation of Durango. For Ascencio’s period as maestro at Durango, see Drew Edward Davies, ‘The Italianized Frontier: Music at Durango Cathedral, Español Culture, and the Aesthetics of Devotion in New Spain’, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2006.

It could be contended that the villancico de negros served another elitist end, the reduction to a state of ridiculousness of a racial group whose physical vitality was felt to be a threat. The mental image of singing and dancing African simpletons may well have been a protective psychological mechanism against the fear of a revolt by the vastly numerically superior underclasses of indigenous Mexicans and blacks. As Alan Knight remarks, the Spanish racial elite lived in ‘subliminal fear’ of an indigenous uprising—in the worst-case scenario, the native peoples would be joined by the black population in an apocalyptic revolt against the república de españoles.²⁰

Lipski discounts the possibility that the *negrillas* of Fernández and Gutiérrez de Padilla might contain elements that denote the existence of a distinct Afro-Mexican language.²¹ For Lipski, the texts of the songs *Eso rigor e repente* and *Ah siolo Flasiquiyo* are simple recastings of Peninsular formulae not indicative of actual black speech in New Spain. One is inclined to agree with Lipski based solely on these two villancicos; however, there are dozens more in novohispanic archives that display the same time-worn formulae. In a text such as that of Quirós set out above, there are no local elements to be distinguished; the African *matachines* could just as well be in Góngora’s Córdoba as in Guatemala. In the final analysis, the *negrilla* rests on the repetition of formulae inherited from Spain, and not on a freewheeling New World identity engendered by contact with the black population of Mexico. The former is a case of intertextuality with a transatlantic dimension, while the latter is a modern construction which will be discussed below.

²⁰ Knight, *Mexico: The Colonial Era*, 170.

²¹ Lipski, *A History*, 139–140.

Thus far, textual aspects of the villancico de negros have been considered; we must now consider various musical aspects of the genre. This would hardly be necessary were it not for the amount of interest that the *negrilla* has generated in early music circles, where it could be said to have supplanted more serious engagement with the colonial villancico. As Baker notes, the negro by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, *Ah siolo Flasiquiyo*, has become a staple of the Latin American Baroque repertory, featuring on concert programmes by distinguished performers such as the Harp Consort and the King's Singers.²² Because of its wide diffusion, this single villancico de negros has come to represent the New World villancico as a whole in the minds of the musical public. Despite the existence in Spanish archives of numerous villancicos de negros written by authors who never left the Iberian peninsula, it has become identified as a New World type.

The construction of the *negrilla* as a distinctively New World phenomenon seems to have originated with the otherwise erudite Robert Stevenson, who chose to cast the subgenre in a folkloric light. From the outset of his brilliant investigation into the music of Latin America, Stevenson seized on the villancico de negros as an important point of discussion, delighting in citing the nonsense syllables and names of the dances found in the pieces.²³ Among the villancicos Stevenson chose for inclusion in the 1974 *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico* was Padilla's *Ah siolo Flasiquiyo*. In this volume he repeated his musical formulation of the seventeenth-century negro,

²² Geoff Baker, 'Latin American Baroque: performance as a post-colonial act?'. *Early Music*, XXXVI, no. 3 (2008): 441.

²³ Several instances might be cited. In the survey *Music in Mexico* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1952), the negros in Sor Juana's San Pedro Nolasco villancicos of 1677 are given an enthusiastic description. Stevenson cites Sor Juana's refrain 'Tumba, la, la, la, tumba, la, le, le' and names a dance, the Porto Rico, 141. This process was repeated in *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico*, where the Porto Rico is again mentioned, along with the refrain 'le, le, le, le, le, le' from a 1649 Puebla chapbook, 52.

citing his own 1968 article ‘The Afro-American Musical Legacy to 1800’.²⁴ According to Stevenson, the negro as a type ‘always seems to have involved certain musical gestures: Vivid 6/8 with constant hemiola shifts in 3/4 are the rule; F or C major is the almost universal key; solo or soloists answered by chorus govern the texture’.²⁵ Indeed this could have been said of most villancicos, whether of the negro subgenre or not; Stevenson seems to have been testing the musical waters—definitive judgement on the musical character of the negro genre was reserved awaiting further transcriptions. Stevenson’s final assessment of the *negrilla* came in a short summation in the Mexican musicological journal, *Heterofonía*, in its 1976–1977 issue. This time the author had definitively isolated the characteristics of the negro, *negrilla* or *guineo* as ‘call and response, rhythmic choral verses of great simplicity, abundant syncopation in metres that could be transcribed as 3/8 or 6/8, infinite repetitions, major tonalities (F or C major) and an ambience of constant and exuberant vigour’.²⁶ The *guineo* was compared to the Afro-American spiritual ‘Ezekiel Saw the Wheel’ and it was suggested that syncopation in the *villancico de negros* should be highlighted with drums.²⁷ As late as 1994, Stevenson reaffirmed this conception of the negro in an article for his own journal, the *Inter-American Music Review*.²⁸

²⁴ Robert Stevenson, ‘The Afro-American Musical Legacy to 1900’. *The Musical Quarterly*, 54, no. 4 (1968): 475–502.

²⁵ Stevenson, *Christmas Music*, 7.

²⁶ Stevenson, ‘Acentos folklóricos en la música mexicana temprana’. *Heterofonía*, 10, no. 1 (1976–77): 5. ‘...llamada y respuesta, coplas corales rítmicas de gran simplicidad, sincopas abundantes en compases que podían [sic] ser transcritos como 3/8 or 6/8, repeticiones infinitas, tonalidades mayores (Fa o Do mayor) y un ambiente de constante y exuberante vigor.

²⁷ *Ibid.* ‘En los negros de Fernandes, Padilla, Salazar y Araujo debería puntualizarse el sincopado con tambores’, 6. [In the negros of Fernandes, Padilla, Salazar and Araujo, the syncopation should be marked with drums].

²⁸ Stevenson, ‘Ethnological Impulses in the Baroque villancico’. *Inter-American Music Review*, 14, no. 1 (1994): 67–106.

It is conceivable that Stevenson thought he had happened onto a vein of real Afro-Mexican folklore—certainly his opinions were earnestly meant and designed to focus attention on neglected music. The before-mentioned article ‘The Afro-American Musical Legacy’ had been written in the heady days of 1968, when the air was laden with revolutionary possibilities of all kinds. In that year the philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre had been marching with students in Paris and the civil rights activist Martin Luther King with workers in Memphis; unlikely things were possible and even probable. Stevenson had himself explored the influence of the spiritual on Protestant church music in the United States.²⁹ Why would it not be possible that novohispanic composers had imitated the black music of colonial Mexico, creating a distinctive New World musical type rich with Afro-Mexican folkloric accents?

The folkloric interpretation of the *negrilla* hinged largely on its rhythmic aspect; the choice of 6/8 for a transcription of **C3** seems to have been a conscious decision on Stevenson’s part. Whether this was an interpretative error or a deliberate fabrication, it became standard procedure for Stevenson’s transcriptions of the minor proportion pieces appearing in *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico* and subsequent publications. The unbarred ternary metre, with its *tactus*-like flowing minims and blackened note heads became a fleet-looking 6/8 in Stevenson’s interpretation. No one who had dealt with transcriptions of the minor proportion could have been unaware of the prescriptions of Andrés Lorente, who described the metre in detail in his 1672 *El porque de la música*—Lorente is specific about the ternary nature of the minor

²⁹ Robert Stevenson, *Protestant Church Music in America: A Short Survey of Men and Movements from 1564 to the Present* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966).

proportion.³⁰ Although the note values had been correctly reduced in Stevenson's 6/8 version, there was a notable disparity between the intention of the original notation and that of the transcription. Something of this can be seen in Figure 9 comparing the two versions.³¹



Figure 9, Opening bars of the first choir tenor to Padilla's Ah siolo Flasiquiyo. Original notation and Stevenson's 6/8 interpretation of the minor proportion

The Spanish musicologist and aesthician Miguel Querol Gavaldá, whose work was familiar to Stevenson, had only a year earlier cautioned against 6/8 transcriptions of ternary metres, writing that these transcriptions 'can run the risk of being interpreted at a march rhythm by a director who is not well imbued with the spirit of the villancico of the XV century.'³² Stevenson's 6/8 transcriptions had the unintended effect of hyper-

³⁰ Lorente specifies that a bar of the minor proportion contains three semi-minims, 'la una es al dar, y las dos al alzar', one on the downbeat and two on the upbeat. See *El porqué de la música* (Alcalá de Henares: Nicolás de Xamarès, 1672), 165.

³¹ This fragment is reproduced with the permission of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia de Mexico. Stevenson's transcription appears in *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico*, 118–123.

³² Miguel Querol Gavaldá, *Transcripción e interpretación de la polifonía española de los siglos XV y XVI* (Madrid: Comisaria Nacional de la Música, 1973), 117 '...puede correr el peligro de ser interpretada en

characterising elements of syncopation and hemiola present in the villancico, a problem which Querol avoided by choosing variously 6/4 or 3/4 for his publications *Cançoner català dels segles XVI–XVII* and *Villancicos polifónicos del siglo XVII*.³³ Querol's 3/4 and 6/4 versions of the minor proportion were considerably more neutral visually with regard to syncopation and hemiola, elements which were omnipresent in the ternary metre villancico in general, whether Spanish or New World.³⁴ Yet Stevenson's 6/8 became the accepted interpretation, eventually finding its way into Paul Laird's New Grove article on the Latin American villancico ('additional syncopation in negros and other ethnic types'), Craig Russell's on the *jácara* ('bouncy 6/8 metre with occasional hemiola') and John Koegel's on the composer Gutiérrez de Padilla ('A typical formula for the villancico such as the African dialect negro would include 6/8 metre, often alternating with 3/4 to create hemiola').³⁵ The divorce between the ternary original and the 6/8 interpretation was complete; Padilla's **C3** notation had been replaced by a spurious facsimile which circulated in academic circles.

The Afro-Mexican folkloric construction of the New World villancico took on a life of its own, exerting influence on music and general histories alike. One might cite for example the *Penguin History of Latin America*, admittedly not a specialist work, but a much-used general history:

The vigorous musical traditions of the African slaves also made an impact on Spanish American culture. In the seventeenth century it became customary for

ritmo de marcha por un director que no esté bien compenetrado con el espíritu del villancico del siglo XV.' Querol is cited extensively on pages 3 and 4 of *Christmas Music in Baroque Mexico*.

³³ Miguel Querol Gavaldá, *Cançoner català dels segles XVI–XVII* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1979) and *Villancicos polifónicos del siglo XVII* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1982).

³⁴ Querol found 6/8 and 3/2 equally undesirable for ternary metre transcriptions, see *Transcripción y interpretación*, 115–118.

³⁵ Paul Laird, 'Villancico, 3. Latin America' xxvi, 626; Craig Russell, 'Jácaras', xii, 716; John Koegel, 'Padilla, Juan Gutiérrez de.', xviii, 874. *New Grove*.

white, cultured composers and poets to write songs in hybrid styles, called variously *negros*, *negrillas*, or *guineas*, which employed African rhythms, black Spanish dialect and emphatic African refrains such as *gulungú gulungú* or *he he he cambulé*. This was a creole variant of the long Spanish tradition of writing *villancicos* and *canciones*.³⁶

However, specialist works did not escape the influence of the folkloric construction, even when the authors attempted to distance themselves from it. One reads for example in John Walter Hill's volume *Baroque Music*, 'The texture and harmony of *A siolo flasiquiyo* are typical of those seventeenth-century *villancicos* that evoke popular or folk style, including *villancicos* belonging—like *A siolo flasiquiyo*—to the subgenre of the *negrilla*'.³⁷ It was only a short step from 'evoking' the folk style to a general attribution of folksiness. Apart from possessing a supposed folk and popular character in general, the colonial era *villancico* had definitely become identified with the character types, more specifically with the negro. In Robert Kendrick's article for the *Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, one reads of the composer Padilla, 'his works combine the typical local and ethnic forms and references ('gallegos', 'negrillas', 'jacaras')'.³⁸ Noel O'Regan had also been subtly misled by the folkloric representation of the *negrilla*, writing in the same *Cambridge History*, that 'Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (Puebla) continued to write in traditional idioms, while also composing *villancicos* incorporating local dance rhythms for the native population'.³⁹ The lone lines by Stevenson dedicated to the colonial *villancico* in the article from *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* stressed the character types, listing them individually: '...those taking

³⁶ Edwin Wilson, *The Pinguin History of Latin America* (London: Pinguin Books, Ltd., 2009), 160.

³⁷ John Walter Hill, *Baroque Music: Music in Western Europe, 1580–1750* (New York: Norton & Company, 2005), 264. The title of the piece is sometimes cited as '*A siolo Flasiquiyo*' rather than the more correct '*Ah siolo Flasiquiyo*'.

³⁸ Robert L. Kendrick, 'Devotion, piety and commemoration: sacred songs and oratorios', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, eds. T. Carter and J. Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 355.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Noel O'Regan, 'The Church Triumphant: music in the liturgy', 299.

their name from their text (jácara, gitano, asturiano, gallego, negro, guineo, indio, bizcaíno)'.⁴⁰ Emphasis was placed on the local character of the villancico de negros, ignoring its Spanish origins—Hill seems even to have been unaware of the genre's long history in the Americas, stating of Padilla's period that 'Villancicos travelled quickly to Spanish America'.⁴¹ Continental Europeans were not exempt from the influence of Stevenson's conception—in 1986 the Italian musicologist and ethnomusicologist Jania Sarno wrote:

Thus, under internal pressure from the Afro-American substratum, the great current of the villancico in America was placing itself into two different branches: on the one hand, the traditional type in the Castilian language continued to prosper, not distant from its Iberian forebear; on the other, a new type was emerging with ever more individuality, the villancico in 'indio' or 'guineo' vernacular, written in indigenous or African languages and dialects, and also open musically to elements foreign to the European musical tradition.⁴²

Thus, the conception of the villancico de negros as a popular, folk-like, distinctively New World genre had become firmly fixed in the musicological consciousness, constantly growing through mutual affirmation in journals and officialist texts. Opinions such as those listed above were ventured on the basis of the Stevenson transcriptions of Padilla's *Ah siolo Flasiquiyo* and Fernández' *Eso rigor e repente*, the only sources for the *negrilla* known to the Anglophone musical public. A benign view of the genre was possible, as it represented a period encounter with an African Other seen through the eyes of poet and composer; viewed in the light of a poetic imitation of black speech, the

⁴⁰ Robert Stevenson, 'villancico' *Die Musik in Geschichte in Gegenwart*, ed. F. Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1986): xiii, 1515. '...solchen, die ihren Namen ihrem Text entlehnt haben (jácara, gitano, asturiano, gallego, negro, guineo, indio, bizcaíno)'.

⁴¹ Hill, *Baroque Music*, 355.

⁴² Jania Sarno, 'El villancico en España y su trasplante en el nuevo mundo'. *The Brussels Museum of Musical Instruments Bulletin*, XVI (1986): 125–126. 'Así, bajo la presión interna del substrato afroamericano, la gran corriente del villancico se iba metiendo, en América, en dos diferentes ramos: de una parte, continuaba a prosperar el tipo tradicional en lengua castellana, no muy lejano de su antepasado ibérico; por otra parte, emergía siempre con mayor individualidad un nuevo tipo: el villancico vernáculo 'indio' o 'guineo', escrito en los idiomas o dialectos indígenas o africanos, y abierto también musicalmente a elementos ajenos a la tradición europea'.

negro was not an elitist linguistic satire, but an affectionate reflection of Afro-Mexican culture. The novohispanic African Other of the villancico de negros had become remarkably like a twentieth-century Afro-American gospel musician, practicing a vigorous folk-like idiom full of call and response textures, syncopated rhythms and spirited singing.

The piece would receive spirited treatment in numerous recordings. Parallel to the positive academic response, Stevenson's transcription of *Ah siolo Flasiquiyo* experienced an enthusiastic reception in the recording studio and concert hall. Padilla's villancico was recorded on several occasions, notably by Jordi Savall with the group Hesperion XXI, the Cuban ensemble *Ars Longa*, and the Harp Consort under Andrew Lawrence-King.⁴³ If Stevenson's transcription was not an outright falsification of the original text of *Ah siolo Flasiquiyo* (which remained unstudied in the Puebla cathedral music archive), uncritical readings of it by early music ensembles with pretensions to capturing a degree of historical accuracy came close to being such.⁴⁴ Stevenson's invitation to mark the syncopation of the negro with drums was enthusiastically taken up and improved upon. This is perhaps the most unhistorical feature of the three recordings listed above; there are others, such as the strumming continuo playing in the Harp Consort and *Ars Longa* versions, and the sackbut, cornett and shawm *responsión* in Hesperion XXI's.⁴⁵ As previously noted, the rhythmic appearance of the 6/8

⁴³ Jordi Savall and Hesperion XXI, *Villancicos y Danzas Criollas* (Alia Vox AV9834), *Ars Longa de la Habana*, Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla: *Música de la Catedral de Puebla de los Ángeles* (Alma Viva DS0142), The Harp Consort, *Missa Mexicana* (Harmonia Mundi HMU907293).

⁴⁴ The discovery of Padilla's original text during an inspection of the microfilm archive of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia gave the initial impulse for the writing of this Chapter.

⁴⁵ In the course of researching Mexican cathedral chapter records for this thesis, no references to percussion instruments other than tympani have been found. Javier Marín mentions the use of kettledrums and trumpets in civil celebrations outside the Mexico City cathedral, see '*Música y músicos entre dos mundos*', 222. However, it is not likely that this military ensemble played inside the cathedral. During

transcription tended to lead performers into hyper-characterising the already present element of syncopation. As Baker and Marín both note, an air of ‘world music’ crept into performances of New World villancicos, particularly in the heavy drum overlays which feature prominently on the above-named and other recordings.⁴⁶

Apart from these anomalies, the above-named recordings perpetuated several flaws and misunderstandings of the transcription, which were not confined to metre alone. Stevenson had taken the second choir continuo part for a choral tenor, adding text throughout. The first choir continuo part was similarly given a text, adding an extra part in the low tenor range. This addition of text was perhaps a natural mistake, as text incipits are given in the manuscript. However, this was a usual procedure so that the continuo performer could distinguish one piece from another, a fact of which Stevenson must have been aware. To the modern performer’s eye, the opening of the transcription looks as if there are two bare voices singing alone, sometimes in octaves and fifths, continuing in this way through the introduction—this has a folkloristic or even musically barbaric appearance, an aspect which is played up by the vocalists on all three recordings. The second copla is affected negatively by the addition of a tenor voice; the contrast between solistic copla and full choir estribillo is no longer apparent. In general, the mistaking of the continuo parts for solistic vocal ones distorts the concertato and polychoral intentions of the piece, removing crucial chordal support from the first choir alto soloist. The formal arrangement of the piece is by no means clear from the transcription; an eighteen bar introduction to the full choral responsión is taken to be a

the entire colonial period, no ministril is listed in cathedral records as having played a percussion instrument. A hypothesised use of percussion instruments in the villancico is a matter of undocumented conjecture.

⁴⁶ Baker, ‘Latin American Baroque’, 441, Marín, ‘De ida, pero sin vuelta’.

‘dal segno duet’.⁴⁷ This was an odd lapse for the Anglophone musicologist who was the most familiar with the villancico.

The tireless and prodigious Stevenson can be forgiven for the foible of seeing a kind of benign folklore in the villancico de negros; if he was wrong on this point, he had nonetheless identified a great treasure of Latin American baroque music stored in previously unsearched archives. What is regrettable is the canonisation of *Ah siolo Flasiquiyo*, an outcome with which Stevenson had little to do. This piece, with all of its spurious folkloric accretions came to represent the colonial villancico as a type, being performed and recorded many times over, while other colonial period repertoire continued to lie forgotten and unstudied in the archives. Information provided in officialist histories and authoritative music dictionaries loaned academic weight to the canonisation—the villancico de negros was seen in academic circles as the distinctive New World type. The fabrication of a freewheeling, folk-like Afro-Mexican musical idiom with a separate identity to its Spanish origins was complete. Furthermore, this construction ignored the historical reality of the unattractive qualities of novohispanic society, with its (*avant la lettre*) apartheid treatment of the *república de indios* and black population.

Geoff Baker has posed the question of the ethics of performing the villancico de negros in the present day. As the author notes, a historically correct performance of the villancico de negros is by necessity a racist one. As a solution, Baker envisages a post-colonial version of the pieces, in which the performer as well as the listener reinvent colonial period villancicos in an atemporal setting, ‘as if they were the fruits of modern-

⁴⁷ Stevenson, *Christmas Music*, 120.

day cultural encounter rather than of exclusion and thus undermining the colonialism of the text'.⁴⁸ However, one wonders whether the distance from the object acquired in such an exercise is sufficient. Once the smoke-screen of a supposed poetic imitation of African speech is removed, the handling of the *habla de negros* on the concert stage becomes at least as problematic as the playing of Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*, or the managing of a choir in the German nationalist passages of *Lohengrin*. In any case, study of the colonial period villancico without any further special attention to this type would seem to be a desirable goal. Flasiquiyo should have no more claim to our academic attention than his fellow imaginary characters, the shepherds, gypsies, Galicians and Basques with whom he shares the stage.

⁴⁸ Geoff Baker, 'Latin American Baroque', 444.

Chapter 5: Excursus II, Sor Juana and the Villancico

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, born Juana Inés de Asbaje y Ramírez in the village of San Miguel Nepantla in 1651, was the leading literary figure of the Mexican baroque.¹ The study of the literary output of the Hieronymite nun has generated a voluminous literature dealing with every aspect of her writing. Serious modern study of Sor Juana's writings was initiated by the Mexican poet, philologist and Catholic priest Alfonso Méndez Plancarte with his *Poetas novohispanos*, a two-volume study and anthology of colonial period Mexican poetry which also included several poems by Sor Juana.² This was followed by a four volume edition of Sor Juana's complete works which appeared between 1951 and 1957. Volume II of the edition is dedicated to Sor Juana's villancicos and sacred verse; the edition is highly authoritative and is still in use among scholars at the present time.³ Méndez Plancarte's work was complemented at the end of the twentieth century by Martha Lilia Tenorio's *Los villancicos de Sor Juana*, a thorough study by a Mexican author which resolved several matters of attribution.⁴ Among the most distinguished general studies of the poetess is Octavio Paz's 1982 *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, o, las trampas de la fé*, translated into English as *Sor Juana, or the Traps of Faith*.⁵ The monograph by Paz was a well-researched tribute from one Mexican poet to

¹ A baptismal certificate giving the date as 1648 exists. Lavrin states in *Brides of Christ* that Sor Juana's patrons forged this certificate in order to prove her legitimate birth, 22.

² Méndez Plancarte, *Poetas novohispanos: segundo siglo (1621–1721)*.

³ Méndez Plancarte, *Obras completas de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, II: villancicos y letras sacras* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952). Volume IV, which contains Sor Juana's comedias, farces and prose works is the work of Méndez Plancarte's student and colleague, Albert Salceda.

⁴ Martha Lilia Tenorio, *Los villancicos de Sor Juana* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1999).

⁵ Octavio Paz, *Sor Juana, o, las trampas de la fé* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982). Translation by Margaret Sayers Peden, *Sor Juana, or the Traps of Faith* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1988).

another, and served as a point of departure for other studies, including the volume *Feminist Perspectives on Sor Juana de la Cruz*, a collection of essays by Stephanie Merrim, Dorothy Schons, Asunción Lavrin and others.⁶ This feminist approach to Sor Juana's writing had been anticipated by a long chapter in Josefina Muriel's *Cultura femenina novohispana*, which detailed feminine contributions to literature, theology, painting and music during the colonial period.⁷ Space does not permit even a brief survey of other important non-musical literature concerning Sor Juana, as the quantity is so vast—Mario Ortiz has produced a useful bibliography of writings up to 2003, which may be complemented with electronic searches.⁸ This section will be confined to matters directly related to Sor Juana, music and the villancico, one of the important branches of her literary output.

The villancico was only one of the verse and prose types that sprang from Sor Juana's pen in a prolific flow. However, some of the Hieronymite nun's most grateful and readable verses are her villancico sets, all of which were written on commissions made by the cathedrals of Mexico City, Puebla and Oaxaca. The villancico played an important part in Sor Juana's rupture with her confessor and spiritual guide, Antonio de Nuñez (1618–1695). This rupture, which occurred around 1682, and the subsequent spiritual surrender to Nuñez in the years before her death in 1695 are central events in the nun's brilliant literary life. Before examining these central events, several comments about other aspects of her life and career should be made.

⁶ *Feminist Perspectives on Sor Juana de la Cruz*, ed. Stephanie Merrim (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999).

⁷ Muriel, *Cultura femenina novohispana*, 143–268. Stephanie Merrim's bibliographical note in *Feminist Perspectives* finds that Muriel's 'sense of Sor Juana's orthodoxy is debatable'. However, Muriel consistently points out Sor Juana's defense of feminine points of view, not least in her analysis of the Saint Catherine villancicos of 1690, which Muriel sees as a 'tribute to the educated woman', 'elogio a la mujer culta', 261.

⁸ Mario Ortiz, 'Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz: Bibliography'. *Hispania*, 86, no. 3 (2003): 431–462.

An important Leitmotiv in Sor Juana's life is the patronage of the Spanish viceroys of Mexico and their wives, a patronage which often provided her protection against hostility to her ambitions in learning. The connection with the marquis and marchioness of Mancera, who had arrived to the viceregal palace in 1664, was the first of these symbiotic relationships with the viceroys. While living with her grandfather in Mexico City, where she had been sent to continue advancing in her studies, the thirteen year-old Juana de Asbaje was introduced into the viceregal court as a lady in waiting to Leonor de Carreto, the marchioness of Mancera and countess of Paredes.⁹ Sor Juana's biographer, the Jesuit Diego Calleja, recounts in the introduction to the 1700 *Fama y obras póstumas* [Fame and Posthumous Works] that the seventeen year-old Juana was already so erudite that she sustained an examination by forty 'theologians, professors of divinity, philosophers, mathematicians, historians, poets [and] humanists' as would 'a royal galleon [...] against a few skiffs'.¹⁰ From the age given by Calleja, Josefina Muriel calculates that this examination took place between the time that Sor Juana left the austere Carmelite convent of San José, where she had been a postulant, and the time of her definitive entry into the San Jerónimo convent in 1669.¹¹ As commented in Chapter 8, entry into a convent was the only acceptable alternative to marriage for women of the novohispanic social/racial elite. There is general agreement that Juana Asbaje took the veil in order to continue the career of learning and literature that she

⁹ Muriel, *Cultura femenina*, 144.

¹⁰ Diego Calleja, *Aprobación*, from Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Fama y obras póstumas* (Madrid: Manuel Ruiz de Murca, 1700), folio 13v. '...teólogos, escriturarios, filósofos, matemáticos, historiadores, poetas, humanistas.' '...Galeón Real [...] de pocas chalupas'.

¹¹ Muriel, *Cultura femenina*, 145.

loved so well, rather than pursue this only available alternative.¹² Sor Juana is explicit enough about her ‘absolute negation’ of marriage in the Carta a Sor Filotea de la Cruz [Letter to Sor Filotea], her passionate defense of the right of women to learning.¹³ This ‘absolute negation’ may be accepted as genuine sentiment, although the statement that the convent was ‘the least disproportionate and most decent that I could elect in the material of the security I desired in my salvation’ rings more of the religious orthodoxy demanded in novohispanic society.¹⁴

Private cells, servants and even slaves were allowed in the relatively liberal environment of San Jerónimo convent—Sor Juana had all of these conveniences at her disposal.¹⁵ Despite her complaints of ‘many disturbances, not only those of my religious obligations [...] but from those things accessory to the community’, it was in her well-appointed cell that the villancicos and other literary works came into being.¹⁶

As noted above, the patronage and protection of the Spanish viceroys and their wives played an important role in the life of Sor Juana. After the early friendship with the marquis and marchioness of Mancera, others followed: Payo Enriquez de Rivera, archbishop, viceroy and patron, the marquis of Lagunas and his wife, Maria Luisa Manrique de Lara y Gonzaga, the Lysi of Sor Juana’s poems, and count Galve and his wife, María Elvira de Toledo, the literary Elvira. It was the countess of Paredes (also marchioness of Lagunas by marriage) who had a collection of Sor Juana’s poems and

¹² Ibid., 147, Dorothy Schons ‘Some Obscure Points in the Life of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz’, in *Feminist Perspectives*, 39, Paz, Sor Juana, 100–116.

¹³ Sor Juana, Carta a Sor Filotea de la Cruz (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2004), 34. ‘...negación total’

¹⁴ Ibid. ‘...lo menos desproporcionado y lo más decente que podía elegir en materia de la seguridad que deseaba de mi salvación’.

¹⁵ Lavrin, *Brides of Christ*, 345.

¹⁶ Sor Juana, Carta a Sor Filotea, 42. ‘...muchos estorbos, no sólo los de mis religiosas obligaciones [...] sino que aquellas cosas accesorias a una comunidad’.

other pieces published under the title *Inundación castálida* in 1689, three years after the countess's return to Madrid. The volume, which established the nun as an international literary figure, contained five sets of villancicos in its 1689 edition—these were the 1677 set for Saint Peter Nolasco, the 1679, 1685 and 1687 Assumption sets and the 1683 villancicos for Saint Peter, all written for the Mexico City cathedral. Later editions of the *Inundación castálida* contained the Saint Catherine villancicos written for the Oaxaca cathedral in 1691, as well as a set of sacred lyrics in estribillo and copla form for the dedication of the convent of Saint Bernard. Although villancico chapbooks were common throughout the Spanish speaking world, wide diffusion in book form was not. It could be argued that the patronage of the countess Paredes put the novohispanic villancico on the literary map with its inclusion in the *Inundación*. While the marquis of Lagunas was viceroy, from 1680 to 1686, Sor Juana was relatively protected from disapproval in ecclesiastic circles through her friendship with the viceregal couple. After their departure, Sor Juana faced increasing male interference in both her learning activities and literary ventures. This interference culminated in what Paz interprets as a forced donation of her library to the archbishop Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas (1642–1698) in 1694, ostensibly in order to sell the books to raise money for the poor.¹⁷ Each Sor Juana biographer has a varying interpretation of the events that led up to this seeming renunciation of learning—to Paz' and Schons' accounts of the controversies of the 1690s, one must add an article by Antonio Alatorre which elucidates the rupture between Sor Juana and her confessor Antonio Nuñez.¹⁸ Alatorre's article concerns a letter from Sor Juana to Nuñez which can be dated to 1682. The letter, or more

¹⁷ Paz, *Sor Juana*, 467–470.

¹⁸ Antonio Alatorre, 'La carta de Sor Juana a P. Nuñez (1682)'. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 35, no. 2 (1987): 591-673. Alatorre reproduces the letter on pages 618–626 of his article.

accurately, a copy of the letter, was found in the archive of the seminary of the archdiocese of Monterrey in 1980 by Aureliano Tapia, a priest of the district. The letter, amounting to a dismissal of Nuñez as a spiritual guide, is written in an assertive tone, and changed the previous biographical understanding of Sor Juana in several ways—it was, as Paz remarks, a major find.¹⁹ The break with Nuñez had come much earlier than had previously been thought, in 1682, and was not over the famous Carta a Sor Filotea of 1691, but rather the villancico series of the 1670s for the Mexico City cathedral. Nuñez and Sor Juana had known each other for some time—the Jesuit had been one of the persons who advised Sor Juana to enter a convent; he had helped to convince her that the daily rounds of the religious life would not impede her studies.²⁰ Nuñez, an expert in the guidance of nuns, had become annoyed with Sor Juana’s versifying, in particular with the 1680 Neptuno Alegórico, a commission from the archbishop Payo Enriquez de Rivera for the entry of the marquis of Lagunas into Mexico City.²¹ Sor Juana’s response to the disapproval of Nuñez is contained in the letter protesting her indifference to writing ‘these black verses, with which Heaven so much against the will of Your Reverence has gifted me’.²² The ‘black verses’ (a sarcasm referring to her light-hearted poems) were in fact the villancico sets of the 1670s, commissions by Payo Enriquez for the cathedral. In the letter, Sor Juana refers directly to these villancicos, stating that she could not always follow the precept of her spiritual mentor in keeping her production strictly inside the convent:

¹⁹ Paz, *Sor Juana*, 494.

²⁰ Muriel, *Cultura femenina*, 147.

²¹ Sor Juana’s verses for the Neptuno Alegórico were inscribed under allegorical canvasses contained in a triumphal arch designed for the reception of the new viceroy.

²² Alatorre, ‘La carta de Sor Juana’. ‘...estos negros versos de que el Cielo tan contra la voluntad de V. R. [Vuestra Reverencia] me dotó’.

It was not always possible to observe it with so much rigour that there were no exceptions, such as the two villancicos to the most Holy Virgin, which after repeated instances, and a pause of eight years, I composed with the blessing and permission of Y[our] R[everence], which was more necessary than that of the gentleman Archbishop Viceroy, my prelate, and in those I proceeded with such modesty that I did not consent to put my name on the first ones, and on the second they were placed without my consent or advisement, and one or the other were corrected beforehand by Y[our] R[everence].²³

Sor Juana protests her indifference to writing verse at several points in the letter, concluding that ‘it amounts to the same to write verses as not to write them’.²⁴ We learn from this letter that Sor Juana did not wish sign the villancico sets of this decade; indeed, the signing of the 1679 Assumption set was the work of Nuñez, as Alatorre notes in his article.²⁵ A notable aspect of the Carta is the indication of Enriquez de Rivera’s patronage—Sor Juana was being asked for villancicos by a man who was at once archbishop, prelate and viceroy. In his analysis of the letter, Alatorre notes that Sor Juana writes the word ‘envy’ only a single time—the nun was rather more subtle than to accuse Nuñez directly of jealousy. However, this would seem to be an obvious component of Nuñez’ hostility towards Sor Juana’s verses, particularly the sacred villancicos, which were written to entertain and edify the churchgoer.²⁶ After the break, unencumbered by Nuñez’ restrictions, and with the friendship and protection of the

²³ Alatorre, ‘La carta’, 619. ‘...pero esto no fue posible observarlo con tanto rigor que no tuviese algunas excepciones, tales como dos villancicos a la Santísima Virgen que, después de repetidas instancias, y pausa de ocho años, hice con venia y licencia de V. R., la cual tuve entonces por más necesaria que la de el Sr. Arzobispo Virrey, mi prelado, y en ellos procedí con tal modestia, que no consentí en los primeros poner mi nombre, y en los segundos se puso sin consentimiento ni noticia mía, y unos y otros corrigió antes V. R.’.

²⁴ Ibid., 625. ‘...tanto monta hacer versos como no hacerlos’.

²⁵ Ibid., 643.

²⁶ Alatorre’s estimation of the letter touches on several other points in the relationship between Nuñez and Sor Juana which feminist authors seem to have missed. The letter represents an important pendant to the more well-known Carta a Sor Filotea, and is deserving of further study.

viceregal couple, Sor Juana had an extraordinarily fecund period of literary production in the decade of the 1680s.

5.1 Sor Juana's Villancicos: Puebla, Mexico City and Oaxaca

Méndez Plancarte divides his edition of Sor Juana's villancicos and sacred lyrics into two sections, the canonised pieces and others that are attributable to the Hieronymite nun. Among the canonised sets are those for Assumption in 1676, 1679, 1685 and 1690, all for Mexico City, Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, 1676 (Mexico City) and 1689 (Puebla), Saint Peter Nolasco, 1677 (Mexico City), Saint Peter the Apostle, 1677 and 1683, both for Mexico City, Saint Joseph, 1690 (Puebla) and Saint Catherine, 1691 for Oaxaca. The Christmas 1689 set for Puebla is now known to have been partially the work of the Spaniard Manuel León Marchante (ca. 1631–1680); the attribution of other villancicos in this set is doubtful.²⁷ Among the villancicos that Méndez Plancarte attributes to Sor Juana are those for Assumption 1677 and 1686 (Mexico City), 1681 (Puebla), for Saint Peter 1680, 1684 and 1690 (Puebla), 1691 and 1692 (Mexico City), and for Christmas 1678 and 1680 (Puebla). Méndez, Paz, Muriel, Tenorio and many others have commented at length on Sor Juana's villancicos. These analyses are very complete—in adding to them, I would only underscore the inner connection of the poetess to Góngora, as much in the villancicos as in the known case of the *Primer Sueño*, where the debt to the Cordoban poet is explicit.²⁸

²⁷ See Martha Lilia Tenorio, 'Sor Juan y León Marchante'. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 50, no. 2 (2002), 555. It is extremely likely that the entire 1689 set were poems brought by Dallo y Lana from Spain.

²⁸ See Méndez Plancarte, *Obras completas de Sor Juana*, xiv–xvi.

An assiduous search through the music archives being studied has failed to turn up any surviving musical settings of Sor Juana's texts by the original composers. Sor Juana's composers are known to have been Joseph de Agurto y Loaysa, maestro at the Mexico City cathedral until 1688, Antonio de Salazar, maestro at Puebla from 1679 to 1688, and thereafter at Mexico City, Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana, at Puebla as maestro from 1688, and Mateo Vallados, maestro at Oaxaca from 1668. It must remain a matter of speculation whether Sor Juana's librettos spurred these composers into greater accomplishments—however, it is entirely possible that extra care was taken with her poems, given Sor Juana's literary reputation. Tantalisingly, Sor Juana's name and a canonised title are to be found on the cover of a villancico held in the music collection of the Archdiocese of Guatemala.²⁹ There are several layers of information contained on the cover, which must be separated in order to be understood. On the lower part of the cover, one reads: 'Asumpción; de hermosas contradiziones de la M^e Guana Ines'; this would be *De hermosas contradicciones* [Of beautiful contradictions] from the Mexico City Assumption set of 1679, presumably set to music by Agurto y Loaysa. Two other titles are given on the cover, *Airecillos suaves* and *Para pascua nace llorando un zagal*, as well as the legends 'S^{ta} Teresa', 'D[edic]ada a la gloriosa Virgen S^{ta} Teresa', 'para San Felipe', and 'este se canto el año de 1694'.³⁰ Neither the actual villancico under the cover, entitled *Madre la de primores* [Mother, she of beauties], nor the other two titles have any connection to Sor Juana.

Due to the publication of the *Inundación castálida*, certain of Sor Juana's villancicos were in wide circulation; Bernardo Illari has located a setting by Juan de

²⁹ Anonymous, *Madre la de primores*, GCA-Gc.

³⁰ 'Dedicated to the glorious virgin S[an]ta Teresa', 'for Saint Philip', and 'this was sung in the year 1694'.

Araujo (1646–1712) of the villancico, *Los que tienen hambre* [Those who are hungry] at the La Plata cathedral (now Sucre, Bolivia).³¹ There are others in this archive, as well as various settings by Spanish authors in Iberian archives—these are detailed by Alberto Pérez Amador in a useful article which lists the pieces and respective archives.³² The Guatemalan conductor and musicologist Dieter Lehnhoff details thirteen settings of Sor Juana texts by the Guatemala cathedral composer Rafael Antonio Castellanos (died 1791).³³ According to Lehnhoff, Castellanos possessed copies of the *Inundación Castálida* and *Fama y obras*, from which he selected the texts.³⁴ The search for Sor Juana settings in Mexican archives has turned up a number of exact title correspondences, and other close paraphrases of lines. While some of these are common baroque rhetorical devices, the number of occurrences suggests conscious borrowing rather than unconscious reminiscence. Among the title lines are *Suenen, suenen clarines* from Sor Juana's 1686 Assumption set for Mexico City, reused in Salazar's 1703 Saint Peter villancico of the same name, and *Quae est Ista, quasi Aurora*, for Assumption 1681 in Puebla, which resurfaced as *Digan quae est ista* in Salazar's 1701 set for the same festivity. Manuel de Sumaya would repeat this Latin question about the Virgin, this time in the vernacular, in his 1724 Assumption villancico, *Quién es esta?* Sumaya, who may have served as his own librettist on occasion, repeats Sor Juana's first line *Ay como gime*, originally written for Saint Peter Nolasco 1677, in his 1717 Christmas

³¹ Illari, 'Polychoral Culture', 318–327. Illari is thorough in his discussion of the theological implications of hunger for the body and blood of Christ, as well as the social reality of famine in La Plata.

³² Alberto Pérez Amador, 'De los villancicos verdaderos y apócrifos de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, puestos en métrico músico'. *Literatura Mexicana*, XIX, no.2 (2008): 159–178. See also Illari, 'Identidades de Mesa: un músico criollo del barroco Chuquisaqueño'. *Anuario del Archivo y Bibliotecas Nacionales de Bolivia*, 5 (1999): 275-316.

