Integrating the Latin American *Villancico* in Baroque Music History Studies

by

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The Baroque *Villancico* is a popular genre in Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula that reflects a history of musical and cultural intersection. Chapel masters composed an extensive work of sacred *villancicos* to perform in Cathedrals during religious ceremonies and festivities. In the twentieth and twentieth first centuries, the Latin American Baroque *villancico* has been a growing interest by many musicologists. J. Peter Burkholder, author of the current eighth edition of the *Norton Anthology of Western Music* and ninth of *A History of Western Music*, addresses the existence of the *villancico* which has never been mentioned in previous textbooks. Integrating the Latin American *villancicos* in the Baroque music history studies would broaden future musician's knowledge of other musical innovations and diverse creativities.

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Linssey Ma

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Integrating the Latin American *Villancico* in Baroque Music History Studies

The development of the Spanish sacred *villancico* reflects the history of Spain's preservation of its aesthetics, ideology and religion while establishing its empire. The Spanish missionaries used music as a tool to convert Latin American Natives to Catholicism under the Spanish rule. During the same period, enslaved Africans were also brought to the New World and were obliged to work for the colonial establishment. Despite Spanish control, these ethnic groups have left an impact in Latin American musical traditions, including their rhythmic styles and indigenous hand carved noise makers used for rituals. These influences are particularly evident in the Latin American *villancico*, whose musical features distinguish it from the traditional Spanish genre. In Spain, sacred music such as the *villancicos*, masses, and motet was an important part of worship in the Catholic church and was used to teach Bible stories, and scriptures as a mean for evangelism.

Spanish composers have written a large amount of sacred *villancicos* to perform for church services and celebrations. The sacred genre, which developed in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has its origin in folk-vernacular songs, of which it retains the formal structure *copla-estribillo* (verse and refrain), and the learned tradition of Spanish music including monody and polyphonic writing, *villancicos* were composed for soloists, small choir, and an orchestral ensemble. When the Spaniards arrived in Latin America, they were introduced to local instruments and musical traditions, which they began to incorporate in the Latin American *villancico*. As a consequence, this genre that was popular in the Iberian Peninsula, transformed both musical and poetic content based upon the influences from other ethnic group's diverse musical heritage.

In the twentieth century, many musicologists have focused in researching topics that relate to Western European influences. Other scholars such as Robert Stevenson, Bernardo Ilari, and Piotr Nawrot have researched related topics of music from Iberian Peninsula and Latin America. Their research includes Latin American *villancicos* and the mixed cultural influences that affected the music of colonial Spain. Aside from these well-known scholars, many musicians who were not trained musicologists have published early documentations and vague information about the genre, but they faced difficulties in bringing the *villancicos* out of obscurity because of limited funding.[1] It has been a challenge to trace evidences of the different types of *villancicos* with these multiethnic influences and to analyze the styles. Nevertheless, scholars in the twenty-first century have realized the necessity to explore not only the Latin American *villancico*, but other genres and their vast history. Scholars such as J. Peter Burkholder, understands that there is a lot more to cover in Western music history. In his recent eight edition of the *Norton Anthology of Western Music* and nineth of *A History of Western Music*, he brought attention to the existence of the Spanish and Latin American Baroque *villancico*. Including in the textbook this genre that has never been mentioned in previous editions, is one step of bringing awareness to students about other music in Baroque music history.

Recently, musicologists and scholars have contributed their work to promote the *villancico* by transcribing, analyzing, and cataloguing this repertory. Yet there is still a need for trained scholars who are interested in this topic and to conduct further study of the Baroque Latin American *villancico* and its various styles and provide accurate research.

[1] Michael Noel Dean, "Renaissance and Baroque Characteristics in Four Choral Villancicos of Manuel De Sumaya: Analysis and Performance Editions," PhD diss. (Texas Tech University, 2002), 15.

Previous studies on Baroque Latin American *villancicos* and other topics that focus on specific composers, include music educator Shirley Smith's 1948 thesis; most of the information regarding to early Latin American Native's music, though, was vague and outdated in her thesis, because of the language used to describe nonwestern music and unavailable resources translated in English.[2] She focused on music education and the historical relevance of the genre during Spanish colonialism. In another dissertation from 2002, Michael Dean analyzes Manuel de Sumaya's four choral *villancicos* and their relations to Renaissance and Baroque musical elements.[3] In his 2009 doctoral dissertation, Daniel Farris focuses on the *villancico, El Más Augusto Campeón* and its historical and musical context.[4] He also addresses the importance of the sacred *villancico* and how it was used at Cuzco's San Antonio Abad Seminary.[5] Christopher Albanese's 2016 dissertation, in which he presented his work as a lecture recital, examines Padilla's *Missa Ego Flos Campi* and its compositional techniques.[6] Many of Albanese's references are taken from Alice Ray who analyzes the four thematic materials of the mass.[7] He mentions briefly the indigenous' music traditions that can be traced in the *Missa Ego Flos Campi* and further explains that these same musical influences can also be found in Padilla's sacred *villancicos.*[8]

[2] Shirley M. Smith, "The History and Use of Music in Colonial Spanish America 1500-1750"(1948), Master Theses, 808, i-iii.
[3] Dean, "Renaissance and Baroque Characteristics in Four Choral Villancicos of Manuel De Sumaya: Analysis and Performance Editions," 1-9.
[4] Daniel B.M. Farris, "Intertextualization: An Historical and Contextual Study of the Battle Villancico, El Más Augusto Campeón," PhD diss.(University of North Texas, 2009), 7.
[5]Farris, "Intertextualization: An Historical and Contextual Study of the Battle Villancico, El Más Augusto Campeón," 8.
[6] Christopher Ivan Anthony Albanes, "Compositional Techniques and Missionary Rhetoric in the "*Missa Ego Flos Campi*" of Juan Gutierrez De Padilla," PhD diss. (University of Cincinnati, 2016), 2.
[7] Albanes, "Compositional Techniques and Missionary Rhetoric in the "*Missa Ego Flos Campi*" of Juan Gutierrez De Padilla," 7-14.
[8] Albanes, "Compositional Techniques and Missionary Rhetoric in the "*Missa Ego Flos Campi*" of Juan Gutierrez De Padilla",15-16.

In addition, scholars share their insights about the significance of Latin American *villancicos* in a religious context. Paul Laird's research focuses on the dissemination of Baroque sacred-vernacular *villancico* in Spanish and Latin America and evaluates the different types.[9] Thomas Taylor looks at the development and structure of the 17th century *villancico* and its distinct styles. He explains the use of the *villancicos* and performance practice for church services.[10] Many of the studies that I have analyzed focus on the *villancico* in the history and social context of the viceroyalty capitals of Mexico and Peru. These two capitals, Mexico City and Lima, are the places where we find most sacred music works cultivated and archived in the Cathedrals. They are also the places where music education was an important part of training musicians of different ethnic backgrounds, and those who wish to train as a *maestro de capilla*. The *villancicos* that have been discovered and published were found securely locked in these Cathedrals of the two cities. Scholars such as Cristian Graser and Geoff Baker to name a couple, published topics on Latin American Baroque music, they briefly mention the existing records of the *villancicos* and its original manuscripts in the Caribbean islands, however, there are not many studies that emphasize this genre in Spanish-speaking regions such as Cuba, Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico.

This thesis explores the musical traditions of the Baroque Latin American *villancico.* It addresses the musical practice of European polyphonic writing and its influence on the genre. The thesis explains how the Spanish sought to expand polyphonic practice and new musical ideas. I will discuss the introduction of Baroque aesthetics during the Spanish colonization and share insights of the few Spanish Mexican composers, their training as *maestro de capilla* and their contribution to the *villancico*. I will also further explain of the origin and function of the *villancico*

[9] Laird, Paul R. "The Dissemination of the Spanish Baroque Villancico." *Revista De Musicología* 16, no.5 (1993): 2857-64.
[10] Thomas F. Taylor, "The Spanish High Baroque Motet and Villancico: Style and Performance," *Early Music* 12, no. 1 (Feb.1984): 64-73.

before it became a sacred genre and used for religious ceremonies in the Catholic Church. Finally, I will provide reasons to include Latin American *villancico* in Baroque music history studies and to consider the genre as a successful case of musical hybridity.

My thesis is divided into five chapters. The first chapter serves as an introduction to explain the methodologies that have been used to discover and preserve these *villancicos*. This chapter compares the earliest to the recent research and introduce the issue of outdated information of the *villancico*. Chapter 2 discusses the origin of the *villancico* and its function as a sacred and secular genre. It addresses the musical development, form, and development into a genre that Spain, Portugal, and Latin America now recognized as popular music for religious celebrations. Chapter 3 focuses on the cultural, political, and religious history of the sacred *villancico.* It discusses Ibero-composers' religious and cultural influences and how that they impacted their compositions. The chapter addresses how the Spanish were able to maintain their traditions while in some case gradually adopting other musical influences. Chapter 4 examines the *Limpieza de Sangre* and how it infiltrated in culture, tradition, and theological ideas. This idea affected the Spanish treatment of other ethnic groups and how they placed their roles in society according to their caste system. It also explains how the caste system affects the employment of musicians from different ethnic backgrounds. Finally, Chapter 5 introduces my case on the little attention given to the Latin American *villancicos* and the lack of information accessible to the English-speaking public. I also aim to include my reasons as to why musicians should learn more about this genre and the importance of including it into Baroque music studies.

CHAPTER 2

A CLOSER LOOK AT THE BAROQUE LATIN AMERICAN *VILLANCICO*

The Spanish sacred *villancico* reflects the history of the genre's development as it became popular in Latin America. When the Spanish settled in Latin America, Spanish missionaries were ordered by the Church to evangelize indigenous population and it is through sharing sacred music that Natives were introduced to the *villancico*. Consequently, the genre, which was a favorite genre in Spain and Portugal, gained popularity in Latin America also among converted indigenous inhabitants and first-generation Spanish colonials or *Criollos*. The Latin American *villancico* is the result of an array of influences from many ethnic groups; however, the Spanish influence is still the prominent feature of the genre. Among the major defining traits of the Latin American *villancico* are late fifteenth- and early sixteenth- centuries counterpoint practices combined with the musical creativity from the Iberian Peninsula.

In the mid-sixteenth century, sacred *villancicos* were used for religious ceremonies and were performed during feast days. When the Spanish colonials traveled to Latin America and propagated chapels and churches, they brought their worship/liturgical practices. Since then, the *villancico* went through a transformation from other cultural influences. Distinct differences from instrumentation to text contrasted with the Spanish model and were particularly evident between the mid- to late-seventeenth century when the genre, still holding Spanish sacred music traditions such as imitation and polyphony, also introduced the Italianate style based on more melody driven textures. This change coincided with Ignacio Jerusalem's challenges to the Catholic Chapter to modify and enhance the sacred music style. The *villancicos,* though, was not a sacred genre originally. In this chapter, I will focus on the derivative of the term, the development

and function, and the comparison between the Spanish and Latin American sacred and secular *villancicos*.

The Origin of the *Villancico*

The *villancico* gained popularity in both Iberian Peninsula and Latin America between the late Renaissance and early Baroque periods. The word *villancico* derived from *villanu* or *villano* (meaning 'peasant) and was associated with vulgar folk tunes. According to Albert Geiger, there are various elements traced in the *villancico* from the medieval period before it was introduced to Spanish composers practicing counterpoint.[11] Originally, the form of the *villancico* was simple and was cultivated by court poets and musicians that retained folk-like traditions from the early Renaissance. Paul Laird claims that a specific type of poetic verse refrain form was often practiced in the Iberian Peninsula and perhaps influenced the development of the *villancico*.[12] In addition, Laird also suggests that the Arab *Zajal* and the verse-refrain form typical of the Cantiga de Santa Maria may be the closest antecedent to the fifteenth-century Spanish *villancico*.[13] However, Laird has mentioned this music influence only in passing and did not explain how the genre adopted the *Zajal*. I could only assume that the Arab *Zajal* was a musical influence from the Moors when they once conquered the region of Andalusia (south of Spain ad part of Portugal).

