The Accompaniment for the *Villancico* in New Spain

by

Miguel Espinoza
Harpsichord Performance
C013172

23 February 2018

Jacques Ogg, Main Subject Teacher
Bert Mooiman, Internal Supervisor
John Swadley, External Supervisor
Bart van Oort, Circle Leader

Research Exposition submitted for the Degree
Master of Early Music Harpsichord

26 March 2018, 13:15
Studio 3

Royal Conservatoire at The Hague

List of figures

Contents

1.1 The *Villancico*: Background

The word *villancico* comes from the early fifteenth century when Iñigo López de Mendoza used this title for one of his poems, but in the musical world the term has been in use from the middle of the fifteenth century until the present day. The concept of *villancico* as religious music exclusively produced for Christmas comes from the mid-nineteenth century, however the term was formerly used to define music in a large variety of settings, for a number of occasions. The origin of the term *villancico* is to be found in the Spanish word *villa* (village), and *villancicos* were originally popular songs which where sung in the rural world to narrate different events occurring in the life of the village, such as births, deaths, marriages, and so forth. Another definition of the word was given by the Spanish poet, musician and theatrical autor Juan del Encina as early as the fifteenth century:

> Villancico is surely a word derived from villagers, a little song composed by the village people of the locality. And it is a composition of two or three verses that consists of four feet; it can be a song, and might be denominated *copla*.[1]

Both definitions point in the same direction; a popular song used by the people to narrate everyday events. These musical pieces were also performed at court and were inserted into theatrical performances (some of which were devoted to Nativity), and later ecclesiastical authorities saw these simple and catchy songs as a good opportunity to spread the message of Catholic church.

Scholar José Subira proposed four different kinds of *villancico* based on its functions and chronology; 1.) secular, usually performed at the courts during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, 2.) the sacred *villancico*, assigned to accompany religious services,

[1] Arnoldo Palacios, Review, "Antonio Sánchez Romeralo: *El villancico*", *BICC*, 27 (1972), p. 352. "Villancico es palabra derivada seguramente de villanos: cancioncilla compuesta por los villanos, la gente del pueblo. Y se trata de una composición de dos o tres versos; que si es de cuatro pies puede ser canción y se la puede denominar copla." The citation is a paraphrase of the words of Juan del Encina in his *Arte de la poesia castellana* (1496).

which remained in use from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, 3.) the dramatic *villancico* performed during theatrical performances mainly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and 4.) the folk villancico performed during religious festivals of Christmastide.[2]

One of the most important legacies we possess pertaining to this musical form is the *Cancionero Musical del Palacio*, also known as the *Cancionero de Barbieri*. The *Cancionero* consists of a compilation of 469 musical pieces (originally there were 548, but some folios were lost), mostly in old Spanish, although examples in Latin, French, Basque and Portuguese are also to be found. This anthology dates from 1505, however, eight incorporations made to the original manuscript—four of them between 1505 and 1510, two in 1515, another one between 1516 and 1517, another between 1517 and 1519, and a final one between 1519 and 1520—include examples of various forms such as the *romance*, *canción, and villancico* (the *villancico* being the most important) by some of the most significant composers of this period, among them Juan del Encina (1468–1529) Pedro Escobar (ca. 1465–1535) and Juan Ponce (ca. 1476–1521) and others. In 1890 the manuscript was discovered in the Royal Library at Madrid by Gregorio Cruzada Villaamil and Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, who made a modern edition under the name *Cancionero Musical de los Siglos XV y XVI*.

1.2 Form

The form of *villancico* has suffered incremental changes and modifications during the passage of time, but in general consists of two contrasting parts, the *estribillo*, or *cabeza* (head), essentially a choral section clearly influenced by the pan-European polyphonic tradition, and the *coplas*, (*pies*, or feet) which in early *villancicos* is marked by the *mudanza*

[2] José Subirá, "El villancico literario-musical. Bosquejo histórico", *Revista de Literatura*, 22, (1962), pp.5–27.

(variation) of the text, but in later examples becomes a section derived from Spanish theatrical tradition, in which the soloists will narrate a story accompanied only by a basso continuo.

The Harvard Dictionary of Music proposes the following scheme for the form of the villancico:

Estribillo (Refrain)		Coplas (Strophes) mudanza	Vuelta
Music	A	BB	A
Text	ABB	cdcd	abb
	ABB	cdcd	dbb

Figure 1. Musical and poetic morphology of the early *villancico*

The accompanying diagram gives two common schemes. In the first, the rhyme scheme of the *vuelta* agrees with that of the refrain. In the second, a rhyme from the *mudanza* is carried over into the *vuelta,* with the result that the return to the music of the refrain begins before the return to its rhymes (listen to example 1).[3]

This example may be considered as somewhat archaic and obsolete, since it represents a very early form of the *villancico*, one dating from the middle of the fifteenth century. This morphology had become uncommon as early as the begining of the sixteenth century. Further examples of this early *villancico* morphology are to be found in the *Cancionero del Palacio.*

When we consider later examples of the *villancico*, a rich variety of forms which play with the accomodation of the *estribillo* and *coplas* may be encountered. Some

[3] Michael Don Randel, *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*. 4th ed. (London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003).

examples show the scheme A–BBB– A (recalling the *da capo* form in italian arias), where B is an undefined number of *coplas* (some examples show as much as twenty different verses). Other less common examples contain the form BBB–A, where B represents an undefined number of *coplas* and A the *estribillo*; a good example of this form is *Cerca de Mexico, villancico a duo a la aparición de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de México* by Mexican composer, organist and chapel master Manuel de Sumaya in 1721.[4]

Another form which is commonly found in *villancicos* from the sixteeenth to the eighteenth century is the tripartite scheme *tonada – coplas – responsión,* in which the *tonada* performs the same function as the *estribillo* (polyphonic form), the *coplas* retain their theatrical character, and the *responsión* is a choral response, either to the *coplas* or the *estribillo.* In some examples this form can include an introduction.

When we observe the *villancico* in its secular manifestation, we find that the only difference compared to the religious *villancico* is the text. And, sometimes the secular *villancico* may even use the same text for the *estribillo*, with the difference lying in the text of the *coplas.* The example below is taken from the *villancico Que os llama* by Manuel de Sumaya; in this piece we can appreciate a dual text, one for the secular version (*humano)* and another for the religious version (*divino*), with the same music serving for both:

[4] For this and other New Spanish *villancicos*, see John Swadley, "The *Villancico* in New Spain 1650–1750: Morphology, Significance and Development", Ph.D. Thesis, Canterbury Christ Church University, 2014.

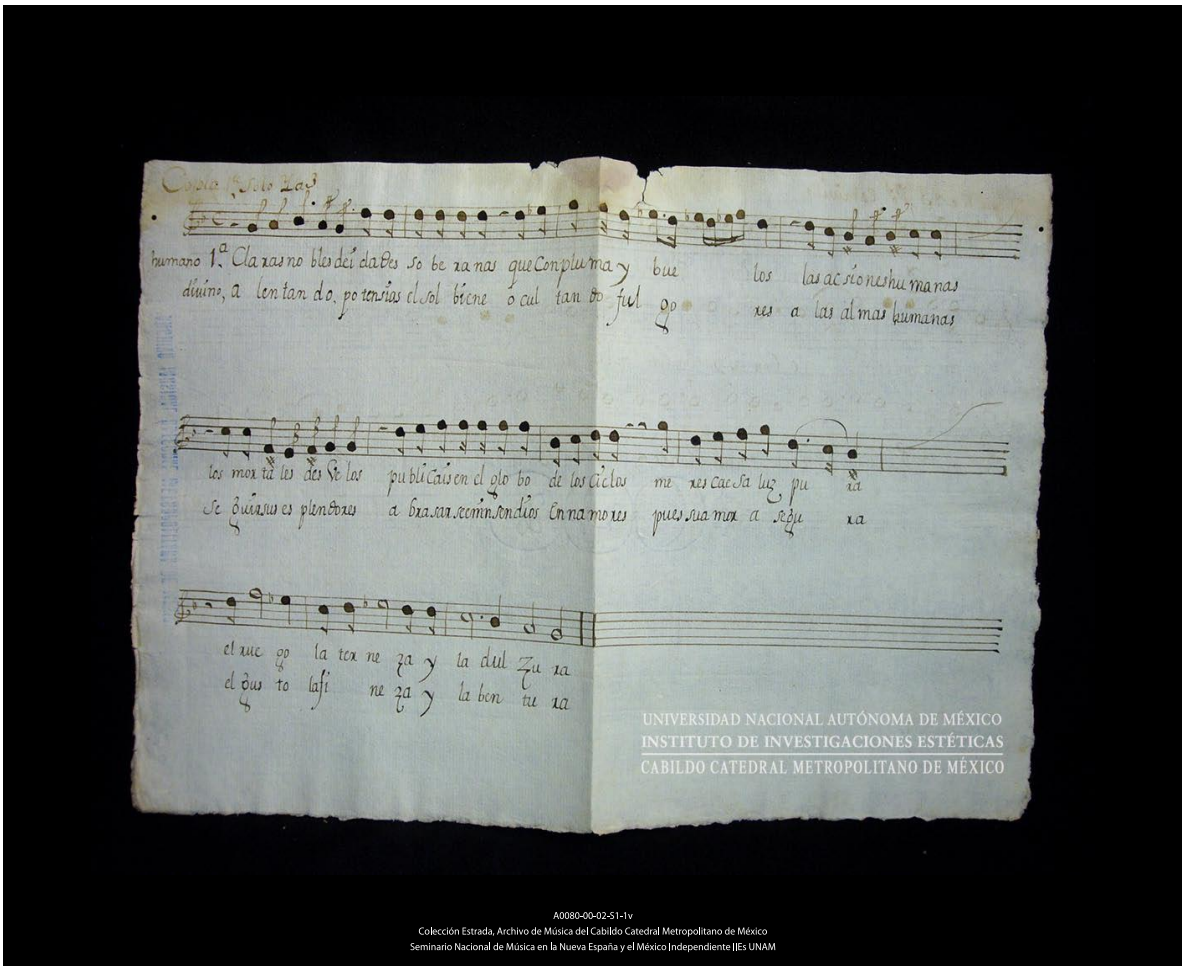


Figure 2. Secular and sacred text in *Que os llama* by Manuel de Sumaya

Therefore, is difficult to give a unique and precise scheme for the form of the *villancico*, due to the variety and richness of the different components, and the different ways of accommodating them formally. But it can be said that the main characteristic is the contrast between the *estribillo* and *coplas* sections, as well as the contrast between the *responsión* and these two elements, when it is applied.

1.3 The *Villancico* In Mexico

After the fall of Aztec empire to the army of Hernan Cortez in 1521, the Kingdom of New Spain was established. After this event there was a huge exchange between the two cultures in many different areas such as religion, gastronomy, culture and art.

With the *reconquista* (reconquest) of the Iberian territory from the Moors, a military venture which lasted from 711 to 1492, Spain had already gained experience using the Church as a weapon to dominate and control. In Mesoamerica the Spanish did not hesitate to use this same ecclesiastical power to "civilize" the native American cultures in order to create and consolidate the Kingdom of New Spain.

The scene that the new conquerors found was quite complicated: at this point Mesoamerica already had civilizations which were quite advanced, organized into theocratic states and using religious practices very contrary to European traditions (some of these practices involved human sacrifice and polygamy). It is a well-known fact of Mexican history that the methods used by the Spanish crown were violent and based on the destruction of indigenous ceremonial places and objects—in the end, these methods almost completely destroyed the legacy of some of the most important American cultures.[5]

On the other hand, thousands of missionaries from different religious orders (Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and Jesuits) were sent to support the Church in its new task: evangelizing the native American population. The missions established by these orders became an integral part of this labor, especially in the north-central part of New Spain. This was in part due to the significant numbers of nomadic tribes, known as Chichimecas, who continued to fight against the conquest, but once inside these new

[5] See Alan Knight, *History of Mexico: From the Beginning to the Spanish Conquest*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

religious centers, apart from learning about religion, the natives had the opportunity to be in touch with different forms of art, such as painting, architecture, poetry and music, which were also tools that the Church used to achieve its goals.