³³ Dieter Lehnhoff, *Creación musical en Guatemala* (Guatemala City: Editorial Galería Guatemala, 2005), 78.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

villancico of the same name. Sor Juana's octosyllabic opening lines *Quién es aqueste hermosura?* and *Quién es aquella azucena?* find a close echo in Sumaya's *Quién es aquella paloma?* for Guadalupe day, 1725. Finally, the chain of third-person plural imperatives to be found in villancicos such as Sumaya's *Celebren, publiquen, entonen y canten* [Celebrate, make known, intone and sing] may well have had their origin in Sor Juana's use of the device in *Oigan, atiendan, admiren, perciban*, a 1690 poem for Saint Peter, the 1677 *Miren, escuchen, aguarden* for Assumption in Mexico City, or *Oigan, miren, atiendan*, a 1676 poem for the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. The third-person plural as a form of address to two or more persons was already a marker of American Spanish in Sor Juana's day—here, this form is used in a very idiomatic series of imperatives, 'listen, hearken, admire, perceive', 'listen, look, hearken' and 'listen, look, wait', giving the text a distinct 'American' flavour.³⁵

A brief survey of musical terms used in Sor Juana's villancicos reveals a familiarity with many theoretical and practical aspects of music. In the villancicos, musical terms are used in a ludic manner, giving a delightful effect. For example, in the coplas section of the fourth villancico for Assumption 1676 in Mexico City, *Silencio, atención*, the Virgin is seen as the maestra of a divine musical chapel. In the course of praise for her divine skills, musical terms are introduced in individual paragraphs by theme: the first paragraph mentions the hexachord from the lowest note *ut*, to *sol* and *la*, the highest; the second has to do with alterations, mentioning *natura*, *be cuadrado* and *be mol* [natural, B natural and B flat]. Other paragraphs of the poem mention common and ternary metre, the *minima* and *maxima* note values, the Phrygian and Dorian

³⁵ For the 'ustedes' form in Mexico, see Juan Lope Blanch, *Cuestiones de filología mexicana* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1994), 10.

modes—the final paragraph cleverly mentions the *cláusula final*, the final cadence with its eternal consonance.³⁶ These musical terms are given in italics in the 1689 edition of *Inundación castálida*; presumably this was also the case in the original chapbook from which the edition was prepared.³⁷ The italicised musical terms in Sor Juana’s poem could well be the origin of the *villancico de precisión*, a type of contest piece in which potential maestros were required to musically illustrate certain terms contained in a text.³⁸ A further item of musical interest is the seventh *villancico* from the Saint Peter celebration of 1691 in Mexico City, *Que bien la Iglesia mayor* [How well the great Church]. The poem, the music to which is unfortunately not extant, names a series of instruments; in order of appearance these are the clarion, trumpet, sackbut, cornett, organ, dulcian, violin, shawm, tromba marina, zither, bass viol, vihuela, rebec, bandore and harp. Stevenson ventured in *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico* that each stanza of this *villancico* was accompanied by a different combination of instruments, played by eight ministriles doubling on instruments.³⁹ This was based on a reading of the libretto alone—as of 1974 Salazar’s Mexico City *villancicos* in the Estrada collection were unknown to Stevenson. The notion that Salazar included all these instruments in a ‘Peter and the Wolf’ style *villancico* must now be dismissed as a flight of fancy on Stevenson’s part; John Koegel’s half-hearted mention of the instrumentation in *New Grove* (‘it is possible that some of these were included in Salazar’s score’) is likewise due for reassessment.⁴⁰ However, it may now be stated, based upon extant

³⁶ Méndez Plancarte, *Obras completas de Sor Juana*, 7–8.

³⁷ This chapbook is not among those held by the John Carter Brown Library of Providence, Rhode Island.

³⁸ For the contest *villancicos de precisión* of Sumaya and Jerusalem, see below.

³⁹ Stevenson, *Christmas Music*, 6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* Koegel, ‘Salazar, Antonio de’, *New Grove*, xxii, 144. ‘Peter and the Wolf’ is Stevenson’s comparison.

villancicos by Salazar from the same decade, that the dulcian, harp and organ played a regular role as accompanying instruments in his vernacular settings.⁴¹

Though it is clear from the musical allusions in her writings that Sor Juana had a good understanding of the theoretical aspects of music, it is unlikely that she composed music, or that she was an applied performer, as Pamela Long suggests.⁴² It should not be forgotten that there were several classes of nuns in the calced convents such as San Jerónimo—the day-to-day work of music-making in the convent was the province of white-veiled nuns who had exchanged their services for payment of their dowries.⁴³ Despite the strong feminist element in some of her writings, we may not project our modern notions of social equality between persons onto the figure of Sor Juana—as a black-veiled nun, she would have had very much the hierarchical sense of her contemporaries, leaving many tasks such as practical music to social inferiors.⁴⁴ Sor Juana’s service to the community of San Jerónimo was as an accountant, a service in keeping with her status as a highly educated woman of letters.⁴⁵

Nonetheless, it is known through the poem ‘Después de estimar mi amor’ [After estimating my love], dedicated to the countess Paredes, that Sor Juana had begun a music treatise entitled the Caracol.⁴⁶ This is confirmed in Calleja’s preface to *Fama y*

⁴¹ All of the instruments mentioned in the poem, except for the tromba marina, the rebec, the bandore and the zither, had a regular role in the musical chapel, although not in the villancico. See ‘The Villancicos of Antonio de Salazar’ below.

⁴² Pamela Long, *Sor Juana/Música: How the Décima Musa Composed, Practiced and Imagined Music* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2009).

⁴³ Lavrin, *Brides of Christ*, 25.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 116–137.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 345.

⁴⁶ In Sayer’s translation of Paz, *El caracol* is given as *The Conch Shell*. The word may mean ‘snail’, ‘shell’ or ‘spiral’ variously, see below.

obras.⁴⁷ There has been much speculation as to the nature of the lost treatise—Mario Ortiz has discovered some degree of intertextuality between Cerone’s *Melopeo y maestro* (a book that Sor Juana was known to have owned), the above-named poem, and certain passages from the *Carta a Sor Filotea*.⁴⁸ Calleja reports that the treatise was composed as a gesture of thanks to the religious community of the convent, simplifying music so that ‘its perfect use could be arrived at, without the circuitousness of the old method’.⁴⁹ This may be dismissed along with other hagiographical elements of Calleja’s biography; as remarked above, practical music in the convent was the province of white-veiled nun performers. ‘Después de estimar mi amor’ may be read as a guide to the possible contents of the *Caracol*. These contents were anything but a simplification of music for practical use—the poem describes Sor Juana’s attempts to understand the Pythagorean octave and comma, alterations of tones, rhythmic values, how rhythmic value is affected by mensuration, the consonances of the Pythagorean fifth and octave, the two measurements to which all music may be reduced (tone and duration), alterations when ascending and descending in plainchant, metre, tonal distance between the notes of the hexachord, and whether enharmonic chromatic tones may be used in practice, or exist only in theory. At this point in the poem, Sor Juana as much as admits that a practical gathering together of these aspects of music theory is beyond her scope. Here we read:

⁴⁷ Calleja’s biography seems to be the source of Beristain de Souza’s mention of the *Caracol* in the *Biblioteca Hispano Americana*. Beristain adds to the title ‘*El Caracol: o Arte para aprender con facilidad la Música*’. [The *Spiral*, or *Art of learning Music with ease*], 363. Beristain does not differ at any point with Calleja’s hagiographical programme for Sor Juana; the addition to the title is probably a pious embellishment.

⁴⁸ Mario Ortiz, ‘La musa y el melopeo: Los diálogos transatlánticos entre Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz y Pietro Cerone’. *Hispanic Review*, 75, no. 3 (2007): 243–264.

⁴⁹ Diego Calleja, *Aprobación*, folio 2r. ‘...se llega a su perfecto uso sin los rodeos del antiguo método’.

Y en fin andar recogiendo
Las inmensas baratijas
De Guiones, Calderones,
Claves, Reglas, Puntas, Cifras,
Pide otra capacidad
Mucho mayor que la mía,
Que aspire en las Catedrales
A gobernar las Capillas

And in the end to go collecting
The immense trifles
Of Scores, Fermatas,
Clefs, Rules, Degrees, Figures,
Wants an ability
Much greater than mine, [one]
Which aspires in the Cathedrals
To govern the Capillas

Mario Ortiz places Sor Juana solidly in the Pythagorean tradition; she is interested in music as mathematical speculation more than as a practical art of sound.⁵⁰ This would be very much in keeping with the scholastic tradition of the quadrivium, which incorporated the body of Greco-Latin literature dedicated to music as mathematical proportions. The Mexican composer Mario Lavista suggests that this was Sor Juana's true interest in music—she saw herself as a *musicus*, part of the musical-philosophical tradition.⁵¹ The unusual title of the treatise has awakened as much interest as the possible content. Carlos Flores conjectures that the treatise was begun as a contestation to a lost work by the Oaxaca maestro de capilla Juan de Matías, in which Matías represented harmony as a perfect circle.⁵² Pythagorean theory as a set of proportions could not admit this concept; there would be a spiral rather than a circle of fifths due to the numerical value of the ditonic comma. Paz notes in his monograph that Sor Juana's copy of Cerone contains only a single margin emendation, one which disputes the Bergamasque master's semitone terminology.⁵³ Like the passage in the Carta a Sor Filotea citing Cerone's conception of the music of the spheres, this single margin note concerns mathematical proportion. It is quite possible that Sor Juana was only occupied

⁵⁰ Ortiz, 'La musa y el melopeo', 261.

⁵¹ Mario Lavista, 'Guido y Sor Juana'. *Letras Libres*, 85 (2006): 7–8.

⁵² Carlos Flores 'Music Theory in Mexico from 1766 to 1866: A Study of Four Treatises by Native Authors'. Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Texas, 1984.

⁵³ Paz, Sor Juana, 239.

with the arithmetical aspects of the *Melopeo y maestro*, and not with the treatise as a practical guide to music. There were many other theoretical writers on music that Sor Juana almost certainly must have read in the course of her wide-ranging studies. The tract *De institutione musica* by the late classical theorist Boethius circulated widely in a 1492 Venetian imprint; anyone reading for a degree would have been familiar with the companion pieces on arithmetic and theology—the music section was read as a matter of course along with the others. It is also entirely possible that Sor Juana knew Athanasius Kircher’s 1650 *Musurgia universalis*—she cites the German Jesuit’s *De magnete* in the *Carta a Sor Filotea*. The *Musicae compendium* of René Descartes also circulated in New Spain in two editions, one printed in 1645 in Frankfurt and the other in Amsterdam, 1683. This book, which deals with the mathematical basis of music following Pythagorean tradition, was among those donated by bishop Palafox to the colegio of San Juan in Puebla upon his departure in 1649. It is entirely possible that Sor Juana saw the 1645 edition, or the later one, of which two copies are preserved in the Mexican National Library.⁵⁴

A final literary piece by Sor Juana concerning music should be mentioned, the occasional poem written for the birthday of the countess of Galve, Elvira de Toledo.⁵⁵ Amongst clever word play, the six notes of the hexachord present themselves along with the figures of Music and the Chorus, in the end spelling out the phrase ‘Elvira sola’, ‘Elvira alone’. The direction ‘one voice singing alone’ is given for the first lines, and no doubt the chorus was required to sing the final lines ‘viva Elvira sola’.

⁵⁴ These copies were among the books donated by José María Lafragua (1813–1875) to the National Library. Lafragua had assembled the older items in his collection primarily from ecclesiastical institutions which were closed in the decades of 1830–1860.

⁵⁵ ‘Encomiástico poema a los años de la Ex^{ma} S^{ra} Condesa de Galve’, *Inundación castálida*, 292. The poem takes the form of a short play.

Something of Maravall's 'directed culture' of the baroque theatre may be seen in Sor Juana's final lines, reminding us that she was as much a court poet as a personal and feminist one:

Música:
La Nobleza y Plebe,
Que forman unidas,
Un perfecto todo
De partes distintas,
Vivan, porque alegres,
En tan feliz día
Festivas y amantes
Conmigo repitan.
Música y Coro:
Viva Elvira sola
Sola viva Elvira

Music:
The Nobility, and People
Who form united
A perfect whole
From distinct parts
Long may they live, because joyful
On such a happy day
Festive and loving
They repeat with me
Music and Chorus:
Long live Elvira alone
Alone long live Elvira

5.2 Conclusions

Whatever the nature of Sor Juana's relationship to Cerone's *Melopeo y maestro*, whether theoretical, philosophical or practical, and notwithstanding the possible contents of the *Caracol*, the nun's most direct connection to music is as a villancico librettist. As Méndez Plancarte remarks, Sor Juana knew how to touch upon the cords that conveyed the intended religious affect of a poem to all listeners, no matter what their social position. Méndez uses the telling phrase, 'the aristocracy of the popular', a description which captures the tone of Sor Juana's villancicos perfectly.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, it cannot be known whether Sor Juana's Metastasio-like (*avant le nom*) limpidness inspired Loaysa, Salazar, Dallo y Lana and Vallados to superior compositions.

⁵⁶ Méndez, *Obras completas de Sor Juana II*, lxiv. 'El Aristocracia de lo Popular'.

As remarked above, Sor Juana's Mexico City villancicos of the 1670s were one of the direct causes of the break with her confessor and spiritual guide, Antonio Nuñez. Recent research indicates that Sor Juana's submission to the will of the Jesuit padre in 1693 and 1694 may not have been as complete a surrender as previously thought—Sor Juana had begun to rebuild her library in the months before her death in April 1695, while continuing her duties as the convent accountant.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ See Pamela Kirk's introduction to *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz: Selected Writings* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2005), 24.

Chapter 6: The Villancico in the Later Seventeenth Century

At the time Sor Juana was writing her first poems, a generation of Mexican-born composers succeeded the Spanish maestros de capilla of the earlier seventeenth century in the musical chapels of the Puebla, Mexico City and Oaxaca cathedrals. In Puebla, Gutiérrez de Padilla was succeeded by a chorister who had been in the employ of the cathedral his entire life, Juan García de Céspedes. García's appointment in 1664 was at first provisional, but was ratified in 1670 by the cathedral chapter. In Mexico City, Francisco López Capillas took control of the musical chapel in 1654 upon the death of the organist and maestro Fabián Pérez Ximeno, while in 1655 the brilliant indigenous musician Juan Matías succeeded the maestro Juan de Ribera in Oaxaca.¹ Although the reputation of López as an important composer has been assured through the survival of many Latin works in modified prima pratica style, little can be said of the vernacular output of this generation, due to lack of sources. The yearly battle to produce the requisite number of villancicos is attested to in cathedral chapter records—the admonishment to López Capillas to carry on the eighty year-old vernacular tradition has been cited in the introductory chapter of this thesis; Juan Matías was reminded in 1660 by a proprietarial chapter to 'put into the archive of this secretary all the masses, vespers, salves and villancicos that he and the other maestros have composed'.² In 1672, it was

¹ For the succession of Oaxaca maestros de capilla, see Mark Brill, 'Style and Evolution in the Oaxaca Cathedral: 1600–1800'. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Davis, 1998.

² Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Oaxaca, Actas Capitulares, libro 1, folio 186, of 16 August 1660. '...[que] ponga en el archivo de esta secretaría todas las misas vísperas salves y villancicos que él y los demás maestros hubieren compuesto'.

demanded of García that he ‘bring, and put into the place where they usually were, all the bass viols, parts and books which belong to this Holy Church’—presumably loose sheaves of villancicos were among these parts. All that remains of the vernacular production of López, García and Matías is a single piece each by the Mexico City and Oaxaca masters, and three villancicos written for the Santísima Trinidad nuns by the Puebla maestro. It is little better in terms of sources with López’ successor, Joseph de Loaysa y Agurto (ca.1625–1695).³ Only one villancico and a few Latin works remain from what must have been the large oeuvre of this soprano chorister, maestro de capilla and keen judge of voices.⁴ Mateo Vallados, the Oaxaca successor of Juan Matías is also represented by a lone villancico from what must have been hundreds. From 1668, when he was appointed to ‘compose villancicos in all the festivities which are accustomed in this Church’ until his death in 1707, Christmas, Corpus Christi and Assumption would have come and gone thirty-eight times.⁵ Particularly regrettable is the loss of the villancicos written by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz which Loaysa y Agurto and Vallados had set to music.⁶

These few available sources and the music of the Sánchez Garza collection indicate a continuance of tradition. The novohispanic villancico continued to rely on the two regular metrical schemes of the minor proportion and compasillo; the bass

³ Loaysa did not succeed López immediately. As tradition dictated, the eldest singer of the choir, Juan de Zuñiga Coronado, assumed the duties of maestro while a replacement was sought. Lucero Enríquez and Raúl Torres Medina, ‘Música y músicos en las actas de cabildo de la Catedral de México’. *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, 79 (2001): 194.

⁴ In July of 1642 Loaysa petitioned the cathedral chapter for a pay rise in order to finance singing lessons. Loaysa describes his voice as a tiple, unique in this tessitura, and distinguished in the singing of villancicos for the Matins of Christmas and Saint Peter. *Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México*, Correspondencia, Caja 23, expediente 1, folio 43, of 11 July 1642. Loaysa seems to have been an example of the tiple mudado, an uncastrated male soprano.

⁵ *Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Oaxaca*, Actas Capitulares, libro 1, folios 262v–263, of 23 March 1668. ‘...componer villancicos en todas las festividades que en esta iglesia se acostumbran’.

⁶ See ‘Sor Juana and the Villancico’ above.

continued unfigured. The two-choir division seems to have remained in place, as the eight part voice distribution of Matías' *¿Quién sale a queste día disfrazado?* [Who this day sallies forth disguised?] and Garcia's *A la mar va mi niño* [To the sea goes my child] indicate. As has been remarked previously, the varied formal models present in the villancicos of Padilla are reduced in these novohispanic pieces to the scheme *estribillo–coplas–estribillo*, or the romance scheme of various *coplas* preceding an *estribillo*.

In the historical introduction to this study, the growing sense of American identity present in the cultural artefacts being produced in Mexico after 1650 is noted. Whether or not musicians shared this sense of identity is difficult to determine—the everyday work of a musician serving the Church in the adornment of ceremony has an anonymous artisanal quality when compared to the very visible literary efforts of Sigüenza y Góngora and Sor Juana, or the paintings of Cristóbal de Villalpando (ca.1649–1714) and Juan Correa (ca.1646–ca.1716). However, a network of musicians born and educated in Mexico was thriving in the relative prosperity of the later seventeenth-century colony. The lively exchange between Puebla and Mexico City helped to produce the ambience which fomented the career of Antonio de Salazar, a pivotal figure in the musical life of New Spain and the subject of the next section.

6.1 Antonio de Salazar

The career of Salazar has attracted a great deal less attention than that of Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla; no large-scale article such as Hurtado's on Padilla has yet appeared, and no single villancico by Salazar has received repeated scholarly attention, although Drew

Edward Davies and Eva María Tudela Calvo have authored insightful articles on certain aspects of Salazar's vernacular production.⁷ Stevenson's biography of Salazar appearing in *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico* has been heavily cited, forming in turn the basis for John Koegel's articles in *New Grove* and the *Diccionario de música española e hispanoamericana*, as well as that of Ricardo Miranda-Pérez in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*.⁸ Jesús Estrada's chapter on Salazar in the compact but informative *Música y músicos de la época virreinal* [Music and musicians of the viceregal epoch] remains the best piece on this composer to date.⁹ This book was written with two advantages not possessed by Anglophone musicologists; as Estrada lived and worked in Mexico City, he had access to the cathedral chapter records which he could consult easily on repeated occasions, but more importantly, Estrada had in his personal possession fifty-two of Salazar's villancicos, along with works by Manuel de Sumaya and other novohispanic authors. In a 1977 article, Estrada recounted finding the villancicos 'in two old bookshelves' in the Mexico City Cathedral—this would have occurred before the year 1939, when Estrada gave a concert featuring transcriptions of several of the pieces.¹⁰ Javier Marín notes that the pieces were still in Estrada's possession at the time of his death in 1980, and were therefore not seen and inventoried

⁷ Drew Edward Davies, 'Villancicos from Mexico City for the Virgin of Guadalupe'. *Early Music*, xxxix, no. 2 (2011): 229–244, 'El triunfo de la Iglesia: villancicos dieciochescos para san Pedro' in *Lo sonoro en el ritual catedralicio: Iberoamérica siglos XVI–XIX*, ed. P. Díaz Cayeros (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2007). Eva María Tudela Calvo, 'Antonio de Salazar y los villancicos policorales: ¡Suenen, suenen, clarines alegres! (1703)' in *Música, catedral y sociedad*, eds. L. Enríquez and M. Covarrubias (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2006).

⁸ Stevenson, *Christmas Music*, 61–65. John Koegel, 'Salazar, Antonio de'. *New Grove*, xxii, 144, 'Salazar, Antonio de'. *Diccionario de la música española*, ix, 572–574. Ricardo Miranda-Pérez, 'Salazar, Antonio de'. *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, xiv (Personenteil), 834–835. Stevenson's Salazar biography had appeared in a somewhat more extended form in 'Mexico City Cathedral Music: 1600–1750'. *The Americas*, 21, no. 2 (1964): 126–132. The *Christmas Music* version, which clearly served as the model for the dictionary articles, was essentially a verbatim repetition of the earlier *Americas* article.

⁹ Jesús Estrada, *Música y músicos de la época virreinal* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1973).

¹⁰ Estrada, 'Investigaciones sobre la música virreinal', 596–597. '...en dos viejos estantes'.

by Stevenson in 1970 for his Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas.¹¹ Thus, Stevenson's seminal biography of Salazar, which had a strong influence on subsequent scholarship, was written without knowledge of Salazar's Mexico City villancico output.¹² Indeed, the folkloric slant which Stevenson found in Salazar's Puebla villancicos is virtually absent from the high-minded repertoire of the Mexico City cathedral—research showed that *negrillas* and other character pieces are not to be found among the pages of the Estrada collection. Instead, a minor master is seen at work, treating his texts in an increasingly complex baroque idiom, many times involving polychorality.

Documents which conclusively prove that Salazar was born in New Spain have not yet been found, however, many pieces of circumstantial evidence support the idea that Salazar was a native-born Mexican. Salazar petitioned the Mexico City cathedral for admission as a dulcian player in November of 1672; his request was read to the chapter and was recorded by the secretary in the following terms:

A petition by Antonio de Salazar, instrumental musician, was read, in which was said that, with the permission of Y[our] L[ordship] he made a demonstration in the Vespers of All Saints'. He asks that, if agreed, he be admitted to the [musical] chapel of this Holy Church. Once seen, it was discussed among all the said gentlemen; it was sent to the gentleman maestro de capilla, Francisco López y Capilla, prebendary [...]¹³

¹¹ Javier Marín, 'Una desconocida colección de villancicos sacros novohispanos (1689–1812): el fondo Estrada de la Catedral de México', in *La música y el Atlántico: relaciones musicales entre España y Latinoamérica*, eds. M. Gembero Ustároz and E. Ros-Fábregas (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2007), 313.

¹² The New Grove, *Diccionario de la música española and Musik in der Geschichte und Gegenwart* articles on Salazar named above are due for revision in light of the content of the Estrada collection.

¹³ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, *Actas Capitulares*, libro 18, folio 351, of 8 November 1672. 'Leyóse una petición de Antonio de Salazar, músico instrumentista, en que se dice que con licencia de su Señoría hizo demostración la víspera de Todos los Santos. Pide que en su conformidad se sirvan admitirlo en la capilla de esta Santa Iglesia. Vista, se confirió por todos los dichos señores; se remita al señor maestro de capilla Francisco López y Capilla [sic], racionero'.

Players of this instrument were in plentiful supply in New Spain, so much so that Salazar was rejected on this occasion, as the musical chapel possessed a sufficient number of bajoneros.¹⁴ It is unlikely that Salazar would have undertaken the expensive and difficult voyage from Seville without any offer of employment. Indeed, the Andalusian immigrant Gutiérrez de Padilla embarked from Seville as a priest/musician with the promise of five hundred pesos per year as assistant maestro de capilla in Puebla, while the organist Pérez Ximeno left the Incarnation convent of Madrid to take up a post in Mexico City paying a thousand pesos per year. Both men had already taken orders and were sailing to take up lucrative offers of work. In contrast, the approximately twenty-two year old layman Salazar might have expected to earn between fifty and eighty pesos annually as a player of this very necessary but common instrument, hardly enough to warrant making a transatlantic journey.

It is much more likely that Salazar had learnt music as a choirboy in Puebla, either in the cathedral or perhaps in the seminary of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, following the established pattern of learning an instrument after the change of voice. The conjecture put forth by Robert Stevenson and supported by Javier Marín that the Puebla Antonio de Salazar is identical with the ‘Antonio de Salazar, prebend of Seville’ (racionero de Sevilla) listed on the cover of the GCA-Gc villancico, *Primores amantes* [Loving beauties] is not sustainable.¹⁵ Salazar was married and could not have been a prebendary in Seville or any other city.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 22 November 1672.

¹⁵ Robert Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington, D.C.: Organization of American States, 1970), 98. Marín, ‘Música y músicos’, 295.

¹⁶ For Salazar’s marital status, see Koegel, ‘Salazar, Antonio de’, *Diccionario*, ix, 573.

It is entirely possible that Salazar was a member or extra player in the Puebla cathedral under Padilla's successor Juan García. Several of Salazar's villancicos from the Sánchez Garza collection were signed by nuns who also signed the Puebla musician Baeza de Saavedra's 1671 *Ah del coro celeste*. This would place Salazar among the other local contributors of the 1670s to the nun's collection, indicating that he was present in Puebla before the unsuccessful attempt to enter the Mexico City musical chapel.¹⁷ It is possible that Salazar was in Mexico City around 1675, obtaining the post of *maestro de capilla* at the important Jesus the Nazarene parish church. Salazar's name was recorded in connection with that institution in a dispute over the right of non-cathedral musicians to appear in convents, hospitals and parishes under regular ecclesiastical jurisdiction.¹⁸ In a 1710 memorial announcing the merits he had accumulated and asking to be dispensed from teaching duties, Salazar mentions having served for a period of thirty-five years as a *maestro de capilla*.¹⁹ Between his Puebla and Mexico City tenures, Salazar had served for an aggregate period of thirty-one years, so that a period of service at the Jesus the Nazarene parish during the mid-1670s would furnish the complementary number of years.²⁰

In any case, Salazar was described as 'resident in this city' in the Puebla cathedral chapter records detailing the 1679 competition for the post of *maestro de*

¹⁷ For the nun choristers and musicians of the Santísima Trinidad convent, see 'The Villancico in Feminine Institutions' below.

¹⁸ Marín, 'Música y músicos', 292. Marín cites a reference to this event in the cathedral archive in the 'Acuerdos del Cabildo', Legajo 4, circa 1754.

¹⁹ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Correspondencia, libro 10, without folio number, of 10 January 1710. '...lo muy trabajado que estoy de 35 años de maestro de capilla'. [...the very worked that I am from 35 years of maestro de capilla].

²⁰ Cathedral musicians seem to have been extremely punctilious in this type of written petition when detailing the number of years of service accumulated. A musician's number of years of service was part of the usual opening formula of any petition.

capilla.²¹ Salazar and his competitor Agustín de Leyva, a Mexico City tiple chorister, were subjected to a rigorous exam of the type that was traditional for the post of maestro. The composition of a villancico and a motet were part of the competition—this was done with the candidates ‘alone and shut away in the chapter hall’ to ensure that no outside help could be obtained.²² Salazar and Leyva were expected to demonstrate their skill at spontaneous counterpoint by supplying a missing voice which had been covered over in a choirbook, furnishing contrapuntal voices to a plainchant tenor, and correcting a chorister who had deliberately lost his place in a sequence of plainchant tones.²³ Among the examiners was the distinguished organist Francisco Vidales, a nephew and former student of the Mexico City maestro Pérez Ximeno. Vidales was a composer in his own right, having donated eight bound volumes containing his own compositions to the cathedral in 1676.²⁴ Salazar’s predecessors Padilla and García had been admitted to the post of maestro without a formal examination, so that this competition was an exceptional event in the life of the cathedral during the seventeenth century.

Salazar was accepted for the post of maestro on 11 July 1679 under many of the same conditions that had applied to Gutiérrez de Padilla; as before, the chapter insisted on the daily classes in polyphonic music for the choirboys and other chapel members.

²¹ Archivo del Venerable Cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla, Actas Capitulares, libro 17, folio 243v, of 11 July 1679. The passage concerning Salazar reads: ‘There was as a contestant for the place of maestro de capilla Antt^o de Salazar resident in this city’. ‘Se hubo por opuesto a la plaza de maestro de capilla Antt^o de Salazar residente en este Ciu^d’. Neither Salazar nor his competitor presented proof of blood purity on this occasion, indicating that they had been vetted previously.

²² Ibid. ‘Solos y encerrados en la sala de Cabildo’.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ The chapter formally thanked Vidales for the ‘care and labour that he has placed in this work’ on 17 April 1676. ‘...el cuidado y trabajo que ha puesto en esta obra’. Archivo del Venerable Cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla, Actas Capitulares, libro 17, folio 17. The books are not extant, however, several complete villancicos by Vidales are contained in the Sánchez Garza collection. See ‘The Villancico in Feminine Institutions’ below. According to Bárbara Pérez, Vidales’ Latin works carried on the Puebla polychoral tradition, see ‘Francisco Vidales (1632–1702), organista y compositor de la catedral de Puebla’. *Heterofonía*, 138–139 (2008): 125.

Salazar had apparently already been acting as a composer for the musical chapel, as he was paid twenty-four pesos for villancicos written the previous year.²⁵ For the yearly round of villancicos required by the cathedral, Salazar was paid the same forty pesos which his predecessors Padilla and García had received. Just as these two men, Salazar was advised that his compositions were to be deposited with the cathedral secretary; to judge from the 1718 inventory the maestro seems to have followed this stricture to the letter. Upon making the inventory, the maestro Atienza found Salazar's Christmas, Corpus Christi and Immaculate Conception of the Virgin (the cathedral dedicatee) villancicos to 1687 bound in folders as the chapter had always demanded. Atienza categorized these villancico sets, along with those of Padilla, as 'old works'.²⁶ According to the inventory, Salazar carried on the polychoral tradition of the Puebla cathedral, setting the psalms Dixit Dominus, Beatus Vir, Laudate Dominum, Credidi propter and Lauda Jerusalem for eight voices. These works are no longer extant, but six Latin hymns by Salazar survive in Puebla choirbook five. Additionally, an eight-voice Miserere, Salve Regina and a motet, Hic est Michael Archangelus by Salazar are to be found in the Puebla cathedral music archive, along with other Latin works by this author for four, five and six voices.²⁷ Salazar seems to have been the first novohispanic composer to include a separate accompaniment, or *basso per l'organo*, for some of his Latin pieces written at Puebla. These rudimentary continuo parts represent an important

²⁵ Stevenson, Christmas Music, 61.

²⁶ Archivo del Venerable Cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla, Archivo de Música, legajo 130, of 20 June 1718. '...obras antiguas'.

²⁷ Salazar's Latin oeuvre for Puebla has not yet received scholarly attention, although Marín has thoroughly documented his Mexico City Latin works in *Los libros de polifonía de la Catedral de México*. For a list of these works see John Koegel, 'Salazar, Antonio de' in the *Diccionario de música española e hispanoamericana*, ix, 574.

break with the *stile antico* practice of his predecessors Padilla and García, indicating the arrival in the novohispanic Latin repertoire of the Viadanian accompaniment.

This break with the Padilla/García tradition may have been motivated by the cathedral chapter's 1681 exhortation to vary the music being sung in the services.

Salazar was advised by the chapter in the following terms:

The maestro de capilla is to be notified that in these festivities of the Apostles he vary the motets by other masters, or that he compose new ones, without repeating a single one in these feasts, and on the Sundays post-Epiphaniam, after the elevation in the Mass, motets are to be sung, and if there were not any composed, to compose them anew.²⁸

Unfortunately, there is no trace of Salazar's villancico production for the Puebla cathedral save a lone bass part to a piece dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe, *A coger flores, a 4* [To gather flowers, a 4]. The loss of the music to Sor Juana's Saint Peter villancicos of 1680 and 1684, the Christmas set of 1680 and Assumption of 1681 is particularly regrettable. As Salazar was paid by the cathedral for writing the 1678 Christmas villancicos, this set should also be added to the canon of lost Sor Juana settings—Alfonso Méndez Plancarte places these poems among those of secure attribution to the Mexican poetess.²⁹ During his tenure at Puebla, Salazar wrote a number of villancicos for the nuns of the Santísima Trinidad convent; these will be discussed below in connection with convent music.³⁰ It would appear that Salazar was already a mature and fluent composer in his Puebla phase, as his Latin-texted works for the cathedral and villancicos for the Conceptionist nuns show. However, as a perusal of

²⁸ Archivo del Venerable Cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla, Actas Capitulares, libro 18, folio 11, of 20 February 1681. 'Que se notifique al maestro de capilla que en estas festividades de los Apóstoles varíe los motetes que hubiere de los demás maestros, o los componga nuevos, sin repetir uno mismo en estas fiestas, y que en los domingos post Epiphaniam, después de alzar en la misa, se canten motetes y si no los hubiere compuestos, los haga de nuevo'.

²⁹ Alfonso Méndez Plancarte, *Obras completas de Sor Juana*, lxix.

³⁰ See 'The Villancico in Feminine Institutions' below.

the villancicos of the Estrada collection shows, it is in his Mexico City output that Salazar's mature style may best be appreciated.

In 1688 the Mexico City cathedral chapter decided upon an open competition to fill the place of maestro de capilla. The former maestro Loaysa y Agurto, who had been serving since 1642 as a singer and since 1676 as villancico composer was still alive, but inactive.³¹ The news of the Mexico City vacancy had apparently reached Salazar's ears in Puebla, as he had sent an Augustinian friar named Ignacio de la Concha to manifest his interest in the position.³² Salazar's petition for an 'audition for the magistracy of the chapel and [...] date to appear' was read in the chapter meeting of 15 May 1688.³³ At the same time, Salazar advised that Corpus Christi and the feast of Saint Peter were at the door, and that he would have to attend those villancico occasions in Puebla. The musical duties for these festivities must have detained Salazar in Puebla; on 3 August the Mexico City chapter had not arranged an audition, and were waiting for a further candidate for the post of maestro to arrive at Veracruz from the Honduras. This candidate was the Spaniard Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana. The post was extremely contested when the examination took place between 18 and 20 August 1688; according to Marín's investigation of the cathedral records, Salazar, José Téllez Girón, José

³¹ According to Marín, the chorister Juan de Zuñiga Coronado was the winner of a 1682 competition for the post of maestro, 'Música y músicos', 115. However, Zuñiga appears not to have exercised as conductor or composer, as he was extremely aged. Loaysa was consulted on a number of musical matters between 1683 and 1686, signing as 'exercising maestro de capilla by the grace of Y[our] L[ordship]', or simply 'maestro de capilla'. The last of Loaysa's opinions is dated 24 September 1686; on this occasion the chorister Antonio de Oropesa was judged as having 'a reasonable and graceful voice for the ministry'. '...la voz es razonable y agraciada para el ministerio'. See Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Correspondencia, Caja 23, Expediente 1, folios 12 (25 June 1683), 13 (25 July 1683) and 36 (24 September 1686).

³² Estrada, *Música y músicos*, 89.

³³ Chapter record of 15 May 1688 cited by Estrada. '...oposición al magisterio de capilla y [...] término para venir'.

Gutiérrez and José García took part in the competition.³⁴ Salazar emerged as the victor with eight votes to Téllez Girón's three, after an examination testing theoretical knowledge, plainchant and the setting of Latin and villancico texts.³⁵ Dallo y Lana had not arrived in time for the competition, but later in the year was appointed maestro in Puebla after a similarly closely-contested trial of his musical abilities.³⁶ Téllez Girón, who would have a long career as cathedral organist, felt bold enough as the second place candidate to request a copy of his qualifications in the contest, and to ask directly how many votes he had obtained.³⁷ A margin note on the request indicates that the cathedral dean had no objections to the release of the information; the candidate could be informed 'of the judgement and the contiguity [number] of votes'.³⁸ Just as in the Puebla competition of 1679, this audition had been the first in living memory for the Mexico City chapel musicians and cathedral chapter; Loaysa and his predecessor López Capillas had been appointed without a formal competition taking place, López in 1654 and Loaysa in 1683. Salazar's salary was set at five hundred pesos according to a note dated 25 August 1688—additionally, he would receive one real for every peso received in the non-salary income from obvenciones.³⁹

The musical chapel of the Mexico City cathedral seems to have lacked energetic leadership during the years preceding Salazar's installation. The recruitment of choirboys, one of the constants of the life of a maestro de capilla, appears to have

³⁴ Marín, 'Música y músicos', 116. Téllez and Gutiérrez were Mexico City chapel musicians, García's provenance is unknown.

³⁵ Robert Stevenson, 'Mexico City Cathedral Music: 1600–1750'. *The Americas*, 21, no. 2 (1964): 126.

³⁶ Omar Morales Abril, 'Tres siglos de música litúrgica de la colección Sánchez Garza. Aproximación panorámica a través de siete muestras'. *Heterofonía*, 138–139 (2008): 82.

³⁷ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Correspondencia, Caja 23, Expediente 1, folio 46, of 29 October 1688.

³⁸ *Ibid.* '...el dictamen e inmediatez que tuvo en votos'.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, folios 43 and 44. The silver peso was divided into eight reales, thus Salazar made a peso for each eight in obvenciones.

suffered during the tenure of Loaysa, who depended on the castrato Bernardo de Meléndez and the tiple mudado Agustín de Leyva to perform soprano parts.⁴⁰ Upon the official announcement of Salazar's appointment as maestro on 3 September 1688, his first official duty was to evaluate the choirboys' progress at the orders of the cathedral dean, Diego Ortiz de Malpartida Zenteno. Two boys were found to be 'advanced in plainchant, as well as polyphonic song', and Salazar recommended that the dean grant them their choir robes, so that 'they will be encouraged to practice and fulfil that which is their obligation'.⁴¹ This was the beginning of Salazar's long and uncomfortable relationship with the teaching of Mexico City choirboys; as will be seen, the maestro was admonished on many occasions for not fulfilling this particular part of his duties.

Yet there was no lack of interest on Salazar's part for advancing the musical interests of the chapel, even though it meant hard work with choirboys; a study of the Correspondence branch of the cathedral records from the decade of 1690s reveals that the maestro had talent for the organisation and building of an ambitious ensemble. Salazar found a ready ally for his musical undertakings in the person of the cathedral dean Malpartida, a criollo who was interested in every aspect of the splendour of his church.⁴² A survey of the petitions to enter the musical chapel reveals Malpartida's complicity in the shaping of the vocal and instrumental ensemble. For example, upon

⁴⁰ Meléndez can be placed as a castrato from the chapter records, Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Actas Capitulares, libro 22, folio 64 of 1684. 'Afterwards a petition from Bernardo Meléndez, castrato musician was read'. 'Después se leyó una petición de Bernardo Meléndez músico castrado'. Meléndez became a member of the cathedral musicians' confraternity the same year, see Archivo General de la Nación, Ramo Bienes Nacionales, Volumen 1028, Expediente 3, of 30 October 1684 for the members and constitution of this organisation.

⁴¹ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 1, folio 43, of 3 September 1688. '...adelantados así en canto llano, como de órgano'. '...se alientan a estudiar y cumplir con lo que es de su obligación'.

⁴² Nelly Sigaut, 'La tradición de estos reinos', in Actas III Congreso Internacional Del Barroco Americano: Territorio, Arte, Espacio y Sociedad (Seville: Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2001), 408.

referring the petition of the choirboy Manuel Francisco (who pointed out how he had shone in the Matins services with his voice), the dean received the following evaluation from Salazar on the progress of three boys:

Antonio de Salazar, maestro de capilla of this Holy Church [...] was directed to inform about the voices and capabilities of the three choirboys who are about to leave, and following this directive I say that Miguel de Rosas is very good, not only in plainchant, but also in polyphonic song, and that the voice is a tenor, a choir voice and a good voice and with hopes of later being very useful, not only in the [musical] chapel, but also in a chaplaincy; Juan de Cisneros has a contralto voice, very sonorous, and promises to be very useful in this; in capabilities he is sufficient in plainchant and polyphonic song, and with continuity in the choir he will be much more so = Manuel Francisco is very good in plainchant and polyphonic song, the voice is very sonorous and with hopes of becoming very useful in the church...⁴³

Each boy received a supplement of thirty pesos (known as an *ayuda de costa*) for proper dress, and each was received into the choir ‘as a musician with a salary of twenty-five pesos in each year’ at the orders of Malpartida.⁴⁴ Rosas and Cisneros were still serving as choristers in 1709, according to an exquisitely copied payroll detailing the chapel members’ relative salaries between 1704 and 1709 (figure 10).⁴⁵ Salazar’s name heads the list of chapel members on this payroll, with a yearly salary of seven hundred pesos.

⁴³ Ibid., folio 54 of 8 January 1692. ‘Antonio de Salazar, maestro de capilla de esta Santa Iglesia [...] fue servido de mandarme informar de las voces y suficiencia de los tres seises que estan para salir, y cumpliendo su mandato, digo que Manuel de Rosas está muy bien, no solo en el canto llano, sino en el canto de órgano, y que la voz, es tenor, voz de coro, y buena voz, y con esperanza de que vendrá a ser en adelante muy útil, no solo, en la capilla, sino en una capellanía; Juan de Cisneros tiene una voz contralto, muy sonora, y promete ser en esta muy útil; en la suficiencia así de canto llano como de canto de órgano está suficiente, y con el continuo del coro será mucho más = Manuel Francisco está muy bien en el canto llano y canto de órgano, la voz es muy sonora, y con muy buenas esperanzas de que venga a ser muy provechosa en la iglesia...’. Throughout this document, Salazar’s spelling shows the typical Spanish American seseo, the confluence of the phonemes /s/ and /θ/, writing ‘vos’ for voz, ‘sufisiencia’ for suficiencia, ‘esperansa’ for esperanza and ‘paresiere’ for pareciere. It seems unlikely that this is an affectation; indeed, letters by peninsular Spaniards in the same file show a careful distinction between the two phonemes. For example, the Spanish contralto Diego de Dallo y Lana (probably a brother of the composer) writes ‘lizenzia’ (modern spelling licencia), ‘voz’ and ‘necesaria’ in a 1693 letter, while the dulcian player Juan Marzan speaks of having ‘passed to the realms of Spain’ with ‘licencia’ [licence], petitioning to return to his ‘plaça’[place] (modern spelling plaza) in 1693. Ibid., folios 62 and 63 respectively. If Salazar had come from Spain as a twenty or twenty-one year old dulcian player, his writing and diction had become extremely Americanised by 1692.

⁴⁴ Ibid. ‘...por músico[s] con salario de veinte y cinco pesos en cada un año’.

⁴⁵ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 2, folio 25, undated.

Francisco Atienza, who would later become maestro de capilla at Puebla, was the second most highly paid member of the chapel, earning four hundred pesos per year for his duties as succentor and chorister.