The *villancico* original form was essentially choral; it involved with a soloist and chorus and it was often associated with a dance.[14] Isabel Pope suggests that many examples of the form occur in the great collection of monophonic songs known as the Cantigas de Santa Maria

[11] Isabel Pope, "The Musical Development and Form of the Spanish: Villancico," *Papers of the American Musicological Society*, (1940): 12.
[12] Laird, "Coming of the Sacred Villancico," 1.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Pope, "The Musical Development and Form of the Spanish "Villancico," 12.

composed for Alfonso X of Castile in the late thirteenth century.[15] It is still unclear, though, how the *villancico* became one of the popular sacred genres composed by *maestros de capilla*. Many fifteenth century *villancicos* with texts have survived with little to no indication of instrumental parts. Pope argues that the music was not recorded and perhaps was passed down orally.[16]

The invention of printing in the late fifteenth century, allowed Spain and Portugal to publish music compositions. In the sixteenth century, Renaissance *villancicos* were compiled and printed into two books, the *Cancionero de Upsala* and *Cancionero del Palacio* (Cancionero de Barbieri). Both of the books share almost similar topics of Christmas Carols, courtly love, religious, and historical events.[17] The *Cancionero de Upsala* is a compiled book that contains both sacred and secular songs, which focus on themes of feminine love, *serranillas,* and were associated with religious pilgrimages and festival poems.[18] The poems were also humorous and were used as dialogues for dramatic scenes. Most of the *villancicos* recorded in the *Cancionero de Upsala* were also Christmas Carols.[19] Describing these sources, Pope claims that the manuscript and prints of the *Upsala* and *Palacio* also have songs written only for soloists with instrument accompaniment. She explained that the melodic phrases were short and governed the structure of the composition and there was little, if any, melodic extension of repetition for the purpose of contrapuntal development.[20] The end of the phrase was often marked by a retard, even in a song with lively rhythm, by lengthening of the notes and always by a definite marked cadence, whether full or imperfect.[21] The melodies were diatonic and moving by stepwise motion or small intervals, these

[15] Ibid.
[16] Pope, "The Musical Development and Form of the Spanish "Villancico," 12.
[17] Ibid., 14.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.,15.
[21] Ibid.

counterpoint rules, she argues were simple qualities found in the *villancicos* compiled in the *Upsala.*[22]

In the *Cancionero del Palacio,* the quality of the melodies was expressive and melismatic. The imitation sometimes occured between the upper and lower voices and would open the song with complete triads or in first inversion.[23] The *Cancionero del Palacio* collection has two-part songs in written texts and in different languages such as Latin, Catalan, or Galician. However, the majority were written in Spanish (Castilian), the language of the monarchs of Castile-Aragon and the Catholic Church. During the reign of the Catholic Kingdoms (Castile and Aragon), the *villancicos* by Juan de la Encina, Juan Alvarez Gato, Fray Ambrosio Montesino and Fray Iñigo de Mendoza with their popular lyrics made their way to the court.[24] Throughout the sixteenth century, *villancicos* were used in liturgical ceremonies as a religious genre. The popularity of the sacred *villancico* grew in the Catholic Church and authorities accepted the genre. Yet, it is still unknown who was the first to compose a sacred *villancico* and when it became a genre. However, evidence has shown the *villancico* already stepped into religious themes when it was written for Christmas celebrations.

In the seventeenth century, the sacred *villancico* was recognized as a genre and a musical staple for the Catholic Church. It was also performed in church during masses and services of Eucharistic devotion and in paraliturgical settings such as during Corpus Christi processions and mystery plays (*autos sacramentales*).[25] Sacred *villancicos* were often composed in sets of eight to be performed after or in place of the Responsory chants of the Matins liturgy, especially at

[22] Ibid.
[23] Pope, "The Musical Development and Form of the Spanish "Villancico," 15.
[24] Anastasia Krutiskaya, "Los Villancicos Cantados En La Catedral De Mexico (1690-1730): Edición y Estudio," PhD diss. (Universidad Nacional Autonomía de México,2011), 12.
[25] Taylor, "The Spanish High Baroque Motet and Villancico: Style and Performance," 64.

Christmas and Corpus Christi.[26] Towards the late seventeenth century, Italianate recitatives and arias were common and integrated in the *villancicos.*

Although it is still unknown how it became sacred, Scholars would argue that the *villancico* is either a form or genre. Scholars such as Alvaro Torrente and Bernardo Ilari examined the *villancico* and its function. Torrente proposes a double definition of the *villancico*, one that referred to compositions distinguished by formal traits, combining of *estribillo* (refrain) and *coplas* (stanzas or verses), disregarding the poetic context, musical style, and function.[27] This meaning of the *villancico* is mostly applied in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The other definition refers to the *villancico* from the late sixteenth to seventeenth centuries which was used to signify songs in the vernacular performed in a sacred context and where it was recognized as a genre through liturgical function.[28] Ilari proposes that the *villancico* is a "metagenre" meaning that it is capable of absorbing forms and styles belonging to other genres, especially those of popular origin.[29] He also includes that the *villancico* is a genre emblematic of the impossible historical and cultural diversity of the Iberian Empires.[30] Although these definitions are different, I believe they complement the meaning of the *villancico* and the function that was served during these periods. I agree that the earlier *villancico* served simply as a form for court musicians and poets, however, not until the mid-sixteenth to seventeenth centuries do we see this form become its own genre often used and recognized in a religious context. I would say the transition of musical performance from court to Church does reflect the Iberian kingdom's historical and cultural changes that affected the aesthetics and function of the *villancico.* In

[26] Tenorio, Martha Lilia, "Los Villancicos de Sor Juana." *El Colegio de Mexico*," 40.
[27] Tess Knighton, Tess, Alvaro Torrente ed., *Devotional music in the Iberian world, 1450-1800: the villancico and related genre,* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2007), 50.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.

addition, I also believe these changes impacted the songs and their texts over time as the Iberian crowns adapted their cultural surroundings.

In the formal structure of the *villancico,* the instrument accompaniment introduces the main melody of the *estribillo* (refrain) followed by the melody of the *copla* (stanzas or verse). After this introduction, vocalists come in and add texts. The *estribillo* is reprised and sung before the *copla* which has two parts (*pedes*), each repeating the melody (*pes*). The stanza ends with the repetition of the *estribillo*. The formal structure of each stanza is thus ABBA.

The following diagram illustrates the sixteenth *villancico* form:

Estribillo (refrain)	*Copla (stanza/verse)*	*Copla*	*Estribillo*
A	B	B	A
Introducing the melody	(*pes)*- a different melody	(*pes)*- the melody repeats again	Return to the main melody that was introduced.

Figure 1. Structure of the sixteenth century *villancico*.

We can clearly see the *villancico* formal structure in the following musical example taken from the *Cancionero del Palacio*, No.416, "Todo los bienes del Mundo" written in 1516 by Juan del Encina.

Estribillo	Copla	Copla	Estribillo	Copla	Copla	Estribillo	Copla	Copla	Estribillo
A	B (pes)	B (pes)	A	B (pes)	B (pes)	A	B (pes)	B (pes)	A
Todos los bienes del mundo pasan presto y su memoria, salvo la fama y la gloria.	El tiempo lleva los unos, a otros fortuna y suerte,	y al cabo viene la muerte, que no nos deja ningunos.	Todos son bienes fortunos y de muy poca memoria, salvo la fama y la gloria.	La fama bive segura, aunque se muera su dueño;	Los otros bienes son sueño y una cierta sepoltura.	La mejor y mas ventura, pasa presto y su memoria, salvo la fama y la gloria.	Procuremos buena fama, que jamas nunca se pierde,	Arbol que siempre esta verde y con el fruto en la rama.	Todo bien que bien se llama pasa presto y su memoria, salvo la fama y la gloria.

Figure 2. “Todo los biene del mundo” by Juan del Encina.[31]

The form of the sixteenth century *villancico* was modified with the expansion of the choir and instrumental ensemble. A C section called *mundanza* (or change) was added to the ABBA form with a new melody sung by the soloist before returning to the refrain or *vuelta.*[116] If we look at the following example of a seventeenth-century *villancico* form, we can notice how the soloist and choral part alternate in the *estribillo* and the additional C section in the *copla* is reserved for soloists.

Estribillo		Mudanza	Vuelta
Intro	Response	Coplas	Refrain
A	B	C	B or (A and B)
Main melody	different melody	Another new melody	----
Soloist	Choir	Soloist	Choir or (Soloist and Choir)

Figure 3. Structure of the seventeenth century *villancico*.

The following example is taken from this late seventeenth-century *villancico* text written by Spanish chapel master, José de Cáseda. The *copla* section extended in six verses for the soloists before returning to the D.C. Fine, *vuelta/estribillo.*

[31] Miguel Roig- Francolí and Marie K Stolba, The Development of Western Music: An Anthology. 3rd ed, 1 (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1998), Print.

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

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

[Estribillo]

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

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

Coplas

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

1. Let the sweet strings sound
of that divine and human *cithara*,
who, the very sun/*sol* who is in the heavens,
forms the high [string] and the low in unity.
2. Of faith he is the instrument,
and his music regales the ear
when, by a great mystery, there is
in every point a perfect consonance.
3. Serving as the string on this instrument
is the union that ties together his extremes:
three nails are the pegs
and a crossing of wood was a soundboard.
4. Mysterious *vihuela*,
when a lance wounded/plucked your strings,
your sacred harmony
was seen there, formed of seven orders.
5. They are not for the senses,
that which your sovereign notes sound,
for, of this instrument
as many notes as they perceived will be false.
6. Your mysterious virtuosity, which
elevates to the heavens the one who achieves it:
sensation does not eat it,
for your music is fodder for the soul.

Figure 4. José de Cáseda ,*Qué música divina.*[32]

[32] Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music*, 370.

The editor Andrew A. Cashner suggests that in the score, the *coplas* one, four, and six, were for the full ensemble and the music was written out only once.[33]

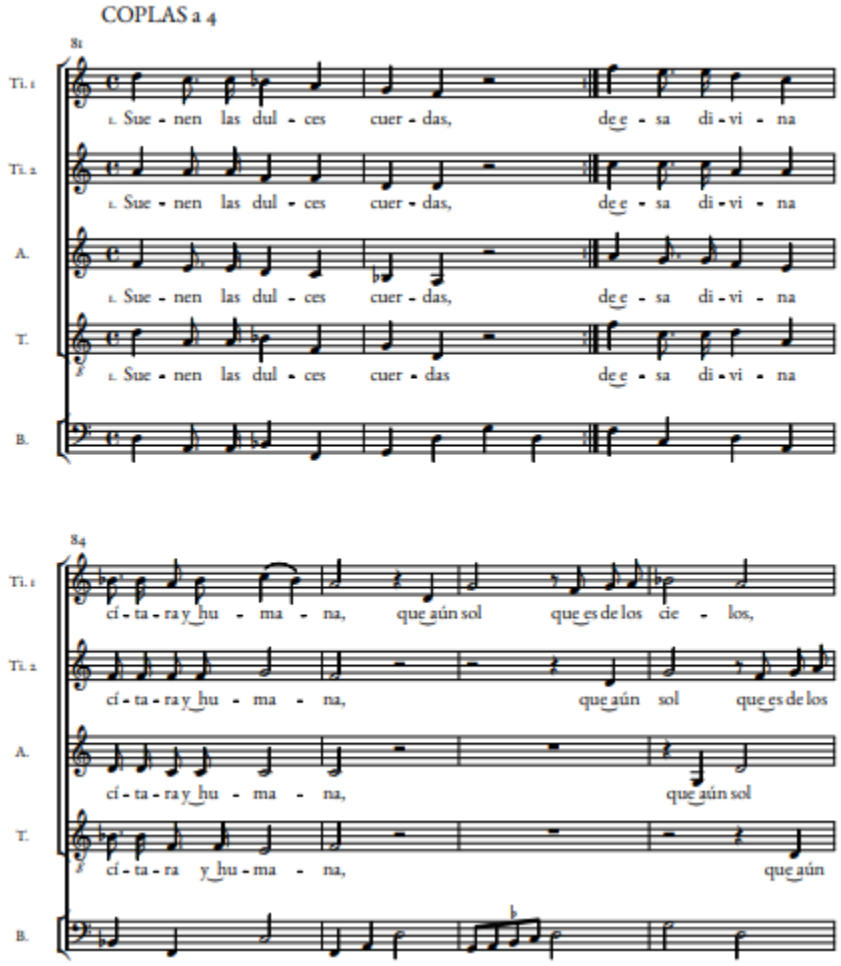

Figure 5. Cáseda ,*Qué música divina, copla* 1.

[33] Cashner, Andrew A, "Villancicos About Music from Seventeenth-Century Spain and New Spain," 2 no. 36, Web Library of Seventeenth-Century Music, 2020, 41.