The artistic and religious development of the natives was not only concentrated in the missions, but also in some of the most important points of New Spain such as Puebla de los Ángeles, Oaxaca, Tegucigalpa, and perhaps most important of all, Mexico City. Besides being the political capital of the new kingdom, Mexico City was an important point for artistic exchange between Europe (not only with Spain, but also Italy and France) and the New World. A good example of the cultural wealth of Mexico City during this period is the establishment of a printing press in 1539, a venture which issued a Mass *Ordinarium* in 1556, the first book with music printed in the New World. Musical practices and instruments were also imported: The Franciscan Codex reveals that singing to organ accompaniment was common in Mexican churches in the sixteenth century, and confirms the fact that the natives were very skillful in the use of various musical instruments. In fact, the most frequently used instruments in each district acquired a name in the native languages. The fife and the trumpet have Tarascan names, the sackbut and *vihuela* Mixtec ones, the flute a Náhuatl name, while the orlo and *chirimia* (Spanish shawm) have names both in Mixtec and Náhuatl.[6]

Among the exchange of musical practices and forms, it would seem that the *villancico* had as large a popularity in New Spain as it did in Spain. In both Spain and New Spain, the *villancico* held immense popular appeal, encouraging the attendance and

[6] Luis Weckmann *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico*. Vol. 1 (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992), p. 551.

participation of more reluctant churchgoers at religious ceremonies. *Villancicos* were tolerated by church authorities, despite their characteristic exuberance; profane and even erotic allusions were ignored by the clergy because of the ability of the genre to entice people into the church. Pedro Cerone gives a better sense of the popular appeal of *villancicos* in a somewhat facetious description from his seventeenth century treatise *El Melopeo y Maestro*:

> There are some people so lacking in piety that they attend church but once a year, and miss all the Masses of Obligation, because they are too lazy to get up out of bed. But let it be known that there will be villancicos, and there is no one more devout in the whole place, none more vigilant than these people, for there is no church, oratory, or shrine that the will not visit, nor de they ming getting up in the middle of the night in the freezing cold just to hear them.[7]

During the early fifteenth century African slaves were introduced in Spain by Portuguese merchants, who started to traffic them from Guinea on the West African coast. This contact of these two cultures gave birth to a new subgenere of the *villancico* which together with the missionaries traveled to the New World, where it gained popularity. This was the *villancico de negros*, also known as *guineo*, *negro*, or *negrilla*. Many people think that this kind of *villancico* was born from a conjunction of African and Spanish cultures, but the case is that the *villancico de negros* was born from as a comic representation of the speech of the slaves, first in Portuguese literature, and soon thereafter in Spanish plays by such renowned authors as Lope de Vega (1562–1635) and Calderon de la Barca (1600–1681).

The *negrillas* represented the character of the *negro* as innocent and rather silly, but noble and with a good heart, so that one could say that this representation is not completely

[7] Pietro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples: Bautista Gargano and Lucrecio Nucci, 1613), cited in Jane Gosine and Leon Chrisholm, "Sacred Music in Early Colonial Mexico: Context, Style and Performance", *The Phenomenon of Singing*, 5, (2005): 90-103. Translation by Andrew Lawrence-King, 2002.

negative. On the other hand, these *villancicos* drew a clear difference between African and Spanish castes, and justified the oppression of the African people through linguistic satire.

A clear characteristic of the *negrillas* is the use of an imitation of the African way of speaking called "español bozal" or simply "bozal". Famous Golden Age writer Francisco de Quevedo (1590–1645) gives the formula for success in the art of writing comedies with *negro* characters: If you write comedies and you are a poet you will know Guinean exchanging the R's for L's and vice-versa, like Francisco, Flansisco: Primo, Plimo.[8] Quevedo's expression allows us determine that the "bozal" used in *villancicos* and theatrical plays of this period was meant more as a stylistic metaphor rather than an imitation of real speech practice among the African population in Spain and the New World.

After the conquest, slaves were brought to New Spain and another clash of cultures took place. We can imagine that the native American "Indians" (as the Spanish called them) felt more sympathy towards african slaves than towards their Spanish conquerors, because even though the Mexican natives were not officially declared as slaves, they were forced to give up their lands and work for the benefit of the Spanish crown. In this way many cultural traditions (among them the *villancicos de negros*) were adopted by the inhabitants of New Spain. Evidence of this are the *villancicos de negros* written by Mexican poetess Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651–1695).

It is important to remark that even though the *negrillas* may have adopted some rhythmic traditions from African traditions, the traditional form of *villancico* with its regular *estribillo* and *coplas* remained untouched.

[8] Francisco de Quevedo, *Primera parte de las obras en prosa* (Madrid: Melchor Sánchez, 1658), 199. "Si escribes comedias y eres poeta sabrás guineo en volviendo las RR LL y al contrario como: Francisco, Flansisco: Primo, Plimo".

2.1 The Basso Continuo in Europe

The practice of *basso continuo* was born due to the need organ players had during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to reinforce and sometimes to replace singers while performing for religious ceremonies. We can imagine that at this point it was not an easy task for organists to double all the choral voices, as the modern score as we know it today did not exist at that time. The usual doubling guide was a book with the individual parts written out, and sometimes only part books were available. At times, several choirs were involved in polyphonic works, making the work of the organist even more difficult. Thus, we can say that this practice, *basso continuo*, was used as a shortcut meant to simplify and help organ players at this time.

It is said that it was Italian composer and musician Ludovico Grossi de Viadana who "invented" *basso continuo*, but the truth is that this was a practice which had already existed for some time. The important contribution of Viadana was to give the actual name *basso continuo* to this already existing practice. In the preface of his collection *Cento Concerti Eclesiastici*, printed in 1602*,* one of his most transcendent and well-known works, he gave a set of eleven rules for the performance of figured bass.

In the profane world, the work *Rappresentazione di anima e di corpo* by Emilio de Cavalieri was printed in Rome in 1600. This is the first example of a publication using *basso continuo* figures in a monodic context. The figures used to express compound intervals, for example the tenth instead of a third, a thirteenth instead of a sixth and so on, represent a more specific way of writing the figures compared to his contemporary colleagues Jacopo Peri and Giulio Caccini.

Another important example we have is *Il quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci*

published by famous Italian composer Claudio Monteverdi in 1605. In this work Monteverdi categorizes his compositions in two distinct practices: the *prima prattica,* which was closer to the principles given by Gioseffo Zarlino in his work *Le Institutione harmoniche* (1558), where the author attaches great importance to the different modes and rules of counterpoint. On the other had, Monteverdi contrasts this with the *seconda prattica*, which generally used continuo, and was less strict in the application of the rules of counterpoint. This new vision gave performers the musical freedom to be able to support any given text.

Early Italian terms connected to the *basso continuo* were usually determined by musical context and function, and include the following:

Spartitura	*Croce Spartitura delli motetti a otto voci, 1594*
Partidura	*Crocce Messe a otto voci, 1596*
Partitio	*Gallus Sacri operas musici alternis modulis concidendi, 1598*
Basso principale	*Vecchi Basso principale da sonare delli salmi intieri, 1598*
Basso per l'organo	*Bassano Motetti per il concirti ecclesiastici, 1599*
Basso continuo	*Cavalieri Rappresentatione di anima e di corpo, 1600*
	Viadana Cento concerti eclesiastici, 1602
	Monteverdi il quinto libro de Madrigali a cinque voci, 1605
Basso seguente	*Banchieri Ecclesiastiche sinfonie, 1607*

Though these terms specifically address the *seconda prattica,* the terms themselves are specific to their precise context and role. In most cases, these terms invariably stem from the organist's requirement to supply an organ bass in the context of liturgical music. The organist's duty became increasingly more complex with the use of multiple choirs, the need

to cover vocal parts in the absence of singers, and most importantly the organist's ability to understand the harmonic framework of a particular work, this in order to provide an accompaniment. The term *spartitura*, often synonymous with *partitura,* meaning an organ bass from the late *cinquecento* using bar lines. Other contemporaneous terms synonymous with *partitura* are *basso generale, basso per l'organo, basso seguente* and *basso principale*.[9]

Due to the mobility of musicians travelling from court to court, *basso continuo* practice soon spread through the European world. The acceptance of the continuo in Germany went hand in hand with the emerging concertato style cultivated by composers such as Henrich Schütz in prominent Lutheran courts and churches at urban centers, Dresden being a prime example.[10]

Between 1614 and 1619, Michael Praetorius published his three-part work (there was an attempt to publish a fourth part which would have included instructions for composition of music), *Syntagma musicum.* In his text Praetorius includes some translations from Viadana's *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* and from Agazzari's *Del sonare sopra'l basso* remarking on the importance of a good balance in the continuo, to which he adds his personal commentary:

> This point (made by Agazzari about balance) above all must be carefully kept in mind in all *concerti,* by instrumentalists as well as singers. No one must cover up and outshout the other with his instrumento or voice, though this happens very frequently, causing much splendid music to be spoiled and ruined. When one thus tries to outdo the other, the instrumentalist, particularly cornett players with their blaring but also singers through their screaming, rise in pitch so much that the organist playing along is forced to stop entirely. At the end it happens then that the whole ensemble through excessive blowing and shouting has gone sharp by a half, often indeed a whole tone and more. Without a doubt A. Agazzari has realized this, for he demands that the wind instruments, especially cornetts, should be omitted in soft, nice, and delicate ensembles

[9] Ruben Valenzuela, "Basso Continuo in the Mexico City Cathedral, ca. 1700–1750" (Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate University, Michigan, 2015), p.18.
[10] Jerome Roche, "What Schütz Learned from Grandi in 1629", *The Musical Times*, 113, (1972): 1074-075.

> — because of the variations caused by yhe human breath—and that they should only be used in large and loud ones. In small ensembles a trombone—if blown well and delicately—may sometimes be used as the bass playing along with small positives or four-foot organ stops. M.P.C (Praetorius) This need not apply to one who can control his cornett and similar instruments properly and who is master of his instrument.[11]

Through this translation and the comments of Praetorius we can see how *basso continuo* practice had gained musical ground and had developed in sophistication and complexity during the early seventeenth century. Further, we gain an understanding of the richness of instrumentation in *basso continuo* practice, as well as the different ways of using this resource to create varied musical effects.

In the second volume of *Syntagma musicum*, published in 1619, Praetorious gives specific instructions for the *basso continuo*, suggesting that the organist should prepare two manuals with different registrations, so that he can play brighter realizations in lively passages as well as a soft realization when the music is calmer. Another example which shows that the balance of instrumentation and registration was carefully considered at this time is to be found in the *Historia der Auferstehung* by German composer Henrich Schütz, where the composer suggests that the organ player accompany only with a 8' gedackt or an 8' stopped diapason in the recitatives. Due to a developed organ pedal technique, particulary in the Northen Germany, various theorists from Schütz to Mattheson discuss the use of the organ pedal board in both 8' and 16' combinations for the purpose of the *basso continuo*.