Many other chapel members were engaged during the final decade of the seventeenth century under the energetic leadership of Salazar. The singer and bass violist Antonio de Soto, another musician on the payroll shown below, requested a place in the ensemble in August of 1691, writing that ‘I have attended in the choir of this Holy Church for the space of two years all the musical functions which were offered, such as Vespers and Masses etc., and not only singing: but playing on the bass viol all the villancicos of the Matins’.⁴⁶ As will be seen below, Salazar occupied the dulcian and bass viol intensively in his villancicos, so that de Soto’s petition was welcomed.⁴⁷

	1704	Muertes	1709
Ante Anton. de Salazar	0400p	—	0400p
B. D. Francisco Torres	0250p	—	0250p
D. D. Miguel de Rosas	0100p	—	0125p
D. D. Manuel de Calderas	0200p	—	0200p
B. D. Francisco Atienza	0400p	—	0400p
Guillermo de Casazual	0250p	—	0250p
Carlos de Aguilar	0150p	—	0150p
Manuel Diaz	0150p	—	0200p
Lorenzo C. Armon	0125p	0125p	—
Jilberto C. Baqueron	0200p	—	0200p
Gerónimo C. Parde	0300p	—	0300p
D. Juan Alvaran	0300p	—	0300p
Antonio de Soto	0100p	0100p	—
Juan de Cisneros	0100p	—	0100p
Miguel de Atienza	0150p	—	0200p
Antonio de Silva	0150p	—	0200p
Diego Della	0150p	0150p	—
Diego Suarez	0150p	—	0200p
Antonio de Dios	0150p	0150p	—
Demingo de Castellano	0120p	—	0120p
Luis Bizaran del Castillo	0050p	—	0050p

Figure 10, Miguel de Rosas and Juan de Cisneros on the comparative 1704/1709 chapel payroll

⁴⁶ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 1, folio 51, of 17 August 1691. ‘...he asistido en el coro de esta Santa Iglesia por espacio de dos años todas las funciones de música que se han ofrecido así de Vísperas como de misas etc. y no solamente cantando: sino tocando en el violón todos los villancicos de los maitines’.

⁴⁷ The bass viol, Spanish violón, developed specialised functions as a bass instrument in the Mexico City cathedral. According to the 1751 ceremonial book (which codified previous usage), this instrument was not played on second class days, or during Lent and Advent. The dulcian could be used on all of these occasions, possibly because it was viewed as a choral voice rather than an instrument. See the Diario Manual, folio 4v.

The higher voices of contralto and tiple were in constant demand, especially for the solistic first choir where boys were not apt. When the Spaniard Diego de Dallo y Lana was accepted in February 1693, he himself declared, ‘my voice is a contralto, which I judge to be necessary at this time in this Holy Church’.⁴⁸ Salazar held hopes of finding an adult tiple among the applicants to enter the choir—in 1695 the above-named Manuel Francisco wrote in desperation to the dean and chapter, asking ‘for the love of God’ to be granted the traditional *ayuda de costa* after eight years of service as a choirboy, because of his ‘summary want and necessity’.⁴⁹ The matter was handed to the precentor, then in turn to Salazar, who answered:

Manuel Francisco until now finds himself with a soprano voice (though not very well-seated), and according to the amount of time since it has changed, it seems that he will make a tiple mudado in the manner of the Bachiller Leyva [...] the voice, when seated, could be very useful, but in sufficiency he is short and needs to study and advance.⁵⁰

Manuel Francisco seems to have possessed the rarest of all male voices, a counter-tenor with an upwards extension into the soprano range.⁵¹ However, voice alone did not win Manuel Francisco a place in the chapel. Salazar’s reservations about the boy’s musical ability overweighed the hopes for a tiple voice and the petition was not successful.

⁴⁸ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 1, folio 62, of 14 February 1693. ‘...mi voz es de contralto, que juzgo ser necesaria para ahora en esta Santa Iglesia’. As remarked above, Diego Dallo y Lana was probably a brother of the Puebla maestro Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana. Something of his Spanish origin can be observed in the studied feudal tone of the letter, which is headed ‘most Illustrated Sir’, ‘Ilustrísimo Señor’ and concludes with the formula ‘I ask and supplicate Y[our] L[ordship] that he serve to honour me with the title of his servant’, ‘A V[uestra] S[eñoría], pido y suplico, se sirva de honrarme con el título de criado suyo’. In contrast, Salazar’s homespun diction does not contain this type of feudal formulae.

⁴⁹ Ibid., folio 69 of 11 February 1695. ‘...por el amor de dios’, ‘...suma cortedad y necesidad’.

⁵⁰ Ibid. ‘...Manuel Francisco hasta ahora se halla con voz de tiple, (aunque no muy asentado) y según el tiempo que hay que mudó parece que dará tiple mudado, al modo del B[achille]r Leyva [...] la voz, que puede en asentado, ser muy útil, pero en la suficiencia se la ha corta y ha menester estudiar y adelantarse.’

⁵¹ Leyva and Manuel Francisco possibly sang with an admixture of modal, or chest voice. Pure falsetto, which Lorente calls ‘voz de cabeza’ [head voice] was not valued as highly as a mixture of modal and light production. Lorente’s chapter on voice production in *El porque de la música* reads in a startlingly modern manner—the perfect voice, Lorente asserts, is ‘high, clear, strong and smooth together’, ‘juntamente alta, clara, recia y suave’, 226.

Salazar's villancicos seem to have made an impression on the choirboys who sang the triple parts. The future copyist Simón de Guzmán wrote to the dean Malpartida in 1696, stating that he 'had been attending the cult of God, our Lord, in the music of the chapel, singing villancicos with the acceptance of Y[our] L[ordship]'.⁵² Guzmán described his voice as a *contralto atiplado*, a high *contralto*, and stated that he was very competent at singing. In this case, there were no reservations and Guzmán was accorded a salary of fifty pesos a year, along with the thirty peso *ayuda de costa* for his ecclesiastical attire. Guzmán had a long career in the chapel, still being active as a chorister and copyist in 1733.⁵³ The campaign to expand the musical chapel in the last years of the seventeenth century was indicative of a wider programme of splendour in the cathedral. With the consent of the dean Malpartida, the musical forces available to Salazar were growing. This was matched by expansion in other areas, such as the decoration and improvement of the interior of the cathedral.

The art historian Nelly Sigaut identifies a triumphalist programme in the paintings commissioned for the cathedral sacristy during the years from 1684 to 1691.⁵⁴ One canvas in particular, *The Triumph of our Father Saint Peter*, by Salazar's contemporary Cristóbal de Villalpando, represents the buoyant mood of the dean and his chapter, according to Sigaut.⁵⁵ The painting depicts Saint Peter seated in a triumphal carriage drawn by angels, with the figure of Divine Wisdom at his side; Saint Peter is

⁵² Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Correspondencia, Caja 23, Expediente 1, folio 70, of 10 September 1696. '...he estado asistiendo el culto, de Dios Nuestro Señor en la música de la capilla cantando villancicos con aceptación de V[uestra] S[eñoría]'.
⁵³ For Guzmán's work as a copyist, see Marín, 'Música y músicos', 589–590. For the 1733 chapel payroll, *ibid.*, Apéndice 1, 75.

⁵⁴ Sigaut, 'La tradición de estos reinos'.

⁵⁵ *El Triunfo de N[uestro] P[adre] San Pedro* was Villalpando's working title and the name given in a 1714 inventory. As Sigaut notes, the painting is now called *Triunfo de la Eucaristía o Triunfo de la Iglesia o Triunfo de la Religión*.

flanked by iconography characterising him as the head and maximum authority of the earthly Church. According to Sigaut, Saint Peter had become a symbol of the identity of the cathedral chapter, which was made up almost entirely of American-born clerics such as the dean Malpartida and the treasurer García de Legaspi y Velasco, who had paid for the painting.⁵⁶ The celebration of identity in Villalpando's canvas had its musical equivalent in Salazar's large-scale Saint Peter villancicos. Saint Peter's day, the 29th of June, was an important occasion in New Spain, particularly in Mexico City. The cathedral dignitary Simón Esteban Beltrán de Alzate (ca. 1620–1670), head of the confraternity of Saint Peter, an association of priests, had endowed the celebration with 4000 pesos capital, which rendered 200 pesos per year for the occasion.⁵⁷ The Matins were sung the evening before, 'with villancicos and other solemnities of the chapel, and instruments and music as is custom'—for this the musicians received thirty pesos, and the maestro ten pesos for the villancicos, 'which must be composed new each year'.⁵⁸ None of Salazar's Saint Peter villancicos from this decade survive, however, those from the first decade of the eighteenth century are polychoral works, many times on a grand scale befitting this important occasion. There were many other villancico occasions during the year. Apart from Christmas and Corpus Christi, one of the most important was the Assumption of the Virgin, the cathedral dedicatee, celebrated on 15 August. This occasion had also been endowed by the munificent Beltrán, paying the musicians and maestro the same amount as the feast of Saint Peter. Beltrán had also specified new

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 422–423.

⁵⁷ Alan Knight states that five percent was an exceptionally good annual return from a hacienda investment, the type the Church most often made with the capital from endowments such as Beltrán's, Mexico, the Colonial Era, 159. According to Ramos-Kittrell, the cathedral sometimes loaned money from endowments at five percent per annum, 'Music, Liturgy and Devotional Piety', 80. A figure of five percent return is invariably given for villancico and other chaplaincy endowments.

⁵⁸ *Diario Manual*, folios 76r and 77v. '...con villancicos y demás solemnidad de capilla, y instrumentos y música que es costumbre', 'que se han de componer nuevos en cada un año'.

villancicos every year for the cathedral dedicatee in his bequest.⁵⁹ There were yet other Marian feasts in Salazar's compositional year. Following Assumption in August, the Nativity of the Virgin was celebrated on 8 September each year with villancicos endowed by the former treasurer, arch-dean and successive bishop of Durango, Michoacán (Valladolid) and Puebla, García de Legaspi, the same cleric who had paid for Villalpando's Saint Peter canvas. Two other Marian occasions fell one after the other in December, the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin on the 8th, an event of importance throughout the Spanish Empire, and the local celebration of the Virgin of Guadalupe, which fell on the 12th. Fresh villancicos had also been demanded by the donors for these two days. The cathedral book of bequests warns that, should the villancicos for Immaculate Conception 'not be new, and there were repetition, the said ten pesos are distributed among the said gentlemen chapter members attending'.⁶⁰ The Spanish Saint Ildefonsus of Toledo, the subject of several villancicos by Salazar, was celebrated on 23 January with money from an endowment funded by the cathedral precentor, Alonso Ramírez.⁶¹ Something of the baroque love for novelty, a phenomenon which Maravall views as characteristic of the mentality of the period, can be seen in the insistence on new villancicos each year.⁶² Indeed these villancico endowments, all of them in place by Salazar's time as maestro in Mexico City, guaranteed a flow of new pieces each year.

⁵⁹ Ibid., folio 83r.

⁶⁰ Razón de los Aniversarios, y demás Obras Pías, folio 185r. '...no fueren nuevos y hubiere repetición se repartan dichos diez pesos en la asistencia de dichos señores capitulares'.

⁶¹ Gazeta de México, September 1730, 265. On pages 265 and 266 of this issue of the Gazeta, a list of the major endowments for Matins services at the Mexico City cathedral is given, with the amounts of principal and yearly return for each endowment.

⁶² Maravall, La cultura del Barroco, 453.

Salazar's work of consolidating the musical chapel carried on apace, aided by the confident mood of the dean and chapter. The chapter records and correspondence reflect nothing of the foreboding mood which gripped Europe over the succession to the Spanish throne.⁶³ While plans were being forged in Europe for the partitioning of the Spanish Empire upon the death of Charles II, the triumphalist programme continued in the Mexico City cathedral. The plan to have a new cathedral organ built stems from the first year of Salazar's incumbency as maestro and Malpartida's as dean, 1688.⁶⁴ The building of the organ was entrusted to the Aragonese maker, Jorge de Sesma (ca. 1655–1690), while the assembly was completed by Tiburcio Sanz (1652–after 1718), an artisan of Aragonese origin who had been contracted in Madrid by the above-named Mexico City chanter, Alonso Ramírez.⁶⁵ Although Salazar approved of the work, stating that the organ 'fulfilled its obligation in all the artifice of the mixtures', and was 'sonorous, sweet and harmonious', the cathedral organist Joseph de Idiáquez held serious reservations about the instrument.⁶⁶ Idiáquez felt that the Principal and Gedackt 8 of the organ played too softly, and that 'according to the size of the organ, they do not correspond to the body of voice that the said instrument requires'.⁶⁷ The instrument

⁶³ In contrast, this was a difficult period in Madrid. The Royal Chapel had not been able to implement a 1695 reform fixing the number and salaries of musicians. According to Begoña Lolo, the chapel musicians often depended on royal economic favours during the period from 1687 to 1700; payment of salaries could be delayed as long as three to four years. See Lolo, *La música en la Real Capilla*, 75.

⁶⁴ Gustavo Delgado Parra, 'Los órganos históricas de la catedral de México'. *Anuario Musical*, 60 (2005): 45. In this otherwise accurate article, Delgado asserts that Sanz lowered the pitch of the principal organ, leaving the positive at pitch. Sanz in fact raised the pitch of the Great Organ 'un punto', a modern semitone. Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, *Actas Capitulares*, libro 23, folio 331, of 1 October 1694. For the difficult genesis of the instrument, see Edward Charles Pepe, 'The Installation by Tiburcio Sanz and Félix de Aguirre of the Jorge de Sesma Organ for Mexico City Cathedral: 1692–95'. *Revista de la Musicología*, XXIX, no. 2 (2006): 433–479.

⁶⁵ Delgado, 'Los órganos', 47.

⁶⁶ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, *Actas Capitulares*, libro 24, folios 13r–15v, of 6 May 1695. '...cumplido con su obligación toda su artífice en las mixturas', '...sonora, dulce, armoniosa'.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 'según la magnitud del órgano, no corresponden al cuerpo de voz que dicho instrumento requiere'.

never won the full approval of the principal organist Idiáquez. However, it would be the learning instrument for the future maestro de capilla, Manuel de Sumaya. In May of 1694, the dean granted the choirboy Sumaya an ayuda de costa for his clerical vestments, fifty pesos a year salary, directing him to take daily classes at the house of Idiáquez, and to attend ‘in a surplice’ whenever Idiáquez played.⁶⁸

An important part of Salazar’s work as maestro was the constant evaluation and renewal of the musical chapel. As seen above, Salazar was called upon to judge the quality and potential of chorus voices, selecting the ones most needed by the church for the daily services. Apart from these human voices, a series of wind instruments were associated with the singers, doubling and shoring up weaknesses or absences of voices. At the orders of the dean Malpartida, edicts calling for instrumental musicians to demonstrate their abilities were fixed in the cathedral in 1697 and 1698. Among those answering the ‘fixed edicts’ was the dulcian player Antonio de Silva (a former cathedral choirboy), whom Salazar examined at home, finding him ‘sufficient in the faculty of music’, although de Silva was found to need ‘practice and exercise in the choir to be a perfect ministril’.⁶⁹ The versatile dulcian was also made in soprano and alto versions known as bajoncillos. On this occasion, no players of these instruments answered Malpartida’s edicts, however, the call produced a cornettist, Miguel de Ordoñez. This musician was also already known to Salazar, who judged him to be ‘dexterous and

⁶⁸ Ibid., Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 1, folio 66, of 25 May 1694. ‘...en sobrepelliz’. The practice instrument in Idiáquez’ house was presumably a harpsichord. There are later references in the chapter records to the ‘monocordio’ as a choirboy’s learning instrument, see Actas Capitulares, libro 26, folio 162, of 24 April 1708.

⁶⁹ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 1, folio 81, of 24 May 1697. ‘...suficiente en la facultad de música’, ‘practica y ejercicio en el coro para ser perfecto ministril’. De Silva described himself as an ‘español’ in his letter requesting the examination. This locution meant that de Silva considered himself to be of Spanish extraction, and therefore a racially acceptable candidate for a cathedral post.

excellent in the playing of the cornett and the shawm, as much on the treble as the tenor and contralto'.⁷⁰ Salazar further felt Ordoñez to be 'very necessary for the chapel of this Holy Church, finding itself so lacking sopranos, and the cornett being so essential for the fullness of the chapel'.⁷¹ Yet another instrumentalist answered Malpartida's edict, the harpist and sackbut player Diego Juárez, who declared himself an 'inhabitant of this city [...] currently exercising in the parish of Saint Michael'.⁷² Salazar's evaluation of Juárez does not seem to be included in the correspondence, however the dean and chapter were sufficiently satisfied after Juárez' 'public demonstration in the choir playing the harp and the sackbut' to assign him a salary of one hundred fifty pesos a year and the corresponding obvenciones.⁷³ This unusual combination of instruments was perpetuated in the Mexico City cathedral until past the middle of the eighteenth century—the harp was needed primarily to accompany villancicos, while the sackbut doubled the tenor voice in *stile antico* pieces sung at the choir lectern. One of Juárez' successors, Salvador Zapata, was playing this combination of instruments as late as 1746.⁷⁴

The constants in the life of a maestro de capilla have been mentioned several times thus far: the finding and instruction of choirboys, the yearly battle to produce the requisite number of villancicos, the continual discipline and evaluation of the musical chapel, and the regulation of the income known as obvenciones. These chapel matters had a curious static quality, recurring time and again in the lives of the novohispanic

⁷⁰ Ibid., folio 86, of 20 December 1697. '...diestro y primoroso, en el toque de la corneta, y chirimía, así de tiple como de tenor y contralto'.

⁷¹ Ibid. '...muy necesario, para la capilla de esta S[an]ta Iglesia por hallarse tanta falta de tiples, y de ser la corneta tan esencial para el lleno de la capilla'.

⁷² Ibid., folio 90, of 16 October 1698. '...vecino de esta ciudad [...] actualmente se ejercita en la parroquia de San Miguel'.

⁷³ Ibid., '...demonstración pública tocando el arpa, y el sacabuche'.

⁷⁴ Marín, 'Música y músicos', 204.

maestros as they are reflected in chapter records. Just as Padilla at Puebla, Salazar sought to regulate the distribution of monies from work done outside the home institution of the cathedral. This was to his advantage, as he was entitled to a real from every peso of income in obvenciones, according to the terms of his 1688 engagement with the cathedral. During the last years of the seventeenth century, a growing controversy over this outside work becomes evident in the chapter records. As Salazar explained in a note to the dean from the year 1699, it was chapel tradition that monies from outside work paying twenty pesos or more were distributed on a percentage basis, with the principal chapel members receiving a correspondingly larger amount.⁷⁵ In work paying less than twenty pesos, the paid sum was distributed equally among all the members present. Evidently, clandestine groups of choristers had arisen, competing with the official cathedral chapel. This practice of forming covert groups to perform at extramural occasions was known under the curious name of sangonautla.⁷⁶ The cathedral chapter treated this and other portentous matters concerning Salazar and the musical chapel in a December 1700 meeting. Salazar was advised to take care that the musicians did not form groups to venture out on sangonautlas, and was reminded of his obligation to hand over the music that he had composed.⁷⁷ Although the dean declared in the chapter meeting that the cathedral was forty thousand pesos in debt, a debt that

⁷⁵ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 1, folio 92.

⁷⁶ Robert Stevenson took the term to mean pranks, using the spelling zangonautla, 'Mexico City Cathedral Music', 135. Marín revised this view in his doctoral thesis, pointing out the struggles of Manuel de Sumaya to repress unauthorised work outside the musical chapel, 'Música y músicos', 250. The word is of unknown origin, however, the etymology of a combination of two words, 'sango' < 'sanco', a cake made of maize paste, and Nahuatl 'nautla' < nauhte-tl, a variant of the number four, might be proposed. Thus, sangonautla may have meant a motley quartet, pasted together like a cake. See the Diccionario de la Real Academia Española, <http://www.rae.es> (accessed 25 March 2014), and Frances Karttunen, *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 160.

⁷⁷ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Actas Capitulares, libro 25, folio 235v, of 10 December 1700. This seems to be the first occurrence of the term sangonautla in the chapter records.

had been mounting over the course of the last ten years, Salazar was granted a fifty peso pay rise on the condition that he take on two or three students and make a report on their progress every four months.⁷⁸ So ended the first year of the new century for the maestro Salazar, with the round of Christmas villancicos at the door.

New Spain was as yet unaware of the death of the monarch Charles II, which had occurred on 1 November, All Saint's Day 1700. The highly inbred and sickly last Spanish Habsburg had not been expected to live as long as he had, however, now the Spanish line was extinct and the *pietas austriaca* finished. The new century would bring a new regime to the throne of Spain, the Bourbons, with a new political wind blowing from Versailles. Likewise, new musical winds were blowing across musical Spain and its colonial extensions, not from France, but from the Italian peninsula.

6.2 The Villancicos of Antonio de Salazar

The year 1700 is a convenient point at which to interrupt the historical narrative in order to examine the villancicos of Antonio de Salazar. Salazar's surviving Mexico City villancico opus written up to the year 1700 comprises only six pieces; there are forty-six others posterior to this date, running to Christmas 1714. The composer asserted in 1710 that he had written 'masses, psalms, responsories, motets and hymns, without failing in the annual festivities of villancicos, which never descended from seventy in each year'.⁷⁹ Calculating Salazar's villancico production from 1688 to 1700, based on his figure of seventy a year, a total of eight hundred forty pieces is yielded. There is no reason to believe that the figure of seventy villancicos per year is hyperbole. As seen

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Correspondencia, libro 10, without folio number, of 10 January 1710. '...misas, salmos, responsorios, motetes e himnos sin faltar a las anuales festividades en que no bajaban de 70 cada un año'.

above, by Salazar's time as maestro there were seven endowed villancico occasions running through the year, Saint Ildefonsus, Corpus Christi, Saint Peter, Assumption of the Virgin, Nativity of the Virgin, Immaculate Conception and the appearance of the Virgin of Guadalupe. To this came the obligatory occasion of Christmas, and a minor villancico endowment for Ascension (three only). Each Matins service demanded eight villancicos—taken together with the three needed for Ascension, this gave a total of sixty-seven per year. Given the financial incentive present in the endowments, it is probable that Salazar produced over eight hundred villancicos in the years from 1688 to 1700, and a similar number in the ensuing years.

The first two decades of the eighteenth century were a political and musical watershed for Spain and its colonies. However, Salazar was little affected in his compositional identity by the changes taking place, indeed his villancicos form a unified body of work displaying a number of common elements. These elements may be seen as a continuance and refinement of the villancico style of Padilla and García de Céspedes, the most likely sources of Salazar's training in composition.

Before embarking on an analysis of Salazar's villancico output for Mexico City as it is reflected in the Estrada collection, a characteristic of the collection should be noted. Each of Salazar's Estrada collection villancicos exists in parts copied in an exceptionally neat hand. In every case, the copy appears to have been made by the composer himself, judging from the signature 'Mro. Salazar' appearing in the upper right hand corner of the parts, the characteristic downward sloping C clefs, the stems drawn in the middle of the notes, and the closely similar shapes of the letters of the

text.⁸⁰ All of these features are also to be observed in several of the composer's villancicos for the nuns of the Santísima Trinidad convent in Puebla; undoubtedly, the same hand is at work. It could be conjectured that these villancicos were a selection of pieces which Salazar or another member of the chapel felt to be exceptionally worthy. Thus, Salazar's villancicos in the Estrada collection may not be entirely representative of day-to-day practice in the cathedral, in the sense that they are of especial quality. However, they present a cohesive body musically speaking, showing many recurring stylistic features continued over the twenty-five year period from 1689 to 1714.

Research of the Estrada collection indicates that the polychoral treatment of the choral forces is one of the most prominent features of this corpus of work. As we have seen, Salazar was busy assembling a large ensemble during the last years of the seventeenth century, and had consolidated it by 1704. These choral forces and the associated instrumentalists allowed Salazar the possibility of writing villancicos using from six to thirteen voices, divided into two, three and even four choirs. It has been noted previously that a 'choir' may be constituted of a single solo voice and a bass instrument. In several of Salazar's Estrada collection villancicos, this single solo voice and its bass instrument are then combined with a second choir. In this villancico type, the second choir is made up of soprano, alto, tenor, an instrumental bass, and a continuo instrument, which also supports the first choir solo voice. This is the smallest of Salazar's polychoral formations, which he designates 'a 6'. No less than fourteen of the Estrada collection villancicos by Salazar feature this arrangement; in all save one, the solo voice is a tenor. It is somewhat questionable whether the 'a 6' arrangement

⁸⁰ Salazar also appears to have used the same rastrum throughout his villancico career.

constitutes a truly polychoral texture, as the first choir is made up only of a soloist supported by a bass instrument. However, the sonic impression is that of two choirs, possibly due to the contrapuntal movement between the parts of the soloist and the bass of the first choir. An example of the ‘a 6’ texture may be seen below in Figure 11 below, the opening bars of Salazar’s macaronic Digan quae es ista, [Tell, who is she?] written for Assumption, 1701.

The musical score is divided into two systems. The first system (measures 1-6) features a Solo Tenor part with the lyrics "Di - gan di - gan di - gan di - gan quae es is -". Below this are parts for Bajo 1, Tiple, Alto, Tenor, and Bajo 2, all with the lyrics "di - gan di - gan di - gan". An Accompaniment (Acomp.) part is also present. The second system (measures 7-12) features a Tenor (T) part with the lyrics "ta quae es is - ta quae quae a-scen". Below this are parts for Bajo 1 (B 1), Tiple (Ti), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bajo 2 (B 2), all with the lyrics "is - ta is - ta". An Accompaniment (Acomp.) part is also present.

Figure 11, Alternation of choirs ‘a 6’ in Salazar’s Assumption villancico, Digan quae es ista

Rather more identifiable as possessing a classic polychoral texture are Salazar's eight voice villancicos, seventeen of which are to be found in the Estrada collection. In the formation designated as 'a 8', two symmetrical choirs made up of soprano, alto, tenor and instrumental bass may be observed. The eight voice arrangement was the most common of polychoral formations, being practiced at the Royal Chapel by such composers as Joseph de Torres and Antonio Literes (1673–1747), as well as in the many cathedral and parish churches in Spain. Indeed, polychorality 'a 8' was a regular practice throughout the Spanish-speaking world, from Madrid to the far-flung Philippine Islands.⁸¹ Gutiérrez de Padilla's polychoral treatment of the villancico 'a 8' was discussed previously; his successor Salazar does not lag behind in the exploitation of polychorality as a compositional technique. Salazar foregoes none of the devices used by his forerunner: antiphonal treatment of the two choirs, rapid alternation of groups of voices, the opposition of the first choir solo group to the choral mass within the estribillo, and the joining together of the two choirs at climactic moments. In the earliest of his eight voice villancicos for Mexico City, the 1694 *Pues el alba* [Then the dawn], Salazar follows Padilla in providing an independent continuo part for each choir. This procedure is altered in works written after 1700, where a general continuo bass accompanies the two choirs of soprano, alto, tenor and instrumental bass throughout. It could be conjectured that the reduction of the continuo to a single part was due to the hiring of the harpist Diego Juárez in 1699. The harp had previously been the instrument of choice for the accompaniment of the villancico, as was seen in the fortuitous appearance and immediate hiring of the harpist Nicolás Griñon at Christmas, 1651.

⁸¹ David Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 219, 225.

Juárez' predecessor, Pedro de la Cruz, seems to have become inactive around the year 1695, possibly because of age, so that the new musician's engagement may have marked a revival of the harp accompaniment.

The choirboys played a large role in the 'a 8' texture, singing the second choir tiple voice, which participated in the estribillo section only. There seems to be some evidence that Salazar deliberately kept the boys' parts simple, generally avoiding complicated imitative entrances and using frequent repetition of textual phrases. This represented a shift away from Padilla's type of second choir tiple, which was often sung by a soloist participating in the coplas section. An example of the 'a 8' two-choir texture may be seen below in Figure 12, taken from Salazar's *Repiqueñ alegres* [Ring happily], a villancico dedicated to Saint Ildefonsus.

The musical score for 'Repiqueñ alegres' is presented in a system of eight staves. The top four staves represent the first choir (Tiple 1, Alto 1, Tenor 1, and Bajo 1), and the bottom four staves represent the second choir (Tiple 2, Alto 2, Tenor 2, and Bajo 2). The harp accompaniment (Acomp.) is shown on the eighth staff. The music is in 4/4 time and features a simple, repetitive melodic line for all voices. The lyrics are: 'Re - pi - quen a - le - gres re - pi - quen re - pi - quen a - le - gres a los mai - ti'. The score includes various musical notations such as rests, notes, and accidentals.

Figure 12, Eight voice polychoral texture in Salazar's *Repiqueñ Alegres*

Notable is the rapid exchange of identical phrases between the two choirs in the opening bell motif. Along with the sounding clarín, the ringing bell was a much-used C major villancico topos.

The choirboys were also deployed in the second and third choirs of Salazar's larger polychoral formations of eleven, twelve and thirteen voices. The eleven voice formation consisted of a three part first choir set alongside two choirs made up of soprano, alto, tenor and instrumental bass. In the case of two 1713 Saint Peter villancicos, *Suenen los clarines* [Sound the clarions] and *Al campo, a la batalla* [To the field, to the battle], the first choir soloists are alto and tenor, aided by an instrumental bass. This had also been the case in the preceding years, as may be seen in the 1712 *Pastores del valle* [Shepherds of the valley], the 1710 *Hola, hao, marineros* [Hello, ho, seamen] and the massive *A la mar, se anega la nave* [To the sea, the ship is sinking] from 1705. With its estribillo running to one hundred and eleven bars, this villancico was the sonic equivalent of Villalpando's Saint Peter canvas, and corresponded well to the cathedral chapter's triumphal self-image. In these Saint Peter villancicos, some of the common tropes which surrounded the 'rock of the Church' may be seen: Saint Peter as a fisherman, at sea in a boat, or the saint as the leader of the militant church, calling his followers into battle for the faith. Naturally, the image of a militant church led by Saint Peter conjured up common time march music replete with onomatopoeic trumpet calls, as in Figure 13, the solo alto and tenor parts of *Al campo, a la batalla*.

The image shows a musical score for three parts: Alto, Tenor, and Acomp. (Accompaniment). The Alto and Tenor parts are in G major (one flat) and 4/4 time. The Alto part starts with a treble clef and the Tenor part with an alto clef (C4). Both vocal parts have lyrics: "sue - nen los cla - ri - nes cla - ri - nes cla - ri - nes". The Accompaniment part is in bass clef. The music consists of a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, characteristic of a march.

Figure 13, Martial clarines being imitated by solo voices

There were yet other Saint Peter tropes; the familiar Bible story of the Apostle's denial of Jesus and his subsequent tearful repentance are mirrored in the lines of *Pastores del valle*, 'Pedro llorad en buen hora/que es muy conforme al valor', 'Peter, cry ye in your good time/which is in keeping with valour'. Salazar did not take his onomatopoeic naturalism so far as to musically represent the crowing cock which figures in the Bible story, however, the animal is mentioned frequently in Saint Peter villancico texts.

Yet another Saint Peter villancico for eleven voices, the 1703 *Suenen clarines alegres*, had tiple and tenor soloists. This piece is distinguished by the use of the high clef combination and the explicit naming of the harp as an accompanying instrument. The two remaining eleven voice pieces in the Estrada collection are the 1694 *Arde afable hermosura* [Burn, affable beauty], which featured two tiple soloists, and the undated *De Pedro sagrado* [Of holy Peter] for tenor, instrumental bass, and two choirs of soprano, alto, tenor and instrumental bass. These seem to be unusual combinations; the preferential solo group for the eleven voice formation was alto, tenor and instrumental bass. Assumption of 1706 merited a twelve voice villancico, *Los clarines resuenen* [The clarions resound], with a soloists' choir made up of two tipples, alto and tenor, accompanied by two SATB (instrumental bass) choirs. The largest of Salazar's Estrada collection polychoral works is *Pajarillos, garzotas del aire* [Little birds, plumed ornaments of the air], for solo tenor, bass viol, and three choirs: choir two is made up of a solo tiple and two instrumental basses; the first of these is an unspecified obbligato, while the second appears to be a continuo. Choirs three and four consist of tiple, alto, tenor and instrumental bass.

Behind this seeming complexity, the organisational principle of the quartet and trio are at work. The fundamental quartet of soprano, alto, tenor and bass instrument makes up the basic polychoral unit, contrasting with other formations. Thus, Salazar

applies the concertato principle to his polychoral forces in several ways: the opposition of a continuo-supported soloist and bass instrument to a choral mass (a 6); the opposition of two like choirs, one made up of soloists and the other with doubled parts (a 8); the opposition of a solistic trio to two choral masses (a 11), the opposition of a soloists' quartet to two choral masses (a 12), and finally, the opposition of two solistic trios to two choral masses (a 13). The 'a 8' formation is by far the most common, represented by seventeen pieces in the collection. The 'a 6' grouping was also favoured by Salazar, being used fourteen times, while the 'a 11' formation is rather less common with eight occurrences among the Estrada pieces. The two larger formations seem to have been a rarity for the important occasion of Assumption, appearing a single time each in the Estrada collection.

Salazar's polychorality does not seem to imply *cori spezzati* in the sense of a spatial separation. The relatively rapid alternation of choral forces within a piece and the presence of a unifying continuo part would have precluded any more than a small distance between choirs. One (perhaps unintended) consequence of the polychoral handling of the choir was the repetition of motivic cells, which gives a sense of almost classical regularity to many phrases. Salazar's handling of multiple choirs is extremely skilful; O'Regan's criteria of independence of parts may be seen to have been masterfully fulfilled in the Estrada collection villancicos.

Salazar reserved bass singers for his Latin *stile antico* pieces, assigning an instrumental bass to each choir in his villancicos—these parts are marked 'bajo', and are provided with a text incipit so that the performer could identify the piece. In the majority of cases, a dulcian may be assumed to be the instrument of choice; the chapel

had three senior bajoneros on its payroll in 1709, and a fourth player had been hired at one hundred pesos per year.⁸² It will be remembered that Salazar himself played the instrument, and would have been entirely conversant with its uses in the ensemble. Nonetheless, the bass viol undoubtedly took some of these parts; as seen above, the chorister Antonio de Soto possessed the advantage of being both a singer and bass viol player when applying to enter the chapel in 1691, stating that he had played the instrument in the yearly villancicos. The bass viol part in the thirteen voice Pajarillos, garzotas del aire was most probably written for de Soto, while the ‘bajo 1’ and ‘bajo 2’ were played on the dulcian. However, the bass viol did not possess the usefulness, versatility, or sheer volume of the dulcian, and was occupied relatively less.

Salazar’s polychorality is much larger and bolder than that of Padilla in terms of length of the pieces and variety of interplay between choral forces. The reduction of the number of villancico formal types to a regular estribillo–coplas–estribillo, or ABBBA scheme, allowed an expansion of the through-composed section. Salazar’s estribillo sections are more elaborate than those of Padilla, regularly reaching a length of sixty bars or more. Several, such as *Suenen los clarines* and *A la mar, se anega la nave*, have an extension of one hundred bars, possibly as a consequence of alternation between choirs. The German musicologist Franz Körndle has commented on musical and textual repetition as a factor in the formal arrangements of seventeenth century liturgical music, specifically naming the *responsorium prolixum* as an example of textual repetition

⁸² Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 2, of 21 September 1709. Salazar named Juan de Marzán, Antonio de Silva and Gerónimo de Garate as the chapel bajoneros, stating that a fourth, Francisco del Castillo, was making progress on the instrument.

Apart from rhythmic mirroring of the two choirs conditioned by the text, more subtle effects of repetition may also be seen at work in Salazar's polychoral villancicos. The process of textual repetitions divided among the two choirs generates motivic cells which are at once rhythmic, melodic and harmonic. For example, the dotted crotchet, quaver, and two crotchet rhythmic motif generated by the repetition of the word 'tierra' carries with it the tonic–dominant sequence observable in bars two and three, as well as the melodic variation of the initial theme by the second soprano in bar two. Bar three exhibits the skilful independence of parts which was a hallmark of Spanish polychoral part writing; the second choir has the function of multiplying the consonant harmony, rather than acting as a *ripieno*.

One consequence of textual repetition in the polychoral villancicos of Salazar is the contingent repetition of the motivic cells engendered by the text. This is particularly evident in the 'a 8' texture, where the second choir repeats the rhythmic material of the first choir almost verbatim, while varying the melodic and harmonic content in slight permutations. Thus, the opening of the villancico, *Tierra no, sino cielo* seen in Figure 14 is followed by five subsequent motivic cells, each one generated by a line of text introduced by the first choir and repeated by the second. The second motivic cell is formed from the line 'no sino cielo', introduced by the first choir tenor and answered in the second choir alto (Figure 15):



Figure 15, The second of the motivic cells in *Tierra no, sino cielo*

This is followed by a new line, ‘que si la noche es día’ [that if the day is night], sung homophonically by choir one and answered in choir two. The process is repeated a further three times on the lines ‘también es gloria el suelo’ [the earth is also glory], ‘oíd, atended’ [hearken, attend] and ‘prodigios en el misterio’ [prodigies in the mystery]. The process of motivic repetition by line of poetry may be viewed in full in the transcription of this piece found in the Appendix. Salazar is by no means unique in using repetition as formal building blocks in his ‘a 8’ villancicos, however, the habitual rapid exchanges between the two choirs show an inventiveness not found in broadly contemporary pieces in the Guatemala archive.

The ‘a 11’ pieces in the Estrada collection show a similar distribution of motivic material among the three choirs. The three choir formation seems to have been exceptional, perhaps being reserved for occasions of special grandeur. Salazar and his contemporary at Puebla, Dallo y Lana, were among the last composers to cultivate this type of large, purely choral piece supported by continuo alone—Torres and Literes had already introduced violins into their compositions for the Royal chapel at Madrid during the first years of the eighteenth century, using them as an integral part of villancico accompaniment. Nonetheless, polychorality remained an ideal during Salazar’s lifetime, forming part of the compositional identity of the Spanish musician.⁸⁴ Mastering the difficulty of writing for two or more choirs was considered as a mark of distinction, the ‘non plus ultra of scientific composition’ as Juan José Carreras remarks.⁸⁵ No important composer neglected this method of composition, which was felt to be superior to the

⁸⁴ Juan José Carreras, ‘La policoralidad como identidad’.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 110. ‘...non plus ultra de la composición científica’, Carreras’ emphasis.

Italian *ripieno*. As late as 1741 Francisco Valls wrote in defense of the traditional Spanish custom of multiple choirs, that:

The Italians are accustomed to elaborate their works with no more than four voices, and then add a *ripieno* (which is a duplication of those voices, that comes to be like a chapel choir); this has been taken up in Spain by composers of little worth, to save work [...] it is advised that, were these compositions of a larger number of voices, and without *ripieno*, they would be more harmonious and have more mastery.⁸⁶

The polychoral villancico is an opportune field in which to examine the harmonic practices of Salazar and his contemporaries. Just as at mid-seventeenth century, hexachordal solmisation was the basis for notational practice; though Lorenzo Penna and other theorists (among them Andrés Lorente) had suggested the addition of a seventh syllable, Spanish music remained inextricably tied to the Guidonian system.⁸⁷ Salazar remained with the old system for his entire compositional trajectory—as in Padilla’s villancico output, only the natural and one-flat key signatures are present. In order to preserve the crucial *mi-fa* relationship of the Guidonian system, Salazar continues the use of the high clef combination to express the key of G major. Just as the previous generation of composers, Salazar conceives of his villancicos as counterpoint, as an arrangement of consonant intervals above a bass, broken only by the occasional passing dissonances or harmonic suspensions. Although Salazar’s basses remain unfigured, this is the area where he most differentiates himself from his predecessors. The sequences of descending fifths and ascending fourths found in Salazar’s basses

⁸⁶ Francisco Valls, *Mapa armónica*, folio 175r. ‘Acostumbran los italianos trabar sus obras no más a cuatro voces y después echarle un *ripieno* (que es duplicar aquellas voces, que viene a ser como un coro de capilla) lo que han tomado ya en España los compositores de poca monta, para ahorrarse trabajo [...] advierte que siempre que estas composiciones fueren a mayor número de voces, y sin *repienos*, serían más armoniosos y tendrán más magisterio’.

⁸⁷ León Tello, *La teoría española de la música en los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1974), 5.

announce the appearance of a functional tonality, as in figure 16 below, the final bars of Repiquen alegres.

The philosophical underpinning for the use of dissonant intervals had been expounded by Lorente in the *Porqué de la música*; according to the treatise, ‘when they are made use of with the proper means, they make marvellous effects and are very necessary to make a composition in all its points perfect, finished and good.’⁸⁸ Salazar’s somewhat freer treatment of dissonant intervals may be seen primarily in his use of the chord of the seventh, as in bars nineteen and twenty-one.

The musical score for Figure 16 consists of eight staves. The top four staves are vocal parts: Tiple 1, Alto 1, Tenor 1, and Bajo 1. The bottom four staves are instrumental parts: Tiple 2, Alto 2, Tenor 2, and Acomp. The music is in 4/4 time. The lyrics are: 'tan al-tos tim-bres tan al-tos tim-bres tan al-tos tim-bres'. The score shows the final bars of the piece, with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature.

Figure 16, Functional tonality in the final bars of Repiquen alegres

⁸⁸ Lorente, *El porqué*, 275. ‘Cuando se sirve de ellas con los debidos medios, hacen maravillosos efectos y son muy necesarias para hacer la composición de todo punto perfecta, acabada y buena’.

The secondary dominant had become firmly established in the choral writing of Salazar, however, the rule forbidding the use of the ‘unsingable second’ (B flat–B natural and F–F sharp) is in force, necessitating the curious choice of G minor on beat two of bar twenty-two.

The slowing of harmonic rhythm in several of the villancicos of Salazar is a notable feature. This often comes about as a result of polychoral repetition of textual motifs, as may be seen in figures 12 and 14. Nonetheless, the rapidity of the minor proportion could imply the type of quick harmonic rhythm employed by Padilla, even with large choral forces in play.