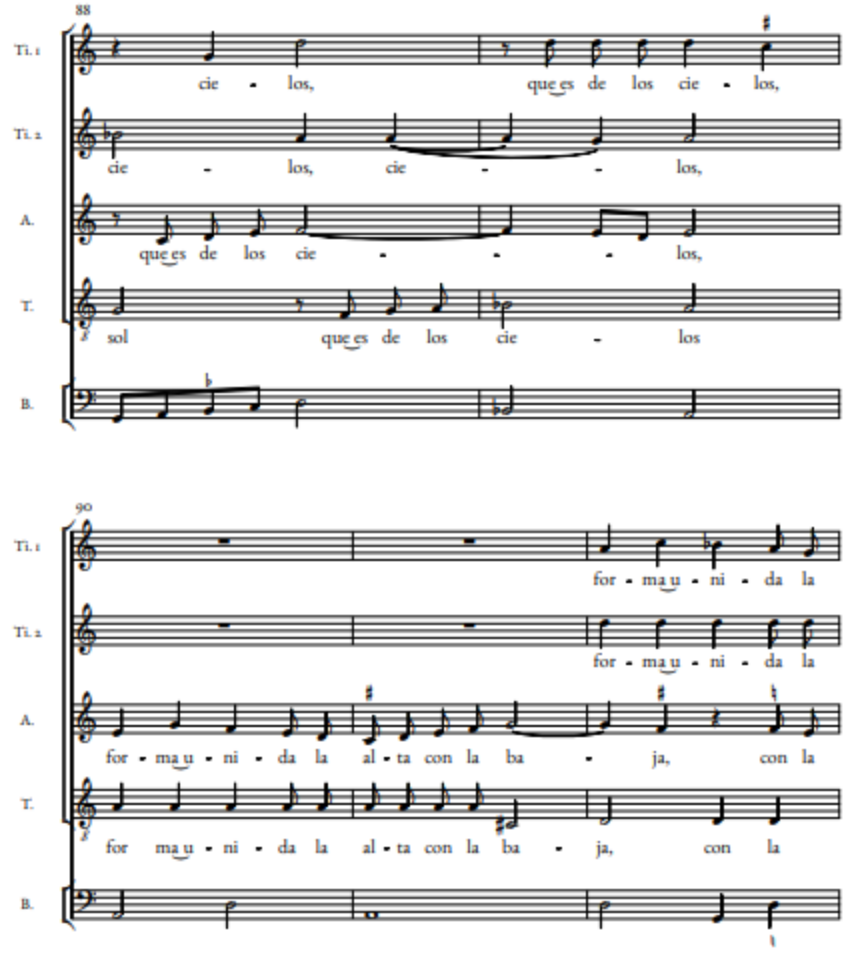

Figure 6. Cáseda ,*Qué música divina, copla* 1. (continued)

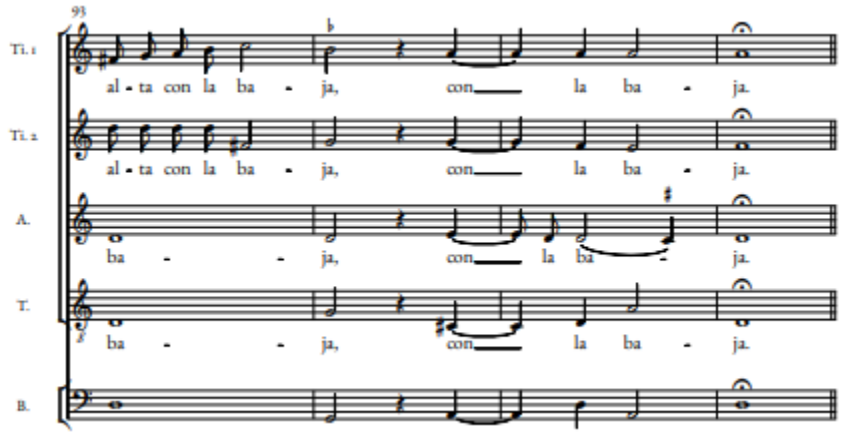

Figure 7. Cáseda ,*Qué música divina, copla* 1.

Coplas two, three, and five, the soloists sing with the same accompaniment.

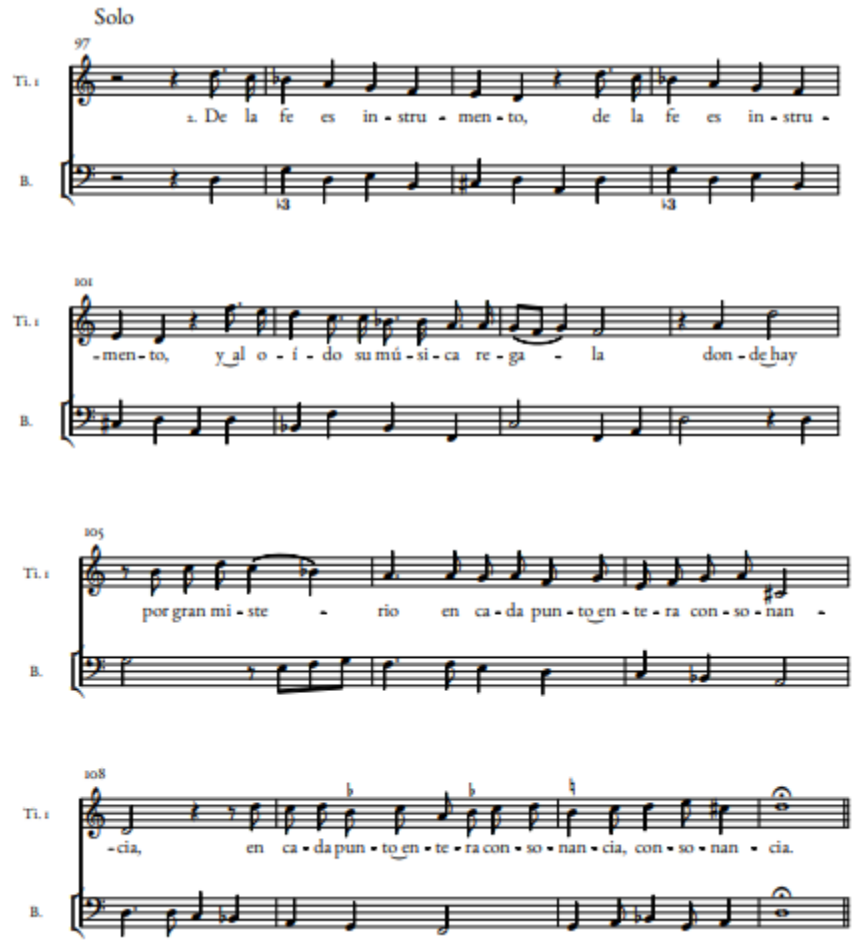

Figure 8. Cáseda ,*Qué música divina, copla 2*.

Vocal and Instrumental Features of the *Villancico*

The Spanish sacred *villancicos* were generally scored for a small ensemble of voices with an instrumental accompaniment. In the seventeenth-century *villancico,* the form has expanded with an addition of a solo section and polychoral forces. The vocal section in the seventeenth-century *villancico* varied in size from four to eight voices and the soloists are featured in the *copla* section sung by two sopranos, alto, and tenor. Much similar to the sixteenth century counterpart, the seventeenth-century *villancico* still holds some of the tradition of homophony and imitation in the voices. The *estribillo* is also expanded with the soloist and choir (or the rest of the voices that are indicated in the score) alternating with each other. Thomas F.

Taylor claims that in treatment of the solo ensemble, although small, the alternation with homophonic or imitative passages reminisces the Giovanni Gabrielli's performance force of two choral groups filling in the large choir sound.[34] This shows the combination of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century vocal practices in the developing sacred *villancico*.

The instrumentation of the seventeenth century's *villancico* is simply scored with the basso continuo. Yet, as Cashner argues, there is still further research to investigate the accurate performance practices and which instruments were used for the bass line.[35] He believes that the bass line was played by a group of continuo instruments of harp, organ, bajon, and vihuela, and claims that some *villancicos* that indicate specific basso continuo instruments often would write for an organ and a bajon.[36] Cashner also mentions that *villancicos* without a figured bass would have continuo players such as keyboards or plucked strings to improvise on the vocal line. Scholars mentioned that percussions were often written in *villancicos* for Christmas, other celebrations, or secular works.[37] I would agree with Cashner that recent research has not yet mentioned or showed evidence whether the percussion part was used in the liturgy.[38] One might assume that during the divine service (liturgy of the hours), it was reserved for sacred music that evokes reverence, solemnity, and a time for prayer. This would mean that *villancicos* with percussion parts would be very dance-like, and much more energetic in style that was considered appropriate for celebrations.

Taylor describes the texture of the Spanish seventeenth century *villancicos* as a vocal version of an early form of the instrumental concerto with continuo featuring a solo and

[34] Taylor, "The Spanish High Baroque Motet and Villancico: Style and Performance," 67.
[35] Cashner, "Villancico About Music from Seventeenth-Century Spain and New Spain," 5.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.

a tutti; instead, you have a soloist alternating with the choir. In the eighteenth century, solo parts such as arias and recitatives were elaborate and developed into a *villancico-cantada* that includes a small chamber ensemble of strings, winds, and a basso continuo that still resembles the Italian concerto.[39] These influences of Italian styles became more prominent in the Iberian Peninsula and arrived to Latin America as the Spanish colonies established their viceroyalty capitals.

Latin American *Villancicos:* Topics on the Virgin of Guadalupe

The Iberian Peninsula's sacred *villancico* was one of the most used forms for worship, evangelism, and religious expression of Catholic faith. As the Iberian colonials traveled to the New World, the tradition of writing *villancicos* was passed down to Latin American chapel masters by Spanish and Portuguese predecessors. Theology and music worked together as a mean to spread the gospel and convert non-believers to Catholicism. As I have previously discussed, the Spanish missionaries used sacred music such as the *villancico* to teach the gospel to the Indigenous inhabitants. Through music training, the Indigenous people learned the gospel and were converted as believers of the faith. The *villancico* topics emphasize depiction of Latin America, theology, and stories about devoted Saints. Texts from poetry rely on music to interpret and dramatize emotions for empathetic listeners. Latin American chapel masters used texts from poets such as Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz, Vince Sánchez, Manuel de León Marchante and others anonymous authors for the sacred *villancicos*.[40] The poetry and music parts of the *villancicos* were printed in *pliegos sueltos* (loose leaf manuscripts) and were disseminated to professional and elite musicians across Latin America. The Latin American *villancicos* still kept the original

[39] Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music*, 370.
[40] Cashner, "Villancico About Music from Seventeenth-Century Spain and New Spain," 1.

instrumentation until the eighteenth century when they incorporated violins, other woodwinds, and trumpets along with the vihuelas, organ, and harps.

Missionaries would teach (Aztec) indigenous inhabitants to sing in Spanish and understand the context of the story. However, the converted Indigenous musicians would also pick up composition and write *villancicos* in Nahuatl-language. In Mexico City, most of the sacred *villancicos* were written about the Virgin of Guadalupe. Below is the table that shows few of the most well-known Spanish Mexican and Mexican-born chapel masters, Antonio Salazar, Manuel de Sumaya, and Ignacio Jerusalem (although, born and raised in Italy) contributed the most sacred *villancicos* dedicated to the Virgin.

Composers	Number of Villancicos
Chapel masters	
Antonio de Salazar	52
Manuel de Sumaya	33
Ignacio Jerusalem	32
Mateo Tollis de la Roca	1
Antonio Juanas	1
Anonymous	19
Jose Roca	2
Jose de Torres	3
6 others	1 each

Figure 9. Villancicos for the Virgin of Guadalupe at the Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de Mexico (ACCMM)[41]

According to Drew Edward Davis, the Virgin of Guadalupe was an influential and largely worshipped Saint in Mexico, especially in the viceroy capital. The story of the Virgin's appearance has been celebrated throughout Mexico and influenced *villancico* composers to write works dedicated to her. The legend tells that Bishop Zummarraga instructed San Diego to bring him a sign of Mary's presence. A few days later, Mary made Castilian roses and Juan Diego brought

[41] Cashner, "Villancico About Music from Seventeenth-Century Spain and New Spain," 1.

the flowers to the Bishop. Once Juan Diego opened the cloak, the image of the Virgin of Mary (Guadalupe) appeared and convinced the Bishop to erect a chapel.[42] Davies argues that the texts of the *villancico* portray certain aspects of the Virgin Guadalupe's story in a way that would have appealed primarily to educate the Catholic believers to appreciate the Saint. The story expressed local identity by constructing a sense of regional *Mexicanidad.*[43] These *villancicos,* distinct in style and orchestration, represent a one-off revival in the context of the Mexican independence movement when the Virgin Guadalupe served as an important revolutionary symbol to the Spanish *Criollos*.[44]

Davies observes that there were three themes found in the *villancico* texts: the story of the apparition, the divine origin of the image, and Mexico as an apocalyptic land of prophetic exception.[45] The texts call upon Mexico to recognize the signs of the Virgin Guadalupe's patronage by imaging her iconography coming to life, theatrically descending to Mexico City, and bestowing grace upon the people from a rugged location marked by dichotomous natural symbols.[46] Similar references throughout the Guadalupe repertoires make it clear that writers were promoting the apparitions as acts of God of greatest magnitude that would bestow special favor upon Mexico.[47] These topics show how the Latin American sacred *villancicos* were influenced from literary sources, historical events, and other platforms of doctrinal politics by presenting them in new and creative contexts. They offer a window into how the Catholic Church promoted Guadalupian devotion at the end of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