Regarding instrumentation, Praetorius in the third volume of *Syntagma musicum* ventures a categorization of the different instruments, classifying them as "fundament instruments" or "ornament instruments", all contemporary keyboard instruments falling in

[11] Michael Praetorius, translation Hans Lampl, *Syntagma musicum* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1957), p. 195.

the category of "fundament instruments". Aggazari, who also made a categorization of the different instruments in his book *Del sonare sopra'l basso* based on its functions also gives a review of the importance of "fundament instruments", arguing that they should "guide and support the whole body of voices and instruments of the said consort".[12]

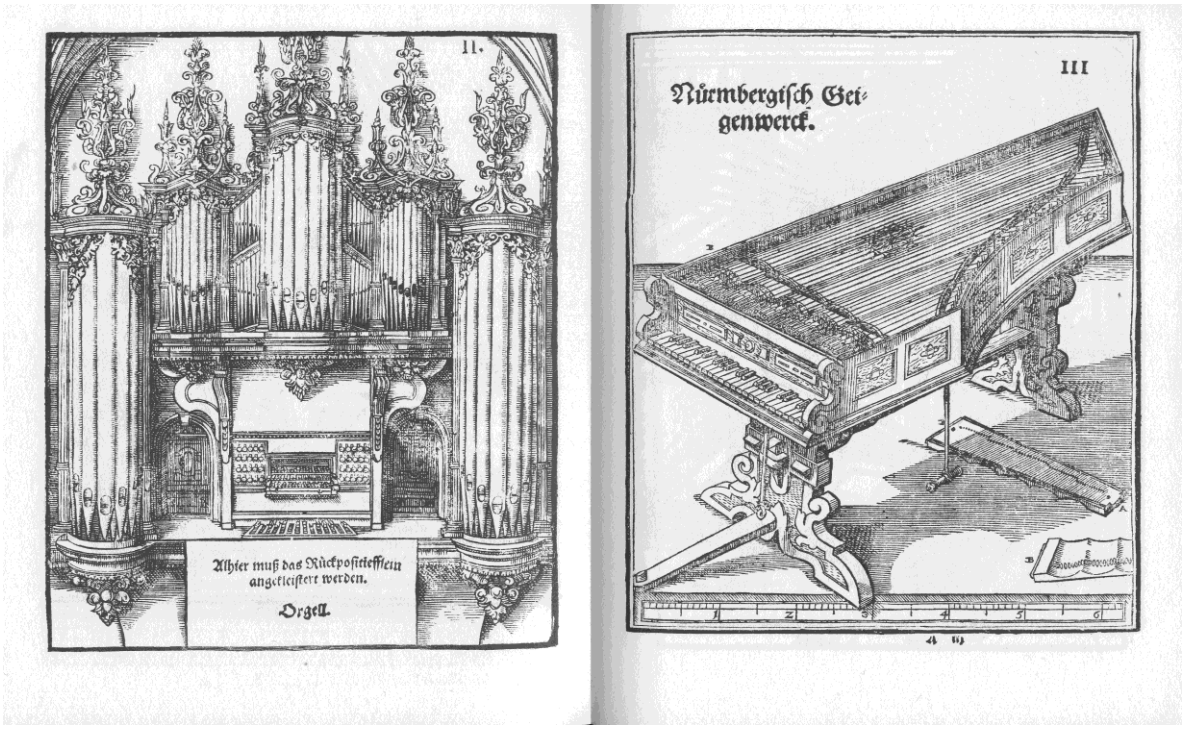


Figure 3, illustrations of two "fundament instruments" from Praetorius' *Syntagma musicum*

Later, in eighteenth-century Germany, we find a well-developed way of performing *basso continuo*, with a special concern for the different dynamics that the "fundament instruments" can achieve. Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773), a student of Zelenka and Gasparini, recommends that the continuo section (both harpsichord and cello) should be completely aware of all the consonances and dissonances occuring between the solo part

[12] Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra'l basso* (Siena: Domenico Falcini, 1607), "che guidano e sostengono tutto il corpo delle voci e stromenti di detto concertó", p. 3.

and the accompaniment. Quantz gives the instruction that dissonances should by struck more strongly than consonances, suggesting the use of different keyboards and changes in the number of voices, and that these should be mixed with a variety of arpeggiations:

> On a harpsichord with one keyboard, passages marked Piano may be produced by a moderate touch and by diminishing the number of parts, those marked Mezzo Forte by doubling the bass in octaves, those marked Forte in the same manner and also by taking some consonances belonging to the chord in to the left hand, and those marked Fortissimo by quick arpeggiations of the octaves and the consonances in the left hand, and by a more vehement and forceful touch. On a harpsichord with two keyboards, you have the advantage of being able to use the upper keyboard for the Pianissimo.[13]

To illustrate the idea of making different dynamics on the harpsichord (an instrument commonly believed to be lacking in dynamics), Quantz provides a slow movement to be accompanied following his suggestions.

Thanks to these sources, we come to the realization that a practice which had begun with the sole propose of supporting and replacing voices had achieved great importance and complexity by the age of Quantz. Contemporary composers and performers no longer used the *basso continuo* as a simple accompaniment, but as a tool to make music more interesting and expressive by exploiting the possibilities of the different instruments and instrumentations.

On the other hand, in France *basso continuo* had a rather slow acceptance by musicians. In the seventeenth century it started with accompaniments for voice which were mainly played by a lute or theorbo with broken chords in the *stile brisé* (broken style). Good examples of this style are the songs compossed by Michel Lambert (1610–1696), Jean-Baptiste Drouart de Bousset (1703–1760) and Sébastienin le Camus, known as *air de cours.* As an uncommon but enlightening example, we find a song composed by King Louis XIII (1601–1643) in which a written-out accompaniment for keyboard was given by

[13] Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, translation by Edward R Reilly (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1966), p. 259.

Pierre Chabanceau de la Barre (1592–1656) and which was published by Marin Mersenne (1588–1648) in his work *Harmonie Universelle* in 1636. In this song we can appreciate a rather simple accompaniment, and although the keyboard part doubles the voice, ornaments are added when the soloist is silent or has a long note.

The *stile brisé* played a large role in the accompaniment of French music during the seventeenth century; in 1972 Wallace Rave made a list of what he believed to be the main characteristics of this performance practice:

- The avoidance of textural pattern and regularity in part writing.
- Arpeggiated chord textures with irregular distribution of individual notes of the chord.
- Ambiguous melodic lines.
- Rhythmic displacement of notes within a melodic line.
- Octave changes within melodic line.
- Irregular phrase lengths.[14]

The transference of the *brisure* idiom from lute music to keyboard music is further exemplified by transcription of lute pieces found in manuscripts attributed to Jean Henry d' Anglebert (1629–1691).[15] Other good examples of the *stile brisé* adapted to the harpsichord are found in the unmeasured preludes written in France during the seventeenth century by composers such as Louis Couperin (1626–1661) and Élisabeth Jacquet de La Guerre (1665–1729), as well as in later repertoire such as *Les Barricades Mysterieuses* by François Couperin (1668–1733).

In 1722 Jean Philippe Rameau (1683–1764) published his *Traité de L'Harmonie*. This work was at this time a revolutionary new theory which combined mathematic and

[14] Wallace Rave, "Some Manuscripts of French Lute Music 1630–1770: An Introductory Study", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1972, pp. 60–68.
[15] David Ledbetter, "Style brisé", *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 15, 2011, http://www.oxfordmusic online.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27042.

philosophical bases to interpret the structure and principles of music. Likened by his contemporaries to both Descartes and Newton, Rameau sought to reduce a complex body of empirical data (harmonic practice), hitherto discussed in a bewildering welter of partial and often contradictory approaches, to a rational system governed by a single principle.[16] Some years after, in 1732, Rameau published one of the most important and interesting works specifically devoted to *basso continuo* practice: *Dissertation sur les diferentes métodes d'ácompagnement pour le clavecin.* In this treatise, Rameau brings forth a new way to write and interpret the figures used in accompaniment practice. A good explanation of Rameau's system is given by Thomas Christensen in his work "Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment":

> Rameau's "nouvelle méthode" consists of two parts. The first is a new notation for the basso continuo. Figures used by composers today, Rameau bemoans, are both too numerous and too imprecise. A single figure 6 or 7 in the basso continuo, for instance, might refer to any one of a dozen possible chords. Rameau insists that the accompanist needed to know how top lay only seven different kind of chords with the right hand. He did not need to worry about doubling the bass line with the left hand, since another continuo instrument would play that part. Here are the seven chords and their new symbols according to Rameau's system:[17]

Chord Name	*Symbol*
Tonic triad (C-E-G-)	C
Dominant Seventh (B-D-F-G)	X
Minor Seventh (C-D-F-A)	2
Added Sixth (C-E-G-A)	aj
Four Three (C-E-F-A)	4/3
Four (C-D-G)	4

[16] Thomas Christensen, *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 759.
[17] Thomas Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 58.

On the first pages of his treatise Rameau gives an example of how this system will look when applied to the third sonata opus 5 by Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713):

During the second half of the 18th century, with the gradual appearance of the galant style, the practice of a free *basso continuo* slowly started to vanish. Composers of this period start to be more specific in their way of writing, adding for example dynamics to the *basso continuo* line, a practice which already represents a delimitation for the performer. In the chamber music of the period, works featuring obbligato parts for keyboard instruments begin to appear, marking another delimitation for the performer.

By the end of the eighteenth century music had suffered a radical evolution, and the style of creating music changed radically. While in most of the compositions from the baroque period polyphony and counterpoint played a leading role, in the new era (the Classical period) the main focus of musical composition was an accompanied melody. To clarify this new idea, it is enough to compare a *basso continuo* line from the first half of the eighteenth century, where a carefully written bass line (in the melodic sense) and complex harmonies are employed, with a continuo part from the last part of this century, in which we will very often find a much more static line staying in the same harmony for several beats or even for several measures. These features of the new musical style, along with other developments such as the commercialization of music, the evolution of the instruments and the changes in venues where music was performed led to the gradual abandonment of *basso continuo* practice by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the old method surviving only as a didactic tool for the learning of harmony and composition.

However, this history is different when we look at the liturgical sphere; the music which was performed in churches still had an important polyphonic and contrapuntal basis.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791) wrote his famous *Requiem* K. 626 in 1791, a work which was finished by Franz Xaver Süssmayr (1766–1803) and which was premiered in 1793. In this mass Mozart added a *basso continuo* part, specifically for organ, which actually follows some of the early *basso continuo* rules from the seventeenth century. These included the playing of fugal entrances, as well as the requirement that the *basso continuo* should always follow the lowest line, which could change between the bass, tenor or alto parts, Mozart himself prescribing these changes. *Basso continuo* in religious music can be found in many nineteenth-century church compositions, some as late as Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*, composed between 1819 and 1823.

2.2 *Basso Continuo* in Spain

Music in the Spanish kingdom had a rather conservative character, both in religious and secular settings. While innovative Italian instrumental styles and techniques may have been imported by foreign string players during the outgoing seventeenth century, secular vocal music was mainly heard in simple polyphonic settings of well-known tunes, and chamber musicians generally provided dance music for palace balls and intimate entertainments for the Queen.[18] It is also known that the type of monody which was well-known and performed throughout Italy beginning in the second half of the sixteenth century was not known in the Iberian peninsula until the 1620s. However, Spanish composers such as Antonio de Cabezón (1510–1566), José de Torres (ca.1670–1738) and Juan de Cabanilles (1644–1712), among others, developed a characteristic style despite the clear Italian influence.

According to the scholar José López-Calo in his work *Historia de la Música*

[18] Julie Anne Sadie and Christopher Hogwood, *Companion to Baroque Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 327

Española, basso continuo practices did not appear in Spain until the first half of the seventeenth century:

> In the first two or three decades of the seventeenth century, a proper continuo accompaniment as explained in Viadana's theories, of an accompaniment by a polyphonic instrument which played chords on top of a figured bass did not exist, and when this practice appeared, the music played in Spain at this point of history had such a simple harmonic structure that figures for the realization were not even added until the second half of the seventeenth century.[19]

Because of these facts, the Spanish theorist did not worry about treating the subject of *basso continuo* until the late sixteenth century. The first Spanish treatise to include a brief explanation of bass figures is *El porque de la música*, published in 1672 by Spanish composer and organist Andrés Lorente (1624–1703). At the end of this work he devotes a paragraph to the explanation of some simple figures: "some use in their compositions (and this is convenient, so that the voices will be placed in the right way) numbers at certain points in the accompaniment (this is in bass parts made for the organ or harp)".[20] In his short note, Lorente explains to continuo players that the figures are the intervals which have to be played above the given bass notes: "If the number was a four, placed over the bass note, a fourth should be played, in a manner according to the movement of the bass".[21]

Two years later, Gaspar Sanz (1640–1710) published his treatise *Instrucción de la música sobre la gitarra española* in three volumes. At the end of the first book, Sanz includes a small continuo treatise dedicated not only to the guitar, but also the organ and harp. According to the title page, the book contained "a brief treatise for accompanying

---

[19] José López-Calo, *Historia de la Música Española*, Vol. 3 (Madrid: Alianza, 1983), p. 58. "En los dos o tres primeros decenios del siglo XVII, no existía, propiamente, el acompañamiento continuo, tal como se lo entiende según las teorías de Viadana, de un acompañamiento ejecutado por un instrumento polifónico a base de acordes sobre un bajo continuo".