Salazar was equally adept at the small-scale piece, which, along with the coplas section of the villancico, was the province of the first choir soloists. Although the polychoral villancico is predominant in the Estrada collection, five smaller pieces by Salazar are also present. Four of these are for tiple, alto, tenor and continuo, and the other for two tipples, alto, tenor bajete and harp.⁸⁹ A tenor-alto duo in GCA-Gc entitled *Ay dulce dueño* also appears to be the work of Salazar, bearing his typical note stems and handwriting. Along with the solo parts of the ‘a 6’ and ‘a 11’ polychoral pieces, these small-scale pieces afford a glimpse into the vocal culture of the first choir soloists at the time of the change of century. Salazar made no secret of his preference for the contralto voice of Tiburcio Vazquez, a musician whom Salazar termed in a 1709 testimonial ‘most essential for the first choir of the chapel’.⁹⁰ According to the elaborate 1709 payroll detailing the seniority of the chapel members, Vazquez had entered in 1686 with a salary of eighty pesos; this had increased to one hundred twenty-five by

⁸⁹ The term bajete often referred to an instrumental part, however, this part is fully texted.

⁹⁰ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 2, of 21 November 1709. ‘...más esencial para el primer coro de la capilla’.

1700, at which point the contralto was given another pay rise on the advice of Salazar, making a round two hundred.⁹¹ By 1709 Vazquez was earning two hundred fifty pesos a year, having been supported by Salazar's above-cited testimonial. The type of solo singing required of Vazquez may be seen to advantage in the coplas sections of Salazar's villancicos—it may be assumed that these were written for the first choir contralto, as he was in continuous service from 1686, being recognised by the chapter for his 'notable attendance and punctuality'.⁹²

An example of solo contralto vocalism may be seen below in figure 17, the second copla to the 1701 *Va de vejamen, de fiesta de chanza*. This difficult to translate title means as much as 'go a taunting, go in the celebration of jest'. This piece is the only example of the *jácara* in the Estrada collection as a whole. In this villancico, the tenor and alto soloists alternated coplas in much the same manner as Padilla's soloists in *En la noche más buena*, seen in chapter three. By the eighteenth century, the *lo divino* version of the *jácara* had reduced its direct references to the underworld to a few terms easily recognised by the public; in Salazar's piece, only *valiente* [brave one] remains. Craig Russell notes *hemiola* as a recurring feature in the *jácara*; this may be seen in Salazar's piece in bars eight to nine, bars sixteen to seventeen, and bars twenty-seven to twenty-eight.⁹³ However, as in the case of the villancico *de negros*, Russell misidentifies the metre of the *jácara* as 6/8, following Stevenson's transcription of Vidales' *Los que fueren de buen gusto* in *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico*.

⁹¹ Ibid. The payroll bears no folio number or date except for the year 1709.

⁹² Ibid., *Actas Capitulares*, libro 25, folio 139, of 8 January 1700. '...la asistencia y puntualidad que es notorio.'

⁹³ Craig Russell, 'jácara'. *New Grove Dictionary*, xii, 716.

2. U - na da - ma va en - tran - do a la fies - ta con cau - da tan lar - ga

que no sa - ben si es red ba - rre - de - ra o al - gu - na ma - tra - ca

y en gran - de des - gra - cia que no ad - vier - tan de a que e - sas van bo - llas que

to - do es ba - da - na

Figure 17, Contralto vocalism in Salazar's jácara, Va de vejamen

As a vocal type, the contralto of Salazar's villancicos resembles the voice of a modern tenor, moving generally between the limits of a and a^1 seen in the example above.⁹⁴ It could be reasonably conjectured that Vazquez and his contralto contemporaries cultivated a voice with little or no falsetto admixture; in the Mexico City cathedral records desirable voices are often described as 'dilatada', [large] or 'corpulenta'

⁹⁴ An octave treble clef has been chosen to represent the alto clef of the original. Helmholtz octave designations are used throughout this thesis.

[corpulent, or stout].⁹⁵ Lorente shows himself to be a partisan of a robust type of voice production in *El porque de la música*, stating that ‘in order to form a good Music, chest voices must always be chosen first’, and further, ‘the chest voice will never be found to be false like the head voice’.⁹⁶ In the same passage, Lorente finds the chest voice to be more ‘natural’ than the head voice, a term which is equated with falsetto. Comparing the two types, Lorente makes the pronouncement, ‘those [voices] that are purely chest [...] delight much more’, and concludes that head voices ‘not only annoy, but in a short time are loathsome’.⁹⁷

Yet falsetto was an essential ingredient for the first choir tiple soloist, who was regularly expected to reach e^2 and f^2 while retaining some degree of textual intelligibility. Upon taking up the position of maestro in 1688, Salazar had two tiple soloists at his disposal, the castrato Bernardo de Meléndez, and the tiple mudado Agustín de Leyva. Neither of these men were still alive in 1700, and the readmission that same year of the chorister Antonio de Oropesa, fired for bad behaviour in 1695, was probably due to his soprano voice.⁹⁸ Salazar did not favour the tiple as a solo voice in his villancicos, preferring to write for it in a quartet along with the alto, tenor and instrumental bass of the first choir. This may reflect an aesthetic predisposition towards

⁹⁵ In 1718, Manuel de Sumaya found the voice of the recently arrived Spaniard José Gavino Leal to be graceful, but lacking in ‘corpulencia’. Sumaya recommended the tenor despite this reservation. ‘Corpulence’ of voice was an especially desirable quality for a succentor—the 1693 edict announcing a vacancy for this position mentions the term twice. Francisco Atienza obtained the position, serving as both succentor and choral tenor. The Valencian contralto Francisco de Selma was contracted by the cathedral in 1754 for his large (*dilatada*) voice, which extended to c^2 without falsetto. Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 2, of 12 September 1718; Edictos, caja 2, expediente 4, of 14 July 1693; Actas Capitulares, libro 42, folios 116r–117r, containing a letter of 25 July 1754.

⁹⁶ Lorente, *El porqué*, 227. ‘...para formar una buena Música, siempre se han de escoger primeramente las voces de pecho.’, ‘...nunca se hallará, que voz de pecho sea falsa, como la de cabeza’.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* ‘...las que son solamente de pecho [...] suelen deleitar mucho más’, ‘...no solamente fastidian, mas en poco tiempo son aborrecidas’.

⁹⁸ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Actas Capitulares, libro 25, folios 187–187v of 14 May 1700.

‘natural’ voices, such as Lorente displays in his treatise, or also the rarity of singers capable of producing the type of reinforced falsetto needed for the first choir tiple voice. Luis González Marín notes that castratos had largely displaced the tiple mudado voice in the La Seo and Pilar cathedrals of Zaragoza.⁹⁹ Castration seems to have been much less common in Mexico, where the tiple mudado remained a much sought-after voice—perhaps the relatively stable economic situation of the colony reduced the incentive of parents to consent to the operation.

The soloist favoured most by Salazar in both *estribillo* and *coplas* is the tenor. Salazar’s tenor soloist resembles a modern baritone more than a tenor, with the voice oscillating between *d* at the lower limit and *f*¹ at the upper, the bulk of the singing being done between *a* and *e*¹. The preference for tenor soloists may be ascribed to several factors—probably the most immediate was the plentiful supply of this voice type. Desire for textual intelligibility is another likely consideration; with a robust production in a limited tessitura, Salazar’s tenor soloists had a better chance than other voice types of projecting the concept-laden poetry of the *villancico* into the large cathedral space. An example of the type of vocalism demanded by Salazar of his tenor soloists may be seen in Figure 18 below, the *coplas* section of *Ay que el sol de Toledo*, a *villancico* dedicated to Saint Ildefonsus.

Melisma is used very sparingly in Salazar’s settings, indeed, the sobriety of the largely syllabic vocal delivery is notable. The composer does not call upon his soloists to sing extended passages, nor to exceed a relatively limited tessitura. In the large choral

⁹⁹ Luis González Marín, ‘Aspectos de la práctica musical española en el siglo XVII: voces y ejecución vocal’. *Anuario Musical*, 56 (2001): 88.

passages, however splendid the polychoral setting may be, the primary concern seems to be effective delivery of the words and affect of the poetry. In this sense, Salazar and

Tenor

Bajo 1,
Acomp.

De Il-de fon-so las vir-tu - des, a las de vis-to - so for - men,
lo - gró por pre-mio di - vi - no, que pu-ras ma - nos le, to - quen,
an - ge - li - cal - es es - cua - dras, a es - ta fa - cción se dis - pon - en,

por-que e-llas so - lo al-can-zar - on, sin - gu - lar - es los — fa - vor - es
vis - tien - do - le la ca - su - lla, co - mo a su - mo sa - cer - do - te
6 por - que sa - ben que su Rei - na, quic - re est - as o - pera - cion - es

Figure 18, Solo tenor coplas in a villancico to Saint Ildefonsus

his contemporaries are remote from the musical revolution begun by Monteverdi; the vocal demands made on singers by the rise of the melodrama are not present in the villancico.

This modesty in vocal resources had an analogy in Salazar's villancico instrumentation. Despite the conjecture by Stevenson of a 'Peter and the Wolf' instrumentation for Sor Juana's *Que bien la iglesia mayor*, none of the Mexico City repertoire written by Salazar features obligato instruments.¹⁰⁰ As early as 1710, the violinist and bass violist Antonio Cerezo had requested to enter the chapel and was asked to demonstrate his abilities at the Matins for the Nativity of the Virgin.¹⁰¹ This attempt appears not to have been successful, as Cerezo auditioned on bass viol in 1715,

¹⁰⁰ Stevenson, *Christmas Music*, 62.

¹⁰¹ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, *Actas Capitulares*, libro 26, folio 389–389v, of 12 August 1710.

this time being accepted, partially because of his contralto voice.¹⁰² Thus, the potential obbligato instrument violin did not form part of the musical chapel during Salazar's tenure, although a pair of violins would become an essential part of villancico accompaniments by the decade of the 1740s.

With the hard evidence of the Estrada collection villancicos available, we may now conclude that Salazar's instrumentarium was limited to accompanying instruments from the continuo group, among them the harp, the organ, the dulcian and the bass viol. Of these, the organ and the dulcian are not named explicitly by Salazar, however, pieces in Guatemala contemporary to those of Salazar do identify these instruments by name on villancico parts. Surprisingly, the harpsichord only had a substantial role in the Mexico City cathedral as a learning instrument for organists—according to a 1755 letter by the cathedral chapter to the viceroy Ahumada y Villalón, this instrument was occupied only once a year in the Holy Wednesday Miserere, taking the place of the organ.¹⁰³ Another chordal instrument used regularly throughout Europe also seems to be absent in the cathedrals of New Spain; Begoña Lolo notes the presence of an archlute in the 1701 roll of Royal Chapel musicians; however, by 1718 this instrument had disappeared from the king's music.¹⁰⁴ There is no mention of this instrument or other types of lutes in any novohispanic cathedral, with the exception of the will of the

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 2, of 10 July 1715. See also section 7.1 below.

¹⁰³ The letter is cited by Estrada, *Música y músicos de la época virreinal*, 140. References to the harpsichord in the chapter records identify it as a practice instrument for the choirboys learning organ. See for example the *Actas Capitulares*, libro 26, folio 161v–162, of 24 April 1708 in which the cathedral dean suggests the purchase of a harpsichord for the boys, 'as was done for the others, who took such advantage of it'. '...como se ha hecho para otros, que tanto han aprovechado con ellos'.

¹⁰⁴ Lolo, *La música en la Real Capilla de Madrid*, 41.

Guatemalan maestro Manuel de Quirós, who left a lute and book of tablature to his nephew, Rafael Castellanos.¹⁰⁵

Indeed, it is the harp that is the chordal instrument most closely associated with the accompaniment of the novohispanic villancico, being named explicitly by Salazar, and mentioned with some frequency in cathedral chapter records. A particularly interesting example of the association of this instrument with the villancico is to be found in the Oaxaca cathedral records; in 1727 the Oaxaca chapter secretary suggested that the instrument had become unnecessary, proposing redundancy for the harpist Juan Florentín:

With only the office of harpist, I judge him to be superfluous, because removing the villancicos as they were removed at the instance of Your Lordship, and having a beautiful harpsichord and someone who knows how to play it, a harpist is not necessary.¹⁰⁶

The position of harpist does not seem to have been continuously occupied in Mexico City or Puebla; almost inevitably many continuo accompaniments would have been played on the organ. Organ is in fact prescribed by the ceremonial book of the Mexico City cathedral for the spiritual concerts (known as *siestas*) given during the octave of Corpus Christi:

All of the eight days of the octave the musicians of the chapel of this Holy Church are present between the main lectern and the principal door of the choir, from two in the afternoon until three, singing in this time villancicos or cantadas, with all their instruments, and the organs.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ The contents of Quirós will be detailed by Stevenson, 'Guatemala Cathedral to 1803', 43–44.

¹⁰⁶ Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Oaxaca, Actas Capitulares, libro 4, folio 307v, of 2 December 1727. '...con solo el oficio de arpista le juzgo superfluo porque quitados como se quitaron a instancia de vuestra señoría los villancicos, y habiendo un clavicordio precioso y quien le sepa tocar no es necesario arpista'.

¹⁰⁷ Diario Manual, folio 54v. 'Todos los días del octava asisten en esta Santa Iglesia y dentro del coro de él los músicos de la capilla desde la dos de la tarde a las tres, y en este tiempo están cantando villancicos, o cantadas, con todos sus instrumentos, y órganos'.

Whether accompanied by the organ or harp, instrumental support for the bass line was crucial to the villancico, particularly in the solistic texture of the coplas. This support was provided either by the dulcian, an extremely robust bass instrument, or the bass viol, a rather more subtle but still solid reinforcement for the continuo bass.

6.3 Conclusions

This survey of the musical-technical aspects of the villancico oeuvre of Antonio de Salazar, based on a close examination of the primary source material contained in the Estrada collection, reflects a continuance of tradition by the composer. The wedding of a text meant to edify and entertain the churchgoer with the straightforward musical means of the villancico remained little changed as the seventeenth century progressed, although an enlargement of the scale of the pieces may be observed. Salazar assumes the metric scheme of Padilla's villancicos entirely, continuing to use the minor proportion and the compasillo as the exclusive means of rhythmic expression. Salazar as much as Padilla is able to exploit the two metres to good advantage, delineating and heightening the natural speech rhythms of the vernacular through them. As his Puebla predecessor, Salazar conceives of his villancicos as counterpoint above a bass, a counterpoint consisting primarily of consonant intervals enlivened by harmonic suspensions and passing tones. However, Salazar's vernacular output shows a clear progression towards the major/minor tonal system, which would shortly be codified by Rameau in his 1722 *Traité de l'harmonie*. Like the French author, Salazar displays a fondness for the chord of the seventh, arriving at its philosophical justification through virtually the same theoretical means as Rameau, the four voice contrapuntal texture

proposed by Zarlino in book three of the *Institutione harmoniche*.¹⁰⁸ Salazar's basses, played by a continuo group made up of harp or organ combined with dulcian or bass viol, indicate a shift away from the vestiges of modality, and towards functional tonality. However, the notation of Salazar's villancicos is still starkly influenced by the old hexachordal practices—key signatures show only the *durus/mollis* distinction, with G major expressed through a high clef combination requiring transposition. The bass remains unfigured, its characteristic movements being realised on the continuo instrument by interval, as described in the manual *Reglas generales de acompañar* by the Royal Chapel musician Joseph de Torres. This was a continuation of a Spanish basso continuo tradition based on precepts of interval movement rather than on an eight note scale which included B natural—in this case, the hexachord still prevailed in theory and practice.

As noted above, the polychoral treatment of choral forces is perhaps the single most important aspect of Salazar's Mexico City villancicos. Aided by a confident cathedral dean and chapter, Salazar had assembled a large musical apparatus of some sixteen choristers and thirteen instrumental musicians by 1709.¹⁰⁹ This did not include the choirboys, an essential ingredient for both the polychoral villancicos and the more serious Latin repertoire of the cathedral—counting the boys, Salazar's chapel numbered thirty-six or more. Dividing these forces into two or more choirs, the proverbial celestial harmony was multiplied, without duplication of parts, in the typically Spanish process of the polychoral villancico.

¹⁰⁸ Alan Gosman, 'Rameau and Zarlino: Polemics in the "Traité de l'harmonie"'. *Music Theory Spectrum*, 22, no.1 (2000): 52. As Gosman observes, the chord of the seventh is a result of the entry of the fourth voice in Zarlino's canons, justifying the dissonant interval as a consequence of counterpoint.

¹⁰⁹ Marín, 'Música y músicos', 172.

Chapter 7: The Bourbon Century

In his indispensable guide to the Mexico City cathedral archive, the social historian Oscar Mazín notes a lacuna in the chapter records from late October 1701 to January 1706.¹ Thus, no first-hand record exists of the cathedral chapter's reaction to the news of the change of dynasty in Spain, or of any changes to the musical chapel that might have been made in the years immediately following the accession of Philip V. However, we do learn of the funeral exequies for Charles II and the celebration of Philip's accession in an account by the notary of the mayoralty of Mexico City, Gabriel Mendieta. The account, entitled *Sumptuoso festivo real aparato* [Sumptuous festive royal apparatus], is a detailed description of the baroque fiesta which took place on 1 April 1701 in the main square of Mexico City. The musical chapel of the cathedral figured in the celebration; during the event, 'both organs vented in suave echoes their respirations', whilst the 'clarions, cornetts and other instruments which animate the sweet choirs of the chapel entertained attentions'.² It escaped no one's attention that the new 'Catholic Majesty' was a Frenchman—Mendieta includes the following lines:

Esta hermosa Flor de Lys
Que en flamante Docel brilla
También es Flor de Castilla

This beautiful Fleur de Lis
Which under a resplendent Canopy shines
Is also a Flower of Castile

Philip V's accession marked the end of the long Habsburg era; the *pietas austriaca*, at least in its Spanish manifestation, had come to an end. As Alan Knight comments in his history of colonial Mexico, Habsburg rule had enjoyed a decided legitimacy for over

¹ Oscar Mazín, Claudia Ferreira and Nelly Sigaut, *Guía del Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, Volumen I* (Zamora, Michoacán: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1999), 31.

² Gabriel Mendieta, *Sumptuoso festivo real aparato* (1701). 'Ambos órganos desahogaron en suaves ecos las respiraciones', 'Los clarines, cornetas y demás instrumentos que animan los dulces coros de la capilla agasajaban las atenciones'. The clarions were probably organ stops, as the chapel had no trumpeter until 1736, Marín, 'Música y músicos', 222.

two hundred years, bringing a long period of relative stability despite its ‘creaking inefficiency’.³ As long as nominal loyalty was ensured and silver flowed from the mines of Mexico, the Habsburg state had been content to exercise a relaxed grip on the affairs of the colony. But Philip V had breathed the air of his grandfather’s palace at Versailles—the future would bring an irrevocable shift towards a centralised State exercising an ever stricter control over the lives of its subjects, and over its ancient ally, the Spanish Church.

The Bourbon century began uneventfully for Salazar and the musical chapel; in the first chapter meeting of the year on 8 January, the succentors, the master of the boy’s school, the music librarian, the choir assistants and cathedral organists were confirmed in their posts by a chapter vote. Among those being ratified in a post was the organist and choir assistant Manuel de Sumaya, who on 12 February asked for leave in order to receive his university degree and clerical tonsure.⁴ The future maestro de capilla is referred to in later documents as bachiller, indicating that he had completed university in preparation for being ordained as a priest.⁵ Sumaya would have been required to prove blood purity in order to be ordained, marking him as a member of the racial/social elite of the colony, though not necessarily of a high economic status.⁶ Sumaya’s period of study with the senior organist Idiáquez had ended, as Idiáquez was

³ Knight, *Mexico: The Colonial Era*, 61.

⁴ Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, *Actas Capitulares*, libro 25, folio 125v, of 12 February 1700. I am grateful to Jesús Ramos-Kittrell for interpreting the phrase ‘grado y corona’.

⁵ Rodolfo Aguirre Salvador, *El mérito y la estrategia: clérigos, juristas y médicos en Nueva España* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2003), 225.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 87.

instructed to take on new students in October of 1700, in return for a pay rise of one hundred pesos.⁷

In a March 1700 letter to the cathedral chapter, Salazar addressed several matters concerning the musical chapel. This letter is of special interest, as both it and the chapter's reply have been conserved in the cathedral archive, providing a picture of many musical particulars of the moment. Salazar emerges as an extremely prolific composer in the letter, stating that 'all of the music which has been sung and which is presently being sung, I have composed for the solemnities'.⁸ Salazar repeats an earlier assertion, first made in 1688, that when he had taken up the position of maestro 'what was given to me under the name of an archive were a few books in tatters, which had been thrown into the corners of the said choir'.⁹ These were the bound choir books; Salazar also describes the psalms, masses and motets that he found in loose sheets, or papeles, as consisting of no more than 'an office of the dead, the psalms and responsories of the Benedicta and four vespers psalms by the gentleman maestro prebendary Francisco López'.¹⁰ As in the case of Salazar's villancicos, there are no grounds to believe the maestro was engaging in hyperbole when stating that all the new music being sung was of his authorship. As noted previously, individual institutions had become increasingly isolated in seventeenth-century Spain, with the local composer functioning as a virtually unique provider of works, due to the lack of music printing—

⁷ Archivo del Cabildo, Actas Capitulares, libro 25, folios 234v–235, of 22 October 1700.

⁸ Ibid., Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 2, undated of March 1700. '...toda la música que se ha cantado y actualmente se canta es nueva de la que yo he compuesto para las solemnidades'.

⁹ Ibid. '...lo que se me entregó con título de archivo fueron unos cuantos libros hechos pedazos que estaban arrojados en los rincones del dicho coro'.

¹⁰ Ibid. '...el oficio de los difuntos, los salmos y responsorios de la Benedicta y cuatro salmos de vísperas del señor maestro racionero Francisco López'.

this certainly seems to have been the case of Salazar in Mexico City.¹¹ Nonetheless, Salazar does mention varying the cathedral music with compositions ‘by the most distinguished maestros of Europe’—these authors are distinguishable in the 1712 inventory of the cathedral music as Francisco Guerrero, Sebastian de Aguilera, Sebastián de Vivanco, Alonso Lobo, Duarte Lobo and Tomás Luis de Victoria, all musicians whose work had seen print in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹² The antiquated nature of this repertoire shows once more the ‘bilingual’ nature of the composer in the Spanish lands; the *stile antico* of works in Latin lived side-by-side with the Spanish manifestation of the *stile moderno*, the *villancico*. Salazar continued to produce both types in the relative musical isolation of the Mexico City cathedral, introducing only the novelty of a *basso seguente* in some Latin works.

In December of 1700, the composer was granted a two hundred peso pay rise on the condition that he teach two or three boys counterpoint, and hand over all his compositions to the proprietorial chapter for safe keeping.¹³ As Padilla at Puebla, the maestro neglected the onerous task of teaching composition to boys, preferring to select students from among the adult members of the chapel. The case of Sumaya is well known—in the same 1709 response to the chapter endorsing Tiburcio Vazquez as a singer, Salazar names Sumaya as a ‘composer of counterpoint so eminent that he could be maestro in the royal chapel of his Majesty’.¹⁴ The piece of ‘counterpoint’ in question was a mass (no longer extant) for the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady; Salazar was

¹¹ López-Calo, *La música en las catedrales*, 339–340.

¹² Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 2. ‘...los más insignes maestros de la Europa’. The 1712 inventory is to be found in the Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Fondo Cabildo, Museo Catedral/Catedral Metropolitana, caja 185, expediente 63.

¹³ Archivo del Cabildo, Actas Capitulares, libro 25, folio 239v of 10 December 1700.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 2, of 21 November 1709. ‘...tan eminente compositor de contrapunto que puede ser maestro en la Real de su Majestad’.

humble enough to recognise that even with utter concentration on the task of teaching, he could not have provided Sumaya's mass with 'all the accomplishment which it in itself has'.¹⁵ Sumaya was not Salazar's only composition student—the chorister Joseph Pérez de Guzmán requested compensation for music written for the Matins of the octave of Corpus in 1712, with the cathedral precentor proposing that Pérez should henceforth compose the music for that occasion.¹⁶ Pérez had leveraged a pay rise in February of 1708 by alleging a departure to Oaxaca to take up the post of maestro de capilla, after having been examined, approved and recommended by Salazar for the position.¹⁷ After requesting permission in the chapter meeting of 17 February to leave his post to travel to Oaxaca, Pérez intimated in the next meeting of 28 February that a pay rise would induce him to stay.¹⁸ One hundred pesos per year were duly authorised—this singer was still on the 1718 list of chapel employees, which identifies him as one of seven cathedral tenors.¹⁹

Salazar's lack of attendance at the music school became a point of contention in July of 1709—the progress of Pérez and Sumaya notwithstanding, the chapter seems to have developed concerns for the future of the chapel, notifying Salazar that he would

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, '...todo el cumplimiento que en sí tiene'.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, *Actas Capitulares*, libro 27, folios 166v–167, of 6 May 1712. However, the *Diario Manual* prescribes Latin responses rather than villancicos for the Matins of Corpus, folio 48r. The donor Lorenzo Osorio had proposed an endowment of 20,000 gold pesos, rendering 1000 per year for the celebration of the Matins during the entire octave of Corpus. On 26 April 1712 Osorio refused payment of the funds on grounds that his conditions had not been met. It might be conjectured that the donor expected villancicos rather than plainchant, withdrawing the endowment upon not receiving the expected music. See the *Actas Capitulares* of 26 and 29 April 1712, libro 27, folios 164–165v.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, libro 26, folio 156, of 17 February 1708. Mark Brill mistakenly identifies the Mexico City Pérez as a Oaxaca cathedral chorister, see 'The Oaxaca Cathedral "Examen de oposición": The Quest for a Modern Style'. *Latin American Music Review*, 26, no. 1 (2005): 8. Brill suggests in subsequent article, 'Carrasco or Mathías? Plagiarism and Corruption in an Eighteenth-Century Examen de Oposición from the Oaxaca Cathedral'. *Latin American Music Review*, 26, no. 2 (2005): 227–247, that Salazar deliberately skewed his evaluation of the candidates in favor of Pérez.

¹⁸ *Archivo del Cabildo, Actas Capitulares*, libro 26, folios 156 and 157v respectively.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, *Correspondencia*, caja 23, expediente 2, of 19 September 1718.

have to attend the *escoleta* every Monday and Thursday between ten and twelve to teach all the adult musicians and boy choristers *canto figurado*, or polyphonic song.²⁰ In Salazar's often-cited 1710 letter to the cathedral dean asking to be relieved of these teaching duties, the composer noted that 'not all the singers need to know counterpoint in order to be skilled, because counterpoint is for being perfected as composers', going on to observe that he had taught Sumaya and taken on Juan de Orense as a composition student.²¹ Stevenson, Tello and Koegel cite Salazar's assertion in this letter, that at sixty years old, he was almost blind.²² This may have been a piece of hyperbole on Salazar's part in order to induce the chapter to relieve him of the duty of appearing in person at the *escoleta*. The last Estrada collection villancico by Salazar, the Christmas 1714 *Albricias zagalejos*, shows no decline in musical notation or handwriting, which inevitably would have been the case had the composer been suffering serious problems with his vision.²³ Although Salazar's claim of near blindness may have been an exaggeration, the letter indicates an all too real physical decline. Despite his illnesses, Salazar states, he is willing to teach counterpoint to a student who shows himself to be worthy, and the composer reiterates his willingness to serve the old dean, writing, 'only my poor health and years are the obstacle for not obeying Your Lordship with desire as

²⁰ *Ibid.*, *Actas Capitulares*, libro 26, folios 257v–258, of 5 July 1709.

²¹ *Ibid.*, *Correspondencia*, libro 10, without folio number, of 10 January 1710. '...no todos los cantores necesitan de saber contrapunto para ser diestros, porque el contrapunto es para ser consumados y compositores'. Stevenson's typographical error of 1700 for 1710 when citing this document (page 63 of *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico*) has been repeated by subsequent authors. Most prominently, the articles by Aurelio Tello, 'Zumaya, Manuel, eigentl. Manuel de Sumaya' in *Musik in der Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil, xvii, 1580–1581, and 'Sumaya, Manuel de' in the *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, x, 94–97, should be amended to read that Sumaya assumed Salazar's teaching duties in 1710, not 1700. Juan de Orense, a seise who had graduated to adult chorister in 1708, also played the *bajoncillo*, Marín, 'Música y músicos', 193.

²² Stevenson, *Christmas Music*, Tello, *Musik in der Geschichte und Gegenwart* and *Diccionario de la música española*, Koegel, *New Grove Dictionary*.

²³ As all the Estrada collection villancicos by the author, this piece is copied in Salazar's hand.

I always have done'.²⁴ In the chapter meeting of 10 January 1710 it was determined that Manuel de Sumaya should assume the teaching duties at the school, assigning him fifty pesos of the two hundred which were paid to the maestro for this task. Additionally, the dean entrusted Sumaya with the writing of 'all the music necessary for the cult of this Holy Church'.²⁵

The right to substitute for Salazar during his illnesses and absences generated a controversy between a senior chorister, the Spaniard Francisco de Atienza, and the younger Sumaya—both these men would be competitors for the position of maestro upon Salazar's death in 1715, lending a certain interest to the dispute. Shortly after Sumaya had assumed teaching duties at the *escoleta*, Atienza wrote to the dean Malpartida complaining that Sumaya had been conducting the choir, even at times when Salazar was present.²⁶ Atienza points out in the letter that cathedral statutes and tradition demanded that a chorister, not the organist, be responsible for the 'regency' of the choir in the absence of the *maestro de capilla*, citing the precedent of Joseph de Loaysa.²⁷ Apparently jealous of Sumaya having been entrusted with the task of composing music for the services, Atienza suggested that the dean might 'command me to do some work, or works, for the exercise of this Holy Church'.²⁸ Atienza closes the letter by recommending that the chapter should not 'innovate' in old customs, suggesting himself as 'regent' of the choir both inside and outside of the church. The matter was duly referred to the *maestrescuela*, the cathedral divinity teacher. Contrary to Stevenson's

²⁴ Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, libro 10 '...mi poca salud y años son el óbice para no obedecer a Vuestra Señoría con deseo y siempre lo he hecho'.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Actas Capitulares, libro 26, folios 336v–337 of 10 January 1710. '...toda la música necesaria para el culto de esta Santa Iglesia'.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Correspondencia, libro 10, without folio number, of February 1710.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 'regencia'.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 'mandarme que haga alguna obra, o algunas obras para el ejercicio de esta Santa Iglesia'.

account of the event, the chapter did not prefer ‘Sumaya’s genius to Atienza’s talent’.²⁹ In the chapter meeting of 27 June 1710, Sumaya was relieved of the title of second maestro (which had apparently been granted to him by Malpartida), and it was determined that the celebrant would appoint a chorister to give the beat (echar el compás) in the absence of the maestro.³⁰ As Atienza had been Salazar’s regular substitute since 1703, the chapter agreed that conducting duties fell to him, and that the post of organist was incompatible with leading the choir. The written constitution of the cathedral, the so-called ‘bula de erección’, carried an almost magical weight for the chapter members, determining the outcome of the controversy. In any case, Atienza left Mexico City in July 1711, not ‘piqued at not having his way’, as Stevenson asserts, but rather to compete for the post of maestro in Puebla.³¹ Atienza was able to prove himself in Puebla, obtaining the post in January of 1712.³²

The layman Salazar experienced several uneasy episodes with impatient churchmen in the following years. Attendance at the music school continued to be a point of contention; in this Salazar was quite as cavalier as Padilla had been before him, pointing out that none of his predecessors had ever attended, nor had he in twenty-two years.³³ The two hundred pesos for performing this duty were removed from his salary on 18 April 1711, but reinstated just a month later on 19 May.³⁴ Rather more worrying was the short tone of some of the chapter’s demands, for example, the setting of an April 1st deadline for the handover of the 1711 Corpus Christi Matins music ‘on pain of

²⁹ Stevenson, *Christmas Music*, 63.

³⁰ Archivo del Cabildo, *Actas Capitulares*, libro 26, folio 375–375v, of 27 June 1710.

³¹ Stevenson, *Christmas Music*, 63. Atienza’s departure, Archivo del Cabildo, *Actas Capitulares*, libro 27, folios 71–71v, of 11 July 1711.

³² Omar Morales, ‘Tres siglos de música litúrgica’, 88.

³³ Letter of 10 January 1710 cited above.

³⁴ Archivo del Cabildo, *Actas Capitulares*, libro 27, folios 51v and 57–58, of 18 April and 19 May 1711.

two hundred pesos' fine, coupled with an earlier deadline to inventory and hand in 'all the works which have been done in the time of the exercise of the said ministry [of maestro]',³⁵

In June of 1711, the chapter proposed to halt the annual payment of ten pesos to Salazar for the Saint Peter villancicos, alleging that the money was for the printing of chapbooks, a task which had not been carried out for several years.³⁶ The new precentor López de Alzibu looked into the matter, determining that the funds were in fact destined for the composition of the villancicos rather than the printing of chapbooks.³⁷ This episode might have appeared particularly unfair to Salazar, as the Saint Peter villancicos were among his largest and finest efforts, as well as being a symbol of the triumphant cathedral.

As López-Calo notes, the villancico had always had its opponents among churchmen who disliked its light-hearted tone and vernacular language.³⁸ This was the case of the canon Meléndez, who in February 1711 called for a space in an extraordinary chapter meeting to discuss, among other matters relating to the chapel, a proposition to 'sing responsories and not villancicos in the solemn Matins'.³⁹ The suggestion of singing Latin responsories in place of the villancicos did not prosper,

³⁵ Ibid., folio 28v of 13 January 1711. '...todas las obras que hubiere hecho el tiempo que ha ejercido dicho ministerio'.

³⁶ Archivo del Cabildo, Actas Capitulares, libro 27, folios 62v–63, of 26 June 1711.

³⁷ Ibid., folios 63v–64, of 30 June 1711. A partial picture of villancico chapbook printing in the Mexico City of Salazar's day can be gained from volume III of José Toribio Medina's *La Imprenta en México (1539–1821)* (Santiago, Chile: printed by the author, 1908), available in a facsimile edition from the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1989. After 1700 chapbook printing seems to have been sporadic; Medina lists only three Mexico City imprints after this date, the villancicos for the Nativity of Our Lady and Christmas 1704, and those for Saint Philip Neri in 1705 and 1707. The booklets were extremely ephemeral, however, and a good number more may have been printed than Medina was able to locate.

³⁸ López-Calo, *La música en las catedrales*, 529–532.

³⁹ Archivo del Cabildo, Actas Capitulares, libro 27, folio 31v, of 22 January 1711. '...en los Maitines solemnes se cantan responsorios y no villancicos'.

most likely because of the significant number of bequests specifying their performance, many of them made by churchmen.⁴⁰ Salazar did compose Latin responsories, several of which survive in the Mexico City music archive, however, there seems to have been some reluctance to altering the terms of the bequests specifying villancicos.⁴¹ The vernacular villancico rather than the Latin responsory remained the norm for the solemn Matins services until well after mid-century.

In the same extraordinary chapter meeting, Salazar was questioned as to the abilities of each musician, and whether any member could be cut from the ensemble. The maestro closed ranks with the chapel, stating that all the members were capable, necessary, and possessed the ‘knowledge and skill necessary for their jobs’.⁴² The chapter determined that all the choristers and musicians composing the chapel should continue in their posts, stating however, that:

...no pretensions to the entry of any musician will be admitted, even though one, or some, of those that there are at present vacate their place, so that, through these means, the expenses of the institution will diminish, and be lightened; and neither will any pretension to the asking of a salary rise be admitted.⁴³

This was a far cry from the free hand in hiring which Salazar had enjoyed in the closing years of the previous century. The *laissez-faire* practices of the old Hapsburg regime were fading, being replaced with a new efficiency in the administration of the musical chapel. The cathedral chapter, too, were feeling the hand of the new regime, with the new viceroy Fernando de Alencastre, Duke of Linares, demanding that the Introit and

⁴⁰ Apart from the those listed in the previous chapter, an endowment for villancicos on the day of Saint Philip Neri had been made during Salazar’s tenure. See the *Diario Manual*, folio 73v.

⁴¹ Ramos-Kittrell, ‘Music, Liturgy, and Devotional Piety in New Spain’, 90–91.

⁴² Archivo del Cabildo, *Actas Capitulares*, libro 27, folios 51–51v, of 18 April 1711. ‘...inteligencia y destreza necesario para sus empleos’.

⁴³ *Ibid.* ‘...no se admita pretensión sobre el ingreso de ningún músico, aunque vaque la plaza de alguno, o algunos de los que al presente hay, para que por este medio se vayan minorando, y aliviando la fábrica de los gastos que tiene, y que tampoco se admite pretensión, sobre pedir aumentos de salarios’.

Credo be read to him at his seat by two choir chaplains when attending Mass at the cathedral.⁴⁴ The demands of the imperious Bourbon appointee did not stop there; in July 1711 the musical chapel was ‘invited’ by Linares to participate in the celebration of Philip V’s victory at Villaviciosa, maestro Salazar receiving twenty pesos for carriages to get the choir to the Sanctuary of Guadalupe in Tepeyac, some ten miles distant.⁴⁵ A similar invitation was made in October that year to participate in the exequies for the dauphin Louis of France—at the behest of Linares, all the religious communities of the city were mustered out for the funeral of the foreign prince, the father of Philip V.⁴⁶

In August of 1712 Salazar was given an ultimatum to hand over all the music that he had composed for the cathedral by October, on the pain of a hundred peso fine, which would be applied ‘irremissibly’ if he did not comply.⁴⁷ As October came, the chapter questioned the notary Torres about the results of Salazar’s compliance—the matter had been ‘concluded perfectly’, Torres reported.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, Salazar’s own music was not included in the 1712 inventory mentioned above, so that the extent of his renovation of the cathedral repertory cannot be known with certainty. However, it may be assumed to have been an important renewal of the music in Latin available to the cathedral, to judge from Salazar’s own testimony and the remnants of his output in the Puebla and Mexico City archives. Indeed, the tone of the cathedral chapter towards Salazar changes from this moment, indicating a satisfaction possibly attributable to the handover of an important amount of music.

⁴⁴ Archivo del Cabildo, Actas Capitulares, libro 27, folios 37–37v, of 27 January 1711.

⁴⁵ Archivo del Cabildo, Actas Capitulares, libro 27, folios 71v–72, of 11 July 1711.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, folios 129v–131v, of 1 December 1711.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, folios 186–186v, of 3 August 1712. ‘irremisiblemente’.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, folio 205 of 7 October 1712. ‘concluido perfectamente’

The Estrada collection villancicos from Salazar's last years show the composer in prime form. Several of the examples seen above, such as *Repiquen alegres* and *Tierra no, sino cielo*, both large-scale polychoral villancicos, date from this period. As commented previously, Salazar was still producing villancicos at Christmas of 1714, only three months before his death, showing no signs in his manuscripts of failing eyesight or declining mental abilities. The view propagated by Stevenson of a post-1710 Salazar in full decline, aided in all his duties by Sumaya, is due for revision in light of the contents of the Estrada collection.⁴⁹

Salazar's Estrada collection villancicos reveal themselves as a culmination of the seventeenth-century Spanish choral tradition. Rigorous part-writing for multiple choirs, coupled with a concern for the careful moulding of the text represent a high achievement by Salazar. The large, capable ensemble which the composer had assembled within the Mexico City cathedral gave rise to his successor, Manuel de Sumaya, a man who would carry on the 'rigorous style of Spain', albeit under the growing influence of monody.

7.1 Manuel de Sumaya

The extant literature on this composer has been heavily conditioned by narratives expounded by Robert Stevenson in various books and articles.⁵⁰ While the large bulk of

⁴⁹ The narrative of decline is perpetuated in Koegel's previously-cited *New Grove* and *Diccionario de la música española* articles on the composer. See also, Stevenson, 'Atienza y Pineda, Francisco de'. *Diccionario de la música española*, i, 843.

⁵⁰ Stevenson provides biographical information on Sumaya in the previously-cited *Music in Mexico: A Historical Survey and Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico*. More of Stevenson's biographical information on the composer is to be found in 'Mexico City Cathedral Music, 1600–1750'. *The Americas*, xxi (1964–5): 111–135, 'Manuel de Zumaya en Oaxaca'. *Heterofonía*, 64 (1979): 3–9, and 'La música en el México de los siglos XVI a XVIII' in *La música de México*, ed. J. Estrada (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1984), pp. 66–67 being specifically on Sumaya. These in turn influenced Craig Russell, 'Zumaya [Sumaya], Manuel de' in *New Grove* and 'Manuel de Sumaya: Reexamining the

the information provided by Stevenson is correct within limits, there are crucial flaws in the American musicologist's approach to Sumaya's music. The flaws are due on the one hand to lacunae in sources, and on the other, to the poorly founded conjecture of a period of study in Italy by Sumaya. As in the case of Salazar, Stevenson wrote his existing material on Sumaya without a knowledge of the contents of the Estrada collection, basing his opinions on the arguably more modern-looking music contained in the Oaxaca and Guatemala cathedral archives. Meanwhile the thirty-three Sumaya villancicos from the Estrada collection, dating from 1710 to 1729, lay in Estrada's Mexico City flat, unknown to Stevenson and seemingly forgotten by the Mexican organist himself.⁵¹ The Estrada collection shows a highly original composer carrying on the Spanish polychoral tradition, while at the same time assimilating the rising trend of monody, primarily through the vehicles of the duo villancico, the solistic copla sections of the larger villancicos, and the solo cantada. Before undertaking any appraisal of Sumaya's villancico oeuvre, Stevenson's influential estimation of the composer's italianità must be contested. This will be undertaken on the basis of several newly-found and newly-revisited documents examined in the course of this investigation.

a cappella Choral Music of a Mexican Master', in *Encomium Musicae: Essays in Honor of Robert J. Snow*, ed. D. Crawford (Stuyvesant, New York: 2002). Aurelio Tello's articles, 'Sumaya, Manuel de [Zumaya, Manuel de]' and 'Zumaya, Manuel, eigentl. Manuel de Sumaya' in the *Diccionario de la música española* and *Musik in der Geschichte und Gegenwart* are cited above. Also by Tello are the introductions to the volumes *Manuel de Sumaya: Cantadas y Villancicos* (Mexico City: CENIDIM, 1994) and *Archivo musical de la Catedral de Oaxaca: catálogo* (Mexico City: CENIDIM, 1990). The doctoral dissertation by Michael Noel Dean, 'Renaissance and Baroque Characteristics in Four Choral Villancicos of Manuel de Sumaya', cited previously, relied heavily on Stevenson for biographical information. Stephen Barwick duly repeats Stevenson's facts on Sumaya in the introduction to *Two Mexico City Choirbooks of 1717: An Anthology of Sacred Polyphony from the Cathedral of Mexico* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982). This repetition of Stevenson's material is also the case of the newest addition to the available Sumaya literature, the doctoral dissertation by Therese Fassnacht, 'Contrafactum and Alternatim Praxis in Two Eighteenth Century Requiem Settings by Manuel de Sumaya', Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2010.