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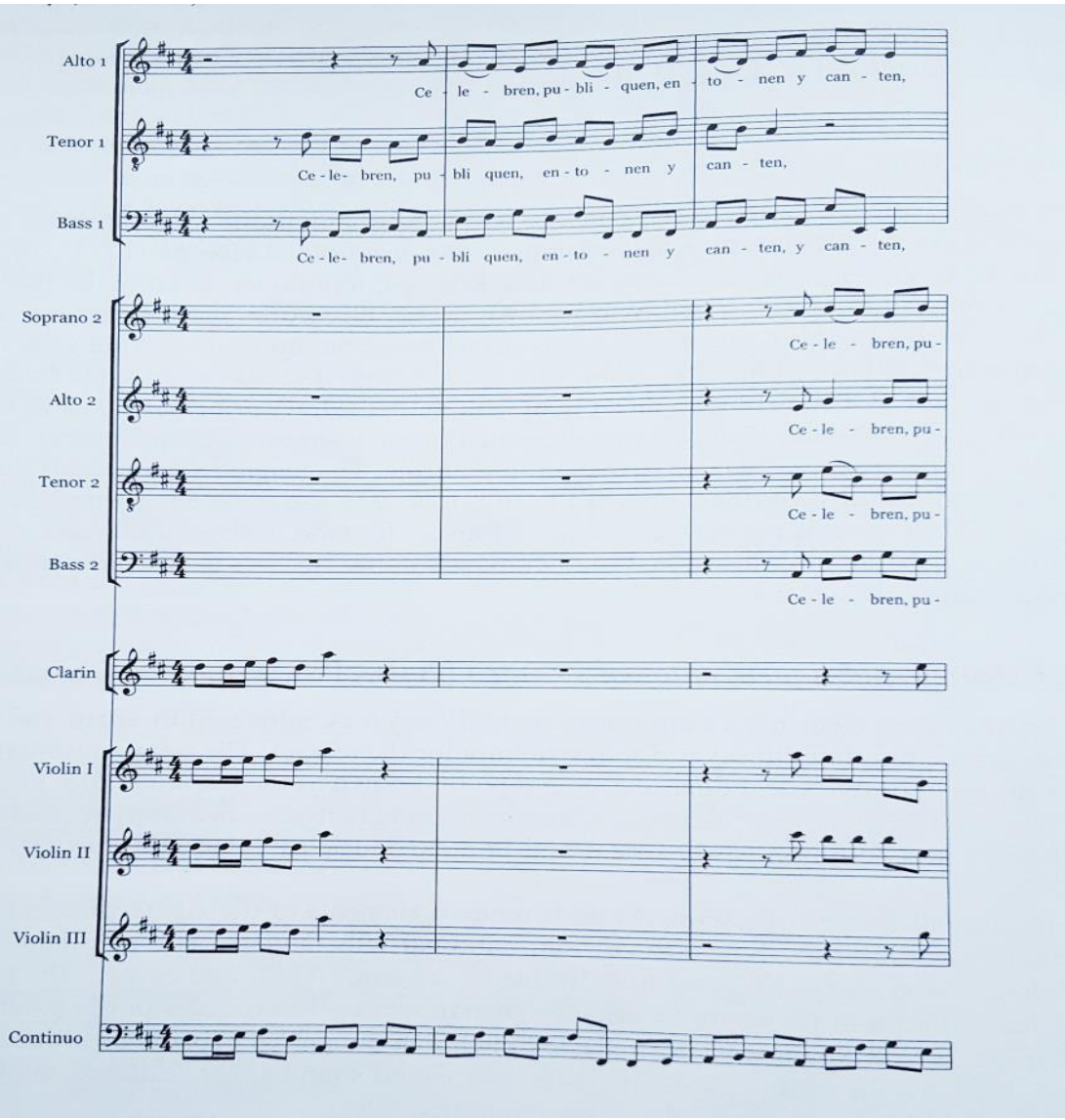
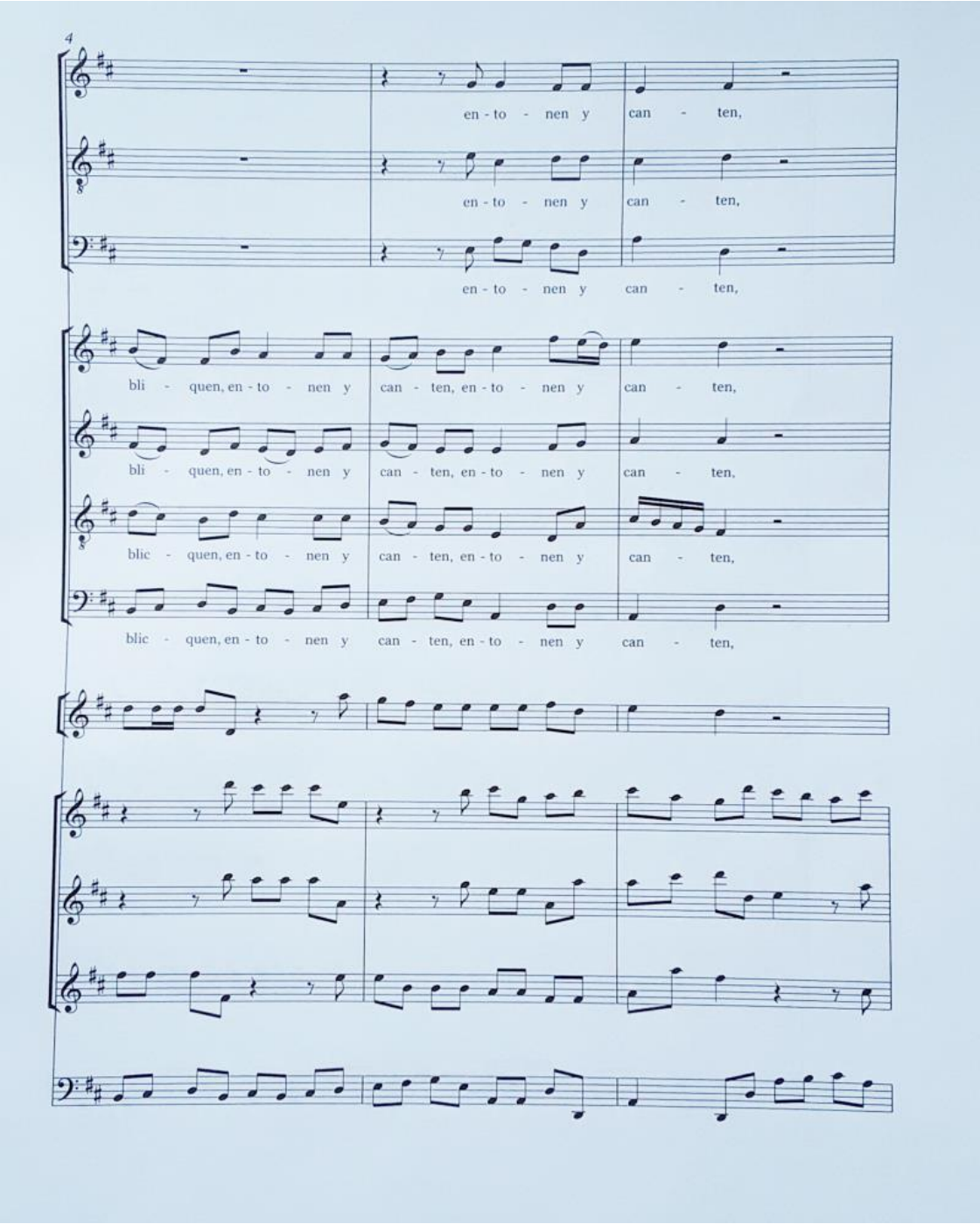
[42] Drew Edward Davies, "Villancicos from Mexico City for the Virgin of Guadalupe," *Early Music* 39 no.2, (May 2011): 232.
[43] Davies, "Villancicos from Mexico City for the Virgin of Guadalupe," 230-231.
[44] Davies, "Villancicos from Mexico City for the Virgin of Guadalupe," 234.
[45] Ibid., 231.
[46] Ibid., 234.
[47] Ibid.

In Manuel de Sumaya's "Celebren, Publiquen, Entonen y Canten" (Praise, Proclaim, Intone, and Sing) features modern eighteenth-century Baroque instrumentation for violins and basso continuo. The score also shows the polychoral texture between the SATB with ATB in the *estribillo* (refrain). This shows that the *villancico* was composed as a large work for two groups of voices, which means that in the basso continuo, instruments such as trumpets, clarions, and other woodwinds were doubled to fill in the full choral and orchestral sound.[48]



[48] Hammond, *Music in the Baroque World: History, Culture and Performance,* 337.

Figure 10. Sumaya, *Celebren, Publiquen, Entonen y Canten,* mm. 1-6.[49]



In the *copla* (stanza) section, the alto and tenor parts alternate with the verse thus showing that the two solos along with basso are written in imitation.

[49] Ibid., 338.

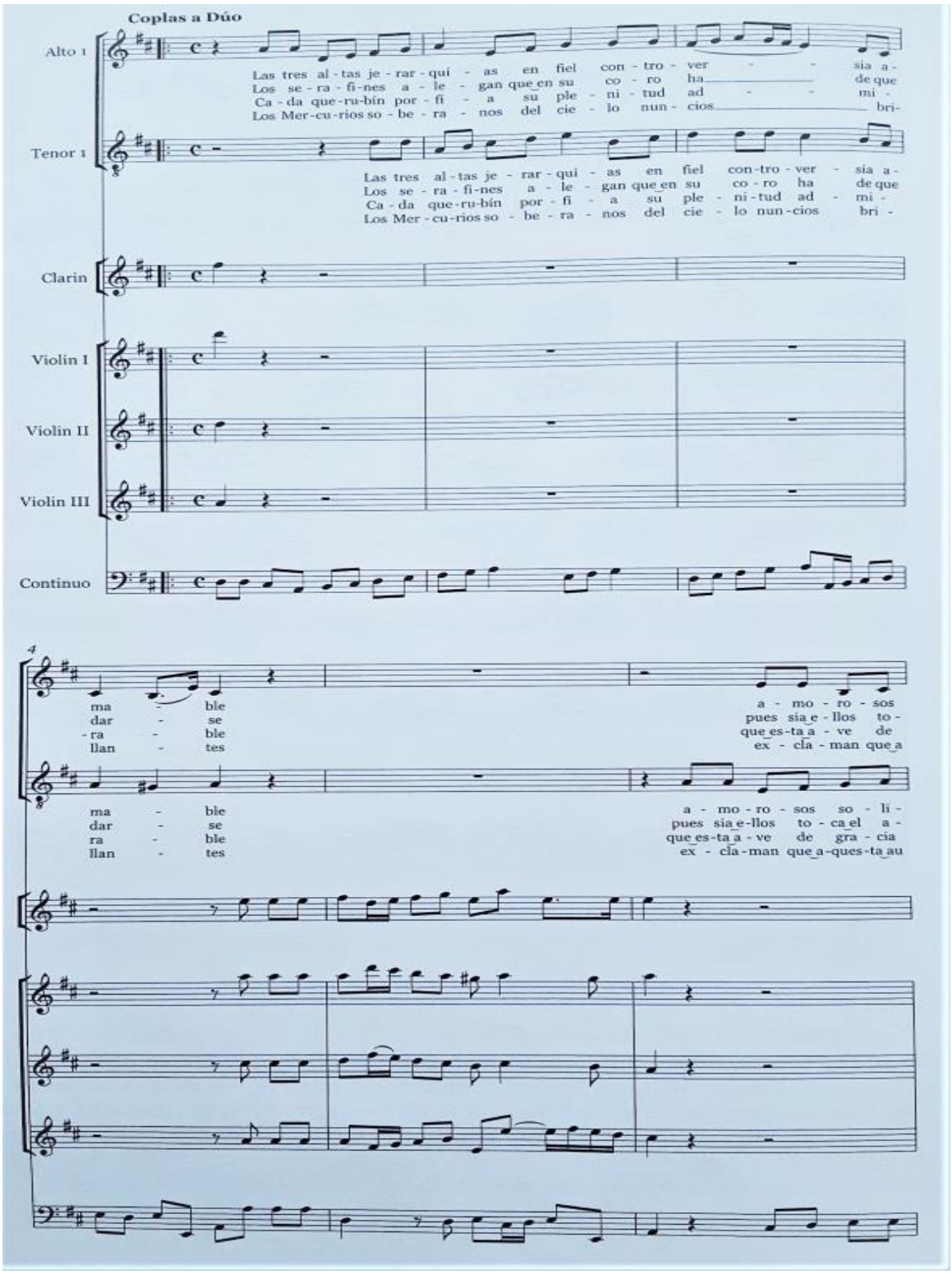


Figure 11. Sumaya, *Celebren*, continues.

Estribillo	Refrain
Celebren, publiquen, entonen y canten, celestes Amphiones, con métricos ayres, las dichas, las glorias, los gozos, las paces, con q'hoy a su Reyna la corte flamante recibe gloriosa admite gozosa y aplaude triunfante. Y al elevarle la Angélica milicia a dichas, a glorias a gozos, a paces cada cual reverente la espera deseoso en su classe por Pura, por Reyna, por Virgen, por Madre. por Pura, por Reyna, por Virgen, por Madre.	Celebrate, publish, sing and sing, celestial Amphiones, with metric ayres, joys, glories, joys, peace, with q'hoy a su Reyna the flaming court receives glorious joyful admits and triumphant applause. And when raising the Angelica militia to happiness, to glories to joys, to peace, each reverent awaits her eagerly in her class for Pura, for Reyna, for Virgin, for Mother. for Pure, for Reyna, for Virgin, for Mother.
Coplas	Stanzas
I: Las tres altas jerarquías, en fiel controversia amable, amorosos solicitan a la que sube triunfante. II: Los Seraphines alegan q'en su coro ha de quedarse, pues si a ellos toca amar en amar es Mar de mares. III: Cada querubín porfía su plenitud admirable que esta Ave de gracia llena IV: Los Mercurios soberanos, del Cielo nuncios brillantes, exclaman que aquesta Aurora anunció al mundo las paces.	I: The three high hierarchies, in friendly and faithful dispute, loving call for the attention of her who rises up triumphantly. II: The Seraphim claim that she should stay in their choir, because if it is their duty to love in loving, She is the Sea of seas. III: Every Cherubim vies for Her admirable fullness since this Ave, full of Grave, IV: The sovereign Mercuries, the brilliant messengers of Heaven, exclaim that this dawn proclaimed peace to the world.