[20] Andrés Lorente, *El porque de la música* (Alcalá de Henares: Imprenta de Nicolás Xamares, 1672), p. 688. "Algunos maestros acostumbran en sus composiciones (y es conveniente para que las voces se pongan en el lugar que les toca) poner sobre algunos puntos en los acompañamientos (esto es, en los bajos que se hace para el órgano o el arpa) algunos números."

[21] Ibid. "Si el numero fuere un cuatro, puesto sobre el punto de bajo, que se toque sobre el la especie quarta, de la manera que el movimiento de dicho bajo lo pidiere".

with perfection, about the very essential part for guitar, harp and organ, summarized in twelve rules, and main examples of counterpoint and composition".[22] At the begining of this chapter, Sanz declares that even though the explanation of the accompaniment is complicated and demands a major treatise, he will attempt to provide a useful guide for musicians. In the brief introduction he also explains how the guitar should be tuned in accordance with the organ, later giving twelve rules for accompanying. In the first of the rules Sanz speaks about the consonances which correspond to each note of the scale, the second rule concerns how to accompany sharps and flats, the third cadences, the fourth which notes of the bass should be accompanied and which not, and from the fifth rule to the twelfth, he treats the accompaniment of the different motions of the bass line (such as chromatic movement, fourth up or fifth down, and the *passacalle* bass among others). Even though these rules can be applied to guitar, organ or harp, the examples given by Sanz are writen in guitar tablature. We can imagine the importance of this continuo treatise in contemporary Spain thanks to the words of Spanish organist and composer Diego de Jaraba y Bruna (1652–1716) who signed the approbation for the publication of this work with the words: […] having completely perfected the treatise for accompaniment on the very essential part for organists and other musicians, all can thank the composer and give him a deserved applause for such an important work.[23] In this work, Sanz expresses his intention to extend this continuo treatise in a new publication in the future: "I promise to continue with this subject in a new and major book, giving more examples and rules which could be

[22] Gaspar Sanz, *Instrucción de la música sobre la guitarra española* (Zaragoza: Herederos de Diego Dormer, 1674), title page. "Con un breve tratado para acompañar con perfección, sobre la parte muy esencial para la guitarra, arpa y órgano, resumido en doce reglas, y ejemplos los más principales de contrapunto y composición.

[23] Ibid., p.3. "[…] habiendole perfeccionado del todo el tratado de acompañar sobre la parte muy esencial para los organistas y demás músicos, todos pueden dal al compositor las gracias, y aplauso por el trabajo tan grande."

newly reflected upon".[24] Unfortunately, the promised volume is not extant, so that there is no evidence that Sanz continued.

Even though *basso continuo* was already an existing practice (as we can appreciate in the prologue of the above-mentioned *Instruccion de la música* in which Sanz explains that he has taken the rules of his treatise from Italian masters as well as Spanish chapel masters), it was not until 1702, one hundred years after Viadana's *Cento Concerti Ecclesiastici*, that the first Spanish treatise devoted to *basso continuo* was published, the *Reglas Generales de Acompañar* by chapel master, theorist, composer and organist José de Torres Martínez y Bravo (ca. 1670–1738).

In this work, José de Torres (also known as Joseph de Torres, in the older form of the name) divides his lessons into three parts: In the first of them, he gives the fundamentals which musicians must know before attempting to accompany, such as the layout of the keyboard (he gives the name "first order" to the white keys and "second order" to the black keys), the signs for the second order of the keyboard (sharps and flats), the reading of clefs, and an explanation about the *tonos de órgano* [ecclesiastical tones], among others. In the second part he speaks of how to place the consonant notes and how to accompany according to the different movements of the bass. It is at the beginning of this second part where he includes six warnings for performers, warnings which provide very specific and valuable information about the *basso continuo* practices in Spain at this time. One of the most important is, for example, the second warning: Torres states that the accompaniment belongs also to the left hand, playing sometimes fifths or octaves in the left hand, depending on the situation and place, in order to make the accompaniment more

[24] Ibid. p. 9. "Prometo después este mismo asunto proseguirlo en otro mayor libro, dilatándome en mas ejemplos y reglas que pudiese discurrir de nuevo".

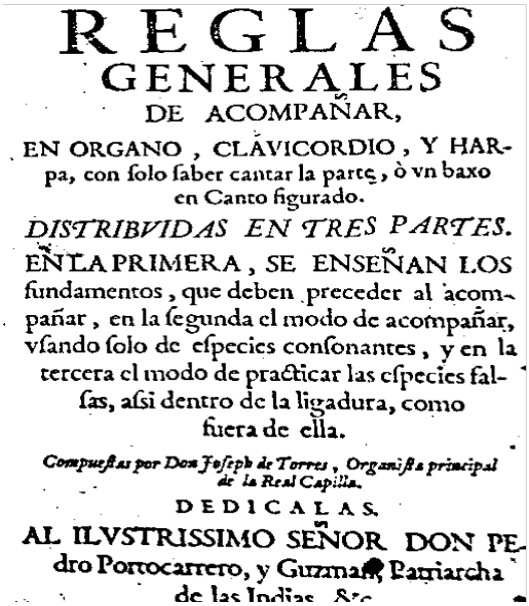
harmonious. On the other hand, Torres advises, when accompanying imitations or fugues, one should play plainly, just as the music is written.[25] This observation recalls the early Italian *basso continuo* rules, making evident the clear influence on Spanish music and musicians which the Viadana style had. In the fifth warning Torres writes: "try to keep your hands together, so that the voices will not be too distant from the bass line.[26] This provides important information about in which range of the keyboard the accompanimnet should be played, and how high or low should the player should place the voices. And the sixth warning speaks about the number of voices one should play: "over all the notes, it is obligatory to put four voices, or at least three, including in them the bass note; playing in the right hand three, or two in each hand, which is the most exquisite manner, especially on the organ.[27] All of Torres's admonitions underline the importance of a rich, well balanced and harmonious realization of the accompaniment in eighteenth-century Spanish music.

This treatise by Torres gives valuable information about *basso continuo* performance practice, but also about the increasing Italian influence on Spanish music. This work, first printed in 1702, originally consisted of three parts, but was reprinted and extended in 1736. In this new versión the composer adds a fourth part, in which he explains how to accompany music in the Italian style:

> Having presented this book of "General Rules for Accompanying" in 1702, according to the rigorous style of Spain, and having seen the introduction into this kingdom of musical works in the Italian style, the obligation falls to the accompanist to know how to accompany them; (to perfect this work and to fulfill its brief title) this treatise is expanded, in it I will describe the manner in which to accompany in the Italian style.[28]

[25] Joseph de Torres, *Reglas Generales de Acompañar* (Madrid: Imprenta de Música, 1736), p. 19.
[26] Ibid., p. 19. "Que procure llevar las manos juntas, para que con eso no vayan las voces muy distantes del bajo".
[27] Ibid. "Que sobre las notas, o puntos, es de obligación poner cuatro voces, a lo menos tres, incluyendo en ellas el bajo tocando el llevar a la mano derecha tres, o cada mano dos, que es el modo más primoroso, especialmente en el órgano.
[28] Ibid., "Con que habiendo sacado a la luz el año de 1702. Este Libro de Reglas Generales de Acompañar, según el estilo riguroso de España; y viendo lo muy introducidas que están en estos reinos las obras de musica al estilo italiano, de que resulta a los acompañantes la precisa obligación de saber acompañarlas; (para

A very different kind of text are the general treatises on composition, such as those by Nasarre, Valls, Roel del Río, Rodriguez de Hita, Rabassa, Francisco de Santa María and even Eximeno.[29] They are meant more for composers than to instrumentalists, and they usually treat the subject of the *basso continuo* in a very secondary way or sometimes they do not treat it at all.[30] It is also important to mention that many treatises reused the texts by Gaspar Sanz and José de Torres, making clear the fact that these two works are the most important and complete examples of *basso continuo* performance practice in Spain during the first half of the eighteenth century.



REGLAS
GENERALES
DE ACOMPAÑAR,
EN ORGANO, CLAVICORDIO, Y HARpa, con ſolo ſaber cantar la parte, ò vn baxo en Canto figurado.
DISTRIBVIDAS EN TRES PARTES.
EN LA PRIMERA, SE ENSEÑAN LOS fundamentos, que deben preceder al acompañar, en la ſegunda el modo de acompañar, vſando ſolo de eſpecies conſonantes, y en la tercera el modo de practicar las eſpecies falſas, aſsi dentro de la ligadura, como fuera de ella.
Compueſtas por Don Joſeph de Torres, Organiſta principal de la Real Capilla.
DEDICALAS
AL ILVSTRISSIMO SEÑOR DON PEdro Portocarrero, y Guzman, Patriarcha de las Indias &c.

Figure 4, Josep de Torres "Reglas Generales", first edition (1702)

perfeccionar esta obra y cumplir con el titulo breve de ella) aumentar este tratado, en que cifraré el modo de acompañar al estilo italiano".

[29] Cristóbal García, *Aportaciones de la "Instrucción de* Música de Gaspar Sanz a la teoría de la armonía. Nasarre, 2015. pp. 74

[30] Ibid.

2.3 *Basso Continuo* in New Spain

Music in the kingdom of New Spain had a clear and very close relationship to the musical tradition of Spain, and that is how the *basso continuo* tradition reached the New World. Just as in Spain, *basso continuo* pracices are poorly documented until the begining of the eighteenth century. It is most probable that this tradition was taught orally and with the utilization of manuscripts which did not survive over time (just as in the Spanish tradition) by Spanish musicians who came to New Spain.

On the other hand, valuable information and evidence of the importance of the organ as an accompanying instrument is to be found in cathedral and church records. A good example of this is the acquisition of an organ for the Mexico City Cathedral as early as 1530, only nine years after the fall of Tenochtitlán, the old capital of the Aztec empire. The organ was used to accompany and support the choir, according to the records. In fact, a small Indian choir trained in Pedro de Gante's (a famous Flemish missionary) school for natives sang every Sunday and at feast-days in the newly established Mexico City Cathedral, their ambitious part-singing supported by an organ recently brought from Seville.[31] There are records of the same same practice in other important cities such as Durango, Morelia, Puebla, Oaxaca and Mérida.

Even though we know that the organ was used to accompany and support voices for the religious services in many of the most important cities throughout New Spain, there is almost no tangible proof giving us a specific idea of how figured bass was played. The place where at least some information about *basso continuo* practice is to be found is the

[31] Robert Stevenson *Music in Mexico* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1952), p. 84.

Mexico City Cathedral, where a *Colegio de Infantes* (a music school for young boys which belonged to the church) was founded in 1725.