⁵¹ Marín, 'Una desconocida colección de villancicos', 313.

Stevenson seems to have been the first Anglophone musicologist to have noted Sumaya as the author of the earliest opera written by a native of the Americas—the opera is said to have been a 1711 *Partenope*, on a libretto by the Naples-based Silvio Stampiglia (1664–1725), the music to which is lost. However, the identification of another Sumaya libretto, *Zeuleuco*, held by the Spanish National Library (*Biblioteca Nacional de España*), and an inspection of the *Partenope* libretto in the Mexican National Library (*Biblioteca Nacional de México*) calls into question both the genre and chronology of Sumaya’s supposed operatic endeavour.⁵²

A mention of the *Partenope* libretto in the classic Mexican biographical and bibliographic source, José Mariano Beristain de Souza’s *Biblioteca hispano americana setentrional* was crucial to Stevenson’s view of Sumaya as an Italianate composer. Intended as a biographical record of all authors who had published in New Spain, Beristain included Sumaya on the basis of three works, the *Vida del P. Sertorio Caputo, Jesuita, traducida del Italiano* [Life of Father Sertorio Caputo, Jesuit, Translated from the Italian], a drama *El Rodrigo* [Roderick], and *La Partenope. Ópera que se representó en el palacio real de Mexico en celebridad de los días del Sr. Felipe V* [*Partenope, opera represented in the royal palace of Mexico in celebration of the name day of Philip V*].⁵³ It may be safely conjectured that Beristain had never seen the libretto in question, incorrectly citing its title as ‘*ópera que se representó*’ [opera that was represented] rather than ‘*fiesta que se hizo*’ [celebration which took place], a point to which we will return

⁵² El *Zeuleuco*: fiesta en música traducida de italiano en español para la celebridad del cumplimiento de los años de su Mag. el Rey N.Sr.D. Felipe Quinto (que Dios guarde), que se ha de ejecutar en este Rl. Palacio de México, Spanish National Library call number CDU 821.134.272; *La Parténope, fiesta que se hizo en el Real Palacio de Mexico el día de San Phelipe, por los años del Rey nuestro señor Don Phelipe V (que Dios guarde)*. This libretto is filed in the National Library of Mexico under ‘*Obras Antiguas, Raras (BN-FR), 862.1 PAR.f.*’

⁵³ José Mariano Beristain de Souza, *Biblioteca hispano americana setentrional* (Mexico City, 1816), 325. Sumaya is entered as ‘*Zumaya*’.

shortly. Beristain also recounts in the Biblioteca that Sumaya ‘was very estimated for his musical ability by the viceroy, the Duke of Linares, for whose amusement he translated into Castilian and set to music various Italian operas’.⁵⁴

As stated, Beristain’s information on Sumaya would be crucial to the formation of Stevenson’s conception of the composer as a musical modernist, writing in an Italian style supposed to have been acquired in Italy itself. Beristain’s account of Sumaya was cited in Stevenson’s 1952 survey volume *Music in Mexico* in a somewhat embellished form. According to Stevenson, upon the arrival of the new viceroy Linares, a ‘devotee of Italian opera’, Sumaya was ‘immediately pressed into the duke’s musical service’.⁵⁵ Liberally paraphrasing Beristain, Stevenson states that ‘his music thoroughly pleased the duke’. Stevenson then postulated an Italian journey and stay in Naples by Sumaya, stating of Partenope:

Since it is difficult to account for Zumaya’s acquaintance with this particular libretto unless he himself had lived in Italy, and more particularly in Naples, it has been postulated that in early youth he studied in Italy.⁵⁶

This elegantly hedged conjecture took on a life of its own in subsequent scholarly literature, most prominently in Craig Russell’s *New Grove* article on the composer.

Russell asserts:

Zumaya’s familiarity with Stampiglia’s libretto has led some writers to suggest a possible Italian journey during the early 1700s, and this is supported by the ease with which Zumaya captured up-to-date styles, even in his early compositions. If the journey occurred about 1703, this would explain why the mediocre Atienza, rather than Zumaya, had been chosen to serve as Salazar’s assistant at that time.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Ibid. ‘Fue muy estimado por su habilidad música del virrey duque de Linares, para cuya diversión tradujo al castellano y puso en música varias óperas italianas’.

⁵⁵ Stevenson, *Music in Mexico*, 150.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 149. Stevenson invariably uses the spelling ‘Zumaya’, probably adopted from Beristain. As remarked previously, S and Z were completely interchangeable in Mexican Spanish, in the linguistic phenomenon known as seseo.

⁵⁷ Russell, ‘Zumaya, [Sumaya] Manuel de’. *New Grove*, xxvii, 880.

Stevenson's trust in Beristain as a source was misplaced—the eighteenth century bibliographer was not above making hagiographical embellishments (this is the case of his entry on Sor Juana in the Biblioteca), or committing outright factual errors. The *Partenope* libretto, printed by the heirs of the widow of Miguel Rivera and consisting of 197 quarto pages of facing Italian and Spanish text, bears neither Sumaya's name nor a date. The title 'fiesta que se hizo' suggests a Spanish fiesta teatral, much in the manner of an English masque, rather than an Italian opera seria, which would in any case have been beyond the capacity of the viceregal court. The libretto to *Zeleuco*, which will be discussed below, was similarly titled 'fiesta', placing its operatic nature in doubt.

A connection between Sumaya and the *Partenope* libretto rests entirely upon the authority of Beristain, who may have been merely relating a cathedral tradition or other piece of oral history. The leap of faith necessary to credit Sumaya with Italian training solely on the basis of familiarity with an opera libretto is too great. Many details speak against the possibility of an Italian journey by Sumaya: the constancy of service required from a church musician, Sumaya's rather humble economic situation, and the lack of the type of social positioning which might have made a scholarship a possibility. But the greatest obstacle to any projected Italian journey would have been the sheer difficulty of movement during the years of the War of the Spanish Succession. Indeed, in Russell's conjectured year of 1703, there was no fleet arrival at all in Cádiz from Veracruz.⁵⁸ 1704 saw the capture of Gibraltar by British forces under Admiral Rooke,

⁵⁸ Henry Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain 1700–1715* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), 181.

greatly restricting Spanish-French movement in the Mediterranean.⁵⁹ By July 1707, Naples itself had fallen to the Archduke Charles' troops, establishing a de facto Hapsburg rule of the city from Vienna.⁶⁰ Even if he had possessed the economic means, or had been financed by the cathedral, it is extremely unlikely or impossible that the young church musician Sumaya should have sailed across the war-torn Mediterranean in 1704 to reach the militarily contested Italian peninsula, studied for a time, and then eluded the Hapsburg authorities to make a return to Veracruz in 1707. This romantic fantasy of a 'probable' Italian journey, which has made its way into the scholarly literature on Sumaya despite its sheer implausibility, should now be dismissed.⁶¹ Russell's conjecture that Atienza had been appointed as assistant conductor in 1703 due to Sumaya's absence is not sustainable; as seen above, Atienza prevailed over Sumaya in 1710 because of his hierarchical superiority in the choir—this would have been even more the case in 1703, when Sumaya was a mere junior organist. Finally, the fair copy chapel payroll of 1707 listing the names, salaries and seniority of the chapel members mentions no interruptions by Sumaya in his duties as organist—according to the document, Sumaya 'entered as organist of this Holy Church with a salary of 130 pesos, which is the same that he presently enjoys'.⁶²

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ John Robertson, *The Case for Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples 1680–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 184.

⁶¹ For scholarly mentions of the journey, see Barwick, *Two Mexico City Choirbooks*, xxiii; Brill, 'Style and Evolution', 280; Davies, 'The Italianized Frontier', 44; Fassnacht, 'Contrafactum and Alternatim Praxis', 7 and Daniel Mendoza de Arce, *Music in Ibero-America to 1850: A Historical Survey* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2001), 284.

⁶² Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 2, undated without folio number. '...entró por organista de esta Santa Iglesia con salario de 130 pesos al año que son los mismos que al presente goza'. The year 1707 may be ascribed to the document from its title, which reads 'Relation of the salaries enjoyed by the musicians of this Holy Church [...] obtained from the books stored in the accounts office, from twenty-six years ago to the present, according to the seniority of the said musicians. 'Razón de los salarios que gozan los músicos de esta Santa Iglesia [...] sacada de los cuadrantes que paran en Contaduría de veinte y seis años de esta parte, según las antigüedades de dichos músicos'. The first

Sumaya's aspiration in the years before gaining his appointment as maestro seems to have been advancement in the hierarchy of the musical chapel and the cathedral. In an attempt to further his ecclesiastical career Sumaya auditioned for a cathedral living as a choral chaplain in June of 1708. According to the chapter records, the bachiller competed against four other candidates, singing the psalm 'miserere mei Deus', and reading and making an exegesis of the lesson of Pope Stephen.⁶³ Sumaya was not successful in this ecclesiastical voice audition, although he was named as a 'special assistant' to the choir in January 1709.⁶⁴ The aspiration to a church living notwithstanding, Sumaya's mainstay during the years from 1700 to 1715 was the organ. Sumaya requested and was granted a pay rise as organist in February of 1708—this petition was approved on the condition that he take on a student of polyphonic song (canto de órgano).⁶⁵ This was followed by a later request in January 1713; the outcome of this petition is unknown, although Sumaya and the second organist Tellez were asked by the canon Paniagua the next month to evaluate the maintenance work of the organ tuner Francisco Peláez, whose salary of three hundred and fifty pesos per year was revoked on that occasion.⁶⁶ In April of the same year, upon the advice of Sumaya, the Spanish organist Luis de Bomborán (or Bomborón) was admitted, 'being notable and patent his great intelligence and skill in the ministry of the organ'.⁶⁷ Bomborán's salary was immediately fixed at three hundred pesos per year, probably due to his status as a

musician mentioned is Guillermo de Carvajal, a bajonero who had entered in 1681 at 150 pesos per year. Twenty-six years later, Carvajal was making 250 pesos per year, according to the payroll.

⁶³ Archivo del Cabildo, Actas Capitulares, libro 26, folios 166v–167v, of 21 July 1708.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, folio 196v, of 8 January 1709. '...asistente extraordinario'.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, folio 157v, of 28 February 1708.

⁶⁶ Archivo del Cabildo, Actas Capitulares, libro 27, folios 251v–252v, of 25 February 1713. Peláez had apparently not maintained or tuned the great organ (the 1694 de Sesma instrument) according to expectations of Sumaya, Tellez and the chapter.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, folios 263–263v of 28 April 1713. '...respecto a ser notoria y patente su grande inteligencia y destreza en ministerio de órgano'.

peninsular Spaniard and his previous experience at Puebla, where he had been employed since 1703.⁶⁸ In May of 1714 Sumaya received a further pay rise of one hundred pesos on the condition that he take on a new organ student from the ranks of the choirboys. In summary, a perusal of the primary sources of cathedral chapter records and correspondence indicates that Sumaya was pursuing a stolid ecclesiastical career as principal organist of the cathedral, while relieving Salazar of the onerous duty of teaching the choirboys music at the *escoleta*.

As the Spanish organist and musicologist Luis Antonio González Marín notes, cathedral organists were not obligated to compose music as the *maestro de capilla* invariably was, although the organists would have provided a great deal of improvised music for the cathedral services.⁶⁹ Nonetheless, Sumaya was demonstrably active as a composer before his tenure as *maestro de capilla*; as was seen previously, Salazar had remarked on the quality of Sumaya's mass setting written under his supervision. Four early villancicos from 1710 and 1711 date from the period of Sumaya's supposed operatic ventures; these villancicos, all cast in the traditional *estribillo-coplas* mould are: *Paces se han hecho* [Peace has been made], *Alégrense los astros* [Joyous the spheres], *Que os llama* [Ye are called] and *Oíd moradores del orbe* [Listen, ye dwellers of the earth]. There is nothing even remotely Italianate to be discovered in these minor proportion villancicos, which resemble the theatre songs of Juan Hidalgo or Sebastián Durón much more than the *partimenti*-inspired figured bass creations of the Neapolitan

⁶⁸ For Bomborán's salary, *Ibid.* Stevenson asserts in *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico* that the Puebla historian Efraín Castro Morales stated to him that Bomborán had left Puebla to write an opera in Mexico City, p. 79. It is hoped that Castro Morales can provide a source and further information, although this was not available at the time of writing.

⁶⁹ Luis Antonio González Marín, 'Between Neapolitan Overture and French Suites: A Re-Examination of the Instrumental Music by José de Nebra (1702–1768)'. (Paper given at the International Conference on Baroque Music, 11 July 2014, Salzburg.)

school. Indeed, the compositional technique of these villancicos is solidly Spanish, bringing into question the operatic nature of Sumaya's theatrical endeavour, *Zeleuco*, which may be dated with some reliability to 1710 or 1711.

The *Zeleuco* libretto seems to have escaped scholarly attention altogether—there is no mention of the document in the notes compiled by the nineteenth-century Spanish musicologist Francisco Barbieri, although a 1715 Saint Peter chapbook bearing Sumaya's name is noted.⁷⁰ Eighty-two pages of printing on octavo paper, the libretto bears the title *El Zeleuco: fiesta en música traducida de italiano en español para la celebridad del cumplimiento de los años de su Mag. el Rey N.Sr.D. Felipe Quinto (que Dios guarde), que se ha de ejecutar en este Rl. Palacio de México [Zeleuco: fiesta in music translated from the Italian into Castilian for the celebration of the birthday of his Majesty the King our Lord Don Philip V (may God preserve him), which is to be executed in this Royal Palace of Mexico]*. Several valuable clues as to the chronology of the libretto are to be found in the initial pages: the frontispiece is the coat of arms of Francisco Fernando de la Cueva, 10th Duke of Albuquerque and viceroy of Mexico from November 1702 to November 1710—the libretto is dedicated to the Duke's wife, doña Juana de la Cerda y Aragón, duchess of Albuquerque and marchioness of Cuellar.⁷¹ The libretto was printed by the widow of Miguel de Rivera Calderón, who had her printing shop in the Empedradillo, a stone's throw from the cathedral. According to the specialist for novohispanic printing Sara Poot-Herrera, the widow had taken up her husband's printing business upon his death in 1708, continuing in the print shop until her own death in 1715, when the 'heirs of the widow of Miguel de Rivera

⁷⁰ National Library of Spain MSS/14044/321/352.

⁷¹ The coat of arms reproduced in the frontispiece of the libretto is the same that appears in the painting of the Duke which hangs in the 'Hall of the Viceroys' at Chapultepec castle in Mexico City.

Calderón' took over the business.⁷² As the *Partenope* libretto was printed by the heirs of the widow, Zeleuco most probably preceded the *Partenope* attributed to Sumaya by at least four to five years, making it the first opera, or more properly, the first work for the lyric theatre, written by an American-born composer. Unlike *Partenope*, whose attribution to Sumaya rests solely on the authority of Beristain, the music to the first two acts of *Zeleuco* is of sure attribution—'Licenciado Don Manuel de Sumaya, second maestro de capilla of the Holy Metropolitan Church of Mexico' is named as the composer of the music of acts one and two, while 'an ingenious aficionado' is credited with the music to the third act.⁷³ Considering the dedication to the wife of the viceroy Alburquerque (who remained in office until November 1710) and the naming of Sumaya as second maestro de capilla (it will be remembered that he was relieved of this title in the cathedral chapter meeting of 27 June 1710), a probable date for the performance of *Zeleuco* would have been Philip V's name day, the first of May 1710.⁷⁴

The libretto bears strong traces of the theatrical traditions of the *comedia*; except for the parts of *Zeleuco* and the gracioso *Batillo*, all the roles, including the male

⁷² Sara Poot-Herrera, 'El siglo de las viudas impresoras y mercaderes de libros en el XVII novohispano'. *Dossier Virreinos*, 14 (2008): 311. This information can be confirmed in José Toribio Medina's classic bibliographical source, *La Imprenta en México 1539–1821*. Entries from 1708 for this printing firm are marked 'widow of Miguel de Rivera Calderón', and after 1715, 'heirs of the widow of Miguel de Rivera Calderón'. 'Viuda de Miguel de Rivera Calderón', 'Herederos de la viuda de Miguel de Rivera Calderón'.

⁷³ Manuel de Sumaya, *El Zeleuco*. The pages of the libretto are not numbered, although the page in question immediately precedes Act I, scene I. 'Compositor de la música del primero, y segundo acto: el Lic. D. Manuel de Sumaya, segundo Maestro de Capilla de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de Mexico; y del tercero, Un ingenio aficionado.'

⁷⁴ Space does not permit an enquiry into the question of the patronage of *Zeleuco*, however, it should be noted that the Duke and Duchess of Alburquerque had Italian connections—the Duke had been born in Sicily, where his father was a military commander, and the brother of the Duchess, Luis Francisco de la Cerda, ninth Duke of Medinaceli, was ambassador to Rome and viceroy of Naples during the latter years of the seventeenth century. See <http://en.fundacionmedinaceli.org/>. Accessed 30 August 2014.

personages, were taken by women.⁷⁵ Less a translation than a complete rewriting of Nicolò Minato's (ca. 1625–1698) original *Zaleuco*, the libretto has been heavily altered to include a female *graciosa* who makes light comments on the actions of the tragic characters.⁷⁶ Sumaya also seems to have repressed some of the more overtly amorous dialogues of the original, preferring a more sober account of the love interests in his version. Several sections of the libretto seem destined for the type of strophic theatre song which was closely akin to the *villancico*; the lady-in-waiting Silandra has these lines of alternating eleven and seven syllables, shifting then to eleven and six, which are not found in Minato's original:

Silandra

Ya soberanos cielos,
 Llegaron a la cumbre mis
 Desvelos;
 Pues Zeleuco tirano
 Ha ligado mi mano,
 Con la de Atides fuerte,
 Para que en triste muerte,
 Pene, llore, y padezca,
 Haciendo que carezca
 De mi Hermegisto amado,
 De mi querido dueño idolatrado
 Oh quien mariposa
 Fuera de su ardor;
 Y en giros constantes,
 Las luces brillantes
 Hubiera rondado de su resplandor!
 O quien mariposa. Etc.

Silandra

Already the sovereign heavens
 Have reached to the summit of my
 Wakefulness;
 Then Zeleuco the tyrant
 Has bound my hand
 With that of the strong Atides
 So that in sad death
 I suffer, cry and am afflicted,
 Fashioning that I forebear
 My beloved Hermegisto
 My dear idolised commander
 Oh [I] who were butterfly
 Of his ardour
 And in constant turns
 The brilliant lights
 Would have circled his brightness
 Oh who were butterfly. Etc.

⁷⁵ No name is provided for the actor of the role of Zeleuco. It seems likely that this part was spoken, while the actresses spoke, and then sang at lyric moments, in the *comedia* tradition.

⁷⁶ Minato's original, *Zaleuco*, *dramma per musica* was written for the name day of the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I in 1675, and was set to music by the court composer Antonio Draghi. According to the cover of Minato's libretto, the then vice-chapelmaster Heinrich Schmelzer had a hand in the writing of the ballet music.

There are many other such passages in the libretto which seem apt for the insertion of strophic songs for singing actresses, in the reigning *comedia* tradition. Whatever the nature of Sumaya's music for *Zeleguco, fiesta en música*, the work would not have been an opera in the Italian sense of the term. Indeed, the 1712 *Los desagavios de Troya* [The amends of Troy] by Joaquín Martínez de la Roca (ca. 1676–1756), the earliest printed Spanish theatrical score and a work closely contemporary to Sumaya's piece, may not be considered an opera in the proper sense, but rather a play with extensive music.⁷⁷ Martínez de la Roca's instrumentation of oboes, violins and trumpet was not available to Sumaya until the 1730s, nor had Spanish composers experimented with recitative and aria to any great extent during the early decades of the eighteenth century.⁷⁸ It would seem prudent to reconsider the image of Sumaya as an Italianising modernist in light of the contemporary trends at Madrid and Saragossa. By 1712, not even in these metropolitan centres had the Italian brand of lyric theatre gained a sure foothold. Certainly the flood of music from Naples and Parma would arrive in due course, but the first two decades of the new century in New Spain would not witness this phenomenon.

At the death of Antonio de Salazar in March 1715, the cathedral chapter decided on a formal audition to fill the place of *maestro de capilla*, publishing on 26 March an edict calling for candidates. Neither Sumaya nor Atienza responded immediately, however, a date of 27 May was fixed and judges were chosen from among the cathedral

⁷⁷ Rainer Kleinertz, *Grundzüge des spanischen Musiktheaters im 18. Jahrhundert: Ópera–Comedia–Zarzuela* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2003), 29–30.

⁷⁸ In his additions to the 1712 edition of Francisco Montanos' *Arte de canto llano*, Joseph de Torres published a Latin-texted 'Cantada al estilo italiano', one of the earliest attempts by a Spanish composer at a recitative–aria sequence.

musicians. The villancico is mentioned is mentioned in connection with the surprisingly democratic summons of all the cathedral musicians to the audition:

The secretary cites all musicians and ministriles so that on the said day at three in the afternoon they find themselves in the chapter hall to elect and name those with the best knowledge of music as judges, and also so that they may assist the B[achille]res Don Fran[cis]co de Atienza and Don Manuel de Sumaya, the contestants, so that they can give them the poem, or villancico de precisión which they have to execute and compose.⁷⁹

As Estrada reports, Atienza had called for the examination to be public.⁸⁰ It was fortunate for the older man that this was not the case, as the audition proved to be disastrous for him. Apparently Atienza did not fare well in the villancico de precisión, a villancico type in which musical terms contained in the song text were elucidated musically by a composer, in a test of compositorial wit. The chapel singer Miguel de Herrera wrote in his report of 1 June 1715 of Atienza's contest villancico:

In that of M[aes]tro Atienza I find that not all the elucidations were done which the words demand, with a fault in the occurrence of the Chromatics, and with the repetition of the same music over a long stretch, in which it should be varied; and also where the text says the term counterpoint, he only made a repeated phrase on the notes of the plainchant, without any variety.⁸¹

Sumaya's fellow organist Juan Téllez Girón concurred with the negative opinion of Herrera, reporting of the villancico:

In some parts, it is without the art which is required; in others, the principal elucidations which are required do not enter into the musical metre, and the other

⁷⁹ Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 2, folio 69, of 25 May 1715. '...el secretario cite a todos los músicos y ministriles para que el d[ic]ho día a las tres horas de la tarde se hallen en d[ic]ho Sala Capitular para que eligen y nombran de ellos los que fueron más inteligentes en la música por jueces y también asisten a los B[achille]res Don Francisco de Atienza y Don Manuel de Sumaya opositores para que se le dé la letra, o villancico de precisión que han de hacer y componer'.

⁸⁰ Estrada, *Música y músicos*, 111–112.

⁸¹ Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 2, without folio number, of 1 June 1715. '...en el del M[aes]tro Atienza hallo, no haber hecho todas las precisiones que la letra pide, faltando en el la circunstancia de Cromáticos, y repitiendo una misma música en un largo trecho en que debió variarla; como también en donde dice la letra esta voz contrapunto, solo hizo una cláusula repetida sobre los puntos de canto llano, sin ninguna variedad'.

thing, Sir, when there is elucidation the steps are summarily late and with repetitions.⁸²

The Spaniard Atienza may not have been entirely familiar with this villancico type, which seems to have been an American tradition. Sumaya, in contrast, seems to have cut an excellent figure with his version, Herrera writing that Sumaya's villancico contained 'all the necessary elucidations, and with Art'.⁸³ Téllez was yet more enthusiastic, writing in his report:

I have found nothing in the thing which is contrary to art, rather I find it in my conscience that it enters into the elucidations, passes, and chromatics of the text with great precision and all of the skill which art demands, and more, joining a good air and great taste in composing (which is a grace apart which God gives), it enters into the counterpoint and intonation which are in the text with all the rigour which is wanted by art.⁸⁴

Atienza seems not to have completed the other compositional challenge of the day at all. As a random page was opened in a plainchant book to provide the cantus firmus for a 'five voice concerto', Atienza complained that his 'head was heated', excusing himself from writing the exercise.⁸⁵ Téllez in particular objected to Atienza's failure to complete the piece of required piece of counterpoint, stating that 'through the said composition on plainchant, it is recognised whether the maestros know how to compose the most essential of the music which is ecclesiastical song'.⁸⁶ Sumaya, on the other hand, possessed all the necessary requisites of a Spanish church musician according to Téllez:

⁸² Ibid., folio 71, of 1 June 1715. '...en algunas partes, no está con el arte que se require, en otras deja de entrar en el metro músico las precisiones principals de la letra, y lo otro Señor: que entra donde hay precisión, los pasos sumamente tardíos, y con las repeticiones'.

⁸³ Ibid., without folio number. '...todas las precisiones necesarias, y de Arte'.

⁸⁴ Ibid., folio 71. 'No he hallado en él cosa contraria al arte, antes sí hallo en mi conciencia, que ha entrado las precisiones, pasos, y Cromáticos de la letra con muchísima precisión y con todo el primor que el arte pide, con más, la elisión del buen aire y grandísimo gusto en el componer (que esta es otra gracia que Dios da) y, entrando el contrapunto y entonación que trae la letra con todo el rigor que el arte pide'.

⁸⁵ Ibid. '...concierto a cinco voces', 'tenía caliente la cabeza'.

⁸⁶ Ibid. '...de dicho composición sobre el canto llano, se conoce si los maestros saben componer lo más esencial de la música que es el canto eclesiástico'.

‘good grace, taste, and the Art of composition in music in Latin, as well as in Romance [Spanish]’.⁸⁷

Sumaya’s contest villancico, *Sol-fa de Pedro es el llanto* [The solfeggio of Peter is tears] is preserved in Guatemala, perhaps having been collected by the Guatemalan maestro Manuel de Quirós. As Craig Russell notes, the word painting contained in the villancico is remarkable—apart from the ‘precisiones’, or elucidations, of the solfeggio syllables *sol-fa, ut-la* and *el-la-mi* contained in the text, Sumaya entered with gusto into the required representations of warblings (*gorjeos*), chromatics, counterpoint, and *duro* and *blando* (*durus-mollis*) harmonies.⁸⁸ It could be said that the villancico de precisión as a type is more concerned with the theoretical tenets of Cerone rather than with the emerging theories of tonality which were gaining currency in Europe. In his mastery of the musical imagery required in the villancico de precisión, Sumaya shows himself to be a thoroughgoing traditionalist rather than the advanced moderniser envisioned by Stevenson and Estrada. It was the ability to easily musicalise the terms contained in the contest villancico rather than a hypothetical Italian education which allowed Sumaya to gain ascendancy over Atienza, indeed, the failure of the Puebla maestro to write a traditional piece of counterpoint, and Sumaya’s evident success at it seem to have been prime factors in the selection of the younger man as maestro.

The cathedral chapter unanimously elected Sumaya as maestro de capilla in the meeting of 7 June 1715 after the sealed opinions of the jurors Téllez, Herrera, Orense

⁸⁷ Ibid. ‘...buen aire, gusto, y Arte de composición, así de música Latina como de Romance’.

⁸⁸ Craig Russell, programme notes to *Chanticleer and the Chanticleer Sinfonia*, Mexican Baroque, Teldec 4509-96353-2 ©1992, series *Das Alte Werk*, Compact disc, 10. Chanticleer perform the piece to excellent advantage with the countertenors Corey McKnight and Kenneth Fitch performing the tiple parts.

and Ordoñez were read aloud.⁸⁹ The testimony of the second two men has not been preserved; no doubt the tenor chorister Orense and the cornettist Ordoñez concurred with their colleagues in preferring the Mexican-born and musically stronger candidate. On this occasion, the chapter took no chances on the matter of teaching duties, specifying two hundred pesos per year for Sumaya's daily attendance at the music school.⁹⁰ From the standpoint of the cathedral authorities, there could hardly have been a more ideal candidate for the position of maestro than Sumaya, a priest who had come up through the ranks of the cathedral music from childhood to maturity.

From the outset of his tenure as maestro de capilla, Sumaya displayed a strong talent for the organisation and running of the musical chapel. One of the first concerns of the newly elected maestro was the filling of places which had been vacated during the later tenure of Salazar. A bass viol audition held only a month after the appointment of Sumaya is indicative of the energetic approach the maestro would take. Five candidates presented themselves at the audition, two from the ranks of the cathedral and three from outside. In a closely reasoned letter to the cathedral dean, Sumaya describes the relative merits of the candidates—the first of these, the serving ministril Joseph de Orense, was already engaged as a shawm and bajoncillo player, and thus was not seriously considered for the post, as he was an indispensable aid to the soprano voices in such short supply.⁹¹ Likewise the choirboy Joseph Rosales was not seriously considered for the place, Sumaya objecting that ‘with four days of bass viol and three school villancicos, we have to trust the function of this Holy Church to a boy who is

⁸⁹ Estrada, *Música y músicos*, 112.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁹¹ Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 2, folio 74, of 10 July 1715.

only beginning to know to place his fingers'.⁹² From among the three candidates coming from outside the church, the job was awarded to Antonio Cerezo, with Sumaya giving the following rationale and signing the letter 'in verbo sacerdotis', as he was to do often in the ensuing years:

The most sufficient, and eminent, not only among the three, but even among all is Antonio Cerezo; he plays the said instrument of the bass viol with great skill, with great valour and certainty that of the violin, with much beauty and grace, to which it is added that he sings the voice of contralto, and that the voice is good, so that in this individual, there are voice and instruments.⁹³

Javier Marín notes this relatively early introduction of the violin into the Mexico City musical chapel, citing a 1710 Sumaya villancico-pregón, *Oíd moradores del orbe* [Hark, inhabitants of the orb], which he conjectures was written for Cerezo.⁹⁴ However, this villancico exists in two versions, the 1710 version being scored for two tiples, alto, tenor and accompaniment (bajo), and the later version for alto, tenor and a pair of violins, with no continuo part supplied. It seems likely that Sumaya reused the 1710 'a 5' version of *Oíd moradores*, adding the violins at a later date. The engagement of Cerezo as a player of the bass viol and contralto singer is indicative; the bass viol had a traditional place as a supporting instrument for the choir, while the violin was as of yet not often used as an accompanying instrument.⁹⁵ Indeed, The violin had a more usual

⁹² Ibid. '...con cuatro días de violón, y tres villancicos de escoleta, hemos de fiar el desempeño de esta S[an]ta Iglesia de un mozo, que ahora empieza a saber poner los dedos'. This may have been the same Joseph Rosales who is named as maestro de capilla in a Guadalajara chapter record from 1739. See Archivo del Cabildo Metropolitano de Guadalajara, Actas Capitulares, libro 10, folio 116v, of 30 September 1739.

⁹³ Ibid., folio 74. '...el más suficiente, y eminente, no solo entre los tres, pero aún entre todos es Antonio Cerezo; toca con gran destreza dicho instrumento de violón: con gran valentía y certeza el del violín, de mucho primor y aire, a que se añade que canta la voz de contralto, y que la voz es buena, con que en esto sujeto hay voz y instrumentos'.

⁹⁴ Marín, 'Música y músicos', 194.

⁹⁵ A similar case of combining modern and traditional instruments was that of Benito de Amellón, an oboist who was admitted in January of 1714 as a player of the dulcian. The bass instrument was needed continuously in the choir, while the treble instrument had no application in the music being performed in

role as a support for the soprano voice—in a 1718 letter to the dean stating how many choristers were required for the functioning of the chapel, Sumaya lists ‘two cornetts, two violins for the supplement of the tipples’, indicating that the violin could fulfil the same function as the cornett.⁹⁶

Sumaya’s relationship with the instrument, a barometer of Italianisation, may not have been as comfortable a one as Marín suggests. The music dating from the first years of Sumaya’s incumbency as maestro would seem to suggest that the instrument was treated as a novelty rather than a fixture of the ensemble. For example, the 1717 *Si son los elementos* [Yes, those are the elements], from a set of villancicos dedicated to Saint Joseph, contains a brief solo passage for two violins suggested by the text:⁹⁷

Si son los elementos
del Orbe consonancia
a la música vengan
con su tocata

Yes those are the elements
of the Globe’s consonance
Come you all to the music
with its toccata

The fifteen bars of violin and continuo which follow the word ‘tocata’ seem to have been the only instrumental music ever written by the Mexican master, a piece of inspired but isolated word painting with instruments. The violin in fact makes relatively

the cathedral. Archivo del Cabildo, Actas Capitulares, libro 27, folios 345–345v, of 21 January 1714. It is possible that Amellón was a French veteran of the War of the Spanish Succession, the oboe being a common military instrument, and military men who had been in the service of Philip V being allowed to settle in Spanish territories.

⁹⁶ Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 2, without folio number, of 19 September 1718. ‘...dos cornetas, dos violines para el suplemento del tiple’.

⁹⁷ The extremely handsome chapbook to this villancico set is held by the Spanish National Library under the call number VE/531/81. Sumaya dedicates the set to the retired cathedral treasurer, Joseph de Torres y Vergara, in a short poem. Several lines of the poem would seem to indicate that Sumaya was his own librettist on this occasion, reading ‘El fervor, y no el numen los dictaba/ y así la que les falta melodia/ suplirá del afecto la armonía/ que al culto, y no a las voces aspiraba’. [Fervour, and not the muse dictated them/ and as they were missing melody/ the affect will be aided by harmony/ which to the cult, and not to letters aspired].

few appearances in the Estrada collection, the next occasion being the 1719 Hoy sube arrebatada for Assumption.

As in the case of Cerezo, the cultivation of the choir appears to have been the motive for the hiring of Francisco de la Pedrosa, a former choirboy who had learnt bass viol, violin and viola. Sumaya recommended Pedrosa to the cathedral dean in December of 1720, however, the crux of the recommendation was not the boy's ability on string instruments, but rather his general usefulness in the choir. Although Pedrosa's voice was still changing, Sumaya recognised that Pedrosa was 'in the substance of the art, which is, in polyphonic song, very skilful'.⁹⁸

This indulgence in the recommendation of potential choristers had a negative pendant—when the churchman Sumaya saw no possibility of a musician contributing to the choir, the dean was duly informed. Sumaya's assessment of the Roman violinist Benito Martino, who auditioned for the chapel in February 1721, bears citing at length:

I say that he is very apt at Italian music, but at that which we style in Spain, not; and although this is not the greatest objection which could be raised to this individual, with respect to him being able to act in the use of our music: that which must be put to Y[our] L[ordship] is, that having no more ability than playing the bass viol and violin, he is an individual who can serve on very few occasions in the choir: to which it is added, that for this, there are two bass viols on salary in the chapel, those being Ant[oni]o Cerezo and Fran[cisc]o de la Pedrosa. All reasons to feel that this individual is not necessary.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 3, without folio number, of 12 December 1720. '...en lo sustancial del Arte, que es, en el canto figurado, muy diestro'.

⁹⁹ Ibid., folio 10, of 11 February 1721. '...digo que está apto en la música italiana, pero en la que estilamos en España; no; y aunque este no es el mayor reparo que se puede hacer a este sujeto, respecto de poderse actuar en el uso de nuestra música: el que se debe poner a V[uestra] S[eñoría] es, el que no teniendo más habilidad, que la de tocar el violón y violín, es un sujeto que solo puede servir muy pocas veces en el coro: a que se añade que para esto hay dos violones con salario en la capilla, que son Ant[oni]o Cerezo y Fran[cisc]o de la Pedrosa. Todas razones para ser de sentir que este sujeto no es necesario'.

Nine years later Sumaya had revised his opinion on the ‘necessity’ of the violin very little. Answering the dean in May 1730 on the matter of the entry into the chapel of Joseph Laneri, a violinist who had ‘exercised in many parts of Italy’, Sumaya wrote, ‘the aspirant plays the instrument of the violin skilfully, and understands the music of toccatas and other Italian compositions’, adding in a short tone, ‘this is what I am being asked about this individual’.¹⁰⁰ The composer’s patience appears to have been tested by a second violin applicant, Antonio Rodríguez, Sumaya writing of this instrumentalist on the same day as Laneri:

On another occasion I have readied a report on the applicant, in which I have said that he is sufficient at playing the violin, and Italian music, which is the music ordinarily played on these types of instruments, and now I say my own [word]: I only add that the decency of the choir, and of a Chapter so illustrious as that of this Holy Church, asks and demands that its ministers not be occupied in ministries which, entering to serve them, they may be unworthy of.¹⁰¹

Sumaya’s veiled objections were of little moment—both Laneri and Rodríguez were accepted despite the presence of the serving chapel members Cerezo and Pedrosa.

Sumaya appears to have become a somewhat unwilling Italianising moderniser in the following months. The *Gazeta de Mexico* reported in its August 1730 issue that the Matins of the Assumption of the Virgin, the cathedral dedicatee, were celebrated with ‘grave, lucid and magnificent ostentation’, and that:

...the concourse was innumerable (carried away by curiosity) which came to the illustrious Temple to hear the new works, and Italian Music, which at the request of

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., folio 90, of 19 May 1730. ‘...ejercitado en muchas partes de Italia’, ‘...el suplicante toca diestramente el instrumento de violín y entiende la música de tocatas y demás italianas composiciones’, ‘Esto es lo que de este sujeto se me pregunta’.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., folio 91 of 19 May 1730. ‘Tengo ya del suplicante hecho informe en otra ocasión, en que he dicho, que es suficiente en el tocar de violín, y la música italiana, que es, la que ordinariamente tocan este género de instrumentos, y ahora digo lo proprio: solo añadido, que la decencia del coro, y de un Cabildo tan Ill[ustr]e como el de esta S[an]ta Ig[lesi]a pide, y demanda, que sus ministros no se ocupen en ministerios que puedan desdecir, con entrar a servirle...’

the gentleman Treasurer were prepared by the distinguished Sumaya, first Maestro de Capilla of the said Holy Church.¹⁰²

Several days later this scene was repeated at the Jesuit church, the Casa Profesa, during the Sunday Mass of the 27th of August. ‘Harmonious differences of music [...] imitating the Italian’ were heard in the Jesuit house, with all the tastemakers of the colony in attendance: the viceroy Juan de Acuña, the members of the Royal Audience, the members of the city government and the cathedral dean and chapter.¹⁰³ Among the chapter members attending was the treasurer Alonso Francisco Moreno, who had requested the ‘Italian music’ from Sumaya earlier in the month. With two new violinists acquainted with the style, the hour of Italian influence had seemingly arrived.

Yet Sumaya’s concerns with the musical chapel in the previous years had been everything other than modernising the ensemble to play in the Italian style; the old instruments which doubled and shored up the choir had been cultivated quite intensively by the composer. Sumaya twice aided the cornettist Vicente Ramírez by recommending him to the cathedral dean, first in 1728, stating that Ramírez was ‘intelligent in figured song, which he has perfected in the exercise of the choir, and the instrument of the cornett’, despite being ‘a trifle timid’, and again in 1731, when Sumaya pointed out that Ramírez had studied the cornett with great application.¹⁰⁴ On the second occasion, Ramírez had offered to study the oboe, with Sumaya answering that there was no

¹⁰² *Gazeta de Mexico*, no. 33, August 1730, 259. ‘...grave, lucida, y magnífica ostentación’, ‘...fue innumerable el concurso que (llevado por la curiosidad) acudió en aquel insigne Templo para oír las nuevas obras, y Música Italiana, que a solicitud del mismo Sr. Tesorero, dispuso el insigne Sumaya primer Maestro de Capilla de dicha Santa Iglesia’.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 260. ‘...armoniosos diferencias de música [...] imitando la Italiana’.

¹⁰⁴ *Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia*, caja 23, expediente 3, of 21 August 1728 and 12 March 1731. ‘...inteligente en el canto figurado, el cual perfeccionó con el ejercicio del coro, y el instrumento de corneta’, ‘...nimiamente tímido’.

teacher in Mexico City to tutor the instrument ‘with the thoroughness’ needed.¹⁰⁵ Sumaya was likewise indulgent with the sackbut player Joseph de Cevallos, whom he deemed to be ‘necessary for the use of the shawms’—Cevallos’ audition had not gone well, though Sumaya was confident of his playing, stating that ‘I have him well-tested with parts that are extremely difficult’.¹⁰⁶ The cultivation of the dulcian was ongoing, as the instrument was required for all the activities of the choir. Sumaya’s answer to the dean Montaña on the progress of Francisco Cerezo is indicative of the problems facing the maestro in the mid-1730s:

The student finds himself with good beginnings and theoretical application to his instrument, and music; but not that which is necessary to constitute an individual who can walk on his own, or leave the hands of his maestro: because of this it seems to me that he should be charged with continuing in his lessons [...] this Holy Church, for the matter of a few pesos which could be spent on the teaching of the boys of the choir, goes begging to individuals outside of it.¹⁰⁷

This last remark is a reference to a spate of hiring of players of ‘modern’ instruments in 1736. The Italian violinist Francisco Todini, the Spanish violinist, hornist and trumpeter Dionisio Guerrero, and Ignacio Pedrosa Cardilo, a Spaniard who played violin, trumpet, horn, oboe and dulcian, were all engaged in this year—all came from outside the institution where Sumaya had laboured since boyhood.¹⁰⁸ Russell and Tello have suggested that the addition of violins, trumpets, horns and ‘a more complete woodwind

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., ‘...con aquellos cabales’.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. Cevallos’ letter is missing, so that this document can only be dated to around 1718. ‘...necesaria para el uso de las chirimías’, ‘...yo lo tengo bien probado con papeles harto dificultosos’.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., of 20 October 1736. ‘...el colegial se halla con buenos principios, y aplicación teórica del instrumento, y música; pero no aquella que es necesaria para constituir sujeto, que pueda correr por sí mismo, ni dejar la mano de su maestro: Por lo cual me parece, que antes se le debe encargar continúe en la lección [...] esta Santa Iglesia por materia de pocos pesos que puede erogar en la enseñanza de los niños del Coro, ande mendigando sujetos fuera de ella’.