Figure 12. The Lyrics for Sumaya's *Celebren, Publiquen, Entonen y Canten* (Praise, Proclaim, Intone and Sing):

The *villancico* presents three centuries of complex history that went through various developmental changes. As we have seen, earlier *villancicos* were performed in court often about love and historical events. Texts written for the *villancico* were usually from poets and were structured in verse-refrain form. It is not until the seventeenth century, the sacred Baroque *villancico* that we learned is recognized as a genre performed for religious ceremonies in the Iberian Peninsula and in Latin America. We also see that poetic content for the *villancico* shifted its topics to devoted Saints and other Biblical stories. These changes became more prominent when the Iberian crowns united their kingdoms in their countries and established

their Churches in Latin America. Yet, it still needs further investigation of its history; whether the *villancico* is a form, genre, or both, its development has an enigmatic past that leads to many questions of its musical nature.

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORY OF BAROQUE SACRED MUSIC IN SPAIN

The Latin American *Villancico* has a fascinating history that reflects the intercultural exchange between Spanish colonizers, Native inhabitants, and enslaved Africans. The genre carries the complexity of their cultural interaction, which started when the Spanish established their settlement in the New World. However, to understand the origin of the Latin American *villancico*, it is important to examine the history and function of its cultural and religious influences. This chapter focuses on the cultural, political, and religious historical aspect behind the development of the *villancico* and how they impacted the music writing and traditions of Ibero-composers. It looks further at how the Spanish were able to maintain their traditions while in some case gradually adopting other musical influences.

The early *villancico* originated in the late fifteenth century and was popular throughout the seventeenth century.[50] In 1492, Spain and Portugal, which had been ruled by the Nasrid Dynasty since 711 AD, returned under the control of the Catholic Spanish monarchs of Castile and Aragon who had reconquered Granada. At the same time, Christopher Columbus, sponsored by the Catholic monarchs, opened the way to the European colonization of the Americas with the establishment of the first Spanish settlement of Hispaniola (present-day Dominican Republic).

In the next century, while the Spanish sovereigns continued to revive and unite their kingdoms under the Catholic rule, outside of the Iberian Peninsula, other European countries were disputing the authority of the Catholic church and eventually, after the *Ninety-Five Theses* by Martin Luther, Reformers challenged the Catholic religious and political power. Soon, the Reformation began to affect politics, artistic aesthetics, and different views in Christianity. The

[50] George J. Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music,* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 359.

Iberian Peninsula, however, became reluctant to the reformation movement and was viewed as "Counter reformative" as most of its cultural traditions and aesthetics were still heavily influenced by Catholicism.[51] Spain remained faithful to conservative musical aesthetic guidelines based upon the decision under the Council of Trent which was a response to the expansion of the Reformation movement. While European countries that followed the Reformation progressed with new musical ideas and developments, which revolved around the religious and political change of that century. I would argue that Spanish music in the sixteenth century stayed stagnant, as there were no trends from other European countries influencing its traditions still rooted in ideas from the previous era. As George Buelow claims, since Spain did not adopt any new European musical trends, it took advantage of experimenting with what already existed and became more creative with existing music practices. The Spanish music creativity helped them maintain their traditions in a new way. However, in this period there were not many innovative or inventive ideas that changed their way of composition.[52]

The turn of the seventeenth century marked what we know as the Baroque period in Western music history. The extravagant and excessive visual arts and the contrasting details in architecture that define this period, were also reflected in music. In Baroque music, we would find examples of contrasting harmonies and tempos, with excessive dissonances. These musical characteristics that inspired European composers. To pursue new styles new styles in instrumental and vocal music such as the monodic early sonata works for solo instruments, concertante, concerto, and opera, all of which were from Italy. Italians were the most influential music innovators in Europe, therefore other European musicians were attracted to their new styles and

[51] Buelow, *A History if Baroque Music*, 359.
[52] Ibid., 360.

adopted them into their own. However, because of Spain's slow adoption of latest musical changes, Spanish composers were viewed as "backward looking."[53]

To understand the relevance of the *villancico* in Spanish musical practices, one must also address the Spanish Kingdom's strenuous mission of reviving its religious and political system. Since the eighth century, the Muslims had conquered a huge portion of Spain's regions, and the Spanish Christian Kingdoms focused on establishing a united nation under one religion. When Queen Isabella I of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon joined their kingdoms through marriage, they proceeded to take back Spain from the Muslims, a goal they accomplished, when they reconquered Granada in 1492.

After the Reconquista and the many years under Muslim influence, Spain focused on nationalizing its country. Spain was not yet a stable united nation because of the different autonomous communities, however, still today there is a need to establish a national identity, which they tried to develop for more than few hundred years. Disregarding musical influences from other European countries could be at the core of this desire of national unity and the reason for a revival of Spanish art and for a slow adoption of new musical trends. Between the 1640s and 50s, Spain took control of parts of Italy's territory, resulting also in an exchange of arts and music aesthetics.[54] Indeed, Italian composers adopted some of Spain's basic practices of music compositions and artistic styles; however, as Buelow argues, Spanish composers only selectively sought music styles that would be relevant to their religious and political views, and that would best represent their country during the revival of their nation.[55] Nevertheless, in the first few decades of the seventeenth century, Spain acquired sixteenth century polyphonic traditions

[53] Ibid.
[54] Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music*, 360.
[55] Ibid., 361.

which later expanded the practice and applied in other genres such as masses, motets, and the *villancicos.* This was Spain's golden age of music making as they begin to establish their national identity.

Spanish Sacred Music During the Seventeenth Century and Polyphonic Practices

In the seventeenth century, the Reformation and the Counterreformation had an immense impact on the arts and architecture. There were debates connecting changes in sacred music and the revival of worship service in the Catholic and Protestant Churches. Christianity became a huge influence throughout Europe and the main subject in music. Sacred music turned into an essential part of worship and a method to teach Biblical stories and scriptures.

The most common practice that was widely used in sacred music was polyphonic writing as several contemporary treatises such as *Canto de Organo, El Melopeo y Arte Breve y Compendiosa de las Dificultadades que se Ofrecen en la Musica Practica de Canto Llano,* and *Arte Nueva de Musica* to name a few demonstrate.[56] Prior to the development of Spanish polyphonic writing, Mozarabic chants which were monophonic liturgical music of the medieval era were still traditionally sung in Spain and Portugal. Until the 1600s, Spanish composers saw the possibility of adding more voices to these chants' melody, which led to writing polyphonic liturgical music. Eventually, Iberian polyphony became the predominant style in the first decade of the seventeenth century.[57] The treatise by Domenico Pietro Cerone's *El Melopeo y Maestro* (1613), which became an influential reference in Spain and Portugal, instructed composers to experiment in creative polyphonic idioms as a mean to continue the tradition.[58]

[56] Donald W. Forrester, "An Introduction to Seventeenth-Century Spanish Music Theory Books," *Journal Research in Music Education* 21, no.1 (1973): 62-3.
[57] Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music*, 361.
[58] Ibid.

The musical characteristics of the first half of the seventeenth century relied on basic styles of sixteenth-century motet writing and the experimentation of polychoral idioms. The prominent Italian composers known for these characteristics were Giovanni Palestrina and Giovanni Gabrielli. Palestrina's sacred motets served as a polyphonic inspiration and a music model for European composers. Gabrielli's *cori spezzati* technique allowed for a change in worshipping, as audiences and performers were able to participate and engage during the divine service.[59] While Palestrina and Gabrielli are credited of these fundamental characteristics during the sixteenth century, Tomás Luis de Victoria was the first Spanish composer in Rome to use the polychoral idiom for vespers Psalms.[60] Victoria followed the techniques of Palestrina's polyphonic writing styles; however, the two composers have distinct styles due to their different employment circumstances.[61]

Victoria wrote works for student choirs in small churches which is in contrast with Palestrina who composed for larger and professional choirs in the Basilica of St. Peter'.[62] Similar to Gabrielli, Victoria was also exploring the possibilities with *cori spezzati* and composed works that are mixed with polychoral idioms and small-scale concertato.[63] Victoria was not known as an innovator, rather he was recognized as an important composer along with Palestrina and Gabrielli who continued to preserve the polychoral contrapuntal writing legacy. Inevitably, the tradition of polyphonic writing from Italy gradually influenced Spanish and Portuguese vocal works such as masses, sacred *villancicos*, and sacred motets.

[59] Hammond, *Music in the Baroque World: History, Culture and Performance*, 360-61.
[60] O' Regan, Noel, "Tomás Luis de Victoria's Role in the Development of a Roman Polychoral Idiom in the 1570s and Early 1580s," *Revista de Musicología* 35, no.1 (2021): 203.
[61] O' Regan, "Tomás Luis de Victoria's Role in the Development of a Roman Polychoral Idiom in the 1570s and Early 1580s," 215.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid., 218.

The Iberian countries strived to fashion their polyphonic music for four to five voices, featuring traits such as music dominated the texts that associated the *prima prattica* with contrapuntal imitation, independence of line, and word painting.[64] These features inspired Spanish and Portuguese composers to carefully balance and craft smooth melodies with control of dissonances. The Italian *prima prattica* gradually modeled the Iberians' polyphonic writing; however, expanding the practice was essentially important since the structure of service relied to the new change in the Catholic Church. These Counter Reformation countries allowed Italian music influence to gradually modify their polyphonic writing and performance as a mean to enhance their worship experience.

Seeking a "Modern" Style for Spanish Sacred Music

As we discussed, throughout the seventeenth century, King Charles V was aiming to reconvert Reformation countries into Catholicism and sought music inspiration from the Renaissance sacred motet writings from Italian composers Palestrina and Gabrielli. This was a small breakthrough of Iberian countries accepting and incorporating changes in their sacred music genres. In 1700, Charles V died, and the next ruler appointed was Philip of Bourbon, Duke of Anjou, and grandson of Louis XIV of France.[65] This appointment led to a dispute that drew all European powers involved in the war of Spanish succession, which ended with Philip V taking the crown. After the war, Spain lost its possession of Italian territories and the Netherlands.[66] King Philip welcomed modern European rulers and their new ideas to reimage the Iberian countries. Welcoming modernity from other European countries allowed Spain and Portugal to incorporate other influences that would model political ideas, aesthetics, ethics, and new music

[64] Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music*, 385.
[65] Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music*, 385.
[66] Ibid.

genres and styles. Buelow argues that some characteristics of Italian sacred music had already existed in Spanish and Portuguese motets, however, other traits such as obbligato instrumental parts, and use of more portable instruments were incorporated in their tradition. The extensive penetration of Italian musical styles resulted in the development of sacred music writing and the use of violins, oboes, and continuo or systemic basses.[67]

Cathedrals as The Center for Music Education

The Catholic Church was a spiritual force in Western Europe and was also an educational institution where people devoted their time to serve the church and teach Bible principles, scholarly writings, and other theological literature. The Church also encouraged music education for believers to be involved in performances, or music-making as a form of prayer. From the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, undoubtedly, music has been an essential aspect of liturgy and a form of worship in Christian Churches. In the Catholic Church, singing and performing an instrument was an important avenue to express spiritual emotions. Music traditions was also preserved in the Catholic Church through cataloguing repertoires. In Spain, students were trained in the Catholic Church to perform, sing, and compose sacred music. Newly composed works were performed for ordinary and proper of the masses, and special ceremonies. Aside from the Spanish native language, Latin was the dominant language used to read the Biblical scriptures and for vocal sacred music. Spanish composers both used Latin and their vernacular texts for specific sacred music genres. Latin was mainly used for liturgical chants in the Catholic Church, in particular in sacred motets.