Musical activites in the Cathedral of Mexico City were guided by the chapel master, who was a highly-trained and skilled musician. In addition to the composition of music and directing the music chapel, the chapel master presided over the instruction of the musicians. This included the important task of instructing the choirboys of the *Colegio de Infantes* in *canto figurado*, that is to say polyphonic music.[32] It is at the *Colegio de Infantes* that we find some of the few surviving examples of eighteenth-century *basso continuo* practice: three *basso continuo* exercises from the first half of the century, which were found in loose leaves in the Cathedral archive. There are no specific details surrounding these examples, however, Ruben Valenzuela suggests that they could have been part of a figured bass and continuo lesson for a young musician of the music chapel, working under the guidance of a cathedral organist.[33]

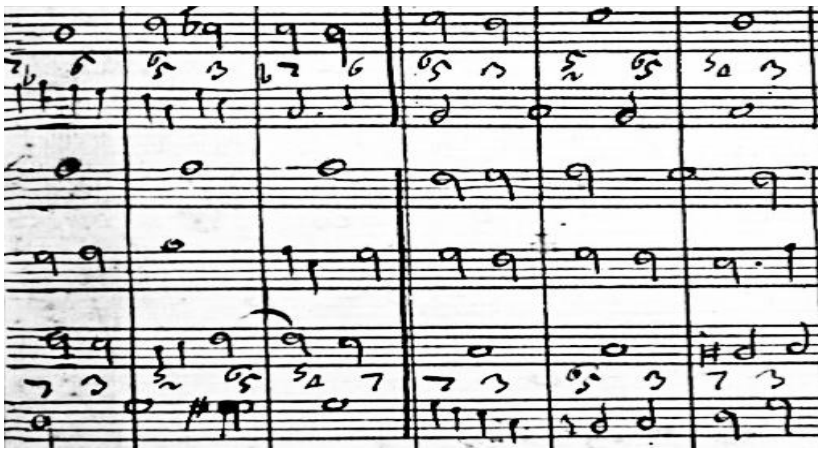


Figure 5, *Basso continuo* exercise from the archive of the *Colegio de Infantes*

[32] Valenzuela, "Basso Continuo in the Mexico City Cathedral", p. 90.
[33] Ibid.,

As discussed in the previous chapter, Joseph the Torres' *Reglas Generales de Acompañar* was the most important continuo treatise produced in Spain, and circulated widely among Spanish musicians. Even though there is not concrete proof of its existence in the New Spain, it is highly probable that novohispanic musicians would have known and used this method as an instructive tool for *basso continuo.* There are other facts that support this theory: musicologist Alejandro Vera, who has researched Santiago de Murcia's music in Mexico, documents that in 1704 Joseph de Torres sent to Cartagena and Mexico four chests with his Masses and treatises which included his *Reglas Generales*.[34] In 1703 a priest named Juan de Escobar also brought various books by Torres on chant and polyphony to New Spain, which may have also included the *Reglas*.[35]

Another important piece of evidence concerning *basso continuo* practices in New Spain is a text by Spanish musician Ricardo de la Main dating from 1747. This text was an index and introduction to what would have been a two-part music treatise; according to De la Main's own words, the text was written in a very understandable manner so that it could be used in the teaching of the orphan girls at the San Miguel convent in Mexico City. While the first part of this work was mainly focused on plainchant, the second is completely concerned with the art of accompanying. In the very first paragraph, the author speaks of the orthodox consonances and warns the players to be extremely aware of them. De la Main states that the rule for knowing when to place the third, the fifth or the octave above the bass is the one "principal for composition, and also for the art of accompanying, and he who does not know this rule is like a parrot which talks, but does not understand what he is

[34] Ibid.
[35] Alejandro Vera, "Santiago de Murcia (1673–1739): New Contributions on his Life and Work", *Early Music*, 4 (2008), p. 605.

saying".[36] The author also mentions that in the second volume of the work, he will include some basses by modern composers such as Corelli, Locatelli, Bassani, and Hasse, and that he will add a written out accompaniments to serve as examples.[37] However, due to unclear political circumstances this treatise was never printed; unfortunately the manuscript is lost.

Another example of continuo practice in New Spain is a treatise for guitar from 1776, which was found in Chicago in 1974. This work was written by Juan Antonio Vargas y Guzman, a person of whom little is known apart from the fact that he was a guitar teacher in the city of Veracruz. In 1989 another manuscript copy of this treatise was found in the city of Oviedo, Spain; in this version the front page of the manuscript shows the year 1773 and mentions the fact that Juan Antonio Vargas y Guzman was a living in the city of Cádiz. This shows quite clearly that Vargas y Guzman was one of the many Spanish musicians who traveled to America, bringing with him the European musical tradition.

Mexico City's National Library also contains further examples of novohispanic guitar tablature, among them MS 1560, containing repertoire from the first half of the eighteenth century. A substantial portion of the material in this source is notated as figured bass, including a version of the well-known *La Folia* in the style of Corelli.[38]

3.1 Instrumentation: Wind Instruments

[36] Ricardo de la Main, *Exposicion de la Música Antigua, y de la Música de Viadana, ó el Arte de Acompañar a lo Moderno* (Mexico City: Imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno, y del Nuevo Rezado de Doña Maria de Rivera en el Empedradillo, 1747), p 9. "Esta regla es el principio de la composición, y del arte de acompañar, y el que no supiere dicha regla, será como un papagallo, que habla; pero no sabe lo que dice".
[37] Ibid, p 12.
[38] Valenzuela, "Basso Continuo in Mexico City", p. 102.

Wind instruments play a large role in the story of musical New Spain. Among the first instruments to be documented is the recorder, which is mentioned in a 1579 record from Puebla.[39] In 1595 the Mexico City Cathedral acquired twelve recorders, but they do not seem to have been used very frequently, as in 1646 reports exist of the cathedral dean and chapter complaining about how little the instruments were used.[40] The chapter introduced instructions that they should be used to accompany polyphony at the *facistol* (choir lectern) during the vespers and on feast days.[41] After this, recorders are not mentioned again until 1744 in the Guadalajara Cathedral, and in the records which have survived until the current day there is no evidence of the use of these instruments to play *villancicos*.[42]

It is more or less the same case with the *chirimía* (a member of the shawm family), which was used extensively until the mid-eighteenth century to double the soprano and tenor parts in polyphonic music. Nonetheless, this instrument is not mentioned in connection with the *villancico* in novohispanic records.

In 1713 the oboe was briefly introduced into the Mexico City Cathedral, and later became a very popular instrument not only in the capital of New Spain, but also in other main cities such as Guadalajara, where in 1734 Cristóbal Gallardo was hired as violinist and oboist.[43] A similar case was the Oaxaca Cathedral, where an oboe player was added to the musical chapel in 1742. The literature written for oboe in the New Spain includes a broad variety of musical forms such as overtures, psalms, cantatas and *villancicos*, among others. It is important to remark that the existing oboe parts are independent from the voices

[39] Omar Morales, "La música en la catedral de Puebla de los Ángeles", *Heterofonía*, 129 (2003), p. 27.
[40] Marín, "Música y músicos", p. 205–206.
[41] Ibid., p. 205.
[42] Archivo del Cabildo Metropolitana de Guadalajara, Actas capitulares, libro 10, f. 198rv, of 16 May 1744.
[43] Marín, "Música y músicos", p. 206.

of the choir. The existing evidence suggests that the oboe was used independently, and not to double choir voices.

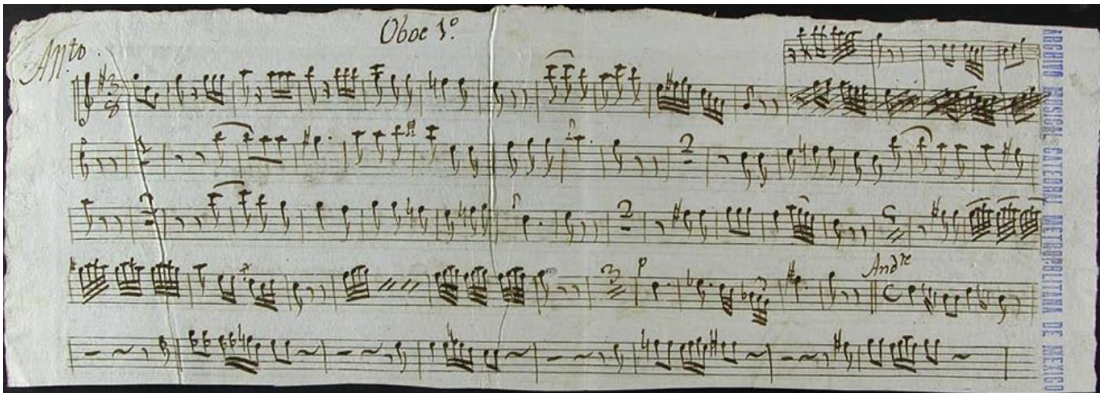


Figure 6, Oboe part to *Que apacible* by the Puebla chapelmaster Joseph de Lazo Valero (died 1778)

Another instrument from the double reed family which played an important role in the musical life of Spain and its New World colonies was the *bajón*, or dulcian, a predecessor of the bassoon. This instrument had an extremely long life, being in use continuously from the sixteenth century until the begining of the nineteenth century and beyond. It is well known that this instrument was highly appreciated thanks to its singing qualities, which made it perfectly suitable to accompany vocal polyphony and plainchant. The use of the *bajón* often extended beyond the walls of the musical chapel, with evidence showing that it was also used as a pedagogical tool in the cathedral's *Colegio de Infantes*, as well as in the *Escuela de Música del Colegio de Belén* (Music School of the Bethlehem Convent) for the instruction of girls.[44] Over time, the function of this instrument changed, and in the first half of the eighteenth century we find evidence of the use of *bajón* as a continuo instrument for villancicos.

In 1760 first reference to the bassoon is to be found in the Mexico City Cathedral

[44] Valenzuela, "Basso Continuo".

archive. The bassoon is an instrument which coexisted with the *bajón* until approximately 1826, when we find the last reference to a *bajonero*, or *bajón* player, in the Oaxaca Cathedral. Despite the simultaneous life of these closely related instruments in the Mexico City Cathedral, the two played very different roles within the musical chapel. While the *bajón* was only used as a continuo and accompanying instrument, the bassoon was used more as a *concertato* instrument, as we can appreciate in the *villancico*, *Al penetrar la hermosura* by Ignacio de Jerusalem, an Italian immigrant to Mexico who became chapelmaster in 1750.

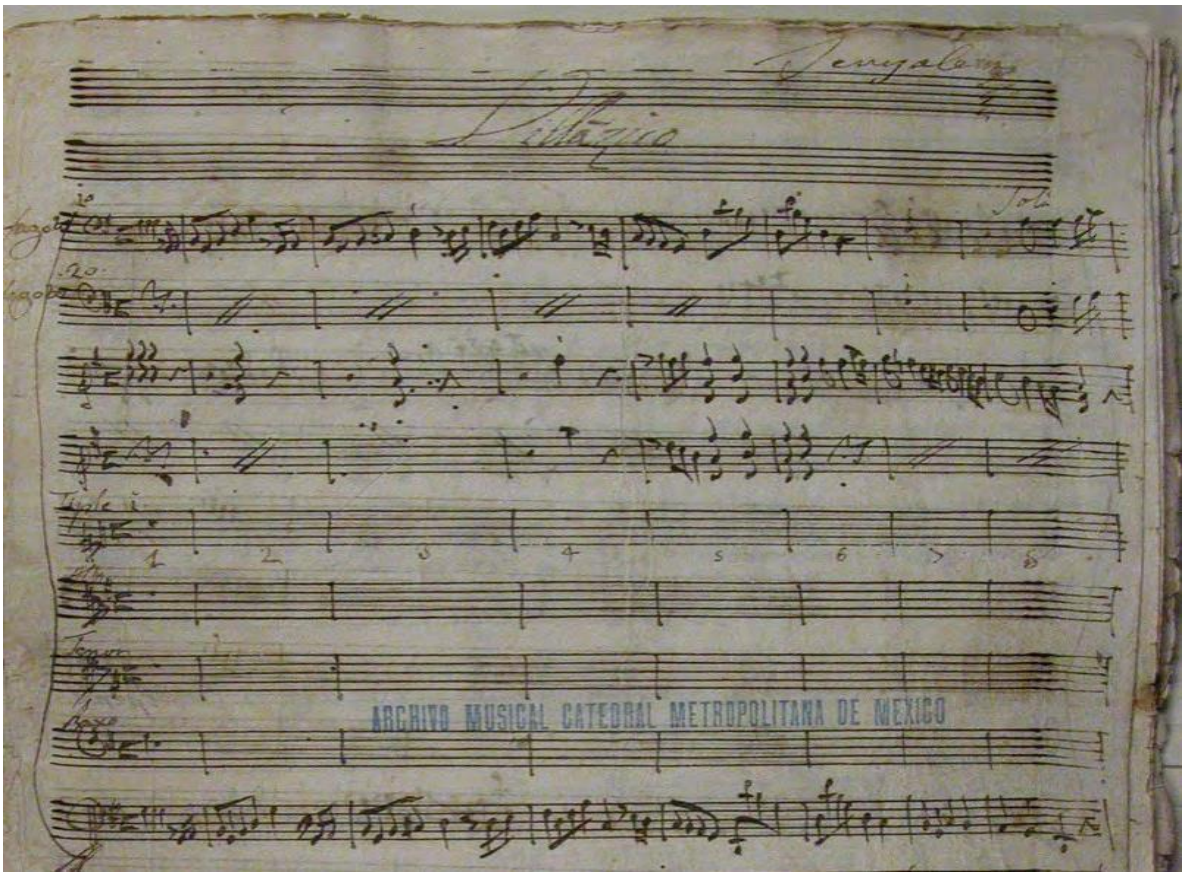


Figure 7, *concertanti* bassoons in Ignacio de Jerusalem's *Al penetrar la hermosura*

It is well known that brass instruments existed in New Spain, and that they were in common use both inside and outside the church. Among the most popular of the brass instruments, mentions of sackbuts are to be found as early as 1592, but despite the wide acceptance of this instrument and many reports confirming the existence of a large number of them in New Spain, there is no proof of this instrument taking part in *villancicos*. However, numerous cathedral chapter records confirm the use of the sackbut to double choral voices in *prima practica* pieces and to provide a bass voice to the shawms.