¹⁰⁸ Marín, ‘Música y músicos’, 201–222.

section' was an act of voluntary modernisation by Sumaya.¹⁰⁹ However, given the composer's attitude towards the violin, and the lack of tradition for the trumpet, horn and oboe in Mexico City, this would not appear not to be the case. Indeed, with the exception of isolated villancicos containing violin parts, and Sumaya's cantadas (which arguably belong to a different musical type, as will be seen below), this composer does not demonstrate any special interest in the modernisation of the villancico as a genre.

7.2 The Villancicos of Manuel de Sumaya

As his teacher Salazar, Sumaya seems to be more interested in the continuance of the novohispanic villancico tradition rather than a modern renewal of the genre. The Mexico City polychoral tradition had been passed from López Capillas to Salazar, and then in turn to Sumaya—the division of work among the choirs had the same fixed, static quality as the constants in the life of a maestro. Sumaya was content to receive the ensemble of singers built up by Salazar, indeed, in a 1718 letter to the cathedral dean the composer states only that 'the most urgent necessity which the chapel of this Holy Church has today, and the one from which it most suffers today is the lack of soprano voices'.¹¹⁰ Yet this was an endemic situation which could only be remedied by the engagement of castrati, a step Sumaya would not take during his tenure as maestro.

Many of Sumaya's Estrada collection villancicos repeat the polychoral schemes laid out by Salazar. Thus Sumaya adopts the polychoral formations 'a 6', 'a 8', 'a 11'

¹⁰⁹ Russell, 'Zumaya, [Sumaya] Manuel de', *New Grove*, xxvii, 880, and Tello, 'Sumaya, Manuel de [Zumaya, Manuel de]', *Diccionario de la música*, x, 95. It should be noted that Guerrero and Pedrosa were multi-instrumentalists, making the commentary of Russell and Tello somewhat misleading. Though not a 'woodwind section' in the modern sense of the term, the oboe plays with the dulcian in Sumaya's *Angelicas milicias*, an Assumption villancico from MEX-Oc.

¹¹⁰ Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 2, of 19 September 1718. '...la necesidad más urgente que hoy tiene la capilla de esta Santa Iglesia y la mayor que hoy padece es la falta de voces tiples'.

and ‘a 12’, continuing with the type of concertato oppositions of groups which were a Mexico City tradition. However, in contrast to Salazar, a good number of Sumaya’s Estrada collection pieces are for a reduced number of voices, with eight trios, three duos, and four four-voice villancicos present. In these smaller-scale pieces, Sumaya’s fine instincts for the setting of Gongoresque, concept-laden poetry come to the fore. The baroque propensity for the difficult, always present in the poetry influenced by Góngora, may be seen in Sumaya’s 1721 *Cerca de México* [Near to Mexico], a villancico a duo dedicated to the apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe. The device known as *eco*, or poetic echo, is used in the alto part of this villancico (Figure 19).

Alto

1. si es me - ra de Gua - da - lu - pe, di -
 2. es - fuer - za he - re - de - ra fi - na, sea -
 3. por ir - se al Cie - lo trium - fan - te, de - la
 4. de lu - ce - ros a - sal - ta - do, y de es -
 5. a su man - to con a - som - bro, fe - liz
 6. dar - se al mun - do bien pin - ta - da, por - que

Acomp.

9 7

vi - na I - ma gen es es - me - ra.
 del cris - tal, y al - ba, al - ba cea -
 tie - rra fue flor, flor - ri - da.
 tre - llas en - ves - ti - do.
 Juan Die - go a - ma - man - ta.
 su gra - cia es no - es cul - pa.

6

Figure 19, Poetic echo in Sumaya’s *Cerca de México*

In the *eco*, the last syllables of each line repeat the previous syllables, giving an echo effect, as in the second verse, ‘alba, albacea’ [dawn, the executrix], or as in verse four,

startling image of the faithful Indian Juan Diego, who, ‘ama, amamanta’ [loves, suckles], presumably at the breast of the Virgin of Guadalupe.¹¹¹ Sumaya is given to considerable amounts of word play in his villancicos, displaying the outward cleverness which Irving Leonard finds characteristic of novohispanic poetry.¹¹² In the estribillo section of *Cerca de Mexico*, the word ‘ave’ is used in its Latin and Spanish meanings at the same time, so that the line ‘es un ave María’ refers to both the Latin prayer Ave Maria and to the Virgin of Guadalupe as an ave, or bird, the ‘phoenix of Mexico’.¹¹³ Not content with this poetic conceit alone, Sumaya writes ‘gloria es su Ave’, meaning both ‘glory is her Ave [greeting]’ and ‘glory is gentle’, or suave. This type of word play has its musical analogy, as will be seen below.

Cerca de Mexico is a romance in its formal structure, with six dense coplas preceding the estribillo. Drew Edward Davies has commented that the Guadalupan villancicos of the Estrada collection mirror the fascination of the period with the iconography of the image itself.¹¹⁴ Sumaya seems to be no exception, narrating the story and details of the painting, and even speaking in first person in the opening lines, ‘Near to Mexico, I regard the temple, living light of the sun/its great perfection I admire, its beautiful Image I contemplate’.¹¹⁵ Sumaya refers both to the famous image of the Virgin and to the Sanctuary of Guadalupe at Tepeyac, completed in 1709.¹¹⁶ It is possible that Sumaya himself penned the lines of *Cerca de Mexico*, which are fairly bursting with

¹¹¹ Jennifer Eich documents a belief held by novohispanic Dominican nuns that the Virgin’s breast milk was a source of mystical benefit, see *The Other Mexican Muse: Sor Anna Águeda de San Ignacio (1695–1756)* (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 2004), 19.

¹¹² Leonard, ‘Some Curiosities of Spanish Colonial Poetry’, 39–54.

¹¹³ David Brading notes the currency of this image in his *Mexican Phoenix*.

¹¹⁴ Drew Edward Davies, ‘Villancicos from Mexico City’, 236.

¹¹⁵ ‘*Cerca de Mexico el templo, del sol viva luz, que miro/su gran perfección admiro, su bella imagen contemplo*’.

¹¹⁶ For the history of the Sanctuary see Brading, *The First America*, 347.

novohispanic identity—indeed, the text insertions in Zeleuco reveal a competent poet, as do the dedicatory verses of the 1717 chapbook mentioned above, so that it is not inconceivable that Sumaya acted as his own librettist on occasion.

The music to this two-voice villancico is equally revealing of Sumaya's compositorial identity. The old rhythmic devices associated with the metre of minor proportion are retained; the blackened note heads still indicate the occurrence of syncopation and hemiola, as well as marking notes held over the tactus bar lines. Just as the composers of the seventeenth century, Sumaya is quick to exploit the minor proportion to delineate and heighten the natural speech rhythms of the Spanish language. The 3/4 metre already long in use in the Royal Chapel had not yet found its way into the villancicos being produced for the Mexico City cathedral by Sumaya.

Several rudimentary figures are present in the accompaniment part, primarily indicating ligaduras, as in bar two of Figure 19. However, Sumaya appears to be quite distant from the bold monodic shorthand in use in the Naples of Leo and Durante. Indeed, the assumption remains in Sumaya's small scale villancicos that the note placed above the bass will be an orthodox consonance (the octave, the fifth and the major and minor thirds with their inversions), and that dissonances will be prepared in the melodic voices as harmonic suspensions. Thus, the type of figured bass realisations learnt by Neapolitan composers through the study of partimenti remains foreign to the villancicos of Sumaya. As the aesthician Enrico Fubini notes, classical polyphony did not permit the quick development of stage action demanded by the lyric theatre.¹¹⁷ The villancico had no need for the devices of the lyric theatre however, and remained closer to the

¹¹⁷ Enrico Fubini, *L'estetica musicale dal settecento a oggi* (Turin: Einaudi, 1964), 15.

harmonic methods of polyphonic counterpoint than to the rising monodic tide stemming from Naples.

Within the conventions of Spanish music, Sumaya shows himself to be a highly original thinker, displaying a penchant for sustaining long melodic sequences, as in Figure 20, an extract from the estribillo section of *Cerca de Mexico*.

The image shows a musical score for three parts: Alto, Tenor, and Acomp. (Accompaniment). The Alto part is in a treble clef with a 3/8 time signature. The Tenor part is in a treble clef with a 3/8 time signature and an 8 below the staff. The Acomp. part is in a bass clef with a 3/8 time signature. The lyrics are: "y es un A - ve Ma - ri - a glo - ria_ es su A -". The score consists of two systems of staves. The first system shows the beginning of the piece, and the second system shows a continuation of the melody. The lyrics "A - ve" are repeated in the second system. The Acomp. part has some markings: "3b" and "5/3".

Figure 20, Melodic sequencing in Sumaya's *Cerca de Mexico*

The tendency to sustain sequences is present in other of Sumaya's duo villancicos such as the 1720 *Pedro dejó la primera red* [Peter left the first net]. The love for sequence is often combined with the type of canonic texture seen in Figure 20; Sumaya seems to be looking back to seventeenth-century contrapuntal practices rather than forward to Italian-style monody in his small-scale villancicos.

As noted above, Sumaya inherited the polychoral formations used by Salazar. As in the case of his teacher, Sumaya's predilection is for the 'a 6' and 'a 8' types. In the 'a 6' texture, the preference is for the 'natural voice' of the tenor soloist, as in the 1728 *Ya se eriza el copete* [Already the crest rises], another villancico dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe. Sumaya's use of the tenor voice, his liking for sequences, and effective use of the dulcian as a contrapuntal foil to the choral voices may be appreciated in this villancico, of which Figure 21 is a short extract.

The musical score for Figure 21 is a short extract from Sumaya's villancico *Ya se eriza el copete*. It features a tenor soloist, a choir, and two dulcians. The score is written in 3/8 time and includes the following parts:

- Solo tenor:** Melodic line with lyrics "que has-ta los - cam - pos".
- Dulcian (top):** Contrapuntal line.
- Tiple:** Choral part with lyrics "que has - ta los cam - pos, cam - pos".
- Alto:** Choral part with lyrics "que ha-sta los - cam - pos".
- Tenor:** Choral part with lyrics "que ha-sta los - cam - pos".
- Dulcian (bottom):** Contrapuntal line.
- Acomp.:** Accompaniment line.

Figure 21, Tenor soloist, choir and dulcians in Sumaya's *Ya se eriza el copete*

This villancico, which may be viewed in full in the Appendix, reiterates many of the devices favoured by Salazar. As in the polychoral villancicos of Salazar, repeated lines of text passed between soloist and choir form the building blocks of the estribillo. Each line of text engenders a rhythmic/melodic cell which is varied slightly as it passes from

soloist to choir, effectively forming a call and response texture, although without any folkloric implications.

Sumaya was an effective practitioner of the villancico ‘a 8’, the classic polychoral formation of the Royal Chapel and other Spanish institutions of prestige.¹¹⁸ A comparison between the ‘a 8’ villancicos of the maestro de capilla of the Royal Chapel, José de Torres, and those of Sumaya reveals the relative conservatism of the Mexico City maestro. As early as 1702, while Torres was still serving as the organist of the Royal Chapel, his villancicos ‘a 8’ included a pair of accompanying violins.¹¹⁹ After becoming acting composer in 1709 and attaining the full privileges of maestro in 1718, Torres cultivated the violin intensively as an accompanying instrument in his villancicos. In contrast, Sumaya was much slower to adopt the violin, using it on an experimental basis in only three of the Estrada collection villancicos. It has often been commented that this instrument polarised opinions in the Spanish Church—indeed, the year 1726 saw the publication of Benito Feijoo’s *La música de los templos*, in which the Benedictine monk inveighs against the loss of ‘gravity’ and the ‘screeching’ of violins in church music.¹²⁰

Perhaps the generalised exclusion of the violin in Sumaya’s Estrada collection villancicos may be seen as an attempt to retain the purity of the vocal form. The composer seems to have shared some of Feijoo’s prejudice against the introduction of

¹¹⁸ An example of Sumaya’s eight part writing is included in the Appendix. This is *La bella incorrupta* [The beautiful uncorrupted one], a Guadalupe villancico from 1725.

¹¹⁹ See for example GCA-Gc, *A la reina del Socorro*, a Torres villancico ‘a 8’ from 1702 with violins and clarín. Begoña Lolo notes the presence of five violinists on the Royal Chapel roll of 1701, see *La música en la Real Capilla*, 29.

¹²⁰ Benito Feijoo, *Teatro crítico universal* (Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, 1769), ‘gravedad’, 260, ‘chillidos’, 277. For a recent discussion of Feijoo’s objections to the instrument, see Bernardo García-Bernalt Alonso, *En sonoros ecos: La capilla de música de la Universidad de Salamanca y su repertorio (1738–1801)* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad Salamanca, 2014), 156–159.

Italian elements into the music of the church, as his judgements on the violinists Martino, Laneri and Rodríguez indicate. Yet Sumaya's objections are those of a practicing musician rather than the philosophical tenets sustained by Feijoo. Sumaya did in fact occupy the violin to a considerable extent in the *cantada*, a second form of vernacular church music destined for the festive Matins services and spiritual concerts of Corpus Christi.

The predominance of the *cantada* in the music by Sumaya which is found in the Oaxaca archive, MEX-Oc, is the probable cause of Estrada and Stevenson's view of the composer as an Italianising modernist—these pieces for solo voice supported by a figured bass breathe an entirely different and more modern air than the villancico. Knighton and Torrente note the ongoing debate about the designation of all devotional songs in the vernacular as villancicos, stating that 'terminological ambiguity should not be overlooked or concealed'.¹²¹ It could be proposed that the Spanish-language *cantada* is precisely a case where terminological clarification is necessary.

While the *cantada* served the same liturgical purposes as the villancico, that is to say as a responsory in the Matins service (with the exception of the *siestas* duly noted), it is musically and morphologically a distinct type. Perhaps the most important distinction between villancico and *cantada* is the use of the solo voice. While villancicos for a single voice were not unknown—the Sánchez Garza collection *Ay como llora* by Riva Pastor is noted below—this was by no means common. The *cantada* regularly contains one or more sections designated as *recitado*, where the solo voice declaims over a sustained bass, much in the manner of the Italian or French solo *cantata*.

¹²¹ Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente, 'Introduction' to *Devotional Music in the Iberian World*, 3.

Like the Italian or French cantata, the Spanish cantada contains a da capo aria section which follows the recitado. Finally, the Spanish cantada is invariably accompanied by two violins and continuo, though a viola was also occasionally added. All of these elements, the solo voice, the recitado, the da capo aria, and the invariable addition of two violins were foreign to the novohispanic villancico. Sumaya's Estrada collection villancicos in essence remain true to the tradition of Salazar—they remain ensemble songs constructed of estribillo and coplas with a simple accompaniment of harp or organ and bass instrument, whether dulcian or bass viol. Thus, a hard distinction between cantada and villancico may be said to exist.

While the great bulk of Sumaya's Estrada collection villancicos appear remote from contemporary Italian musical developments, the cantada for solo tenor *Ya la gloria* from the same collection stands extremely close to the Italian solo cantata tradition. Consisting of an initial allegro section with the text 'Ya la gloria accidental'[Already the accidental glory], a recitado 'Hay gloria accidental' [There is accidental glory] and a da capo 'arieta/fuga', 'Y como aqueste día' [As on that day], the piece is a miniature solo cantata of only sixty-two bars with a rather puzzling sacred text. The text is full of word play, such as the constant repetition of the yod phoneme /j/ in the words 'ya', 'gloria' and 'haya'. As in his contest villancico, *Solfa de Pedro es llanto*, Sumaya introduces a ludic manipulation of the B flat/B natural, or *durus/mollis* distinction into the cantada (Figure 22):

The image shows a musical score for a tenor and an accompaniment. The tenor part is written on a treble clef staff with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are "Ya la glo - ria a - cci - den - tal". The accompaniment part is written on a bass clef staff with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a common time signature (C). The score illustrates the durus/mollis distinction through the use of B flat and B natural notes.

Figure 22, Play with the *durus/mollis* distinction in the opening bars of *Ya la gloria*

The penchant for sequences described above is also present in this cantada; in Figure 23 this may be seen in the tenor's rhythmic/melodic descent towards the F major cadence before the fermata bar. As in *Solfa de Pedro es llanto*, a sort of speculative chromaticism is invoked, in this case in the first violin, which successively outlines a sequence of descending minor seconds, C sharp–C natural–B natural, G natural–F sharp–F natural, and E natural–E flat–D natural.

The image displays a musical score for a cantada, consisting of two systems of staves. The first system includes Violin I, Violin II, Tenor, and Accomp. parts. The second system includes Violin I, Violin II, Tenor, and Accomp. parts. The Tenor part includes lyrics in Spanish. The music is in 3/4 time and features a descending melodic line in the Tenor part and a chromatic sequence in the Violin I part.

Violin I

Violin II

Tenor

Accomp.

el más - su - pe - rior que pue - den te - ner no

Vln. I

Vln. II

T

Ac.

pue - de cre - cer la glo - ria a más gra - do

Figure 23, Rhythmic, melodic and chromatic sequencing in *Ya la gloria*

Despite the pervasive novohispanic cleverness of the text and the musical-speculative elements present in the cantada, the piece displays genuinely Italianate elements.

Among these are the use of melisma, the concertato alternation of instruments and voice, and the use of what José de Torres termed ‘posturas extravagantes’, or the third inversion of the chords of the seventh. Thus, it could be said that Sumaya arrives at an approximation to Italian practices in his cantada, although not to the extent that Torres displays in the same genre.¹²²

It cannot be known with accuracy whether Sumaya cultivated the cantada to any great extent. There are eight further examples of pieces for solo voice (tiple, alto and tenor are all represented) by Sumaya in the Oaxaca music archive which display broadly the same characteristics as *Ya la gloria*. However, several of these pieces replace one of the aria sections of the cantada with a copla-like strophic section. It is possible that Sumaya preferred this hybrid form to the recitative and aria which was gaining popularity in New Spain. Musical fashion was changing, however, as the *Gazeta de Mexico* heralded in its September 1733 edition. On the evening of the 29th, the nuns of the San Jerónimo convent, the institution where Sor Juana had passed her years, had given a Matins service with ‘new villancicos set to music by the celebrated Nicolini’, the same castrato who had created the roles of Rinaldo and Amadigi in Handel’s London operas of the same name.¹²³ This was countered a month later, with ‘sweet music, in which the great skill of the celebrated Sumaya gave form to the lines of the composition’, as the *Gazeta* reported of the Oratorians’ procession.¹²⁴ There would have been a considerable musical divide between the *a lo divino* adaptations of Nicolini’s

¹²² For the cantadas of Torres, see Juan José Carreras, ‘Spanish cantatas in the Mackworth collection at Cardiff’, in *Music in Spain during the Eighteenth Century*, eds. M. Boyd and J. J. Carreras (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Carreras comments on Torres’ use of the up to date recitative and aria form in his cantadas, 112.

¹²³ *Gazeta de Mexico*, September 1733. ‘...nuevos villancicos puesto en metro músico por el célebre Nicolini’. Winton Dean, ‘Nicolini [Grimaldi, Nicolo]’, *New Grove*, xvii, 878–879.

¹²⁴ *Gazeta de Mexico*, October 1733. ‘...suave música en que la gran destreza del célebre Sumaya puso punto a las líneas de la composición’.

arias sung by the nuns and the ‘sweet music’ by Sumaya heard in the procession of the congregation of Saint Philip Neri.

It remains a mystery why Sumaya chose to quit the service of the Mexico City cathedral in August of 1739, leaving for the remote Oaxaca where the former cathedral dean Tomás Montaña had been named bishop.¹²⁵ Unlike Salazar, Sumaya had experienced no conflicts with the cathedral chapter over teaching duties or the handover of music; indeed, the Mexico City choirbooks attest to the diligence of the composer in producing Latin works for the cathedral. Estrada suggests the straightforward explanation of exhaustion for Sumaya’s departure.¹²⁶ Approaching sixty, and with over thirty-eight years of service to the cathedral, twenty-four of them as maestro de capilla, Sumaya was no longer equal to the task of the day-to-day running of the musical chapel, Estrada ventures.

Apart from the fatigue of the day-to-day running of the chapel, there had been considerable and repeated friction with cathedral musicians over obvenciones. A biting 1716 complaint by the Spanish dulcian player Luis Alejandro Betancourt of unequal distribution of monies from obvenciones elicited a robust response from Sumaya.¹²⁷ Among other matters, the maestro noted that seniority in the chapel counted more than any other factor in the assignment of outside work. Betancourt did not receive satisfaction in his demands for ‘justice’ in the obvenciones, with Sumaya replying, ‘what reason would there be (most illustrated Sir), that I divest Gerónimo de Garate, after 28 years of service [...] to accommodate a man who has not yet completed the

¹²⁵ Tello, ‘Sumaya, Manuel de’, *Diccionario de la música española*, x, 95.

¹²⁶ Estrada, *Música y músicos*, 119.

¹²⁷ Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 3, of 30 July 1716.

apprenticeship year'.¹²⁸ This dispute was indicative of the often poor relations between peninsular Spaniards and criollos. Betancourt, who was better paid than several senior chapel members, expected to take precedence over the American-born musicians.

Sumaya was the recipient of a much more serious complaint by the cathedral administrator Juan de Salibe in 1727. The 'padre administrador', who organised appearances of the chapel outside the church, accused Sumaya of pocketing twenty-five pesos for the participation of the chapel at the profession of a nun, alleging that Sumaya had acted with duplicity in withholding pay from the choristers.¹²⁹ The matter was settled in favour of Sumaya, who had in fact appeared gratis at the profession. Sumaya's long letter to the dean explaining the incident indicates a symptomatic indiscipline among some of the musicians, who had once again begun to form clandestine groups for the so-called 'sangonautlas', the eighteenth-century equivalent of the modern 'gig'.

At the death of Salibe in 1733, the chapel musicians petitioned the dean to institute a separate accounting system for outside income, which would be kept by Sumaya himself rather than by the chapel administrator.¹³⁰ This proved to be successful, with the maestro recording all income from obventions in a ledger destined for that purpose. According to the dean's margin note on the original petition, Sumaya was required to show the book to the administrator so that the musicians could be paid by that official—in this way, the probity of the maestro did not come into question.¹³¹ This was the accounting book which Sumaya removed to Oaxaca upon his departure in

¹²⁸ Ibid. '...que razón habrá (Ilustrísimo Señor) para que a Gerónimo de Garate [...] después de 28 años de servicio, lo despoje para acomodar a un hombre que todavía no ha cumplido el año del noviciado'.

¹²⁹ Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, libro 10, without folio number, of June 1727.

¹³⁰ Ibid., of 24 April 1733.

¹³¹ Ibid.

1739.¹³² Perhaps the frictions over obvenciones had been a factor in Sumaya's leaving Mexico City—it is conceivable that, wounded in his honour as a priest by accusations of the mishandling of funds, Sumaya chose to follow the bishop Montaña to the quiet of Oaxaca, leaving behind the conflicts and arduous existence of a Mexico City maestro de capilla. Certainly the length and robustness of Sumaya's answers to accusations of wrongdoing indicate an extreme concern with the matter of obvenciones, a concern which Salazar had not shown in analogous situations.¹³³

As Estrada notes, after conferral with the archbishop/viceroy Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta (ca.1682–1747), the Mexico City cathedral chapter demanded the return of Sumaya on repeated occasions, ultimately threatening to juristically strip him of the title maestro de capilla.¹³⁴ Sumaya was not persuaded to return, and the leadership of the chapel fell to the Portuguese chorister Domingo Dutra. Not a composer, Dutra sent to Rome for music on several occasions.¹³⁵ This was effectively the end of the native villancico school of Mexico City; Dutra would be succeeded by an Italian, Ignacio de Jerusalem, in 1750.

In another case of hagiographical embellishment, Beristain erroneously reports that Sumaya dedicated himself in Oaxaca exclusively to 'the study of the sacred sciences and the fulfilment of his pastoral ministry'.¹³⁶ Sumaya did occupy himself for a time as the attending priest of the cathedral sanctuary, a post readied for the composer

¹³² Stevenson, 'Mexico City Cathedral', 133.

¹³³ For example Salazar's unruffled response to Atienza's claim that he had been 'defrauded' of his corresponding share of obvenciones in June 1704. In several short lines, Salazar informed the dean that he distributed the money in equal parts upon occasion—the matter did not arise again until 1709. Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 2, of June 1704.

¹³⁴ Estrada, *Música y músicos*, 119.

¹³⁵ Marín, *Música y músicos*, 517—524. Dutra's favoured Roman composer was the relatively obscure Gaetano Carpani (1692—1785).

¹³⁶ Beristain, *Biblioteca hispano americana*, III, 325. '...al estudio de las ciencias sagradas y al cumplimiento de su ministerio pastoral'.

by the bishop Montaña.¹³⁷ However, the celebrated musician was increasingly called upon to give musical advice, as research of the Oaxaca cathedral chapter records from the years 1741 to 1745 shows. In January of 1745, the chapter conferred on the matter of Sumaya's 'continued stay' for the purposes of 'the teaching of the choirboys of this Holy Church, the composition of the music which would be needed, attendance on classic feast days, and the care of the musicians'.¹³⁸ The four-hundred peso salary accorded to Sumaya was made up from pay cuts to other chapel members, including the maestro de capilla Tomás Salgado, a dulcian player who had risen through the ranks to become leader of the Oaxaca cathedral music.¹³⁹

If Sumaya composed villancicos for the Oaxaca cathedral, they have not been preserved in the archive. No vernacular piece in the archive can be said with certainty to date from Sumaya's Oaxaca period; it seems likely that the aged maestro was not required to produce the yearly round of villancicos, but perhaps drew on a body of pieces brought from Mexico City. The American scholar Theresa Fassnacht has documented Sumaya's late Latin works for the Oaxaca cathedral, among them a Requiem mass which features extensive borrowings from Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*.¹⁴⁰ It is indicative of Sumaya's innate conservatism that he chose to borrow from this work, and not from a Pergolesi aria, as was done at Guatemala in 1753 with the contrafactum *Dichosa feliz el alma*, aria con violines.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Tello, 'Sumaya, Manuel de', *Diccionario*, x, 95.

¹³⁸ *Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Oaxaca*, Libro 5, folios 179v–181v, of 11 January 1745. '...la enseñanza de los niños seises de esta Santa Iglesia, composición de música que se necesitare, asistencia en los días clásicos, y cuidado de los músicos'.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ Fassnacht, 'Contrafactum and Alternatim Praxis'.

¹⁴¹ GCA-Gc 527. The aria was adapted for Ascension day.

The composer died in 1755. His successor was the harpist, organist and singer Juan de los Reyes Mapamundi, probably an indigenous musician. Mapamundi is named as interim maestro in two chapter records, the first from 1756 and the second from 1768, both of which refer to the musician as ‘Juan’ or ‘Mapamundi’ without the traditional honorifics ‘don’ and ‘maestro’.¹⁴²

7.3 Conclusions

The study and transcription of the villancicos by Sumaya undertaken in the course of the present investigation would seem to indicate that a fresh estimation of the composer’s musical reputation is necessary.¹⁴³ Bernardo Illari’s vision of the composer as a ‘distinctive fusion of traditional and Italian traits’ is a more realistic view than those propounded by Estrada (‘...Italian influence [...] had a great predominance in our musician, as much in the style as in the medium of the writing in his works) and Stevenson (‘...although the music has not survived, it must have been thoroughly Italianate’).¹⁴⁴ However, the ‘Italianate’ side of Sumaya amounts to very little more than the inclusion of violins in several villancicos and cantadas, and a mildly florid vocalism. The telling first person plural phrase used in Sumaya’s opinion on the Italian violinist Martino, ‘that [music] which we style in Spain’ places Sumaya solidly in the Spanish tradition—a tradition which was often quick to dismiss Italian music as

¹⁴² Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Oaxaca, Libro 6, folios 40v–41 and 291v, of 6 May 1756 and 23 September 1768 respectively.

¹⁴³ Primary sources for Sumaya’s villancicos included the Estrada collection, the music archive of the Archdiocese of Guatemala and the music archive of the Oaxaca cathedral.

¹⁴⁴ Illari, ‘The popular, the sacred, the colonial and the local’ in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World*, 426, Estrada, ‘Música y músicos’, 117, Stevenson, *Music in Mexico*, 150.

‘tararirá’ authored by ‘writers of arias and cavatinas rather than true maestros de capilla’.¹⁴⁵

The evidence of the Estrada collection indicates a highly original composer carrying on the polychoral villancico tradition inherited from his maestro, Salazar. In the villancicos for smaller formations of two to four voices, Sumaya shows a special concern for the words of his sacred texts, often setting them in the old minor proportion. Altogether, Sumaya seems more a priestly keeper of the Spanish choral tradition than a moderniser—one need only hear such a *stile antico* piece as the 1717 *Hieremiae Prophetiae Lamentationes* to realise the extent of this author’s backwards-looking musical conservatism. Nonetheless, musical Madrid had largely broken with the old ways, and musicians such as Sumaya had no choice but to follow the lead of the tastemakers of the court, even in faraway Mexico City.

Sumaya’s younger contemporaries, many of whom were writing music for use in the style-conscious convents and girls’ schools of New Spain, had fully adopted the new Italian influences. The history and cultivation of the villancico in these feminine institutions is the subject of the following chapter.

¹⁴⁵ Vicente Pérez (compiler and commentator), ‘Colección de documentos, originales en parte, referentes a la Capilla Real’ [Collection of documents, in part originals, referring to the Royal Chapel], Spanish National Library manuscript M/762, folio 28r. Writing in a 1791 margin note, the Royal Chapel singer Pérez is condemning the organist José de Nebra’s 1751 recommendation to send to Naples for new music. ‘...más bien escritores de arias y cavatinas que verdaderos maestros de capilla’. Pérez uses the onomatopoeic ‘tararirá’ several times to describe Italian music, which he felt was lacking in ‘gravity’, see ‘nota 6’, folio 31v. This attitude echoed the opinions of Feijoo, and had currency into the late eighteenth century in Spanish church music circles.

Chapter 8: The Villancico in Feminine Institutions in New Spain: Convents and Colegios

Ulrike Strasser notes that historians, adopting a Weberian/Protestant narrative, have largely overlooked the role played by nuns and the convent as an institution in the political development of the modern state.¹ Certainly in the colonial context of New Spain the female convent as an institution had wide-ranging social and economic influence—for example in the social sphere in the formation of criollo elites, and in the economic sphere as moneylenders in the perennially cash-strapped colonial economy. Parallel to their social and economic influence, the convents of colonial Mexico were important repositories of musical culture. Though this musical culture was closely related to the specifically male musical culture of the Spanish cathedrals and churches, the imposition of claustration on the female religious orders by the Council of Trent conditioned the music and music-making of nuns throughout the Catholic world in many important ways; their musical culture would by nature present many distinct features to that of their male counterparts.

Claustration was, as Strasser asserts, an attempt to limit the autonomy that the female religious orders had acquired (at least to some degree) during the late Middle Ages and Renaissance.² The post-Tridentine convent would be closely controlled by paternal forces; confessor and prelate would hold authority over the population of the convent in the same way that a pater familias asserted his authority over a household. Although claustration and the exercise of male authority had negative consequences in many cases—the case of the Mexican poetess Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz was discussed

¹ Ulrike Strasser, 'Early Modern Nuns and the Feminist Politics of Religion'. *Journal of Religion*, 84, no. 4 (2004): 529–554.

² *Ibid.*

earlier in these pages—the result of claustration could also, in some cases, be the creation of a feminine space within the rigidly male-dominated Spanish society. This is the case of the musical chapels that arose in the convents to serve the divine cult; a feminine musical culture had been created within the convent by the necessities stemming from claustration, and this culture would in turn foment the musical education of young girls who wished to enter into the religious orders. These girls, when they took the veil, formed what was effectively a class of professional musicians, compensated by the convent for their services by the partial or full payment of their dowry as well as their day-to-day maintenance.

Female convents were a ubiquitous feature in the urban landscapes of New Spain. The study of the convents of colonial Mexico has generated a large amount of literature subsequent to the pioneering efforts of Josefina Muriel and Asunción Lavrín, and the writings of feminine authors of the viceregal period are being studied intensively.³ A wide range of archival sources are available for the study of convent life and culture; unfortunately this is not the case in the field of convent music. Most of the primary sources for music in the convents of New Spain were lost after the exclaustation of the female religious orders in 1863.⁴ A fortunate exception is the Sánchez Garza collection held by the Centro Nacional de Investigación, Documentación e Información Musical (CENIDIM), a dependency of the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes (INBA) in Mexico City. Containing pieces by both Spanish and New World authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this collection represents an

³ Josefina Muriel, *Cultura femenina novohispana*. Asunción Lavrín, *Brides of Christ: Conventual Life in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2008).

⁴ The male orders had been dissolved by the Liberal government in a series of laws promulgated in 1859, though the exile of the elected president Benito Juárez from Mexico City prevented their immediate implementation.

important survival of villancico literature, preserving many pieces that have every appearance of having been written expressly for the Conceptionist nuns of the Holy Trinity convent in Puebla, along with other pieces that show adaptations for their use. Several maestros de capilla of the Puebla cathedral, whose dates will be mentioned again here, are represented in the collection, among them Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (ca.1590–1664), Fabián Pérez de Ximeno (ca.1595–1654), Juan García de Céspedes (ca.1619–1678), Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana (ca.1650–1705), Antonio de Salazar (ca.1650–1715), Francisco de Atienza y Pineda (ca.1657–1726), Miguel de Riva Pastor (died 1712), Nicolás Ximénez de Cisneros (died ca. 1747) and Joseph de Lazo Valero (died 1778).⁵ Other musicians of the Puebla cathedral contributed villancicos to the archive of the Holy Trinity convent, such as the dulcian player Simón Martínez (fl. 1634), the singer and instrumental musician Juan de Baeza Saavedra (fl.1662–1671), the instrumental musician Antonio Mora (fl. 1652–1675), the organist Francisco Vidales (1632–1702), the sackbut player Manuel Pereira (fl. 1691), the harpist Juan Florentín (fl.1720–1736), the dulcian player/cornettist Joseph de Balmaña (fl.1710–1720), the organist Francisco Manuel Carabantes (fl. 1720), and the organist/harpsichordist Miguel Tadeo de Ochoa (died 1760).⁶ There can be little doubt that the

⁵ E. Thomas Stanford, *Catálogo de los acervos musicales de las catedrales metropolitanas de México y Puebla de la Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia y otras colecciones* (Mexico City: Biblioteca Nacional de Historia e Antropología, 2002). This uninformative catalogue must be supplemented by Stanford's much more complete typewritten original, available at the National Museum of History and Anthropology in Mexico City. Robert Stevenson's list of the contents of the Sánchez Garza collection in his *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico* remains a valid source of information for the wealth of Spanish and New World composers represented in the collection.

⁶ There are several other local composers of villancicos in the Sánchez Garza collection whose dates cannot be identified with exactitude. These are the singer and multi-instrumentalist Gregorio Rodríguez, the tiple Andrés Pérez, and the singer Francisco Sanz, all from the second half of the seventeenth century. The contralto Joseph María Placeres Santos and the harpist Juan Corchado, both of whom are represented in the collection, flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century. Francisco de Olivera, a bass singer of the first half of the seventeenth century is represented in the collection with the responsory *O vos omnes*.

close musical ties between the members of the Puebla cathedral chapel and the nuns of the Holy Trinity convent were echoed by analogous situations in Mexico City, Guadalajara, Oaxaca, Valladolid-Morelia and Guatemala. Josefina Muriel and Luis Lledías have documented the existence of another major musical chapel, the Royal Convent of Jesús María in Mexico City, also of the Conceptionist order.⁷ The music of this convent has not survived, though Muriel and Lledías have located receipts for paper used to notate villancicos for Corpus Christi in 1622 and for Christmas 1652 and 1657. The record of the archbishop Payo Enriquez de Ribera's visits to Mexico City nunneries also reveals villancico activity in the Regina Coeli convent; in 1672 Payo's enquiry into the expenses of this religious community showed an annual payment of 35 pesos to the vicaria de coro for 'the maestro who does the villancicos and music for the choir all year'.⁸ Yet another Mexico City Conceptionist convent, Our Lady of the Incarnation, was the source of six choirbooks held by the Newberry Library in Chicago; volume one bears the inscription: 'this book of masses is from this convent of our lady of the incarnation'.⁹ The music of the Newberry choirbooks is decidedly polyphonic and polychoral, with compositions for up to three choirs.¹⁰ It is reasonable to conclude that this wealthy convent, given its musical resources, also cultivated the villancico in its

⁷ Josefina Muriel and Luis Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanas* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2009).

⁸ Leticia Pérez Puente, Gabriela Oropeza Tena and Marcelo Saldaña Solís (transcription), *Autos de las visitas del arzobispo fray Payo Enríquez a los conventos de monjas de la ciudad de México (1672–1675)*. (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2005). '...el maestro que hace los villancicos [sic] y música para el coro todo el año.', 57.

⁹ 'Este libro de mi[s]as es de este conbento de nuestra seño[r]ja de la encarnasion'. Cited by Eliyahu Schleifer, 'New Light on the Mexican Choirbooks at the Newberry Library'. *Notes*, vol. 30, no. 2 (1973): 233. Schleifer discovered the inscription with the aid of an ultra-violet lamp.

¹⁰ The Newberry choirbooks contain repertoire by Spanish Renaissance masters such as Francisco Guerrero, Cristóbal de Morales, Tomás Luis de Victoria as well as seventeenth-century polyphony by composers active in Mexico, among them Hernando Franco, Fabián Pérez de Ximeno, Juan de Lienas and Antonio Rodríguez Mata. The Mexico City maestro de capilla Manuel de Sumaya is also present with several neo-Renaissance pieces.

Matins services for the important feast days. A request made in 1607 to the Mexico City cathedral chapter by a Hieronymite nun, Andrea de la Concepción, indicates the existence of a musical chapel in the convent of Saint Jerome and Saint Paula. Andrea de la Concepción was petitioning for the assignment of a cell in her convent as a space ‘to give keyboard lessons to other nuns, and to rehearse—with all those of the polyphonic chapel—and study that which is to be sung in the choir’.¹¹ Andrea de la Concepción was almost certainly a nun who had entered her convent as a professional musician in return for the payment of her dowry. Lacking the funds to buy a cell in the convent as a teaching and rehearsal space, she requested the aid of the cathedral Dean. Andrea de la Concepción’s efforts to train the convent music seem to have been successful; when the archbishop Payo Enriquez de Ribera visited the Saint Jerome convent on an inspection tour almost seventy years later, he authorised a payment of twenty pesos a year to the choir mistress ‘...as has been the custom, for the gratification of the maestro who composes the music, and six pesos for strings and reeds’.¹² Sor Juana, the author of dozens of villancico texts, lived within these walls at the time of Payo Enriquez’ 1675 visit.

Thus, it could be postulated that there existed a sizeable repertory of villancicos, written or adapted for the convents of New Spain, which is no longer extant. Can the Sánchez Garza collection be taken to be representative of this hidden repertory? If the collector’s spirit which prevailed in the archive of the Puebla convent was present at other institutions, then that is the case. However, the Sánchez Garza collection is at

¹¹ Mexico City Cathedral chapter record of 16 October 1607, libro 5, folio 57v. ‘...dar lección de teclado a otras religiosas, y probar—con todas las de la capilla de canto de órgano—y estudiar, lo que se ha de cantar en el coro’.

¹² Pérez Puente, Autos de las visitas del arzobispo. ‘...como ha sido el costumbre para el regalo del maestro que compone la música, y seis para cuerdas y cañuelas’, 120.

present the only substantial source for music in the vernacular stemming directly from a convent in New Spain. The collection which belonged to the Colegio de Santa Rosa in Valladolid-Morelia will be considered below in connection with another ubiquitous New Spanish institution, the girl's music school.

8.1 Contexts of Female Monasticism in New Spain

Except for the La Concepción convent of Mexico City founded in 1540, all conventual foundations in New Spain were post-Tridentine establishments, with no other tradition than the strict enforcement of enclosure that had been dictated by the twenty-fifth session of the Council.¹³ Lavrin notes that the founders and patrons of New Spanish nunneries soon made them into enclaves destined for the 'protection' of women of European race, to the exclusion of Indians and women of mixed race.¹⁴ This was to be the prevalent discourse for the next two centuries; not until the founding of the Corpus Christi convent in 1724 would native women be allowed to profess as nuns, and only then as members of an indigenous elite with their own claims to aristocratic status and 'purity of blood'. This convent remained an exception, and it was generally considered that native women did not possess the mental acuity necessary for the spiritual life.¹⁵

Limpieza de sangre, or purity of blood, was a concept inherited from fifteenth-century Spain, where it had come to be applied in certain civil and ecclesiastic situations in order to exclude persons with possible Jewish or Moorish blood from holding office or aspiring to an ecclesiastical career. The nature of the concept of 'purity of the blood'

¹³ Silvia Evangelisti describes a very different situation in Europe, where nuns in Italy, Germany and France in some cases negotiated and circumvented the Tridentine enclosure provisions. Silvia Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life 1450–1700*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹⁴ Lavrin, *Brides of Christ*, 20.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 261.

was never defined in a precise juristic formulation, but in broad terms it meant having no Jewish or Moorish forebears, or persons who had converted from those religions in one's bloodline. This concept had been transferred to the New World, where proof of the purity of family bloodline and legitimate birth were requisites for ecclesiastical positions, including entry into a convent. As noted in the introductory chapter, the concept had become altered in the New World to mean the degree of 'Spanishness' that an individual could demonstrate; admixture of Indian or African blood made a candidate unsuitable for religious duties.¹⁶ In effect this made the convents of New Spain the preserve of the criollas, the daughters of parents who were demonstrably of Spanish race, but who had been born in the New World.¹⁷

Various socioeconomic factors inclined women to profess as nuns; foremost amongst these was the lack of suitable men to marry. The chronicler Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora (1645–1700) comments on this situation in his history of the Jesús María convent, *Paraíso occidental*: '...many [women], incited by the extreme necessity they suffered, disregarded decorum, marrying men of inferior quality to that which their blood demanded.'¹⁸ The convent was a socially acceptable alternative to marriage, providing 'protection' for girls who were felt to be at risk of marrying below their

¹⁶ For a complete account of all aspects of this phenomenon see María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico*. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2008).