This conveys Spanish retaining of the conservative music traditions of their Catholic religion. However, the texts in the sacred *villancicos* were mostly written in Spanish and were

[67] Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music*, 386.

composed differently compared to the motets. Sacred *villancicos* combine sixteenth-century polyphonic tradition with the seventeenth-century expansion of large-scale composition for more than four voices and instruments. Most of the sacred *villancicos* with Spanish (vernacular) texts were performed only once and were often composed for every Christmas, Corpus Christi, and Eucharist.[68] These large amounts of Latin and Spanish compositions exist in manuscript form in Cathedrals, monasteries, and public libraries through Spain. Most have never been published and a few have been copied for use in other Spanish churches. In the seventeenth century, the sacred *villancico* were performed in large Cathedrals and were often composed and archived by *maestros de capilla.*

Sacred motets and *villancicos* were separated by performance traditions and were performed in a processional setting during Corpus Christi. The sacred *villancico* also has theatrical traditions and occasionally is found concluding dramas. One play titled for *The Feast of Corpus Christi before the Most Holy Sacrament* written by an anonymous composer indicated certain theatrical features in the *villancico* that imply it was concluding the drama.[69] Performance practice of sacred motets and *villancicos* differed in the use of instruments. Sacred motets were accompanied by an organ, while *villancicos* were accompanied by portable instruments. The Church also controlled instruments that musicians were allowed to use for performance. According to Hammond, sacred *villancicos* were popular even among those who did not frequently worship on Sundays and the Church used them to invite more people to participate and be part of the Catholic faith.[70] Moreover, the sacred *villancicos'* use as popular action pieces in processions,

[68] Taylor, "The Spanish High Baroque Motet and Villancico: Style and Performance," 64-5.
[69] Biblioteca Virtual Miguel De Cervantes, "Alberto del Rio." The villancico in the works of early Castilian playwrights (with a note on the function and performance of the musical parts" (accessed 25 February 2021) <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/the-villancico-in-the-works-of-early-castilian-playwrights-with-a-note-on-the-function-and-performance-of-the-musical-parts.htmnl>
[70] Hammond, *Music in the Baroque World: History, Culture and Performance*, 334.

plays, and dance, attests the vitality of a form that captured the creative imagination of Spanish composers.[71]

Spain Travels to Latin America

Spain and Portugal were the first European nations to initiate their imperial power in the late fifteenth centuries. As previously mentioned, Spain reconquered Granada from the Muslim kingdom in 1492. During the same period, both Spain and Portugal also traveled to the Americas and established their viceroyalties and provinces. In 1519, when the Spanish guided by Hernan Cortes landed on the mainland of North America, they conquered those territories and Tenochtitlan, the Aztec capital, which eventually became Mexico City, the present-day capital of Mexico.[72] Hammond claims that between 250,000 and 300,000 Spaniards migrated to Latin America and the Caribbean in the early sixteenth century. The purposes of their travel were to revitalize their power and restore their financial credit from previous years of war. Indeed, the Spanish colonials discovered the land was fertile and chose it as a place to establish extended kingdoms. The encounter with indigenous populations introduced them to new products such as sugar, tobacco, corn, and gold, all products that they wanted to bring back to Spain.

As they settled in Latin America, they have encountered various Indigenous cultures in different contexts. In the beginning, Spanish and Indigenous interactions were not always neutral, at times they tolerated each other; however, often the interaction turned into brutal disputes. It is evident that the Spanish ulterior motives of cultural exchange were to imperialize and overthrow the indigenous kingdoms and they took advantage of the Indigenous people as a resource to build their viceroyalty capitals. By 1620, Spain established 190 towns and cities; the

[71] Ibid.
[72] Hammond, *Music in the Baroque World: History, Culture and Performance*, 334.

Spanish colonies pushed and exploited the Indigenous population into arduous farm labor and mining trades.[73] As the Indigenous population declined because of labor abuse and violence, the Spanish marketed African slaves as a second source to provide plantation labor.

The Spanish colonization began to grow, and they expanded their viceroyalties throughout southwest of North America, Central, and South America. Lima and Mexico City were two major viceregal capitals that rose to prominence and issued an average of 2,500 decrees on American colonial affairs annually.[74] Some decrees referred to the Spanish and Portuguese's claim of the colonies and territories in Latin America. Others related to treating the Indigenous people and teaching them Christianity. Mexico comprised seven ecclesiastical dioceses for each major region: Pueblo, Valladolid, Guadalajara, Oaxaca, Merida, Guatemala, and Mexico City as the seat of the archbishop with each hosting its own bishop. The Spanish believed they would continue to obtain their territories by enforcing beliefs, values, and traditions on the Indigenous people as a means of assimilation. While the Spanish colonies established their Cathedrals, they also brought the art of worship. Sacred music flourished at the Mexico City Cathedral under the leadership of *maestros de capilla* Juan Hernandez, Antonio Salazar, and Mexican born Manuel de Zumaya (Sumaya).[75]

Between the 1600 and 1750, Baroque music produced in modern-day Mexico, reflected the circumstances that occurred between the colonies and the Indigenous groups. Missionaries soon used Spanish sacred music for the function of control it was called on to convert people into Catholicism. The Spanish were extremely strict and conservative with their ideas revolving around the Catholic Church and the Spanish society. They were selective on what should be included in their intellectual and literary discourses, understanding meaning, and religious ideas through music

[73] Hammond, *Music in the Baroque World: History, Culture and Performance*, 333.
[74] Hammond, *Music in the Baroque World: History, Culture and Performance*, 333.
[75] Ibid.

in Latin America. Spanish sacred music arrived to the New World from Spain through many people with different occupational backgrounds and elite positions. Sacred music was ubiquitous and practiced at every level of society; however, all types of genre were also connected as an outlet to convey autonomous ideas. The Spanish composed theatrical and sacred works that pointed to either the state, monarchies, or the Catholic Church. In this case, music was used for the function of imperial control, especially when Spanish assimilated the Indigenous population.

The Role of Music as a Tool of Conversion in the First Stage of Colonialism

The Spanish settlers knew in order to persuade the Indigenous people to fall into their rule, they both need to connect in a peaceful manner. Music was a good medium as a tool for converting the Indigenous people into the Christian faith and the Spanish culture. The Spanish observed and learned the Indigenous' singing and dancing practices, however, because it was very foreign to their European ear, they imposed on teaching their way of music making. The Spanish believed that incorporating the Indigenous' style of singing and instrumentation would draw away the sanctitude of sacred music. Converting the Indigenous people through music took time since their music traditions were strong and define their cultural identity. Eventually, when the Natives were assimilated, they have lost some of their traditional musical practices.

The Indigenous groups belonging to Mexico and Lima City were heirs to a long and complex musical tradition of their own. Among them were professional and intuitive musicians, and the Indigenous people who were given certain royal privileges depending on the region. Different indigenous groups had various music cultures; however, they still followed some basic characteristics and music system. Much like for the Spanish, music was also a necessary part of indigenous religious rituals and ceremonies. Shirley M. Smith explains that Natives' traditional music performances relied on primitive instruments, simple harmonies, and musical notations that

differ from the Western tradition.[76] Melodies are based on pentatonic scales and percussion instruments were widely present from religious rituals to military use, as well as noisemakers such as whistles, jingles, raspers, and split-stick clappers.[77] Smith's description of the Indigenous instruments reinforces a negative connotation that their musical traditions are either too simple or not progressive enough according to the Western European standards in music. Using the word "primitive" to describe their instruments is problematic and should not be an acceptable term to explain another race music tradition.

Smith explains that the Spanish described the Natives' singing style and expressions to be harsh and offensive, producing sounds in falsetto, screaming, howling, and screeching.[78] Such general description of the Natives' way of singing does not find a parallel in Western music. I believe that comparing and describing Indigenous music based on a European perspective creates a superior stigma that one music practice is more preferable than the other. I disagree with this comparison and believe that if one must observe another ethnic group's practice, it should be studied with appreciation and open-mindedness. Even with appropriate terms to describe one's practice without being offensive.

It is uncertain when the Spanish introduced religious music to the Indigenous people for the first time. However, the earliest recording of Sacred music performed in the New World was on the island of Hispaniola by Pedro Boil, aided by an improvised (Spanish) choir singing a sacred mass at La Isabela on January 6, 1494.[79] The Spanish missionaries realized that performing and teaching music was effective to allure Indigenous people to convert into Catholicism.

[76] Shirley M. Smith, "The History and Use of Music in Colonial Spanish America 1500-1750" Master Thesis (1948), 6.
[77] Smith, "The History and Use of Music in Colonial Spanish America 1500-1750," 8.
[78] Ibid., 13.
[79] Ibid., 35.

Consequently, they saw the need for a place to teach music to the Indigenous people and create a curriculum. Pedro de Gante (1479? -1572) paved the way of opening a school for missionaries to convert the Indigenous people through music.[80] Missionaries were able to introduce sacred music styles and genres that were easy for the Indigenous people to learn. Of course, one of the easiest lessons to teach them was singing sacred vocal pieces. In the name of Catholic conversion, missionaries introduced many sacred music styles and genres that were easy for the Indigenous to learn. Yet, it would make sense that the Spanish would not completely erase the autochthonous musical tradition. Finding evidence of the Indigenous' music would be very difficult since it was orally passed down from their predecessors. Nevertheless, some examples of indigenous music traditions are transcribed in a music manuscript by Indigenous converts and Spanish missionaries in the viceroyalty capital such as Mexico City, or Lima.

As Smith reported, in 1573, a royal decree directed government officials in Mexico City to encourage Indigenous singers and instrumentalists to pacify and influence under the Catholic Church.[81] The missionaries' primary task was first to master the indigenous language in order to interact with the Indigenous people and teach them Spanish customs. Smith argues that initially, the Indigenous people showed lack of interest to sing the missionaries' sacred motets and found the European music system difficult to understand. It was not until the seventeenth century that singing Spanish sacred music became popular among the Indigenous people. They were trained to sing, participate during worship services, and eventually became missionaries to go and attract other potential indigenous converts.

[80] Ibid.
[81] Smith, "The History and Use of Music in Colonial Spanish America 1500-1750," 37.

Music Outside of the Cathedral and Secular Musical Traditions

Not only was music the heart of worship in the Catholic Church but it was part of everyday life and a form of expression and entertainment for the elites, militaries, and common people outside of the sacred setting. When the Spanish arrived in Latin America, they brought secular instrumental and vocal music. The music was cultivated by few Spanish wealthy music lovers who listened and danced in palaces. Daniel Mendoza describes how Spanish viceroys, archbishops, and other high officers brought with them their *ministriles* (lay musicians) and jesters.[82] Not only was secular music performed by the common people, but it was also known by religious employees of the Church. Mendoza relates that clergymen were known to roam the streets and roads singing, dancing, and playing musical instruments, and that they also participated in feasts, serenades, masquerades, and secular comedies. Despite of the activities of religious, professionals, and amateur musicians of European origin, though, Mendoza argues that secular music-making in Latin America remained for the most part in the hands of Indians, Blacks, Mestizos, and Mulattos.[83]

Mendoza offers a compelling portrait of Indigenous performers of secular music. He argues that much of the sacred genres in the Catholic Churches found their way in the streets by way of musicians such as the *ministriles de voz* who secularized religious and profane songs such as the *chanzonetas* and *villancicos*. There was an increased demand for these non-liturgical genres and songs in the vernacular for use in the solemn liturgy as well as the variety of informal contacts that took place between indigenous population and enslaved Africans.[84] Much of the secular music

[82] Daniel de Arce Mendoza, *Music in Ibero-America to 1850: A historical survey* (Lanham: Maryland, Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2001), 157.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.

teaching of the masses and training of the first creole secular musicians of Latin America was done by the European secular *ministriles*.[85]

In his historical survey of music in the Ibero-America, Mendoza gives a detailed account of how, at the end of the seventeenth century, priests and members of monastic orders used guitars to sing their own verses, whether to induce religious conversion or entertainment.[86] At the same time, numerous Indigenous converts, often abandoning their families, moved to the towns or rural areas for work. As Mendoza describes, they brought with them an extensive music knowledge that allowed them to participate fully in urban and rural secular musical life.[87] He also argues that, by this period, newly developed musical styles had already appeared in Latin America. Indigenous musical elements surfaced in colonial popular genres as a result of a search for new means of musical expressions. The Indigenous people were deprived of their Indigenous culture after the heavy influence of Spanish music and customs. Yet, in the hands of secular musicians and dancers, the Spanish tradition acquired a strong local color that reflected environmental influences in addition to its own internal dynamics.

Mixed Cultural Cultivation in Latin American Baroque Music

Enslaved and free Africans of various ethnic groups engaged in cross-cultural exchange with the Spanish world to a greater extent. Evidence of African elements in some of the cultivated music has survived, and their tradition was part of everyday contact like that of the Indigenous people.[88] Mendoza claims that while there may be a physical social distancing between Whites and Blacks, their music reflected African traits such as distinctive rhythmic patterns and dance

[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid., 168.
[87] Mendoza, *Music in Ibero-America to 1850: A historical survey*, 168.
[88] Ibid., 170.

forms that captivated the Spanish. Like they did with the Indigenous people, Spanish rulers in Latin America forbade Africans to fully recreate their rituals, including their musical practices. Since we know the Spanish maintained their traditions in sacred music writing, they would not want the two ethnic groups' energetic complex rhythms to steer away the solemn sonority and focus of the texts. It would defeat the musical purpose for the Spanish Christians to evoke a reverent atmosphere in the Cathedral setting during the worship services.

The cross-cultural intersection and exchange of music traditions in Latin America during the Baroque period were evident and reflected in the transformation of the Spanish sacred *villancico*. The genre's development started with the first Spanish settlement mission of conversion and their use of sacred music as a medium to peacefully interact with the Indigenous groups and persuade them under the viceroy order. Enslaved Africans were also forced to convert, and some of their musical traits influenced Spanish sacred music, too. These ethnic groups' traditional music, interwoven in the Latin American *villancico,* portray a history of cultural interaction.