In his *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico*, Robert Stevenson writes about the existence of a *villancico* written in 1691 for the Mexico City Cathedral with a text by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648–1695), which was accompanied by music composed by the chapelmaster Antonio de Salazar (ca.1650–1715). In his book, Stevenson interprets Sor Juana's text very literally and argues that, like opera librettos, printed *villancico* booklets contain precious performance practice data.[45] In this *villancico*, the text mentions fifteen different instruments: *clarín*, trumpet, sackbut, cornetto, organ, bassoon, violin, shawm and the marine trumpet. According to Stevenson, Antonio de Salazar composed parts for these specific instruments to accompany each of the verses where they are mentioned. Unfortunately, the music for this *villancico* is lost, making it impossible to prove Stevenson's conjecture. There are however several points to consider concerning this *villancico*: the first is that there are no reports of *clarines* (natural trumpets) in the Mexico City Cathedral until 1732, further, there is no evidence proving the existence of the marine trumpet in any of the cathedrals of the New Spain. However, we must also consider that some of Sor Juana's *villancicos* mention other instruments apart from those in this consort; the *villancicos* which imitate native Indian and African folk songs mention non-European

[45] Robert Stevenson, *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California, 1974), p 6.

instruments. Thus, a *calabazo* (either a gourd or a guiro) is played in *villancico* 241 (*Ensaladilla*, or little salad) and in *villancico* ix, sung by "Negros".[46] *Sonajas*, or rattles, not usually found in a cathedral orchestra, are called upon in *villancico* Iviii; the *gaita* (bagpipes) in *villancico* xxvii; the *guitarra* (guitar) in *villancico* 241 and *villancico* xvi ("Negrillo") along with the "panderiyo", a corruption of *panderillo* (timbrel). Dozens of other instruments are mentioned in the texts of Sor Juana's works, but they appear symbolically.[47]

In 1715 Mexican organist and composer Manuel de Sumaya (ca. 1680–1755) was apointed as chapelmaster at the Mexico City Cathedral after a highly strict examination (he had already been second chapel master in 1710). With this event, the musical style inside this religious institution went through a transformation, both in musical forms (he was the first to compose *cantadas*, the Spanish name for the solo cantata) and instrumentation. In 1736 we find the first recruitment of two musicians who played *trompa* (french horn) and *clarín*, the natural trumpet in C or D. It seems that the introduction of this new musical instruments was well accepted, and they appear to have been used in a significant part of the repertoire, including *villancicos*.

3.2 String Instruments

Compared to wind instruments, which were introduced and documented in the musical life of the New Spain from the sixteenth century, there is no evidence of string instruments until the second half of the seventeenth century. The *violón*, or bass viol, is the

[46] The numbering system for Sor Juana's works was devised by Alfonso Méndez Plancarte (editor), *Obras completas de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz: Volumen II, Villancicos y letras sacras* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952). The *villancicos* which are canonical are given in Arabic numerals, and those which are attributed to Sor Juana in lower case Roman numerals.

[47] Pamela H. Long, *Sor Juana/Música: How the Décima Musa Composed, Practiced, and Imagined Music* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), p. 53.

first string instrument to appear in the Mexico City Cathedral, in 1684, and appears later in other main cities such as Guadalajara and Oaxaca. The function of this instrument was clearly to double and support the bass voices, as well as to perform part of the accompaniment in the *villancico*.

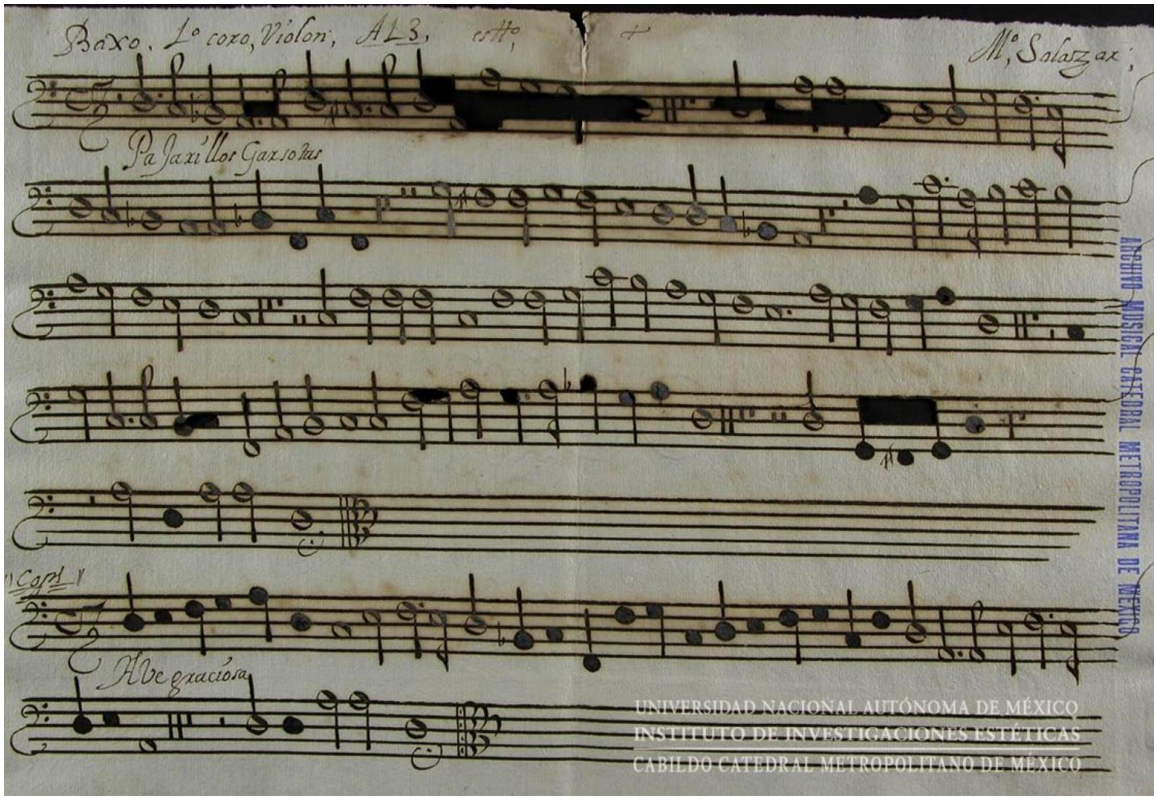


Figure 8, the *violón* in Antonio de Salazar's *villancico*, *Pajarillos, garzotas del aire*

Another of Sumaya's innovations in the musical chapel of the Mexico City C athedral was the use of violins. Even though in 1708 evidence of the existence of this instrument is to be found in the musical life of the cathedral, it was not until 1710 that Sumaya wrote the *villancico* entitled *Oid moradores del orbe* in which he includes two violins, this being the earliest surviving piece of Mexico City Cathedral music in which this

instrument is used. Beginning from the period of 1710–1720, the violin began to be used used extensively for *villancicos* as well as overtures and cantatas and was frequently encountered in other major cities of New Spain such as Puebla, Guadalajara and Oaxaca.

It is particulary interesting to notice the close musical relations that New Spain was keeping with Europe at this time, especially with Italy. Through observing the violin parts of some of the existing *villancicos* from the first half of the eighteenth century, we may recognize at first glance the way this instrument is treated within novohispanic musical contexts—in fact, many obbligato *villancico* parts easily recall works by Vivaldi or Handel from the same period. It is a well-known fact that during eighteenth century many of the violin players active in New Spain came from Italy, and that this cultural exchange had a clear impact on the musical life of the colony, both in performance and composition.

It is established knowledge that violin players were very often requested to play viola, an instrument which was introduced to the musical chapel of Mexico City Cathedral around 1720, though unlike the violin, no viola parts for *villancicos* have been found. An agreement from the year 1744 indicates that the viola will replace the violin in burials due to its more austere caracter.[48] Unfortunately no evidence of the use of viola in the accompaniment of *villancicos* is found, although Sumaya's 1738 *cantada De la celeste esfera* contains a viola part.[49]

The first proof of the use of the violoncello is found in 1758. The Mexico City Cathedral owed a Spanish cello which had been bought by a nobleman of the city, the Count of Berrio, who in turn loaned or gave the instrument to the cathedral—this points to

[48] Marín, "Música y músicos", p. 197.
[49] Guatemala cathedral archive no. 829

the use of this instrument in a chamber music enviroment.[50] This instrument was used for psalms, overtures and cantatas among other religious musical forms, but as several of the other instruments, no proof of its use in *villancicos* has been found.

3.3 Plucked String Instruments

The guitar was an extremely popular instrument for reasons that include its relative inexpensiveness, portability and ability to create a robust sound, particularly outdoors and in larger ensembles.[51] Even though there is no existing evidence for the use of guitar in secular and theatrical *villancicos*, it is highly probable that it was the favorite continuo instrument due to all the advantages mentioned above. Inside the church, the role of guitar is not clear, again, the only existing evidence is from the chapter records of the Mexico City Cathedral. Despite the popularity of the guitar, direct references to it are relatively scarce, while in the music, these are virtually non-existent.[52] Specifically, it was used as an instrument to accompany, together with the organ and harp, the *villancicos* and *romances* which were sung in the *Misas de Aguinaldo* (these took place around Christmas) and of *Nuestra Señora* (Saturday masses dedicated to the Virgin), as well as the octave of *Corpus Christi*.[53] Thanks to the evidence found in the chapter acts of the Mexico City Cathedral, we may deduce that even though guitar was not a regular instrument of the musical chapel, it was used during special feast days inside the cathedral, as acompaniment for music which in some cases included *villancicos.*

In addition to this, a particular passage in a chapter act related to the Christmas Eve Mass in 1609 mentions interesting information about the use of the guitar:

[50] Marín, "Música y músicos", p. 199.
[51] Valenzuela "Basso Continuo", p. 154.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Marín., "Música y Músicos", p. 204.

> In this same manner, it was proposed by the undersigned secretary to his Illustrious Grace and to said gentlemen Dean and Chapter, how the musicians of this Holy Church and chapel having attended as mandated to the solemnity and celebration of the *aguinaldo* masses—despite having been offered the customary dole—that no funds had been allocated for the musicians who had in particular attended with their guitars and other instruments, to the aforementioned masses as well as to the celebration of the Christmas Matins and other solemn days until Epiphany. And that having descended from the small organ to sing with the choir and having left their guitars said musicians had them stolen; and that this and that was presented before His Illustrious Grace and said gentlemen Dean and Chapter so that their work may be compensated and the value of the guitars may be repaid. [54]

This passage suggests that three guitar players who were standing on the balcony where the small organ was placed (probably on the Gospel side) came down to sing along with the choir; however, this chapter act only describes the theft of the instruments, but not their musical role in the Mass. It is entirely possible that the guitarists had played earlier that evening in an outdoor setting, or some other similar situation.[55] Certanly, we should not rule out the possibility that these guitarists played from the gallery alongside other accompanying instruments such as the bajón, harp and organ.[56]

The continuous presence of harp players in Mexico City Cathedral is documented from 1654, only with a brief period of absence between 1697 and 1698.[57] Clearly, the harp was one of the favorite instruments for accompanying *villancicos* in the New Spain, thanks

---

[54] "Asimismo, se propuso por el infraescripto secretario a su señoría ilustrísima y a los dichos señores Deán y Cabildo, cómo habiendo acudido por su mandado los músicos de esta Santa Iglesia y capilla a la solemnidad y celebración de las misas de los aguinaldos–aunque se les había repartido la limosna acostumbrada–, no se había librado para los músicos que en particular habían acudido con sus guitarras y otros instumentos, ansí para las dichas misas como para el festejo de los Maitines de Navidad y de los demás días solemnes hasta la Pascua de Reyes. Y que habiendo bajado del órgano pequeño los dichos músicos a cantar en el coro y dejado las guitarras, se las habían hurtado; y que lo uno y lo otro se representaba a su señoría ilustrísima y a los dichos señores Deán y Cabildo para que se les gratificase su trabajo y pagase el valor de las guitarras." Archivo del Cabildo de la Catedral Metropolitana de la Ciudad de México, Actas Capitulares, libro 5, Folios 109v-110. Translation by Ruben Valenzuela, 2015.