¹⁷ Muriel, *Cultura femenina*, 497–498. Muriel remarks that racial origin was sometimes falsified in baptismal certificates, making 'criollo' a somewhat unspecific term. However, the investigation associated with the proof of purity of blood could be carried out with rigour if a candidate appeared to be racially undesirable.

¹⁸ Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, *Paraíso occidental, plantado y cultivado en su magnífico Real Convento de Jesús María de México* (Mexico City: Juan de Ribera, 1684). '...muchas estimuladas de la necesidad extremo que padecían atropellaban con su decoro, casándose con hombres de inferior calidad a la que pedía su sangre'.

socioeconomic and racial status, while preserving or even augmenting the social prestige of their families.

Only families with good economic means could afford to pay the dowry necessary to secure a place for a daughter or female relative in a nunnery; nuns who were taken on as musicians were most often recipients of dowries paid for through pious works. This system of religious patronage was practiced through the entire colonial period; Lavrin remarks that a donor could acquire an enhanced image of piety and social rank by providing capital for a convent.¹⁹ As María Gembero Ustarróz notes, musician nuns achieved a higher social status as brides of Christ than they could have outside the convent, though their standing within the convent must have been rather more humble than that of the nuns whose families could afford to pay a full dowry.²⁰

Finally, apart from the economic and social pressures that impelled young women toward either marriage or the convent, true religious inclination cannot be discounted as a reality, especially in the highly religious social construction that was the Spanish New World. Unlike European Spain, the upper echelons of novohispanic society were neither truly feudal nor aristocratic in character; the higher aspirations of New World society had their locus in the Church, and by extension the convent.²¹ The convent would become a focal point for a specifically feminine musical culture and a centre for the literary activity of women, though under the watchful eyes of male confessors and spiritual guides.

¹⁹ Lavrin, *Brides of Christ*, 25.

²⁰ María Gembero Ustarróz, 'De rosas cercada: music by Francisco de la Huerta for the nuns of Santa Ana de Ávila', in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*, eds. A. Torrente and T. Knighton (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), 324–326.

²¹ The art historian Manuel Toussaint notes the cathedral as a focal point of artistic endeavour in colonial Mexico. Manuel Toussaint, *Pintura colonial en México* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1990). For a discussion of feudal aspects of the labour market in colonial Mexico, see Knight, *Mexico*, 191–198.

8.2 Women's Voices

The most essential difference between the masculine musical culture of the Spanish cathedrals and churches and that of the convents was the very fact of the existence of the female voice. A naturally produced soprano voice was in essence different to the various devices used in the church to obtain the upper voices: the training of boys whose voices would soon change, castration to preserve treble range after puberty, or the cultivation of the falsetto register. Nor did a woman's voice require the support of instruments such as the cornett or the treble dulcian, as the male voices in the cathedral regularly did.

Women's voices were at once the object of undisguised admiration and profound mistrust by churchmen of the period. The English priest and adventurer Thomas Gage gives an example from seventeenth-century Mexico City in his well-known travelogue, *The English American*, worth citing at length for its glimpse into the musical life of the convents:

It is ordinary for the friars to visit their devoted nuns, and to spend whole days with them, hearing their music, feeding on their sweetmeats, and for this purpose they have many chambers which they call locutorios, to talk in, with wooden bars between the nuns and them, and in these chambers are tables for the friars to dine at; and while they dine the nuns recreate them with their voices. Gentlemen and citizens give their daughters to be brought up in these nunneries, where they are taught to make all sorts of conserves and preserves, all sorts of needlework, all sorts of music, which is so exquisite in that city that I dare be bold to say that the people are drawn to their churches more for the delight of the music than for any delight in the service of God.²²

Gage was by no means alone in his opinion; other writers report favourably on the music that could be heard in the convent churches, for example the world traveller Giovanni Gemelli Careri reports of Annunciation day 1697 in Mexico City, '... I went

²² Thomas Gage, *The English American: A New Survey of the West Indies*, 1648. Ed. A. P. Newton (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005), 90.

to hear the sung Mass and the sermon at the convent of the Incarnation, and there I heard the nuns sing extremely well.²³ Gemelli attended several convent churches the same year, among them the Franciscan convent, Santa Clara: ‘Monday 12 [August] in the convent of Santa Clara the feast of that saint was celebrated with fine music.’²⁴ Local voices also attest to the musical culture of Mexican convents; the erudite Sigüenza y Góngora, himself a cleric, alludes several times in his *Paraíso Occidental* to the musical abilities of the nuns of the Jesús María convent.

This admiration had its negative pendant. For example, some prelates raised objections to public performances by their spiritual charges. The influential Jesuit priest Antonio Nuñez, confessor and spiritual guide to the poetess Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, advises in his guide for nuns:

...you should learn music perfectly, and if the Lord has given you a voice, sing and play all the kinds of instruments that you can...and finally, acquire all of the good works and talents that you can. And to what end, if you think? To use them for ostentation or to gain favour? In no wise; it is so that you have them stored away and practiced, and bring them forth and use them only when the convent should need them.²⁵

Other churchmen objected to nuns singing altogether, on the grounds that it incited men to forget the sacred words that were being sung and to direct their attention towards the female voice. We read, for example, in a 1597 tract by Diego Pérez, a churchman from Barcelona:

²³ Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Giro del mondo* (Naples: Giuseppe Roselli, 1708). ‘...andai a udire la messa cantata, e’l sermone nel Convento dell’Incarnazione; e vi udii cantar le Monache assai bene.’, 55.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p.113. ‘Il Lunedì 12 nel convento di S. Chiara, si celebrò la festa d’essa Santa, con buona musica.’

²⁵ Antonio Nuñez, *Distribución de las obras ordinarias y extraordinarias del día para hacerlas perfectamente conforme al Estado de Señoras Religiosas* (Mexico City: Viuda de Miguel de Ribera Calderón, 1712). ‘...que aprendáis perfectamente la música y, si el Señor os diere voz, cantéis y toquéis todos los géneros de instrumentos...y, finalmente adquiráis todas las buenas obras y talentos que podáis ¿Y para qué, si pensáis? ¿Para usarlas de ostentación o logros de empeño? De ninguna manera: para qué las tengáis guardadas y apañadas, y sólo las saquéis y uséis cuando y como el convento las hubiere menester.’, 36.

The virgins, whose voices are wont to be so favoured and so much to the taste of men, that it seems not right that they should sing in a way that men praise their voices and know by the voice who each nun is; and it is more to hear them sing than to hear the divine offices that they go to the monasteries...My heart desires that the virgins who are consecrated to Jesus Christ should not be known by men, nor seen: nor that they should sing figured song [polyphony] or plainchant, nor that they should have organs or any other musical instrument, but rather that the choir should be a place of pure prayer.²⁶

Guide books written for male confessors and their spiritual wards in the convent quite often enunciated the concept that a professed nun should live as if ‘dead to the world’.²⁷

Remaining unseen (and unheard) by the world of men was the most desirable state for a nun—public singing was very much at odds with this desired state, and clashed with yet another spiritual ideal, the complete modesty of a bride of Christ. Perhaps one of the most vehement opponents of music in the convent was the Jesuit missionary and theologian Pedro Calatayud (1689–1773), who was active in Spain. To cite at length from his 1749 method for the spiritual perfection of nuns, written in dialogue form:

Q. Do musician nuns, who sing for vanity, lose merit? A. Oh yes. Q. Is it well that there are musician nuns in the convents who learn villancicos and worldly and joyful airs? A. The illustrious bishops and prelates would make a great gift to God by removing nun musicians from various choirs of nuns, because it is on the pretext of learning to play and sing that their jobs exist, and many dangers, and some of them learn the solfeggio of Asmodeus: and upon the pretext of singing sweetly and skilfully, and playing so, they are a lure for lads, gluttons, and fops, and in Church functions, the taking of the veil and others, they near the grilles and speaking parlours to feast their eyes, ears and voracious appetites on the brides of Christ: the Husband is not pleased by these musicians.²⁸

²⁶ Diego Pérez, *Tratado de la alabanza de la castidad* (Baeza: Juan Baptista de Montoya, 1597), 75. ‘A las vírgenes, cuya voz suele ser tan regalada, y tan a gusto de los hombres, parece que no les está bien cantar de manera que los hombres les alaben las voces, y conozcan por la voz quien es cada monja: y más para oírlas cantar que para oír los oficios divinos vaya a los monasterios...Desea mi corazón, que las vírgenes consagradas a Iesu Christo no fuesen conocidas de los hombres ni vistas: que ni cantasen canto de órgano, ni llano, ni tuviesen órganos ni otro instrumento músico; sino que el coro les fuese lugar de pura oración.’

²⁷ Padre Nuñez furnishes a perfect example in a sermon delivered at the profession of a Mexico City nun. ‘... a bride of Christ has to remain dead to the world and all its domains.’ Antonio Nuñez, *Plática doctrinal, que hizo el P. Antonio Nuñez en la profesión de una Señora Religiosa del convento de San Lorenzo* (Mexico City: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1679). ‘...una esposa de Cristo ha de quedar muerta al mundo y todos sus fueros’.

²⁸ Pedro Calatayud, *Método práctico y doctrinal, dispuesto en forma de catecismo* (Valladolid: Imprenta de la Congregación de la Buena Muerte, 1749). ‘P. Las monjas músicas, que cantan por vanidad, pierden

Another complaint was the preference for novices skilled in music. It was felt that many convents favoured the entry of girls with good voices over those with true religious vocation. For example, the Spanish Franciscan Eusebio González writes in a 1725 history of his order:

In the monastery where there is music the nuns cannot choose who is received into the order, because the selection of novices is not made considering the most noble spirit for the profession of the monastic life, or the most pure habits, but rather for the best organ of voice. It is a fatal risk for the monastery where a choice is made not for the goodness of the heart, but rather for a good throat.²⁹

These types of admonitions seem to have gone generally unheeded by the female orders on both sides of the Atlantic; in Madrid alone three major convents kept large musical establishments and even had villancico chapbooks printed every year³⁰, while the Sánchez Garza repertoire from Puebla shows the cultivation of both solo and ensemble singing from the mid-seventeenth century on into the style galant. Not all prelates were opposed to convent music; the archbishop and viceroy Antonio Vizarrón y Eguiarreta was an active patron of female musical education, as will be seen below.

However, convent music was peripherally involved in a gender confrontation between Mexican nuns and the Spanish prelates Francisco Fabián y Fuero (1719–1794),

el mérito? R. Que sí. P Es bien, que haya músicas en los conventos, y que aprendan villancicos, y tonos aseglarados, y alegres? R. Que los illmos. [ilustrísimos] obispos y prelados habían grande obsequio a Dios en quitar las músicas de varios coros de monjas, pues con pretexto de aprender a tocar y cantar, hay sus trabajos, y muchos peligros, y aprenden varias la solfa de Asmodéo: y con pretexto de cantar dulce, y diestramente, y de tocar, son reclamo de mozos, glotonos, pisaverdes, y en funciones de Iglesia, monjíos y otros se acercan a sus rejas, gradas a cebar sus ojos, oídos y apetito voraz en las esposas de Jesu Cristo: de estas músicas no suele gustar el Esposo.’, 260.

²⁹ Eusebio González, *Crónica seráfica* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Juan García Infanzón, 1725). ‘En el monasterio donde hay música, no pueden tener elección las monjas, para recibir a la orden; porque la elección de estas novicias, no se hace en consideración del más generoso espíritu, para la profesión de la vida monástica; ni por la mayor pureza de las costumbres: sino por el mejor órgano de voz. Riesgo fatal del monasterio donde se eligen, no por el buen corazón; sino para la buena garganta.’, 526. The words monastery and convent were used interchangeably, thus the designation ‘female convent’ by some modern writers.

³⁰ The National Library of Spain has extensive chapbook holdings from the reigns of Charles II and Philip V for the Royal Convent of the Incarnation and the Discalced Royals (Franciscan order), as well as for the Carmelite convent known as Nuestra Señora del Carmen. No evidence has yet come to light that novohispanic convents printed chapbooks.

bishop of Puebla, and the archbishop of Mexico, Francisco Antonio Lorenzana (1722–1804). These two churchmen had proposed reforms to the nunneries in their jurisdictions, Puebla and Mexico City. The thrust of these reforms was the adoption of the *vida común*, a more austere type of communal living as opposed to the relaxed discipline that the nuns of Mexico had hitherto enjoyed, with servants, slaves, protégées (known as *niñas*), and private living quarters.³¹ Lorenzana formulated his austerity plan for the nuns of New Spain in the Fourth Provincial Mexican Council, a synod celebrated in 1771. Paragraph seven of the synodic document is concerned entirely with music:

Plain or Gregorian chant is the most grave and suitable for the temples, and not figured song in which arias, farces and songs proper to the theatre are introduced, and that have more tendency to remind the world of operas, theatres and dances than to exercise the devotion of the faithful, and having been introduced into the convents of religious the use of figured song, and having forgotten Gregorian chant completely, which should be learned and not relegated to the chantresses, because the obligation to learn the tones of the psalms and to sing the Mass and divine offices resides in all, this council commands that only those who know plainchant will henceforth be admitted as singers, and that all novices and young girls should be taught it, and that violin instruments which are improper and indecent for the religious choir will be banished, and great care will be placed on good organists and maestras of plainchant, suppressing as of now the positions of musicians and instruments that are improper to the religious choir.³²

Lorenzana and the bishops involved in the production of the decrees of the Fourth Provincial Council saw themselves as men of the Enlightenment, carrying out a

³¹ For a complete account of this controversy see Lavrin, *Brides of Christ*, pp. 275–309.

³² Luisa Zahino Peñafort *El Cardenal Lorenzana y el IV Concilio Provincial Mexicano*. (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1999). ‘El canto llano o gregoriano es el más grave y propio de los templos, y no el figurado en que se introducen arias, sainetes y cantos propios del teatro, y que tienen más moción para acordarse del mundo óperas, teatros y bailes, que para ejercitar la devoción de los fieles, y habiéndose introducido en los conventos de religiosas el uso de canto figurado y olvidándose enteramente el gregoriano que deben aprender todas las religiosas y no descargar en las cantoras, pues en todas reside la obligación de saber los tonos de los salmos, cantar las misas y oficio divino; manda este concilio que de hoy en adelante sólo se admiten para canto las que sepan canto llano y deben enseñar a todas las novicias y jóvenes y que se destierren del coro de las religiosas los instrumentos de violines que son impropios e indecentes a las religiosas y se ponga todo el esmero a tener buenas organistas y maestras de canto llano, suprimiéndose como desde ahora se suprimen las plazas de músicas e instrumentos impropios del coro de religión.’, 223.

mandate from the Bourbon monarch Charles III to ‘...exterminate relaxed and new doctrines, substituting them with the old and healthy’.³³ To these musical reactionaries, the archbishop of Mexico and the bishops of Puebla, Durango and Oaxaca, this meant the banishment of polyphony from cathedral and convent, and its replacement with plainchant. However, as the royal representative Antonio Joaquín de Rivadeneyra noted at the Council meeting of 21 February 1770, the figure of maestro de capilla was established in the foundational bulls of the Mexican Church; part of the duties assigned to the maestro involved the composition and teaching of polyphonic music to the choir.³⁴ Faced with the juristic impossibility of banishing polyphonic music from the cathedrals of Mexico, Lorenzana and the bishops turned their attention to the female orders—there was no legal impediment for replacing polyphony with plainchant in the convents, and the abhorrent violins could be disposed of at the same time.³⁵ Thus, along with the imposition of communal living and the expelling of the nuns’ servants and protégées, a virtual ban on convent music, except for plainchant, was prescribed by Lorenzana.

Neither Rome nor the Crown ratified the text of the Fourth Provincial Mexican Council, but in 1774 King Charles III decreed that the nunneries of New Spain should adopt communal life; that much of the reform would be carried out. There was a great deal of resistance to this, particularly in Mexico City, where 601 professed nuns living in ten convents rejected the new system to a woman. In Puebla, the measures seem to

³³ Royal decree of Charles III, of 23 August 1769. The complete text of the decree, better known as the Tomo Regio, is cited in Zahin Peñafort, *El Cardenal Lorenzana*, 49–53. ‘...exterminar las doctrinas relajadas y nuevas, sustituyendo las antiguas y sanas...’, 49.

³⁴ Zahin Peñafort, *El Cardenal Lorenzana*, 562.

³⁵ Both Rivadeneyra and an anonymous chronicler present at the Fourth Provincial Council report that Lorenzana and Fabián y Fuero opposed the violin in ecclesiastical music, perhaps under the influence of Benito Feijóo’s *Teatro critico universal*.

have divided the religious communities; communal living was never imposed completely, even by 1779. It is likely that the thriving musical chapel at the Holy Trinity convent did not survive the transition to a more austere style of life for the nuns. The latest identifiable composers to be found in the Sánchez Garza collection are the Puebla maestro Joseph de Lazo Valero with a five voice Mass from the year 1759, written for Holy Trinity day and dedicated to the nuns, the organist of the Puebla cathedral Miguel Tadeo de Ochoa with several villancicos, the Spanish Franciscan Martín Cruzalaegui with a solo setting of the Mass from 1775³⁶ and the Puebla organist José Villegas, who presented his proof of ‘purity of blood’ to the cathedral precentor in 1784.³⁷ The bishop Fabián y Fuero and his successor Victoriano López (1735–1805) had largely succeeded in the implantation of plainchant at the St. Inés and St. Catherine of Siena convents in Puebla; the 1773 Rule and Constitutions of these institutions states that there was to be no music at the choir screens or in the parlours: ‘except when musical lesson in plainchant has to be given by the maestro with the license of the prioress.’³⁸ However, the same document mentions that the chanzonetas and other items to be sung should not contain profane elements which ‘contradict religious composure and modesty.’³⁹ It was probably more through a process of attrition rather than prohibition that polyphonic and solistic singing by nuns was brought to an end in

³⁶ According to Mexico City cathedral chapter records, this musician arrived to New Spain around 1770. Mexico City cathedral chapter records, libro 52, folio 89v, from 19 November 1773. Thomas Stanford dates Cruzalaegui’s Mass as being from the year 1775, *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, iv, 224.

³⁷ Puebla cathedral chapter archive, libro 42, folios 108v–109, from 26 November 1784. Presumably Villegas had already been working at the cathedral and presented proof of ‘purity of the blood’ for a promotion. The position of principal organist in New Spain was reserved for an ecclesiastic.

³⁸ Francisco Fabián y Fuero, *Regla, y constituciones que han de guardar las religiosas de los conventos de Santa Catarina de Sena y Santa Inés de Monte Policiano de la Ciudad de los Ángeles (Puebla: Seminario Palafoxiano, 1773)*. ‘...excepto cuando se ha de dar lección de música de canto llano por el maestro con licencia de la Priora.’, 62.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 66. ‘que desdiga de la compostura y modestia religiosa’.

Puebla; after 1774 all novices had to agree to follow the communal life when they professed. Some older nuns chose to obey the bishop in his call for communal living, perhaps under pressure from their confessors.⁴⁰ Maria Ana Josefa de Santa Bárbara, the maestra de capilla and organist of the Holy Trinity convent was among the signatories consenting to the new rules in 1769.⁴¹ In the 1773 Rule and Constitutions of the Holy Trinity convent, Fabián y Fuero retained the rule fixing a nun's dowry at three thousand pesos without allowing exceptions, effectively removing the possibility for a trained musician to enter the convent in return for musical services.⁴² Invitations to conversation and music in the visiting parlour 'as were previously practiced' were likewise forbidden by the bishop.⁴³ The Rule and Constitutions further prescribed curtains for the upper and lower choirs so that the nuns could not be seen by those present in the convent church.⁴⁴ If the Holy Trinity nuns were still performing music in the last quarter of the century, it was under much more modest circumstances than the heyday of 1650–1750.

Lorenzana's successor to the archbishopric of Mexico, the highly cultivated Alonso Nuñez de Haro y Peralta (1729–1800) arrived to New Spain in 1772. This prelate had other concerns with novohispanic society, such as a reduction of the numerous religious confraternities and the establishment of cemeteries at a remove from the city for hygienic purposes. Nuñez de Haro inherited a thriving girl's music school

⁴⁰ Lavrin, *Brides of Christ*, 295.

⁴¹ Francisco Fabián y Fuero, *Colección de providencias dadas a fin de establecer la santa vida común* (Puebla, 1770), 76. Muriel and Lledias identify this nun as maestra de capilla. Muriel and Lledias, *La música en las instituciones femeninas*, 546–547.

⁴² Francisco Fabián y Fuero, *Regla y constituciones que han de guardar las religiosas de los conventos de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción. Y la Santísima Trinidad de la Ciudad de los Ángeles* (Puebla: Seminario Palafoxiano, 1773), 76.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 84. '...que se practicaban en lo antecedente.' Kendrick notes the repeated prohibition of music in the speaking parlours of Milanese nunneries during the seventeenth century, *Celestial Sirens*, p. 420.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 81.

from his predecessors, the Colegio de San Miguel de Belén, which was dedicated to the training of female musicians for the convents. Though plainchant was the cornerstone of instruction in this institution, the girls learned polyphonic music and instruments, including the violin. Despite the repertoire of the Mexico City convents not being extant, the Italianate music that was being studied at the colegios indicates the continuance of solo and ensemble singing in the Mexico City convents, rather than the suppression that was suffered on the front line of the gender confrontation, Puebla. Nuñez de Haro had studied theology in Bologna, and it is entirely possible that he had heard the famous female musicians of the Santa Cristina convent in that city, as well as the music of the renowned San Petronio church.

8.3 The Villancicos of the Holy Trinity Convent

Many of the popular religious traditions of New Spain, such as the colourful Corpus Christi processions, were slowly acquiring a more sober character under the weight of the Bourbon reforms of Ferdinand VI and Charles III. By mid-eighteenth century this was the case of the villancico, which was being displaced in the cathedrals by Latin responsories, while being discouraged in feminine institutions by zealous prelates such as Fabián y Fuero. Though this aspect of performative religious devotion was drawing to a close, the many and varied currents of Baroque music and poetry are preserved in the villancicos collected by the nuns of the Holy Trinity convent, affording a retrospective glimpse into local music making at the convent over a period of more than one hundred years.

As has been seen, polychorality was one of the most important musical currents in the Spanish baroque. The polychoral scheme is preserved in several villancicos written by Puebla composers for the Holy Trinity convent, however, the musical forces required are adapted to the vocal and instrumental possibilities of the nuns. Juan de

Baeza Saavedra, a younger contemporary of Gutiérrez de Padilla at the Puebla cathedral, furnishes an example of this type of writing in his villancico de Calenda, *Ah del coro celeste* [Ah, of the heavenly choir] from the year 1671.⁴⁵ The concertato principle is at work in this villancico: the musical resources are divided into two choirs, the first made up of two sopranos, alto, instrumental bass and continuo, the second of two sopranos, alto and continuo. Baeza exploits vocal instrumentation to good effect, alternating soprano soloists with their respective choirs, then alternating the two choirs, and adding the full force of both choirs at cadence points. In the coplas section, the two choirs alternate verses, each with its own continuo instrument providing support.⁴⁶ The anonymous poem, cast in lines of ten syllables (decasílabo), shows the novohispanic preoccupation for outward cleverness, for example placing the repeated word ‘no, no, no’ after the line ‘then it is to deny the night’. Musical puns are also present; Baeza cannot deny himself the metapoetical conceit of having the choirs sing together at the words ‘we will make a choir, we two’. The answer to the question posed by the soprano soloist of the second choir ‘at what point [in time, or of the musical scale] do I have to put/such a festive and sweet song’, are the words ‘sol, sol, sol’, meaning both ‘sun’ and the note G, predictably set to a G minor chord at the cadence. Musical references abound:

⁴⁵ The Octavo Kalendas Ianuarii is a retelling of all events leading up to the birth of Christ, starting at the creation of the world. This history was a prescribed reading at the Christmas vigil, in many cathedrals being followed by the singing of a villancico. For Mexico City Calenda practice, in which a villancico followed the reading, see the *Diario Manual*, folio 108r. Examples of the villancico de Calenda can be found in villancico sets for Christmas 1653, 1655, 1656, 1657 and 1658 by the Puebla maestro Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla. Along with the siestas and professions of nuns, the Calenda constitutes a prime exception to the specialisation of the villancico to Matins.

⁴⁶ See the transcription of this piece in the Appendix.

Ah del coro celeste escuchad
 Quien ha subido hasta el cielo su voz
 Yo que primero canto y celebro
 El nacimiento mañana del sol
 Pues es para que niegue la noche
 No, no, no
 Y haremos entonces un coro los dos
 Pues espera que llegue la noche
 Y haremos un coro los dos
 No, pues me cupo ser la primera
 Que las cunas celebro del niño Dios
 En qué punto tengo poner
 Tanta festiva y dulce canción
 Sol, sol, sol
 Porque así disque nace mañana
 De Belén al oriente el niño Dios

Ah, of the celestial choir listen
 To who has lifted to heaven her voice
 I who sing and celebrate
 The birth of the sun tomorrow
 Then it is to deny the night
 No, no, no
 And we will make a choir, we two
 Wait until the coming of night
 And we will make a choir, we two
 No, well it fell to me to be the first
 To celebrate the cradle of the child God
 At what point do I have to put
 Such a festive and sweet song
 Sun, sun, sun
 Because so is born tomorrow
 In Bethlehem of orient the child God

Judging from the distribution of the voices and the concertato character of the musical treatment, one could well imagine a *cori spezzati* arrangement of the two choirs over a wide space; this was not the case, however, as the screen of the choir loft preserved the prescribed Tridentine separation between the Holy Trinity nuns and those present in the convent church. Many details indicate that the local musician Baeza knew the voices and instrumental abilities of the nuns well enough to tailor-make this piece of naïve art for them. The cover of the piece bears a dedication to ‘Mother Maria of the Assumption’, perhaps one of the soloists. Stevenson notes that the name ‘*mariquita la baeza*’—perhaps a daughter of the composer, he conjectures—is written on a bass part along with the designation ‘*biolon*’ (violón), however there is another marking on the part in Baeza’s own hand, ‘*Baxo [bajo] para belica la madalena*’.⁴⁷ Upon closer examination this part reveals itself to be a *basso continuo* providing chordal accompaniment to the solo sopranos of both choirs. Perhaps the chordal instrument part, written for a nun whom the composer knew, was reinforced by the violón, played by a

⁴⁷ Stevenson, *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico*, 72. ‘Bass for Belica la Madalena’.

daughter of the composer. The opening of Baeza's piece may be seen in Figure 24 below.

The musical score is for the opening of Juan de Baeza's villancico 'Ah del coro celeste'. It is written in 3/2 time and B-flat major. The score consists of several parts: a soprano soloist (Tiple 1 solista), a basso (Bajo), and a second choir (Tiple 1, Tiple 2, Alto). The lyrics are: 'Ah del co - ro ce - les - te es - cu - chad es - cu - chad'. The score includes parts for Tiple 1 solista, Bajo, Tiple 1, Tiple 2, Alto, and Acomp. (organ).

Figure 24, Feminine polychorality in the opening bars of Juan de Baeza's *Ah del coro celeste*. The part marked 'Bajo' accompanied the soprano soloists, while the second choir was accompanied by the organ, here marked 'Acomp.'

Several of the singers who had taken part in the 1672 performance of Baeza's villancico de Calenda also sang Antonio de Salazar's undated *Angélicos coros*, whose cover bears the legend 'a 8 de Navidad'. This polychoral Christmas piece, which also takes up the celestial/angelic choir theme, is even more personalized for the Holy Trinity convent than Baeza's: the name of each nun performer is written in Salazar's hand on their respective parts, preceded by the honorific title 'Mother'. The exception was the tenor of the second choir, Inesica Baeza, probably the same Inés de Santa Cruz who had sung second choir alto in 1671, and most likely another daughter of Juan de Baeza. The

diminutive 'Inesica' implies at least some degree of familiarity; in any case Salazar knew the musical forces of the Holy Trinity nuns, of whom he might quite possibly have been an instructor. Here, Salazar is already working in the familiar style that served him as maestro de capilla in Puebla and later Mexico City. The two choirs, each with its own continuo, alternate in regular phrases, repeating the words of the text of the estribillo abundantly and joining together at cadential points. The metre shifts between the fluid ternary **C3** and a stolid **C**, underlining and heightening the speech rhythms, particularly in the second person plural imperatives 'cantad' (sing) and 'bajad' (descend), which are repeated many times. Already evident in the title, Salazar's enjoyment in writing for the female voice is patent. After taking up the position of maestro de capilla in Mexico City in 1688, Salazar dedicated a 1690 polychoral 'Litany of Our Lady of Loreto' to Mother Isabel of the Holy Sacrament, a nun of the Holy Trinity convent. The cover is marked 'devotion of a friend who esteems you'. In a position as the head of a musical chapel that rivalled that of the king's in Madrid, the maestro Salazar had not forgotten the musician nuns of Puebla.

An examination of the source material contained in the Sánchez Garza collection indicates that other local musicians wrote polychoral villancicos for the Holy Trinity convent; these pieces are likely to have been commissioned by the nuns for occasions of a particularly festive or solemn nature, most often the feast of the Holy Trinity (the name day of the convent), and Christmas. One of the more elaborate of these local products is the eight voice Christmas villancico, *A la mar va mi niño* by the Puebla maestro de capilla, Juan García de Céspedes. The first choir consists of two sopranos, alto and an instrumental bass, the second of soprano, alto, tenor and instrumental bass; this is the same distribution of voices that Salazar uses in the undated *Angélicos coros*, perhaps indicating that Salazar was working in an existing convent tradition. This also

seems to be the case of a villancico by Garcia's contemporary, the Puebla organist Francisco Vidales. *Toquen a maitines* is a large-scale polychoral piece which uses the concertato principle to good advantage, contrasting the full vocal ensemble (divided into two choirs with the above distribution) with an opposing pair of tiple voices.⁴⁸ The sackbut player of the Puebla cathedral, Manuel Pereira, produced an eight voice villancico with the same distribution of voices for the feast of the Holy Trinity in 1691. This piece, entitled *Vengan verán en las aguas* is transcribed in Muriel and Lledías' *La música en las instituciones femeninas novohispanos*, making a welcome addition to the relative paucity of published villancico transcriptions by Sánchez Garza authors.⁴⁹ Some of the same nuns who sang and played Baeza's 1671 villancico de Calenda were still active in 1691 for Pereira's villancico, indicating they had been in convent service for at least twenty years. As Craig Monson remarks, the romantic notion of claustration as an 'idyllic refuge for women musicians wanting to freely exercise their creativity' is best avoided.⁵⁰ The almost daily playing and singing that was required of the 'hired' nun musicians, who had exchanged their services for the payment of a dowry, may have been felt as an onerous burden, Monson notes.

⁴⁸ See Bárbara Pérez, 'Francisco Vidales' for the career and output of Vidales. The villancicos of the Sánchez Garza collection are the subject of a forthcoming thesis by this Mexico City-based Venezuelan musicologist.

⁴⁹ The publication *Tesoro de la música polifónica en Mexico Tomo II, Trece obras de la colección Jesús Sánchez Garza* (Mexico City: FONAPAS-CENIDIM, 1981) has been unavailable since the initial print run sold out in the mid-1980s.

⁵⁰ Craig Monson, 'Ancora uno sguardo sulle suore musiciste di Bologna' in *I monasteri femminili come centri di cultura fra Rinascimento e Barocco*, eds. Gianna Pomata and Gabriella Zarri (Rome: Edizione di Storia e Letteratura, 2005). '...quale rifugio idillaco per donne musicisti che volessero liberamente esercitare la loro creatività.', 4.

As has been noted, an idiosyncrasy of polychoral writing in Puebla and Mexico City is the treatment of a solo voice and bass instrument as a separate choir.⁵¹ Solo singing does not seem to have been overtly forbidden or censured, as Kendrick notes that it was in the convents of seventeenth-century Milan.⁵² Perhaps the indispensable attribute of modesty was preserved by placing the solo voice in the context of the choir. Two examples of this type of composition in the Sánchez Garza collection are Juan de Baeza's *Ay Jesús que se mire Dios en el frío*, and Fabián Pérez Ximeno's *Ay galeguinos*, both of which feature a solo soprano singing concertato interventions in alternation with the larger group. Sigüenza y Góngora, somewhat a connoisseur of convent music, gives us an instance of the public consciousness of this type of polychorality, albeit in a mystical context:

One of these [consolations] was the enjoyment by her soul of a most harmonious and extremely grateful music, which was formed of two choirs which alternated verses of a psalm; of one she heard only the voices, without those who were singing manifesting themselves to sight, and in the other attending and singing was Mother Marina of the Cross, without any other company, dressed in extremely resplendent yellow garments.⁵³

In the midst of a description of the unreal elements of a nun's consoling vision, Sigüenza prosaically remarks that there are two choirs at work, one made up of solo voice only.

The concertato principle, often at work in the villancico of the seventeenth century, could be applied to smaller ensembles than the double choir, of course. Puebla

⁵¹ Luis Antonio González Marín also notes this phenomenon in eighteenth-century Spanish settings of the Lamentations for Maundy Thursday. González Marín, 'Lamentación'. *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, xi: 724.

⁵² Robert L. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 82.

⁵³ Sigüenza y Góngora, *Paraíso occidental*. 'Fue uno de ellos gozar su alma de una música armoniosísima, y en extremo grata, que se formaba a dos coros, en que se alternaban versos de un salmo; del uno oía las voces tan solamente, sin que se le manifestasen a la vista los que cantaban, en el otro asistía y cantaba sin compañía alguna la V. M. Marina de la Cruz, vestida de un ropaje amarillo en extremo resplandeciente.', 105v.

composers were swift to exploit the possibilities of the high-voice choir provided by the Holy Trinity convent, producing pieces for two sopranos, alto and accompaniment, or sometimes three sopranos with accompaniment. One such piece for three sopranos is *Zagalejos amigos* [Shepherd friends] by the Puebla maestro de capilla Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla. This lively minor proportion villancico, which was discussed in Chapter 3 as an example of Padilla's major key writing, appears to have been a commission by the Holy Trinity nuns. In Padilla's hand, the piece contains many references to the unity of the Trinity, such as the opening solo soprano lines 'Say shepherd friends why today, it being one, three has struck'.⁵⁴ As with other Sánchez Garza pieces, the nun Andrea signed the solo soprano part, although probably well after Padilla's lifetime.

Another example of a small-scale piece written for the Holy Trinity nuns is Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana's *Ay que se esconde* [Oh, that he hides], which was also signed by the soprano singer Andrea. Dating from 1689, the year after the arrival of the Spanish-born composer to Puebla, the piece is scored for two sopranos, alto and instrumental bass as a choral voice, with harp and bass viol as the specified continuo instruments. In this well-crafted G minor piece, Dallo y Lana shows himself to be a worthy successor to Salazar, displaying the available feminine vocal forces to good advantage in attractive points of imitation. This compositional process may be appreciated in figure 25 below. Not a great number of pieces by Dallo y Lana have survived the vicissitudes of time and archival neglect; there are eleven villancicos of certain attribution in the collection of the Archdiocese of Guatemala, two in the Sánchez

⁵⁴ 'Zagalejos amigos decid si ya hoy que siendo la una han dado las tres'.

Garza collection and one each in Bogotá and Sucre—the Puebla archive itself contains no villancicos by this author.

Tiple 1
que el in - ge - nio se tur - - - - -

Tiple 2
ay - - - - - ay - - - - -

Alto
que el in - ge - nio se tur - - - - -

Bajo

Harp and Bass Viol

- - - - - ba que es mis - te - rio de

que es mis - te - rio de cuen - - - - - ta que es mis -

- - - - - ba ay - - - - -

cuen - - - - - ta

te - rio de cuen - - - - - ta

ay - - - - -

Figure 25, Points of imitation in Dallo y Lana’s Trinity villancico, *Ay que se esconde*

The 1718 inventory of the Puebla archive indicates a massive number of pieces in both Latin and Spanish by Dallo y Lana—at the time of the inventory Atienza counted 613

villancicos for the common occasions, as well as dozens of Latin hymns and motets.⁵⁵ This might only have been a part of Dallo's large lifetime output; the composer had worked as maestro at the church of Santa María de Palacio (also known as 'la Imperial' and 'la Aguja') in Logroño, and at the collegiate church of San Salvador in Seville before emigrating to New Spain in 1687 or 1688. Dallo's mobile career on both sides of the Atlantic seems worthy of further study, and it is hoped that upon the reopening of the Puebla archive to investigators a more complete appraisal of this composer will be possible.⁵⁶

The solo vocalism of the seventeenth-century villancico as seen in the Sánchez Garza collection is not the virtuoso display to be found in contemporaneous works in Italy—the musical revolution that had been sparked by the lyric drama was as yet remote from New Spain. The native Spanish theatrical forms such as the *comedia* played their part in the villancico however, even within the confines of the convent walls. Just as their secular counterparts would stand in a makeshift theatre and deliver a set of *coplas*, the musician nuns sang a *lo divino* versions of the same type of music at solemn Matins on feast days. The Sánchez Garza collection contains several examples of the proximity of theatre song and sacred villancico; one of the most instructive is *Ay como llora* by the Puebla maestro de capilla Miguel de Riva Pastor, who was active at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth. This villancico for soprano voice and continuo shares many musical elements in common with

⁵⁵ The duo with accompaniment seems to have been Dallo y Lana's preferred voice distribution. The inventory shows twenty-six Christmas duos, thirty-two for the Immaculate Conception, eighteen for Corpus, thirty-seven for Saint Anthony and thirty for Saint Peter, among others.

⁵⁶ The initiative of the Asociación Civil Apoyo al Desarrollo de Archivos y Bibliotecas de México (ADABI) to inventory and rescue the archive has restricted access at the time of writing. A digitisation of the chapter records is said to be forthcoming; this will constitute a prime source for the study of Puebla composers.

contemporary theatre songs by Sebastian Durón (1660–1716) and Juan Hidalgo (ca. 1614–1685): the morphology of estribillo and coplas, the use of minor proportion ternary metre (C3) contrasted with common time, and most tellingly, the use of the soprano voice. The element of syncopation, common to both theatre song and villancico can be seen in Figure 26, the opening of Riva Pastor’s *Ay como llora*.

The figure shows three systems of musical notation for the villancico 'Ay como llora'. Each system consists of a vocal line (Tiple or Ti) and an accompaniment line (Acomp.). The music is in a 3/2 time signature and a minor key. The lyrics are: 'Ay como llora más y...', 'co - mo sien - te ay co - mo', and 'llo - ra más ay co - mo sien - te'.

Figure 26, Comedia style solo singing in Riva Pastor’s Sánchez Garza collection villancico, *Ay como llora*

As in seventeenth-century England, the public in Madrid and the Spanish realms preferred plays with inserted songs rather than continuous music; these songs were the province of the *músicas*, singing actresses with little musical training.⁵⁷ All singing

⁵⁷ Pilar Ramos López, ‘Music and Women in Early Modern Spain: Some Discrepancies between Educational Theory and Musical Practice’, in *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women: Many-Headed Melodies*, ed. Thomasin LaMay (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 116.

parts in the comedia and the budding zarzuela, including the heroic male roles, were taken by women, thus provoking the censure of theatre music as ‘effeminate softness’ by Feijóo and others.⁵⁸ Yet the aesthetic of the Hapsburg period, which we might term today as ‘inclusive’, did not reject this close juxtaposition of theatre and sacred rite in the villancico, particularly when it appeared in connection with the occasion of Christmas. The same aesthetic permitted the ‘character’ villancicos which are to be found in the Holy Trinity archive, such as the jácara, the negrilla, the gallego, the gitanilla and the vizcaíno, all of which involve some degree of linguistic parody, and which, as Carlos Villanueva has commented, were most often based on clichés derived from the theatre.⁵⁹ The rather modest vocalism of the seventeenth-century villancico was superseded in the new century by a more florid Italian-influenced style emanating from Madrid, which the nuns of the Holy Trinity convent took up much more quickly than their counterparts in the cathedral.

8.4 The Bourbon Century in the Feminine Institutions

Álvaro Torrente discerns that the stylistic changes occurring in the villancico of the early eighteenth century stemmed from a shift in the secular models of the theatre; the Spanish theatre was adopting Italian musical models with a rapidity similar to that of the other European nations.⁶⁰ Just as the lyric element of the Spanish theatre had determined the musical nature of the seventeenth-century villancico, so it was in the new century; much of the sacred music written for Spanish churches after 1700 had a

⁵⁸ Pilar Ramos López, *Feminismo y música: una introducción crítica* (Madrid: Narcea Ediciones, 2003), 91.

⁵⁹ Carlos Villanueva, ‘Villancico’. *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, x: 922.

⁶⁰ Álvaro Torrente, ‘Italianate Sections in the Villancicos of the Royal Chapel’, 74. The conclusions arrived at by Isabel Pope in her New Grove article on the later villancico, which are the object of Torrente’s objections in the above-cited article, have since been replaced with an article by Paul Laird.

strong consanguinity with music for the stage. An admixture of musical influences from Naples and Parma was gaining ascendancy at the court in Madrid, while at the same time filtering out into the Spanish provinces and the New World.