CHAPTER 4

LIMPIEZA DE SANGRE AND BAROQUE LATIN AMERICAN COMPOSERS

After the Spanish settlers established their colonies throughout the Americas and newly created the viceroyalty capital of Mexico City in 1535, they were on a mission to convert anyone to the Catholic faith. Part of the Spanish imperial agenda, they created a system that would eventually control the indigenous population. They believed that mixing Spanish population with other ethnic groups would benefit the society in different ways. One example is the practice called *Limpieza de sangre* (blood cleansing). According to the Catholic Church associating Spanish blood with another race would render the newborn individual clean. However, this concept was merely another ideology that the Catholic Church utilized to acculturate the Indigenous people and eventually Africans. The concept conveys the control of not only indigenous and African groups but also gender and sexuality. In Spanish society, women were deemed inferior and had the notion to be submissive to men; this gender ideology that was ingrained in their culture led women to be economically dependent on men.[89] The concept of this system affected composers, music-making and employment in the Catholic Church and the treatment of the population based on race, gender, nationality, and different social classes. This chapter explores the impact of the *limpieza de sangre* and how that infiltrated in the music culture and tradition.

Limpieza de Sangre and the Spanish Caste System

The Spanish colonial society was very conservative and abided by old Catholic traditions that were brought from the Iberian Peninsula. This society was strictly controlled by three powerful hierarchies, the government, the Catholic Church, and the elites and royalties, all of which were predominantly under the control of powerful men in leadership roles. Any decisions,

[89] Barbara L. Voss, "Gender, Race, and Labor in the Archaeology of the Spanish Colonial Americas," 868.

influences, or ethical ideas were determined by and revolved around the traditions of old-Spain. Gender and sexuality in the Spanish colonies were determined according to what was best for the monarchy and the Church. *La sistema de caste,* or the caste system, used to classify the population based on the proportion of Spanish, Indigenous, and African blood, and was a system that privileged Spanish (European) blood and was accompanied by a sexual economy centered on the inaccessibility of most Spanish women to all but Spanish men.[90] Maria Elena Martinez has investigated how the Caste system was inspired by the Spanish concept of *limpieza de sangre* (blood cleansing) referred to the status of pure Spanish ancestry and initially adopted for converted Jews and Muslims. The *limpieza de sangre* retained its connotations as it reached the metropolitan colonies of Spanish-Mexico and began to be applied to Africans and Indigenous people once they became "New Christians."[91] Martinez reports that the caste system was not applied to first generation Spanish colonials born in Latin America who were known as *Criollos,* and that the Spanish viewed Africans and Indigenous people differently, albeit both ancestries were considered impure and still perceived in a negative way in their community.[92] The Indigenous people who were mixed with Spanish blood were called *mestizaje* and were allowed to take both Spanish name and surname. These Mestizos were preferable to those from African descent and defended by the Spanish who considered them honorable under the Catholic Church.

Friar Gregorio Garcia (1554-1627) observed the implications of impurity among the Indigenous people and those mixed with Spanish blood.[93] Martinez reports that Garcia highlighted the construction of Spanish and Indigenous mixture as a redemptive process, one on which

[90] Maria Elena Martinez, "The Black Blood of New Spain: Limpieza de Sangre, Racial Violence, and Gendered Power in Early Colonial Mexico" *The William and Mary Quarterly,* Third Series 61, no. 3 (2004): 483.
[91] Martinez, "The Black Blood of New Spain: Limpieza de Sangre, Racial Violence, and Gendered Power in Early Colonial Mexico," 484.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid., 485.

"Spanish parts" redeemed the Indigenous ones.[94] This act of racial mixture was the Spanish theological idea of "Europeanizing" the Indigenous as a mean of redemption and acceptance in Spanish Catholic society. This theological idea was the interpretation of the simple phrase "Jesus took the sins of humanity in order to purify it," by which the Spanish justified the purification of those who were once known as "Mestizos."[95] This allowed the mixed Indigenous people to achieve a social and spiritual status almost equivalent to the Spanish. The Spanish treatment of the Indigenous people was in contrast to that of the Africans. According to Martinez, black blood has its long history of being considered impure in the Iberian Peninsula.[96] This was perhaps linked to Spain's history with Islam and the presence of enslaved Blacks and Moors in the Muslim territory (mostly in the Andalusian region) of the Peninsula. It may be the reason the Spanish settlers negatively view Blacks according to their stereotypical judgement with the Moors in Spain. Nevertheless, the purification of the Indigenous and Blacks enabled their acceptance in the Spanish society and allowed social and religious privileges to those with Spanish blood.

Even if there were rarely interactions between Blacks and the Spanish, African influences are still traced in Latin American sacred music and in records of their employment in the church. In the mid-seventeenth century, there was a choir in the Cathedral of Mexico under a black director that seems to have thrived on performing music tinged with a strong popular flare.[97] Occasionally, oratorios and *novenarios* were organized and performed by Blacks and Mulattoes. Outside of the Church setting, Black women were found singing folk tunes and

[94] Martinez, "The Black Blood of New Spain: Limpieza de Sangre, Racial Violence, and Gendered Power in Early Colonial Mexico," 485.
[95] Martinez, "The Black Blood of New Spain: Limpieza de Sangre, Racial Violence, and Gendered Power in Early Colonial Mexico," 483.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid., 84.

playing on the streets with gourd-like instruments called *el guiro* (*la guira*). This was mostly common in the Spanish colonies in the Caribbean churches due to the limited number of instruments and singers.[98] These performances inspired composers to write religious folk music for festivities. Unfortunately, it is difficult to find records of many compositions featuring the rich variety of Blacks and Indigenous music traditions. As Mendoza argues, it is indeed possible that these cultural elements were slow to appear because initially they were ignored and marginalized by the Spanish.[99] Nevertheless, with a coexistence of mixed culture, it was impossible for the Spanish to ignore the vibrant and energetic music that was permeating their society.

Assimilation in Latin American Baroque Music

Music was part of everyday life for all ethnic groups. Traditions and practices were shared, heard, and performed by people with various backgrounds in all ethnic groups. Both sacred and secular music include different elements and idioms that evoked each culture present in Latin America. The variety of music in colonial Spain would not have existed without Spanish missionaries teaching new indigenous music, performance practice, and composition. As Mendoza argues, thanks to this training the Indigenous became aware of the connection of music as the center part of worship and learned to write masses, *villancicos,* and other polyphonic works of excellent quality according to the Spanish standards.[100] In the early stage of colonialism, the settlers and the Indigenous Christians established small churches for new converts to worship. The Indigenous church musicians were employed by the Spanish missionaries to carry the gospel through music in their heavy populated communities. Africans were also influenced by the Spanish to a certain extent in their music culture. Yet, unlike the Indigenous people, they were resilient

[98] Mendoza, *Music in Ibero-America to 1850: A historical survey,* 84.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid., 85.

enough to survive acculturation and the barriers of social prejudice. They were reluctant to assimilation and did not allow much penetration in their music. However, since both Indigenous people and Africans were under Spanish control, they did not have freedom of choice and were often restricted to compose music that was heavily influenced by Spanish culture. On the other hand, there were other Indigenous people and Africans who worked hard to gain acceptance by the Spanish to innovate their own music traditions with the imitation of the European model.

During the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Spanish legislation in Latin America considered instrumental music to be an effective means of acculturation.[101] As mentioned, singing was the upmost important tool for missionaries to teach the Indigenous people sacred vocal music and persuade them to convert to the Catholic faith. However, the legislation also realized the need of hiring instrumental musicians in the church and therefore began to teach Indigenous' music education. Once they became skilled musicians, they were paid in money, food, and clothing. Employed Indigenous people, Africans, and those who are mixed with these two ethnic groups also belonged to the property of the Church. According to Egbert Bermudez, Jesuits were responsible of Indigenous converts to follow necessary rules given by the Church officials. The Indigenous people were not allowed beyond the official positions of any that were almost equal to the authorities in the Church. The Jesuits were able to control the Indigenous people by training them as church musicians. The Church also appointed other ethnic groups such as the mixed Indigenous and Africans with Spanish descent to become instrumentalists. Vocalists were only for the Spanish since it was considered a hierarchical music position. In the performance force,

[101] Egberto Bermudez, "The Ministriles Tradition in Latin America: Part I: South America, 1.) The case of Santafe (Colombia) and La Plata (Bolivia) in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the Historical Brass Society* 11 (1999): 149.

selecting specific role for each ethnic group in music presents the issue of the racial inequality in the Church and society.

Commissioning Music Composers

Spanish colonial composers were commissioned differently compared to others who were not from Spain. The missionaries' responsibility was often finding any Indigenous people with a gifted talent and guide them to absorb European musical knowledge. As mentioned, the Indigenous, Africans, and mixed race with Spanish descent showed significant degree of skills in performance and composition of sacred masses and *villancicos*. However, the Spanish elites prevented them from competing for higher music position or official leadership roles. They were only allowed to be skillful musicians who were guided by Spanish Church authorities. This also granted them limited freedom to compose music that evoked their own culture. Contemporary accounts suggest that they imitated European music models with different degree of creativity in their composition. Still, it is rather difficult to find evidence of preserved or archived music works from those who were not of Spanish descent. The following are three examples of *maestros de capilla* with different ethnic backgrounds who served at the Mexican Churches in Puebla and Mexico City. They are few of the most important composers who contributed Baroque Latin American music.

The Life of Juan Gutierrez de Padilla

Juan Gutierrez de Padilla was one of the earliest composers who served as a *maestro de capilla* at a chapel in Puebla, Mexico and was one of the most important Spanish colonial composers in the Latin American Baroque era who also incorporated Renaissance traditions in his compositions.[102] Originally from Malaga, Spain, Padilla held two

[102] Christopher Ivan Anthony Albanese, "Compositional Techniques and Missionary Rhetoric in the "*Missa Ego Flos Campi*" of Juan Gutierrez De Padilla," 4.

notable positions at the collegiate church of Jerez and a comparable position at the large cathedral in Cadiz where he was responsible for promoting considerable growth in the church music budget for the hiring of instrumentalists. Padilla's departure to Mexico was around 1620 and some records mentioned that he frequently traveled between the Mexican viceroy and Spain.[103]

Padilla was a trained musician who, before becoming a *maestro*, was an apprentice at the Puebla Cathedral under the Portuguese *villancico* composer, Gaspar Fernandes (1570-1629). Right before his departure for Latin America, Padilla had become familiar with the Venetian polychoral style of Gabrielli, which he effectively applied to his double choir compositions. Padilla treated the double choir either with homophonic declamation of energetic rhythmic motives in all voices or antiphonal opposition between the two choirs.[104] He also was the author of a considerable amount of *villancicos* much like his mentor Fernandes. For his *villancicos,* which covered all the different types of style, he often used texts by a Mexican nun, Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz (1695-?) who remained the most influential Spanish speaking sacred poet in Latin America until the eighteenth century.[105] Buelow argues that, after the death of Fernandes, Padilla filled the position as full-time chapel master at the Puebla Cathedral and greatly benefited from the patronage of the Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza who endowed his Cathedral with an impressive income for its music establishment.[106] While he was full-time chapel master, he hired a large ensemble of best singers and instrumentalists. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Puebla Cathedral surpassed the one in Mexico City because of the outstanding quality of his sacred music. Padilla was mostly

[103] Ibid.
[104] Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music/George J. Buelow,* 389.
[105] Ibid., 399.
[106] Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music/George J. Buelow,* 389.

known for his eight-part sacred masses and motets many of which were assembled in the Puebla choir book XV by order of the Cathedral chapter.[107]

Music Contributions and Influences

One of Padilla's responsibility as chapel master was forming choirs mostly with boys from ages ten to twelve years with excellent voices. He was ordered by the *cabildo* (the Council) to teach choir members polyphonic music. This required him to give daily classes in plainsong and polyphony that would benefit the boys to learn and remember as they matured. The Council also gave him the responsibility to assemble *villancicos* and deliver them to the warden in charge of cathedral property along with an inventory of all *villancicos* that had been composed in previous years.[73] Much of his works were preserved in six categories: masses, motets, Marian antiphons, lamentations, passions, and *villancicos*.[108] The first three written in Latin texts and the others in Spanish vernacular language.

When Padilla arrived in Mexico, he also encountered Indigenous people who lived in Puebla and were knowledgeable in Spanish musical idioms and demonstrated their skillful ability in writing music. Given the existence of polyphonic traditions trained by the Spanish missionaries, the Indigenous people naturally preferred writing works with European styles. Although the Indigenous people had their own musical traditions, there is no evidence of their influences in Padilla's compositions, which were heavily affected by European styles. Most of Padilla's influence was from Bishop Palafox y Mendoza who was an important patron in Puebla, Mexico. When Palafox y Mendoza arrived in 1639, he established the Cathedral from his wealth and

[107] Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music/George J. Buelow*, 399.
[108] Robert Stevenson, "Distinguished Maestro" of Spain: Juan Gutierrez de Padilla," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 35, no.3 (Aug.1955): 372.

founded the first public library in Latin America. Buelow claims that Padilla benefitted from Palafox y Mendoza's patronage and all that encompassed the Spanish and religious culture.[109] Padilla's music genres were sacred, and it seems fitting in Puebla since it was known as a religious city. Alice Ray describes Puebla as a city immersed in ecclesiastical and liturgical culture: "Most of the churches were built from stones and had large domes covered with glaze tyles. Interiors were usually luxurious, ornamented with marbles, onyx of various colors, decorative grill works and wood carvings in the chapel. Gold and silver decorations, and costly vestments, tapestries, and embroider hanging."[110] It is also worth mentioning that sculptures and paintings in the churches were done by Indigenous people who were evangelized; most pictures depicted were stories and events from the Bible. This would explain why Padilla's sacred works were influenced by the surrounding religious landscape.