[55] Valenzuela, "Basso Continuo" p. 159.
[56] Ibid.
[57] John Swadley, *Manuel de Sumaya (ca.1680–1755): Obras en romance de la Catedral Metropolitana de la Ciudad de Méjico*, edition in progress, p. 34.

to the chromatic disposition of its strings, its dynamic flexibility and its portability. The use of the harp was inherited from Spain, where there is already evidence of its use since the sixteenth century, with a golden period occurring between 1675 and 1700. The growing trend in the use of the harp received its greatest boost during the reign of Charles II (1665–1700), shaped by the characteristic style of Spanish baroque, in which the *tonos* and *villancicos* predominate.[58] A large number of pieces written during the reign of the last Spanish Hapsburg reflect the important position achieved by the harp, particulary in its use as an obbligato instrument.[59] Unfortunately, the surviving examples of *villancicos* from colonial Mexico do not evidence the use of the harp as an obbligato instrument, but as part of the continuo section together with organ and guitars. The following passage from the Cathedral chapter acts indicates the presence of the harp during the *Corpus Christi* celebrations which took place every year:

> [...] On this day, His Lordship and the aforementioned Mr. Dean and Mr. Cabildo provided and ordered that the seven musicians who sang and played during the eight days of Corpus that just passed of this present year six hundred and nine—with the instruments guitar, organ and harp–during the extraordinary hours of the celebrations on those days, and before enclosing the Most Holy Sacrament, according to how well they attended to the above, are given and it is paid to them one hundred and fifty pesos of common gold from factory assets […] [60]

Though the use of harp is documented since 1609, the instrument was not formally added to the musical chapel until 1637 at the Mexico City Cathedral and in 1643 at Puebla.

---

[58] Cristina Bordas, "*The Double Harp in Spain from the 16th to the 18 Centuries".* Early Music, 15, 2 (1987), p. 158.
[59] Ibid.
[60] The Feast of Corpus Christi was one of the most important liturgical observances in Spain and New Spain that included the Divine Office, Mass, along with elaborate processions. "[...] Este día, Su Señoría Ilustrísima y los dichos señores Deán y Cabildo proveyeron y mandaron que, a los siete músicos que cantaron y tañeron en el octavario del Corpus próximo pasado de este presente año de seiscientos y nueve–con instrumentos de guitarras, órgano y arpa– a las horas extraordinarias de las fiestas de aquellos días, y antes de encerrar el Santísimo Sacramento, atento a lo bien que acudieron a lo susodicho, se les den y paguen ciento y cincuenta pesos de oro común de bienes de Fábrica". Archivo del Cabildo de la Catedral Metropolitana de México, Actas capitulares, book 5, f. 157v. Translation by Ruben Valenzuela, 2015.

These dates are previous to those of some other important cathedrals, such as Zaragoza and Granada (both in 1644), Pamplona (1646), Sigüenza (1649) and even the Seville Cathedral, where it was proposed that the instrument might be introduced as an experiment "similar to the way that it is used in the Royal Chapel and in the holy church in Toledo to, see how is it liked".[61] This agreement dates from 1647, ten years after the appearance of this instrument in Mexico.[62] In New Spain, there is additional documentation of the use of harp in Oaxaca and Guadalajara, among many other places.

Observing chapter acts from the most important cities in the New Spain, we find that many of the musicians hired by the church were skilled on several instruments. The case of Salvador Zapata is of special interest—during the period of Manuel de Sumaya, this musician played both sackbut and harp player. The disparity between the two instruments is puzzling, but may be explained in that Zapata supported the tenors in the music which was sung *a capella* at the choir lectern, while in the *villancicos* he provided accompaniment with the harp, making the instrument combination ideal.[63] Though none of Zapata's predecessors practiced the unusual combination of instruments, there is ample evidence of the harp as accompaniment to *villancicos* by Antonio de Salazar (ca. 1650–1715), including several where "arpa" is marked explicitly in the accompaniment part. Harp was in use as a teaching tool at the *Colegio de Infantes* in Mexico City, but also demonstrably in orphanages, convents and *escoletas* (the cathedral music schools) in Guadalajara, Puebla and Oaxaca. As seen above, the instrument was in use over a long period of time at the Mexico City Cathedral. In fact, the late arrival of the harpsichord as an accompanying

[61] Marín, "Música y Músicos", pp. 202–203. "que sería bien parecido que se usaba en la Capilla Real y en la Santa Iglesia de Toledo para ver como parece".
[62] Ibid.
[63] Swadley, *Manuel de Sumaya*, p. 34.

instrument could explain the permanence of the harp in the chapel; the harp was present until 1760, when the musician José Pardo de Lagos was fired for his multiple attendances at "sangonautlas" (gigs) outside the Cathedral.[64]

3.4 Keyboard Instruments

During colonial times, the wealth of New Spain was evident, and one of the country's finest legacies are the musical instruments to be found inside the religious institutions, specifically the organs. In Mexico of today, one can find a large variety of historical instruments from the colonial period, ranging from small portatives and *realejos* (regals) used in small chapels and processions outside the church, to the monumental twin organs of Mexico City Cathedral. In the state of Oaxaca alone we find approximately seventy-four historical instruments, some of which are not in playable condition. Luckily however, there are many which are still being actively played, and due to their preservation, we can get a clear idea of the sound of how the novohispanic organs sounded in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

According to historical records, the first organs that existed in New Spain were brought over from Spain. But soon the natives, who were highly skillful at copying and even improving musical instruments brought from Europe, learnt and mastered the art of organ building. Nonetheless, though many of the surviving organs were made in Mexico, the style of these instruments stands clearly in the Spanish tradition. This may be seen quite clearly in the disposition of the stops, for example the typical Spanish placement of all the trumpets outside the instrument, usually high above the keyboard, a feature used for the pieces known as *batallas*, or battles. Another typical feature of colonial period organs are

[64] Ibid.

the toy stops such as *pajarillos, tambor* and *campanas*, (little birds, side drum and bells) all of them enclosed in wooden boxes carefully decorated in Mexican baroque style. Despite the fact that Spanish organs are known as loud instruments, with their trumpet and reed stops, they also feature some soft stops such as some *flautados* and *viola*, which makes them suitable for accompanying voices and instruments.

Organ was clearly the favorite keyboard instrument for accompanying since the sixteenth century; this can be seen in the many works in which the use of this instrument is specified, including *villancicos*, *cantadas*, motets, psalms, lamentations and many other liturgical forms. Evidence exists of the use of the two organs played simultaneously to accompany two different choirs in Mexico City Cathedral, an example of New World polychorality. The fact that every important church had at least two organ players serves as a confirmation of the importance of this instrument.

Over the years the Mexico City Cathedral has possessed an important variety of organs. According to the chapter acts of 1734, a small organ had to be moved to be replaced by a new instrument, however the adjective "small" is somewhat unclear in determining the size of this instrument. It is known that the small instrument which made way for the larger 1734 organ was made by Diego Sebaldos, who in 1655 was hired to build a modest instrument with twelve split stops, similar to the one he built for the Puebla Cathedral. The existence of portable organs in Mexico City Cathedral is documented; in 1758 (when the large organs by Sesma and Nasarre from 1694 and 1734 had long since been in place), the cathedral acquired two small instruments, which according to the clerical authorities were highly needed. Unfortunately, the purpose of these organs remains unclear, but it is highly likely that they were used as continuo instruments and also as

teaching tools for the most advanced students from the *Colegio de Infantes*. It is eminently probable that the portable organs were used to accompany *villancicos* at certain points, perhaps in the side chapels of the Cathedral.

The position of the organs inside the Mexico City Cathedral also provides valuable information about the function of the instruments. As in most of the big cathedrals of Spain, the choir is placed in the center of the building facing the main altar. Inside the choir, the *facistol* is placed on the ground level close to the doors which face the v*ia sacra*, or line of sight from the choir to the altar. The two main Cathedral organs were built on galleries of considerable elevation on opposite sides of the choir, their height not being the optimal position to accompany the musicians and singers who were working at ground level. The Cathedral's *Diario Manual* (1751), a book closely followed by the master of ceremonies, provides detailed accounts of the music and liturgical activities, and consequently the use of the liturgical space.[65] For the mid-afternoon call, the musicians performed inside the choir between the *facistol* and the choir gates.[66] From this location, the music chapel performed *villancicos* and *chanzonetas* "with all of their instruments, including organs" for which playment was to be divided among all attending members.[67] Therefore, the use of portative organs would have been more logical to accompany the *villancicos* under these circumstances. However, we have to consider that the placement of the musicians inside the choir was in continuous change; for the performance of *villancicos* and other musical works with two or more choirs it is quite probable that singers and musicians would have stood in the galleries where the organs are placed.

---

[65] Ruben Valenzuela. "The Basso Continuo", p 116.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Jesús Ramos-Kittrell, "Dynamics of Ritual and Ceremony at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico 1700–1750", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas, 2006, p. 57.

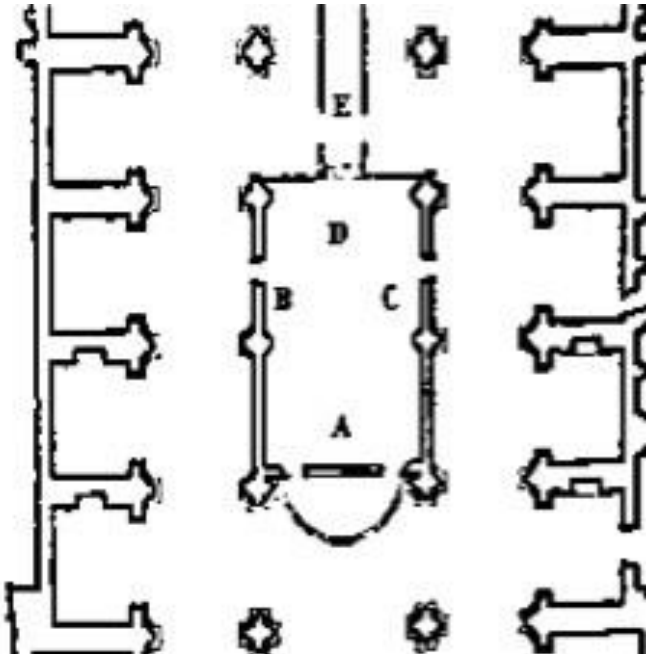
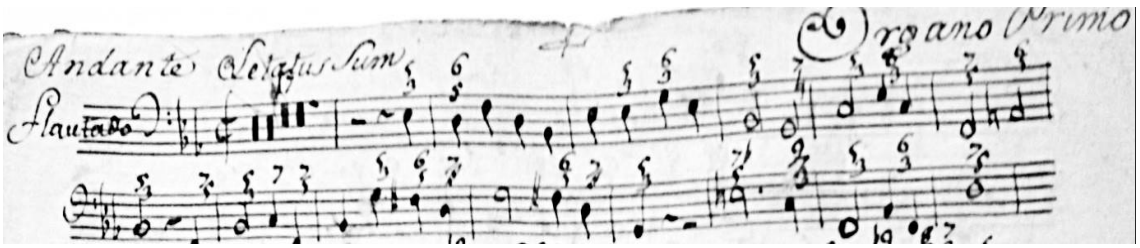


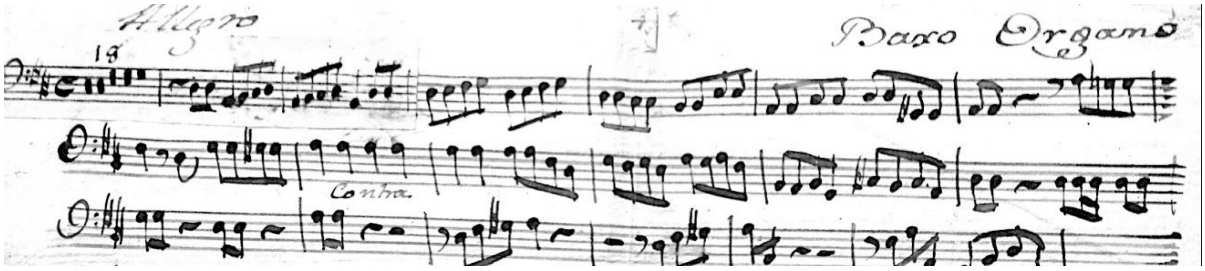
Figure 9, the choir space of the Mexico City Cathedral. E, the *via sacra*, D, the *facistol*, B and C, facing choirs and A, the seats of the Archbishop and clerics

In other of the non-cathedral churches of New Spain the position of the choir is usually above the main doors of the building, there being enough space for the main organ and musicians to perform from this position without the need for portable instruments. Such a case is the Basílica of Guanajuato, a parish church completed in 1699; examples of this type of choir space may be found in virtually every historical city in Mexico.