With so few musical sources available, it is difficult to reconstruct a chronology of the introduction of the new style into the convents of Mexico. However, archival research shows that a new current begins to manifest itself in the Sánchez Garza collection not later than 1722 in a pair of local compositions, which one might term ‘syncretic’ in their amalgam of Spanish and Italian elements. The first of these pieces is entitled *Como se imitan los dos ruiseñores* [How the nightingales imitate one another], a musical essay on the nightingale theme by the Puebla cathedral harpist Juan Florentín. Although this villancico a duo is undated, Florentín requested and was granted work in the remote Antequera-Oaxaca in 1723, placing this piece during his tenure at Puebla, where he was known to have been playing as early as 1710.⁶¹ The novelty of this Christmas villancico lies in its use of melisma, an element that Spanish composers had heretofore exploited in a very limited way, preferring syllabic settings even in solo and duo pieces. The melismatic passage on the word ‘gorjeos’ [chirps or twitters], seen below in Figure 27, inspired the singer of the first tiple part to scribble a note cautioning future performers to go ‘very slowly’, ‘muy despacio’. Florentín’s understanding of harmony, as that of most Mexican church musicians of the period, is still based on the hexachord; the simple accompaniment requires no figures to be realised. Likewise, the villancico morphology of estribillo and coplas is preserved, making the warbling of the two nightingale sopranos the novel element in this Christmas piece.

⁶¹ Robert Stevenson, *Christmas Music*, 73.

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'Melisma' from Juan de Florentín's 'Como se imitan los dos ruiseñores'. The score is written in 4/4 time and consists of two systems of staves. The first system includes three staves: Tiple 1 (treble clef), Tiple 2 (treble clef), and Acomp. (bass clef). The second system includes three staves: Ti. 1 (treble clef), Ti. 2 (treble clef), and Ac. (bass clef). The lyrics are written below the staves. The lyrics for the first system are: 'ves gor - je - - - - -' and 'sua - ves gor - je - - - - -'. The lyrics for the second system are: 'os pues con sua - ves gor - je - - - - - os y con', 'os gor - je - - - - - os', and 'os'.

Figure 27, Melisma in Juan de Florentín's *Como se imitan los dos ruiseñores*

The second 'syncretic' piece from the Sánchez Garza collection, by the Puebla organist Miguel Tadeo de Ochoa, bears the title *A los influjos, cantada a duo a la Santísima Trinidad con violines* and is dated 1722. A surprising element in this cantada is the introduction of two obligato violin parts; as yet in the Puebla cathedral the violin had been relegated to reinforcing the upper voices only, while in Mexico City Sumaya had used the violin only very sparingly. Ochoa seems to be aware of trends in Madrid, calling his piece a cantada, and including a recitative and an aria-like section in 6/8, followed by a traditional set of coplas. The bass is partially figured, a departure from the Spanish style in which the bass was realised according to interval movement. These modest barometers of Italian influence, filtered through the medium of Madrid, are indicators of developing modern taste in the Holy Trinity convent. The vocal parts to

Ochoa's villancico are lost; however, three compositions by the Puebla harpist and choir school master Juan Corchado furnish examples of the increasingly dexterous solo singing being demanded from the nuns during the later 1720s. The villancico a duo, *Ay que esplendores* and the tonada sola a la Natividad de Nuestra Señora, *Nace la aurora divina*, dated 1727, share the estribillo-coplas form, while *Zagaleja de perlas*, designated as an 'arieta sola', calls for an agile soloist.

As seen in the previous chapter, the cantada had begun to appear in the same liturgical function as the villancico. The Sánchez Garza collection evidences several pieces of this type by two composers of the Veneto region resident in Madrid, Giacomo Facco (ca.1692–1753) and Francesco Corradini (1676–1769). As previously remarked, the usual instrumentation for this type of cantada was two violins and continuo; a skilled voice was required to perform the increasingly solistic music which drew from contemporary lyric theatre.

Local authors continued to supply the Holy Trinity convent with compositions through at least the first three quarters of the eighteenth century. The emphasis was now on the soprano voice, alone, or in pairs, singing music very reminiscent of that which was sounding on the theatre boards in Madrid and Mexico City, although care was always taken to furnish an acceptably sacred text. The violin had become an indispensable element in convent music; as seen above, the Spanish prelates Lorenzana and Fabián y Fuero were quick to associate this instrument with the criolla nuns and their 'relaxed' practices. The quick spread of the violin in the convents of New Spain had not come ex nihilo. This and other modern instruments such as the oboe were being cultivated in the colegios, along with Italianate singing, with the blessing and patronage of enlightened Spanish clerics.

8.5 The Colegios de Niñas

The testimony of Thomas Gage as to the skills of the female musicians educated in the nunneries of New Spain has been seen above. Indeed, Josefina Muriel affirms that music classes took place in all the convents and colegios of New Spain; music was a desirable skill which was learnt along with other ‘feminine arts’.⁶² The Bourbon century would see the formalisation of this aspect of feminine education, in the form of schools dedicated to the training of girls for musical positions in novohispanic convents.

It was the initiative of two Spanish prelates which led to the foundings, in Mexico City and Valladolid-Morelia, of the first dedicated music conservatories in North America. The first of these men has been mentioned in connection with the Mexico City cathedral, the archbishop and viceroy Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta. Born in the Andalusian city of Puerto de Santa María in 1682 and educated at the college of San Clemente in Rome, Vizarrón initially rose to the position of archdeacon at the cathedral of Seville.⁶³ Vizarrón seems to have gained the trust of Philip V while the monarch was sojourning in Seville, acquiring the title of ‘master of his majesty’s curtain’—this title implied some proximity to the king.⁶⁴ In Seville, Vizarrón would have heard the music of the progressive Catalan maestro de capilla Pedro Rabassa (1683–1767), as well as that of Philip V’s court composer, the Italian Philipo Falconi (died 1738). In 1730 the king named Vizarrón archbishop of Mexico, a position he would take up in 1731. Once in the New World, Vizarrón proved to be an important philanthropist, founding the Colegio de Vizcaínas, an institution dedicated to

⁶² Muriel, *Cultura femenina*, 483.

⁶³ José Mariano Beristain de Souza, *Biblioteca hispano americana septentrional*, 298.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* The ‘sumiller de la cortina de su majestad’ attended the king behind his curtained canopy in the Royal Chapel. Philip V had moved his court to Andalusia in 1729, see Henry Kamen, *Philip V of Spain: The King who Ruled Twice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 169–193.

the education of the daughters of persons of Basque descent.⁶⁵ Vizarrón's large 1734 donation for the founding of this colegio was followed by others; the archbishop was instrumental in transforming the Colegio de San Nicolás in San Luis Potosí and the Real Colegio de San José in Querétaro into well-funded schools for girls of Spanish race.⁶⁶ These philanthropic ventures were followed with the founding of a music school within the pre-existing Colegio de San Miguel de Belén in Mexico City. The archbishop explained his pious rationale in the 1746 founding document, entitled 'Escuela de música en que perpetuamente se hallen las niñas más desvalidas' [School of music in which the most unprotected girls are perpetually to be found]:

With the extensive experience that has been given to us in the long course of our service to the Mitre, and with the desire to always encourage the greatest offerings to God, and the relief of the innumerable poor with which this capital has been burdened since the past year of seventeen hundred and forty, we have maintained at our expense and cost, in the Colegio and voluntary Retreat for Girls Saint Michael of Bethlehem of this city, a private School of Music, in which, the maestros paid for by us, all the unprotected poor [girls] of the said house who have been able to discover some application and aptitude have been instructed and qualified in the said exercise, and from which has resulted [...] more than twenty professed religious, and another five in the condition of novices in this city, with the title of Musician.⁶⁷

The foundational document gives some insight into the training of the girls—the archbishop set high professional standards, admitting only twenty students at the time to musical studies; these would be the girls 'finding themselves with more inclination to

⁶⁵ Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas*, 76.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Juan Antonio Vizarrón y Eguiarreta, *Escuela de música en que perpetuamente hallen las Niñas más desvalidas del Recogimiento, y Casa de San Miguel de Belén de esta Ciudad de México/dote, y título para poder ser Religiosas* (Mexico City, Imprenta Real, 1746) '...con la dilatada experiencia, que nos ha dado el largo curso de nuestro servicio a la Mitra y con el anhelo de fomentar siempre el mayor obsequio a Dios, y el alivio de tan innumerables pobres como cargan a esta capital desde el año pasado de mil setecientos y cuarenta, hemos estado manteniendo a nuestras expensas y costo, en el Colegio y Recogimiento voluntario de Niñas de San Miguel de Belén, una particular Escuela de Música, en la cual, pagados por Nos los Maestros, se han ido instruyendo y habilitando en dicho ejercicio, todas las pobres desvalidas de dicha Casa que han podido descubrir alguna aplicación y aptitud, de lo cual nos ha ido resultando [...] más de veinte Religiosas Profesas, y otras cinco en estado de Novicias en los conventos de la ciudad, a título de tales Músicas'. The mention of the year 1740 is a reference to the widespread poverty in the aftermath of the typhoid epidemic of 1737–1738.

the state of religious'.⁶⁸ For the utility of the convents which the girls were destined to enter, each student was required to possess 'three distinct abilities of voice and instrument, two in an acceptable and fluid manner, though the third [need] not be to a rigorous degree'.⁶⁹ Two exceptions to the rule were permitted: if a girl was of superior quality in two disciplines, a third was not required; the other was in 'the singular case that an organist is formed', due to the 'difficulty of this study and the rarity with which these professors are raised'.⁷⁰ At the end of her studies, a girl faced a rigorous examination by maestros specialised in voice, or the instruments being learned. A report was made to the prelates in charge of the school, who then sent the girl to a convent for an all-day audition.

Vizarrón had intended for the cathedral musicians to be the professors of his 'Escuela de Música'; in the founding document the archbishop declares that the music teachers should not only be excellent in the art of music, but also be 'honest and well-behaved, so that they can manage these girls and not cause them any detriment'.⁷¹ However, the Mexico City cathedral musicians whom Sumaya had left behind after his departure for Oaxaca in 1739 seem to have been more interested in earning obventions than educating the musical youth of New Spain—the musical chapel was in frank disarray under the weak leadership of the Portuguese friar Domingo Dutra during the entire decade of the 1740s. It seems that the archbishop sought and found a head

⁶⁸ Ibid. '...que se hallen con más inclinación al estado de religiosas'.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 'Tres habilidades distintas, de voz e instrumentos, las dos en modo aceptable y muy corriente, aunque la tercera sea en grado remiso'.

⁷⁰ Ibid. '...el singular caso de criarse alguna organista', '...la dificultad de este estudio y la raridad con que se crían estas sus profesoras'.

⁷¹ Ibid. '...honestos y morigerados, para que puedan tratar a estas niñas y no causarles detrimento alguno'.

instructor for his music school in other quarters, in the person of one Ricardo de la Main.

The remarkable career of this Spanish immigrant merits a brief digression, as he was closely tied to Vizarrón's school of music. De la Main published in 1747 an index/advertisement for a forthcoming music method, which was to be entitled 'Exposition of Ecclesiastical Music, and Relief for Succentors', with a second title, 'Exposition of Ancient Music, and of Viadanian Music, or the Art of Modern Accompaniment'.⁷² According to the title page, the 'easy method' had been developed for the girls of San Miguel de Belén—the method was trumpeted out by de la Main as being 'so radical, that in a term of six months one can understand the entire Art of Music without fatiguing the memory, and excuses one from the immense work of searching many books and works'.⁷³ On pages two and three of the index we learn the surprising origin of de la Main's musical knowledge, a passage which bears citing at length:

Don Juan Cristopher Pepusch, doctor in music, graduate of the University of Oxonia in England, was my maestro, in the palace of the most excellent gentleman, the Duke of Chandois in London, and he began to teach me composition with Zarlino, and afterwards Cerone, and he had the most famous authors that there were, v. g. the venerable Bede, (my compatriot) Roseto, Macrobius, Guido Aretino, Bermudo, Amphion Stapulense, Rogier, Guerrero, Palestrina, Lobo, Aguilera, Boethius, and in the end, there was no good author, or work that he did not have; (but I remember that Palestrina was his favourite).⁷⁴

⁷² Ricardo de la Main, *Exposición de la música eclesiástica, y alivio para sochantres; Exposición de la música antigua, y de la música viadana, o el arte de acompañar a lo moderno* (Mexico City: Imprenta Real, 1747). This document is held by the National Library of Mexico (Biblioteca Nacional de México) under the call number LaFragua 599.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 1. '...método facilísimo'. '...tan radical, que se puede (en término de seis meses) comprender todo el Arte de la Música, sin fatigar la memoria, y se excusa el inmenso trabajo de registrar tantos libros, y obras'.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 2–3. 'Don Juan Cristopher Pepusch, Doctor en la Música, graduado en la Universidad de Oxonia, en Inglaterra, fue mi Maestro, en el Palacio de Excelentísimo Señor, el Duque de Chandois en Londres, y me empezó a enseñar la Composición por Zarlino, y después por Cerone, y tenía los más famosos Autores que había, v. g. el Venerable Beda, (mi Paisano) Roseto, Macrobio, Guido Aretino, Bermudo, Amphion Stapulense, Roguier, Guerrero, Palestrina, Lobo, Aguilera, Boezio, y en fin, no había Autor, ni

It seems that de la Main received a conservative musical education indeed from Dr. Pepusch—Cerone is the newest of the books mentioned. Zarlino and Cerone notwithstanding, de la Main seems to have taught the girls of San Miguel de Belén using more up to date methods; the index mentions that basses by Corelli, Locatelli, Hasse (whom de la Main calls ‘Zasoni’), Bassani and Astorga are to be included in the forthcoming volume. While studying with Pepusch at the estate of James Brydges, Duke of Chandos, de la Main would have been exposed to the music of Handel. A list of the Duke’s household from midsummer 1720 names de la Main as a player of the ‘tenor violin’, or viola—as a member of the Duke’s ensemble, de la Main would have played both at Brydges’s Anglican chapel and at the entertainments given at Cannons.⁷⁵ Indeed, if the first version of Handel’s Esther was given at Cannons in 1720, as it often is said to have been, de la Main almost certainly would have been the violist on that occasion. Nothing more is known of the composer until 1727, when he surfaced in Mexico City as director of music at the Coliseo, the local playhouse.⁷⁶ During the ensuing years, de la Main seems to have gained some notoriety as a composer of sacred music, being mentioned in the September 1738 issue of the *Gazeta de México* as ‘the celebrated Don Antonio Ricardo de la Main’. The one surviving villancico by de la Main, *Ah del imperio el aura sutil* [Ah, of the empire the subtle aura], for soprano, two violins and basso continuo, shows hybrid elements of villancico and da capo aria. The villancico, included in the Appendix, begins with a slow introduction, proceeding to a

Obras buenas que no tenía; (pero me acuerdo que Palestrina fue su más querido)’. The paisano, or compatriot whom de la Main mentions is the sixteenth-century Spanish music theorist Blas Roseto.

⁷⁵ The list of the members sitting at the Duke’s ‘Musick Table’ is given in MS ST 44 of the Huntington Library.

⁷⁶ Jefferson Rea Spell, ‘The Theater in New Spain in the Early Eighteenth Century’. *Hispanic Review*, 15, no. 1 (1947): 148.

quick common time section marked *estribillo*, in which the soprano is given opportunity to show off ability at trills and *coloratura*. In the following section in 3/4, marked *copla*, the words exalting Saint Rosa of Lima are set syllabically, much in the manner of a traditional *copla* section. The indication ‘*al estribillo*’ is given at the end of the *copla*, so that the return to the refrain of the *villancico* strongly resembles the return to the ‘head’ of a *da capo* aria.

Had de la Main’s method for the girls of San Miguel de Belén been published, it would have been the singular case of a theory manual making the reverse journey from the New World back to Spain. The death of the archbishop Vizarrón in 1747 seems to have frustrated plans to print and distribute the books. Vizarrón’s music school for girls proved to be an extremely durable proposition; according to Josefina Muriel, the school continued to function until 1862, when the Mexican Republic applied the Laws of Reform forcing the sale of Church properties.⁷⁷

Research in the various Mexican music archives indicates that De la Main was only one of a group of composers who produced music for the convents and girls’ schools of eighteenth-century Mexico. Muriel and Lledías note a *Misa a dúo y bajo de la Escoleta de Bethlem* [Mass a duo and bass from the Bethlehem School] by Gregorio Mariano Soberanis, a composer who also appears in the Sánchez Garza collection, and is represented in Guatemala with five *villancicos* which appear to be exclusively for female voices.⁷⁸ Miguel Tadeo de Ochoa is noted above in connection with the Santísima Trinidad convent. Likewise, Ochoa is represented in Guatemala with a

⁷⁷ Muriel and Lledías, *La música en las instituciones femeninas*, 91.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 112.

recitative and aria for four sopranos—the work of this composer appears to have been dedicated exclusively to the female voice.

The music collection of the Colegio de Santa Rosa of Valladolid-Morelia also contains pieces which were written for the girls of the school. This institution was a second case of a dedicated music conservatory being founded within an existing colegio de niñas by a philanthropic prelate. The cathedral canon Francisco Xavier Vélez de Guevara, vicar of the colegio, founded a music school within its walls, giving much the same rationale as Vizarrón, the musical education of ‘unprotected’ girls of Spanish race who wished to profess as nuns.⁷⁹ According to the Mexican composer Bernal Jiménez, the school was recognised as a ‘Conservatorium mulierum et puellarum’ by the music-interested Pope Benedict XIV in 1748.⁸⁰ Vélez de Guevara’s efforts received an important stimulus from the Navarrese bishop of Michoacán, Martín de Elizacochea, who destined 10,000 pesos to fund scholarships for the Colegio.⁸¹ This prelate, a friend of Vizarrón, appears to have emulated the archbishop in encouraging female music education in the province of Michoacán. Among the music teachers at the Colegio de Santa Rosa numbered the assistant succentor and tenor chorister of the Valladolid cathedral, Francisco Ortiz de Alcalá. A 1754 villancico by this author, *Cantad nuevas glorias* [Sing new glories], written for the first Mass of the Colegio’s new church edifice, features an ensemble of three sopranos, tenor, two violins and continuo. This seems to have been a typical formation for the school, having also been used by the maestro of the cathedral, José Gavino Leal (ca. 1700–1750), for his 1742 *Ay que*

⁷⁹ Josefina Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana y sus colegios de niñas* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2004), 351–352.

⁸⁰ Miguel Bernal Jiménez, *La música en Valladolid de Michoacán* (Morelia: Ediciones de Schola Cantorum, 1962), 15.

⁸¹ Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana*, 352.

belleza, which has every appearance of having been written specially for the school. In both cases, the tenor part ranges between f and g ¹, an easily manageable tessitura for a female voice of the contralto type. The presence of three soprano voices is characteristic of convent or girls' school rather than cathedral. Both pieces feature the ubiquitous pair of violins which provided a continuous accompaniment for the female voices. All Gavino's surviving villancicos but two are preserved in the collection of the Conservatorio de la Rosas in Morelia.⁸² This composer, whose career presents a case of the extreme transatlantic mobility of Spanish church musicians, was the subject of a study by the Mexican musicologist Violeta Carvajal.⁸³ Carvajal places Gavino among the modernisers of the villancico in New Spain, noting in particular the Italianate characteristics of his tonal language.⁸⁴ Gavino's direct links to the Colegio de Santa Rosa remain a matter of conjecture. However, this composer's music was copied, played and revered at the school until the late eighteenth century, as the covers of his villancicos attest.

Like San Miguel de Belén in Mexico City, the Colegio de Santa Rosa continued to function into the nineteenth century, eventually facing the same end under the Reform Laws. The sudden enthusiasm during the middle decades of the eighteenth century for educating girls to become nun musicians is difficult to fathom in the present day. It could be postulated that racial paternalism played a role in the actions of the churchmen—the 'roses of Castile', as the girls of Santa Rosa were known, were felt to

⁸² The remaining two are held by the Archdiocese of Guatemala.

⁸³ Violeta Carvajal, 'Un maestro de capilla y su música: Joseph Gavino Leal'. Master's thesis, Conservatorio de las Rosas, Morelia, 2007. This thesis supersedes the inaccurate article by Aurelio Tello in the *Diccionario de la música española*.

⁸⁴ Carvajal, 'Un maestro', 127.

be better off as nun musicians than married to men beneath their racial status.⁸⁵ In any case, the girls' school provided another important institutional context for the novohispanic villancico, as the compositions of Gavino Leal, Soberanis, de la Main, Ochoa and Ortiz de Alcalá demonstrate.

⁸⁵ Muriel, *La sociedad novohispana*, 349.

Chapter 9: Ignacio de Jerusalem

This native of Lecce, who became maestro de capilla in Mexico City in 1750, has been the subject of a book chapter by Jesús Estrada and articles by Robert Stevenson and Craig Russell.¹ The divide between the opinions of Stevenson and Russell on this musician is symptomatic of the shift towards greater acceptance of the eighteenth century in the historiography of Spanish music. Stevenson only grudgingly approved of some of the music of the ‘Italian parvenu’. In contrast, Russell has devoted considerable attention to what he considers to be the finely-wrought musical structures in Jerusalem’s Latin works, several of which he has edited and published. Stevenson’s diagnosis of Jerusalem’s *Rompa la esfera marcial sonora trompeta, villancico a 8 con violines* [The sonorous martial trumpet breaks the sphere, villancico a 8 with violins] is emblematic of his distaste for the eighteenth century; the American musicologist wrote in 1970 of the piece, ‘the form is that of a da capo aria, no longer that of anything particularly Spanish’.² This is in fact the case of Jerusalem’s villancicos, which are conceived as choral cantata movements rather than the formal arrangement of estribillo and coplas dictated by tradition.

This could hardly have been otherwise, as Jerusalem had been raised in the Italian church music milieu, and had then passed through the way stations of the Cádiz theatre and the Mexico City Coliseo before beginning his association with the cathedral in 1746—this

¹ Estrada, ‘Música y músicos’, 122–147; Stevenson, ‘Ignacio de Jerusalem (1707–1769): Italian parvenu in Eighteenth-Century Mexico’. *Inter-American Music Review*, 16, no. 1 (1997): 57–61; Russell, ‘The Mexican Cathedral Music of Ignacio de Jerusalem: Lost Treasures, Royal Roads, and New Worlds’. *Revista de Musicología*, 16, no. 1 (1993): 99–133; ‘The Splendor of Mexican Matins: Sonority & Structure in Jerusalem’s Matins for the Virgin of Guadalupe’. *Colloquium: Music, Worship, Arts*, 4 (2007): 1–17.

² Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources*, 155.

was a thoroughgoing theatre practitioner who had learnt the rudiments of ecclesiastical music with his father, a violinist at the Jesuit church in Lecce.³ Like Cerezo, Jerusalem was initially contracted to play the bass viol in the chapel, although he was also an accomplished violinist. For playing the bass viol Jerusalem received three hundred pesos per year, with an additional two hundred for instructing the choirboys. The composer was further charged with the writing of villancicos for the occasions of Saint Peter's day, Assumption and the Apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Thus, from 1746, Jerusalem was carrying out the principal duties of a maestro de capilla without having been officially named to the post.

The naming of Jerusalem as interim maestro in May of 1749 came about through the endemic conflict over *obvenciones*—the struggles over work outside the cathedral had reached an apex under the weak leadership of Domingo Dutra, prompting the cathedral accountants to make a formal complaint in April 1749. In a letter to the cathedral dean, the accountants complained that several chapel members had been circumventing the practice instituted by Sumaya of entering all income from outside work in the ledger book, the *libro de obvenciones*.⁴ The so-called *sangonautlas*, such as burial ceremonies, were now paying up to thirty and forty pesos in unreported income, the accountants asserted. This 'manifest disorder' in the chapel caused by 'immoderate liberty' was countered by the precentor Hoyos' appointment of Jerusalem as interim maestro.⁵ Jerusalem was to be obeyed as

³ Craig Russell, *From Serra to Sancho: Music and Pageantry in the California Missions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 336–337.

⁴ Archivo del Cabildo, Correspondencia, caja 23, expediente 3, of 26 April 1749.

⁵ *Ibid.* '...manifiesto desorden', '...inmoderada libertad'.

maestro in ‘whatever is commanded [...] without contestation or contradiction’.⁶ An investigation into the practice of sangonautlas was launched, with each chapel member being required to declare whether he had participated.⁷

The fundamental differences between the musical education received in a novohispanic cathedral and that of an Italian musician are evident in Jerusalem’s examination for the position of maestro, which occurred in June of 1750. The way to the examination had been made difficult for the Italian musician—though respected for his musical ability, the cathedral chapter had twice vacillated whether to allow a competition to take place, first in November of 1749 and then again in April of 1750. Estrada has traced references in the chapter records to the hope held by some ecclesiastics that Sumaya could still be persuaded to return from Oaxaca—for the cathedral chapter, the priest-musician Sumaya was far preferable to the layman Jerusalem.⁸ Sumaya’s return was not to be, however, and Jerusalem was examined as the only candidate on 30 June 1750, facing precisely the same challenges as his predecessors Salazar and Sumaya: the answering of theoretical questions posed by the musicians, the elaboration of a contrapuntal piece on a cantus firmus, and the writing of a villancico de precisión elucidating the musical terms contained within.

In 2005, Fernando Zamora and Jesús Alfaro, historians of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), discovered the file containing the proceedings of Jerusalem’s examination. The historians’ transcriptions of the original documents show the

⁶ Ibid. ‘...cuanto mandase [...] sin replica, ni contradicción’.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Estrada, *Música y músicos*, 130.

musical divide between Jerusalem and his examiners in an exceedingly clear manner. When posed questions about his understanding of plainchant, the precentor Hoyos reported that Jerusalem ‘reasoned, explained and expounded for a good amount of time the principal and most substantial rules of harmonic music, or plainchant, and some of those of chromatic, or figured music’, Jerusalem adding that one needed neither ‘more discourses nor old books to comprehend, teach and learn music perfectly’.⁹ Estrada notes that there were apparent language problems in this theoretical session.¹⁰ Nonetheless, Jerusalem overcame the difficulty by responding ‘with notable agility and expedition [...] with pen in hand’.¹¹ The opinions of the local musicians Herrera (who had also examined Sumaya in 1715), González and Vazquez de Mendoza were summarily negative, each man stressing that Jerusalem had not answered all the theoretical questions to the jury’s satisfaction. Herrera criticised Jerusalem’s contrapuntal exercise, which the elderly chorister found to be written ‘according to his manner of understanding, not as it should be’.¹² While none of the jurors found particular fault with Jerusalem’s villancico de precisión, Vazquez attempted to impugn the integrity of the process by intimating that Jerusalem had made changes to it outside the cathedral, a procedure which was not allowed.

A fourth juror from outside the cathedral, Miguel de Gallegos, an organist at the important church of Jesus the Nazarene, found that the villancico, *A la milagrosa escuela*

⁹ Fernando Zamora and Jesús Alfaro, ‘El examen de oposición de Ignacio de Jerusalem y Stella’. Cuadernos del Seminario Nacional de Música en la Nueva España y el México Independiente, 1 (2007): 16. ‘...discurrió, explicó y expuso por un buen rato de tiempo las principales y más sustanciales reglas de la música armónica, o canto llano y también algunas de la cromática o canto figurado’. ‘...más discursos ni libros antiguos para comprender, enseñar y aprender perfectamente la música’.

¹⁰ Estrada, ‘Música y músicos’, 133.

¹¹ Zamora and Alfaro, ‘El examen’, 16. ‘...con notable agilidad y exposición [...] con la pluma en la mano’.

¹² Ibid., 17. ‘según su modo de entender, no como debe de ser’.

[To the miraculous school] had ‘all the cleanliness and neatness’ necessary, and had met ‘all the requirements and detailed circumstances which the text demands’.¹³ An inspection of Jerusalem’s contest villancico shows that it indeed had all the requisite cleverness which was so prized in New Spain. Figure 28 below shows the composer’s handling of the terms ‘duro’ and ‘blando’, or sharp and flat.

The musical score for 'A la milagrosa escuela' is written in 3/4 time. It features six vocal parts (Violin 1, Violin 2, Tiple, Alto, Tenor, and Bajo) and an accompanying instrument (Acomp.). The lyrics are: 'de lo du-ro y lo blan-do y lo blan-do'. The score illustrates the use of sharp and flat accidentals to emphasize the terms 'duro' and 'blando'. The Tiple part has lyrics: 'de lo du-ro y lo blan-do y lo blan-do'. The Alto part has lyrics: 'de lo du-ro y lo blan-do y lo blan-do'. The Tenor part has lyrics: 'de lo du-ro y lo blan-do y lo blan-do'. The Bajo part has lyrics: 'de lo du-ro y lo blan-do y lo blan-do'. The Acomp. part has lyrics: 'de lo du-ro y lo blan-do y lo blan-do'. The score shows various sharp and flat accidentals used to emphasize the terms 'duro' and 'blando'.

Figure 28, Elucidation of the terms ‘duro’ and ‘blando’ in A la milagrosa escuela

Gallegos added in his report that the species of counterpoint required of Jerusalem had not been indicated by the jury, so that the composer ‘formed general counterpoint, whose intelligence gives one to recognise the facility with which he can make them’.¹⁴ It is

¹³ Ibid., 19. ‘...todo aseo y pulidez’, ‘...todos los requerimientos y menudas circunstancias que pide la letra’.

¹⁴ Ibid. ‘...formó contrapunto general, cuya inteligencia da a conocer la facilidad con que puede hacerlos’.

indicative that the outside juror who did not have personal or economic interests in the cathedral music gave the best account of Jerusalem's musical abilities.

The objections of the cathedral jurors did not prevent Jerusalem from obtaining the post. In his report, the precentor Hoyos remarked to the dean that, with respect to the 'different church compositions and lyrics which he has done in the more than four years which he has served [...] it is not difficult to comprehend whether he has or has not the sufficiency necessary'.¹⁵

As intimated in the preface to this thesis, the villancicos of Jerusalem stand outside the novohispanic tradition, representing a break with previous styles and forms. An example of the completeness of this break may be seen in the final choral passage of *Ah de las llamas* [Ah, there are of the flames], Figure 29 below. This villancico embraces the small orchestra texture which was becoming increasingly more common in Spanish church music—Jerusalem's piece included two trumpets, two violins, an organ part which acts as a reinforcement to the choirs, and a general continuo bass. Despite the injunction against instrumental display made by Benedict XIV in his brief *Annus qui hunc*, Jerusalem and his contemporaries were increasingly given to overtly violinistic writing, many times supported by a pair of horns supplying harmonic filler.¹⁶ Although the choral parts to the eight-voice *Ah de las llamas* are largely independent, the choirs are handled in harmonic blocks in a spirit which is foreign to the Spanish tradition. This was no longer the 'counterpoint' of

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 16–17. '...las distintas composiciones de iglesia y líricas que ha hecho en más que cuatro años que ha servido [...] no es difícil el comprender si tenga o no tenga la suficiencia necesaria'.

¹⁶ Benedict XIV cited Benito Feijoo in his erudite argument in favour of simplicity and gravity in church music. The violin was admitted as an adjunct to the choir, although the 'corno de caccia' was not to be used in ecclesiastical music.

Padilla, Salazar and Sumaya, with its careful independence of the choirs and ritualised treatment of dissonance, but rather the freewheeling harmonic language of Naples, born of the requirements of the melodrama.

The musical score is for the piece 'Ah de las llamas' by Ignacio de Jerusalem. It features a double choir and an instrumental ensemble. The score is written in 4/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics for the vocal parts are: 'en - cen - ded pa - ve - sas lla - mas, ra - yos, ed - nas'. The instrumental parts include Tiple 1 and 2, Alto 1 and 2, Tenor 1 and 2, Organ, Trumpet 1 and 2, Violin 1 and 2, and Bajo. The Organ and Bajo parts include fingering numbers: Organ (7/5, 6/5, 5/3, 5/3, 5, 5/3) and Bajo (7/5, 6/5, 5, 6, 5, 5).

Figure 29, Ignacio de Jerusalem's treatment of the double choir in Ah de las llamas

Jerusalem and his contemporaries were increasingly called upon to produce Latin responsories rather than villancicos for the Matins services. As Torrente notes, there had been a certain disinterest for the villancico in the Royal Chapel during the decade of the 1740s, with pieces being repeated on several occasions.¹⁷ A confluence of circumstances, including the death of the librettist Cañizares, the disapproval of the royal consort Bárbara de Braganza, and the publication of Benedict XIV's *Annus qui hunc* prompted Ferdinand VI to suppress the singing of villancicos in the Royal Chapel in 1750.¹⁸ The maestro de capilla of the royals, Francisco Corselli, like Jerusalem an Italian, was commanded to produce responsories in their place. This was not the case in New Spain, where vernacular songs for Matins persisted. During Jerusalem's tenure as maestro, the villancico, Latin responsories, the cantada, and operatic arias fitted with sacred words all played a part in the celebration of Matins in the novohispanic cathedrals.

Research of the various Mexican cathedral archives indicates that a definitive suppression of the villancico does not seem to have taken place in New Spain until 1786, when the *Reglamento para gobierno de maestro de capilla y músicos de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Puebla* [Rule for the government of the maestro de capilla and musicians of the Holy Cathedral Church of Puebla] was promulgated. The *Reglamento* established that the maestro would:

compose grave music for the days of the principal first class masses, in which the gradual or sequence of the day is sung [...] and in all the solemn Matins the

¹⁷ Álvaro Torrente, “‘Misturadas de castelhanadas com o officio divino’: la reforma de los maitines de Navidad y Reyes en el siglo XVIII”, in *La ópera en el templo: estudios sobre el compositor Francisco Javier García Fajer*, ed. M. A. Marín (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanas, 2010), 208–209.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 211–212.

responsories, without ever again returning to the singing of anything in Castilian, or any other language, in the choir.¹⁹

The effect was not immediate, however. In December of 1788, the maestro Francisco Cabrera requested payment for a villancico set for Our Lady of Pilar which was already written; ten pesos were duly granted to the composer.²⁰ The chapter records do not state whether the pieces were sung.

Until the advent of Italian influence in the person of Jerusalem, the novohispanic villancico had remained surprisingly close to the precepts set out by Cerone in 1613. These ‘devout and honest songs’, composed of a lively sequence of consonant intervals interrupted only by occasional harmonic suspensions, had been penned, sung and heard by generations of musicians and churchgoers throughout the Spanish-speaking world. However, the atmosphere of Bourbon reforms instituted in the wake of Charles III’s *Tomo Regio* was not propitious to the survival of this manifestation of popular religious culture; prelates such as the Bourbon appointee Lorenzana increasingly favoured the suppression in sacred music of ‘passages which move more to the delight of the ear and perhaps recall the comedias and songs of the world’.²¹ The villancico had ever less relevance in the sober world of Enlightenment church practice, eventually ceding its place in the Matins service to the Latin responsory.

¹⁹ Archivo del Venerable Cabildo Angelpolitano, libro 46, folio 288v, of 6 October 1786. ‘...para los días de misas principales de primera clase compondrá música grave en que se cante el gradual del día o la secuencia [...] y en todos los maitines solemnes los responsorios, sin que jamás se vuelva a cantar cosa alguna en el coro ni en castellano ni en otro idioma’.

²⁰ Archivo del Venerable Cabildo, libro 47, folio 244, of 28 November 1788.

²¹ Zahino Peñafort, *El Cardenal Lorenzana*, 197. ‘...pasajes que muevan más al deleite del oído, y tal vez recuerdan las comedias y canciones del mundo’.

Chapter 10: General Conclusions

With the pioneering work of Robert Stevenson taken as a point of departure, modern scholarship has to some degree represented the novohispanic villancico as an autochthonous phenomenon characterised above all by the *negrilla*, the *jácara*, and other of what the American musicologist termed ‘local color delights’, such as the *tocotín*.¹ However, the archival research undertaken during the writing of this thesis reveals Stevenson’s vision of Afro-Mexican and indigenous influence on the novohispanic villancico to be an illusory modern construction. The ideological nature of a theoretical barroco mestizo (a mixed indigenous/European baroque musical style) has been noted by Illari; as the Argentinian musicologist remarks, this hypothesised style was an officialist discourse fashioned by the Bolivian state as a type of racially inclusive national cultural credo.² The case of a supposed African/Mexican hybridity in the novohispanic villancico, although not rooted in nationalist ideology, is not dissimilar to that of the barroco mestizo—both constructions possess an utterly hypothetical character, the *negrillas* of Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla and the *tocotín* of the 1649 Puebla villancico chapbook notwithstanding.³ Indeed, a supposed hybridity has often been the focus of attention in the study of the villancico in New Spain, rather than the thoroughgoing ‘Spanishness’ which

¹ Stevenson, *Christmas Music*, 52. It should be noted that the *jácara* was an entirely Spanish phenomenon, much of whose diction and vocabulary originated with Quevedo and was adapted in a *lo divino* versions by Lope de Vega. As noted in Chapter 4, Kendrick and others have mistakenly taken the *jácara* to be an American character type.

² Illari, ‘Polychoral Culture’, 106.

³ The *tocotín* was a verse form as well as being the designation for an Aztec dance.

(as I have argued in these pages), it actually displays. No single piece is more exemplary of the tension between aesthetic hypothesis and aesthetic reality than the ‘poster child’ of folkloric Afro-Mexican tendencies, Padilla’s *Ah siolo Flasiquiyo*.⁴ Yet this villancico was the product of a Spanish composer setting what was certainly the work of a Spanish (or Iberian) versifier—indeed, the libretto to *Ah siolo Flasiquiyo* appeared in the Portuguese royal chapel on the occasion of Epiphany 1654 (or ‘*día de los Reyes*’, ‘Three Kings day’), only twelve days after Padilla’s setting had been performed at Christmas Matins in Puebla.⁵ This would indicate that the pseudo-dialect verses of *Ah siolo Flasiquiyo* originated in the Iberian peninsula, as a product of the theatrical/poetical convention of the villancico de negros, rather than in Puebla as an imitation of Afro-Mexican speech. Thus, Padilla’s well-known character piece could be said to have little or nothing to do with cultural hybridity, and a great deal more to do with the transatlantic Spanish cultural continuum already well in place during the composer’s lifetime.

The office of *maestro de capilla* is representative of this cultural continuum to a high degree. Spanish or Mexican provenance does not seem to be a distinguishing factor in the individual composer’s approach to both villancico and Latin *stile antico* composition, but rather the determining element in compositorial identity seems to be a sense of

⁴ Paul Laird introduces the term ‘poster child’ in connection with the villancico in the book chapter ‘*Dulcísimo dueño* by Sebastián Durón: a “Poster Child” for the Baroque Villancico’ in *Encomium Musicae*, 493–507. The author notes the importance of citing a truly representative piece when seeking recognition for a composer or genre, 494. As argued in Chapter 4, the *negrilla*, and in particular Stevenson’s transcription of *Ah siolo Flasiquiyo*, could be said to be a spurious representation of the novohispanic villancico.

⁵ The chapbook is held by the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Portuguese National Library) under the number RES. 189/24P. and may be viewed at <http://purl.pt/23802>.

belonging to a common tradition of Spanish church music. Thus, a composer such as López Capillas could cite Cristóbal Morales and the Flemish maestro of the Royal chapel Pierre Manchicourt in defense of his mensuration practice, the Mexico City chapelmaster Antonio de Salazar asserted that his student Sumaya was ‘a composer of counterpoint so eminent that he could be maestro in the Royal chapel of his Majesty’, and the self-same Sumaya spoke of the music ‘which we style in Spain’.⁶ The homogenous Spanish villancico style practiced by maestros de capilla on both sides of the Atlantic had as its great hallmarks a certain purity, or strictness of counterpoint, and a propensity to divide the vocal ensemble into multiple choirs. As seen throughout this thesis, polychorality played an important role in the splendour of novohispanic cathedral music, with the composers Padilla and Salazar numbering among its prime exponents. Likewise the division into two choirs was practiced in the convent, as the content of the Sánchez Garza collection shows—novohispanic composers were quick to exploit the beauty of the female voice within the ensembles of the nun’s religious communities.

The advent of the eighteenth century represents a seminal moment for Spanish music. Commencing in the capital of the vast Spanish empire, Madrid, alterations to the seventeenth-century villancico style quickly became evident in the initial years of the new century. The spread of musical innovation came to New Spain only very gradually, however. This may be attributed in part to the ascendancy in Mexico of composers who had

⁶ Brothers, ‘A New World Hexachord Mass’, 19. Salazar and Sumaya’s statements, both taken from the ‘Correspondence’ branch of the Cathedral records, are cited on pages 217 and 243 respectively.

their roots in the late Hapsburg period, for example Salazar in Mexico City and Francisco de Atienza in Puebla. Musical life in a geographical periphery far from the epicentre of the court at Madrid no doubt also played a role in the relative slowness of the Mexican cathedrals to adopt an Italianised musical style. Many aspects of the conservative novohispanic villancico style show the curious static quality which was characteristic of the musical life of the colony: the retention of the minor proportion, the conservation of the estribillo–coplas formal scheme to the exclusion of other elements, and above all, the slowness to adopt the ‘new’ instruments, the violin, the clarín, the French horn and the oboe, into the villancico instrumentarium. Likewise, the spell of Góngora’s torturously elaborate poetical diction influenced the novohispanic villancico text far into the new century, long after it had given way to the more naturalistic language of Manuel de León Marchante and José Cañizares, among many other poets, in Spain.

At the societal level, the villancico functioned to a great extent as a binding element for the elite of European race who lived in colonial Mexico. The yearly celebrations of Christmas, Saint Peter, Saint Ildefonso, Saint Joseph, the Marian occasions of the Nativity, Assumption and Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, Guadalupe day and the siestas of Corpus Christi were funded by wealthy donors and attended by an eager churchgoing public who wished to display their piety in a musical and ritual commemoration of the Catholic faith. More than any other element, a strong sense of belonging to the ‘Santa Iglesia’, the Holy Church, shaped the identity of the musicians and librettists who created and performed the villancico, that most distinctive musical form of Spain and its great colony, Mexico.

The present thesis is the product of an intensive three-year investigative effort focussed on period sources as a means of enriching the historical narrative. It is hoped that the new biographical evidence garnered from the study of the 'Correspondence' and 'Chapter Acts' branches of the cathedral archives will contribute to the understanding of the Mexican baroque and its major composers Padilla, Salazar and Sumaya. Likewise, it is to be wished that the reader will find the reanalysis of the villancico de negros, the discussion of Sor Juana's relation to music, the examination of the role of the villancico in the feminine institutions of convent and colegio de niñas, as well as the newly transcribed novohispanic villancicos presented in the Appendix, to be a useful contribution to the understanding of the genre as it was practiced in New Spain.

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