The Life of Manuel de Sumaya

Many Mexican musicologists recognized Manuel de Sumaya (1680?-1755?) as the finest composer in Mexican music history Sumaya, who left an abundance of Latin liturgy, was born in Mexico City and was the first-born Mexican music composer in the Baroque period.[111] The exact date of his birth is unknown, however, it is generally estimated that he was alive between 1678 and 1755, and nearly coincided with the year that his mentor Antonio Salazar began his career as chapel master nearby Puebla.[112] Sumaya's training and education were tied closely to Salazar as he was his greatest influence in sacred music composition.

[109] Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music*, 399.
[110] Albanese, "Compositional Techniques and Missionary Rhetoric in the "*Missa Ego Flos Campi*" of Juan Gutierrez De Padilla," 5.
[111] Leslie Bethel, "The Music of Colonial Spanish America." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America* 2 (1984): 793.
[112] Dean, "Renaissance and Baroque Characteristics in Four Choral Villancicos of Manuel De Sumaya: Analysis and Performance Editions," 73.

To understand Sumaya, it is also worth mentioning Salazar and how he impacted his life. While Salazar served as chapel master in Puebla from 1679 to 1688, Sumaya started his musical training in the cathedral at the age of ten.[113] After Sumaya's father passed away, he took an interest to learn the organ and became a friar to support his mother and sister. He took daily lessons with organist, Joseph de Ydiasquez and was also required to take singing class and participate in the choir.[114] The Church recognized Sumaya's musical talent, and he gained the position as second organist after Ydiasquez. It was recorded in 1708 that Sumaya wanted the choir chaplain position; however, this request was taken up to chapel master Salazar for examination. The choir chaplain position required the holder to know plainsongs and other musical disciplines taught in the Cathedral. From this point, it is unknown when Sumaya had additional music education and yet to date is still a mystery how he mastered counterpoint.[115] In 1710, it is assumed that Salazar requested to step down from teaching in the *escoleta publica*. Salazar offered to selectively teach counterpoint and other high level of music knowledge to any promising and devoted musicians at home. This request was sent to the *cabildo* and was granted under the agreement of having an assistant to substitute as chapel master.

By 1711, Sumaya was appointed to assist Salazar in fulfilling the chapel aster position.[116] It is possible that while assisting Salazar, he observed and learned counterpoint while his mentor was teaching his students. In his middle period (1715 to 1738) Sumaya became an influential figure in the music world of Latin America as the chapel master of the Mexico City Cathedral.[117] He was known as an international celebrity and composed the first opera mounted

[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid., 74.
[115] Ibid., 78.
[116] Ibid., 80.
[117] Dean, "Renaissance and Baroque Characteristics in Four Choral Villancicos of Manuel De Sumaya: Analysis and Performance Editions," 80.

in North America to Silvio Stampiglia's libretto, *La Partenope*.[118] Much of Sumaya's influence also came from Italian Baroque music and is recognizable in his *villancicos*. Similar to Padilla, he also used texts from Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz for his *villancicos,* but he wrote both sacred and secular genres. Sumaya's *villancicos* are often characterized by less indications of instrumental parts, which leave room for improvisation.[119] There is still limited information about Sumaya's musical influences and how he was able to develop such skills. Questions left unanswered relate to how he knew the Baroque style of opera or when he started to write *villancicos*. However, his beautiful *villancicos* and sacred masses let us admire the mystery of his music success.

The Life of Ignacio Jerusalem

In the early eighteenth century, Spanish sacred music continued to prevail in Mexico City's Cathedral and was still a requirement for chapel masters to compose music and train musicians as part of their duty in the Church. Music pedagogies such as performance practice and composition played a role in academic erudition and were also part of the requirements to obtain a leadership position. Chapel masters were also required to continue the Spanish tradition of sacred music, which had been passed down and became part of Latin American culture However, to a certain extent, the Spanish music tradition was challenged when the Italian composer Ignacio Jerusalem (Ignazio Gerusalemme) traveled to Mexico City and trained for the position as chapel master.

Jerusalem, a composer, and violinist was the first Italian chapel master in the Mexico City Cathedral that developed new stylistic techniques in addition to the Spanish tradition of contrapuntal writing. Before Jerusalem's departure for Mexico City in 1743, he already had a notable reputation as a musician and composer in Italy. When he arrived in Mexico (also known

[118] Bethell, "The Music of Colonial Spanish America," 792.
[119] Ibid.

as New Spain) in 1743, he entered the service at Mexico City's Teatro Coliseo.[120] The musicianship required as a chapel master in Mexico City was different compared to his music training in Italy. As he trained for that position, Jerusalem had to follow the rules of counterpoint in Pedro Cerones' *Melopeo y Maestro,* which the Spanish and Spanish *Criollos* used. The exhausting examination to become a chapel master consisted in directing choir and orchestra performances daily and not only writing *villancicos* but all types of sacred and secular genres. The examination perhaps was strenuous to Jerusalem since he had no experience or knowledge of what being a chapel master meant before working in the Mexican Cathedral.

According to Jesus A. Ramos Kittrel, the committee of the Church was unsure of Jerusalem's education because of his compositional approach that contradicted the Spanish tradition of counterpart writing.[121] The committee had mixed opinions about Jerusalem's compositional ability and was concerned whether he was fit for the position as chapel master. The committee assumed it was Jerusalem's lack of practice writing sacred music for choir given his experience in music for the theater.[122] After going through several examinations of his compositions, Jerusalem eventually convinced the committee the changes of musical styles that were made necessary in writing the *villancico*. Jerusalem wrote *villancicos* with a smaller orchestra texture which includes couple of violins and trumpets along with an organ and basso continuo. His *villancicos* to an extent broke away from the traditional practice.[123]

Jerusalem advocated for the use of modern notation as used in Italy and in his writing abandoned the white notation which was still used in Latin American Cathedrals.[124] In

[120] Jesús A. Ramos-Kittrell,"Ignacio Jerusalem: Politics in Music Thought with the Arrival of a Paravenu," *Revista De Musicología* 38, no. 1 (2015): 84.
[121] Ibid., 81.
[122] Ibid., 98.
[123] Craig H. Russell, "Jerusalem, Ignacio," *Grove Music Online*, 2001. <http://oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/14280>
[124] Craig H. Russell, "Jerusalem, Ignacio."

traditional polyphonic writing, the use of white mensural notations where practices from Renaissance period. He also introduced larger choral ensembles where his music was heavily influenced by the *galant* style, which had become popular in different countries in Europe. This melody-driven style is characterized by simplicity, elegance, balanced phrases, homophonic textures, and clear harmonic progressions. All these features were never heard in the Cathedral Church and contradicted the Spanish way of contrapuntal writing. Knowing the history of Spain's resistance to adopt any new aesthetics from other countries, it is surprising that Jerusalem was able to persuade the Spanish Mexican Cathedral Chapter to incorporate the *galant style* into their music traditions. This may be the first time where the highly conservative Spanish mentality has gradually adopted other aesthetics into its own. During his last ten years, the Cathedral chapter in Mexico City has compiled and archived his music and, after his death, they have acknowledged Jerusalem's devoted service as a chapel master.[125]

The idea of *Limpieza de Sangre* affected the Spanish colonials' behavior and their treatment towards the Indigenous people and Africans in their society. It is evident that the mentality of *Limpieza de Sangre* has infiltrated in the culture, tradition, employment, and to a great extent, theological ideas. Because of the highly conservative regulations that the Spanish have abide by the Catholic Church, this has shaped their ethics, values, and influences that reflected old-Spain traditions. In result, the Spanish determined who are highly qualified for leadership roles according to their caste system. This concept affected all ethnic groups whether pure or mixed with Spanish blood and where they are placed in the society. The caste system also affected how they commissioned musicians, *maestros de capilla,* and their role in the Catholic Church. As we've

[125] Ramos-Kittrell,"Ignacio Jerusalem: Politics in Music Thought with the Arrival of a Paravenu," 81.

seen in this chapter, there were racial inequalities in the Church, and it is noticeable that they were only restricted to fulfill specific roles as musicians.

In the life and contribution of the three composers who served as *maestros de capilla* in Mexico, we could see how the Catholic Church Chapter reacted to their works and musical ideas. While studying the three composers, I have noticed that almost all of their *villancico* works are archived in the Cathedral. Only finding documented works from European immigrants makes one to question about other *villancicos* written by converted Indigenous groups and enslaved Africans who were also taught to compose like the Spanish. I have also found compelling is the challenge of investigating further research of other *villancico* composers in Mexico from different ethnic backgrounds or whether these *maestros de capilla* have implemented any musical elements from Indigenous people and Africans in their composition. Since the converted Indigenous and enslaved African people were under the authority of the Catholic Church and the Spanish society, it would be reasonable that their music skills were rarely acknowledged.

CHAPTER 5

CONLUSION

To conclude, what I want to propose with my thesis are reasons for incorporating the history of the Latin American *villancico* in Baroque music studies. This genre reflects more than two centuries of social and cultural influences that impacted its development. While researching the history of the Baroque *villancico*, I have noticed that J. Peter Burkholder has mentioned the Spanish *villancico* a few times in the late ninth edition of his *History of Western Music*. In his textbook, Burkholder contextualized the genre and discussed it in the historical context of Spain reconquering Granada and then expanding to the Americas. Showing how the Spanish musical influence reached Latin America helps to better comprehend the events that occurred throughout different periods. Burkholder has provided a condensed description of the earliest form of the Spanish *villancico*, at least one Latin American Baroque composer, and two *villancico* examples in the anthology. Considering the summary of information regarding the Spanish and Latin American composers and their *villancicos*, I believe it would be fair to also explain in depth how the genre has developed over time as well as the connection with the ones in the Americas during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Without a doubt, there is a lot to cover in the textbook for future music students to grapple the vast history of Western music to devote more than a few pages to the transformation of this genre in Latin America. Don't we study the long history of other musical genres from Italy, France, or Germany? It seems as though we are far from attempting to break the canon of studying composers that we often hear in famous concert halls and carefully selecting what should be narrated in Western Music History has been an ongoing challenge. Burkholder's new edition shows that there is a necessity to be inclusive with our historical musical narrative.

While it is essential to study the development and musical innovations from Western European countries, I don't see any valid reasons as to why we can't equally study in depth the music from Spain, Portugal, and Latin America in different periods. I also believe it is important to teach our future student's contributions from various ethnic groups in the Western world. Whether other ethnicities were assimilated to fully write music according to European practice or incorporating them into their own traditions, it would be fascinating to consider learning in a multicultural perspective.

Latin American Baroque *villancicos* share the same musical traditions as the Europeans, and we have seen how these traditions were passed down and, through the Church, were used to convert the Indigenous and African groups. When Spanish and Portuguese colonials brought their music to Latin America, they religiously maintained their long traditional practice and aesthetics. The issue I came across during my research was the lack of information of evidence of other types of *villancicos* written from non-Spanish colonials in Mexico. Many scholars have mentioned other types of *villancicos;* however, none has further researched biographies of the composers or verification of scores. As I have emphasized many times in the chapters, the Indigenous inhabitants who were converted by the Catholic missionaries acquired musical skills and were employed by the Church.

Certainly, there were other mixed ethnic groups who, to a certain extent, also had the same privilege to learn and become excellent musicians or composers. According to the Spanish caste system, we know that the Spanish colonials who were composers would have more privilege to publish and perform their works in the Church compared to those with some to no blood descendent from Spain. For example, Juan Gutierrez de Padilla was an immigrant Spanish composer who served as *maestro de capilla* in Puebla, Mexico. His biography and music

contributions have been published, researched, and analyzed numerous times. It is not to say we should not continue to research his works or other Spanish colonial chapel masters; however, there should be at least a variety of Latin American *villancico* composers when studying the music of the Baroque period. Another composer worth mentioning is Manuel de Sumaya, his ethnic background is still uncertain, and scholars do not know whether he was the first multiracial or *Criollo* composer. Still, his life and contributions are an exception to study because he maintained the traditional practices of writing sacred music. Lastly, Ignacio Jerusalem, although from Italy, he was an important composer who incorporated Italianate styles into the traditional way of writing sacred *villancicos*.

I hope that other Latin American Baroque composers of various backgrounds would also have a spotlight in Western music history studies and for other future musicians to learn their contributions in detail rather than glossing through a little summary of one composer or a piece. This inclusion would also broaden the musician's knowledge other musical innovations and diverse creativities that were cultivated in other countries musical traditions, and answer questions about Latin American diverse music and its historical significance. I believe it is important to learn the *villancico's* music development and integrate it in Baroque studies because it shares a complex history of political and religious changes that occurred both in the Iberian Peninsula and Latin America.

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