Precise information regarding the registration used by organists to accompany the *villancico* is not to be found in the musical archives, but fortunately a few surviving musical samples show some of the stops used to accompany. In the next example we find an indication for the use of a *flautado* stop:



In the following example we find the indication *contra*, making reference to the use of the pedal board:



Figures 10 and 11, *flautado* and *contra* indications in anonymous organ parts

Moreover, the inclusion of the term *contra* as notated in the music may be tangible evidence that the large principal organs were used for the *basso continuo.*

Unfortunately, the harpsichord is not as well documented as the organ. The first obstacle when researching the use of this instruments in New Spain is the terminology; an interesting variety of names are mentioned in the records, such as *monocordio, clave* and *clavicordio.* In 1708 we find evidence of an order given by the dean to the librarian of the choir of the Mexico City Cathedral to buy a harpsichord for the *Infantes* "as has been done for others before, who had gotten so much use from them", suggesting the previous existence of harpsichords in the *Colegio de Infantes.*[68] It is quite evident that the harpsicord was not the ideal accompanying instrument for the musical requirements of Mexico City Cathedral, this is clearly stated inside the correspondence and chapter acts. This instrument

[68] Archivo del Cabildo, Actas capitulares, libro 26, fol. 161v – 162, of 24 April 1708. "[…] como se ha hecho para otros que tanto han aprovechado con ellos".

was used in the Cathedral to accompany arias and other solo vocal repertoire, which was "drowned out" and not very splendid when accompanied by the organ. Mateo Tollis de la Rocca, who was chapel master of Mexico City Cathedral between 1769 and 1800, clearly tried to obtain more popularity for the harpsichord, his own instrument. Tollis composed a large variety of works which call specifically for harpsichord as continuo instrument, although in none of his *villancicos* is the use of harpsichord suggested.

During colonial times there existed a great variety of entertainment for the noble people of New Spain, such as cockfighting, bull fights and theatrical performances, including music and ballet. In 1673 the first *Coliseo* (multi-purpose theater edifice) of Mexico City was built. This was a theater which offered the inhabitants of New Spain a large selection of shows, including opera, theater plays, and comedies among other genres. It is highly probable that secular *villancicos* were performed in the comedies and plays, and the use of a harpsichord as a continuo instrument is a plausible conjecture, although not provable at present.

3.5 Percussion Instruments

A study of the accompaniment for the *villancico* would not be complete without a mention of percussion instruments. At present various types of percussion are in use in a large number of contemporary *villancico* performances, perhaps as a result of the idea that the clash of European and American cultures led to the use of native percussion instruments. However, the evidence shows different facts. One of the few percussion instruments which is documented is the *atabal* (a type of kettle drum), and it is known that this instrument was used in marching events organized by civic authorities, together with trumpets. The only time that this instrument is mentioned inside the church is in 1620, and

the record is related to an outdoors procession. After this date there is no mention of the *atabal* or other percussion instruments until 1760, when the Mexico City Cathedral acquired a set of timpani bought in Spain. Since that date, this instrument was used continuously inside the Cathedral—indeed the church repertoire includes several late colonial period *villancicos* by Antonio de Juanas (1762–1821), apart from anonymous compositions calling specifically for timpani. The use of timpani is also documented in the Guadalajara Cathedral as well as the Mexico City *Coliseo*. Unfortunately, there is no surviving evidence of the specific kind of music they were used for.

4.1 Conclusions

Despite the relative lack of precise evidence and sources regarding the matter of how novohispanic *villancicos* were accompanied, we are able to give an answer to some the questions raised in the course of this research. On the other hand, other questions will remain unanswered, awaiting further study.

Concerning the continuo techniques used to accompany this music, it may be stated that continuo practices in New Spain had a close relation to those of Spain, with Joseph de Torres's *Reglas generales de acompañar* being particularly influential on both continents. When observing the existing *basso continuo* exercises from the *Colegio de Infantes*, similarities may be noted in the way that the upper voices are treated in relation to the movement of the bass line. This is not surprising, when we consider that New Spain as well as Spain kept an early continuo tradition until well into the eighteenth century, a tradition in which the movement of the voices had a highly strict treatment (at least theoretically). We should also consider that those rules Torres gives regarding which harmonies to play (according to the movement of the bass line) are common ones, which every continuo

player knew—similarities may be found for instance with Fenaroli and many others. In my opinion the most valuable information in the *Reglas Generales* is to be found in the warnings he gives to "new accompanists" (see chapter 2.2), together with other warnings which the author gives at the end of the 1702 version. These include, among many other matters, information about the simplicity that the accompaniment should have:

> When accompanying, ornaments should be added neither with the left hand nor with the right, unless this is done with a great deal of discretion. On the one hand, so that the accompaniment should not be confused with the voices, especially when playing with solo voices. And on the other, so that there is sufficient time in the pauses of the voices for the accompanist to shine, and to do so with less inconvenience.[69]

Another important suggestion by Torres is that the best and most beautiful way to accompany on the organ is to divide the voices between the two hands (see chapter 2.2), an idea which can be seen in one of the exercises from the *Colegio de Infantes.*

Despite the lack of physical evidence of the existence of Torres's work in Mexico, it is clear that the treatise was known by musicians in the New World and had a profund impact in the *basso continuo* practices. This can clearly be seen in the introduction to de la Main's *Exposición de la música* printed in Mexico City in 1747, in which he briefly mentions Torres's rules.[70] In my opinion, the *Reglas generales de acompañar* is a source that may not be overlooked when attempting to accompany *villancicos* written in New Spain. Regarding other polyphonic continuo instruments such as the guitar and harp, treatises such as those by Gaspar Sanz or Juan Antonio Vargas y Guzman are a good point of reference.

---

[69] Joseph de Torres, *Reglas Generales",* p. 141. "Que cuando se acompaña no se ha de glosar, ni con la mano diestra, ni siniestra, si no es que sea con mucha discreción, lo uno por confundir el acompañamiento las voces, y más si son solas, y lo otro por haber tiempo bastante en los intermedios, para que el acompañante explique su manejo con más lucimiento, y menos inconvenientes.

[70] Ricardo de la Main, *Exposición de la música*, p 12.

Regarding the instrumentation for the *acompañamiento* (accompaniment) parts in the *villancico*, a couple of surviving musical examples can help us to create an idea of the continuo section used to accompany this music. Though the *bajón* (dulcian) was an instrument which was mostly used to support the voices in the so-called *música de facistol* (which was *a capella*) there are many *villancico* manuscripts in which the use of this instrument is specified. The *violón* is also mentioned in some villancico manuscripts. Looking at the available evidence, we may see quite clearly that the favorite accompaniment instrument was the organ; both portable and large organs were used to accompany music inside the church, and thanks to surviving *acompañamiento* parts mentioning this instrument, we may be sure that it was usually the organ which accompanied the *villancico.* The harpsichord's role in the Mexico City Cathedral is quite specific in the chapter acts (see chapter 3.4), and it is never mentioned as accompaniment for the *villancico*, however in the world of secular music the instrument may have been used for *villancicos*, although at present there is not proof to confirm this. Therefore, an "ideal" continuo section for religious *villancicos* based on the historical evidence would include the following instruments: organ, harp, guitar, *violón* and/or *bajón*. For the secular *villancico*, a harpsichord might be included in the list (to appreciate the result of the different instrumentations compare examples 2 and 3).

The use of an instrumental section to support the voices has been discussed often, but during the almost three hundred years of the existence of *villancicos* in New Spain, we can find no evidence of this. Musicologist Eva Maria Tudela Calvo suggests that in some polychoral *villancicos*, a group of instruments would have been used to support the voices. The author speaks specifically about one example by Antonio de Salazar: *¡Suenen, Suenen,*

clarines alegres! (1703).[71] She argues that the first choir (soloists) may have been accompanied by a harp, the second by cornettos, shawms and sackbuts, and the third by *violón* or *bajón*. In my personal opinion, this instrumentation, which calls for the loudest instruments to double the second choir, would have caused a serious imbalance. Moreover, we have to consider that the musical chapel of Salazar and his successor Sumaya included only one sackbut player, who was also in charge of playing the harp. Scholar Querol Gavaldá suggests a different point of view of these polychoral works, which according to his view should be seen as a kind of vocal *concerto grosso*.[72] In this way, we would have a group of soloists (first choir) against the *ripieno* (second and third choir). It would seem that this texture would be hampered if instruments were added to double the voices. In *villancicos* for fewer voices, it does not seem to me that supporting instruments would have been necessary, as the musical chapel was furnished with a sufficient number of good voices, supported by the boys of the *Colegio de Infantes*.

[71] Eva María Tudela Calvo "Antonio de Salazar y los villancicos policorales: *¡Suenen, suenen, clarines alegres!* (1703)" in *Música, catedral y sociedad*, eds. L. Enríquez and M. Covarrubias (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2006).

[72] Miguel Querol Gavaldá, conference paper, "La polyphonie religieuse espagnole au XVII[e] siécle", Liège, Belgium,10 September 1957, subsequently published in *Les Colloques de Wégimont*, IV, "Le 'Baroque' Musical" (Paris: Société d'Edition "Les Belles Lettres", 1963), p. 97.

Bibliography

Agazzari, Agostino. *Del sonare sopra'l basso* (Siena: Domenico Falcini, 1607).

Archivo del Cabildo la Catedral Metropolitana de la Ciudad de México. Actas capitulares.

Archivo del Cabildo Metropolitana de Guadalajara, Actas capitulares.

Bordas, Cristina. "The Double Harp in Spain from the 16th to the 18 Centuries", *Early Music*, 15, 2 (1987): 148–163.

Cerone, Pietro. *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples: Bautista Gargano and Lucrecio Nucci, 1613).

Christensen, Thomas. *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

_____ *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

García, Cristóbal. Aportaciones de la *Instrucción de Música* de Gaspar Sanz a la teoría de la armonía, *Nassarre*, 31, (2015): 59–99.

Gosine, Jane and Leon Chrisholm. "Sacred Music in Early Colonial Mexico: Context, Style and Performance", *The Phenomenon of Singing*, 5, (2005): 90-103.

Knight, Alan. *History of Mexico: From the Beginning to the Spanish Conquest*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Ledbetter, David. "Style brisé", *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 15, 2011, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27042.

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

López-Calo, José. *Historia de la Música Española*, Vol. 3 (Madrid: Alianza, 1983).

Lorente, Andrés. *El porque de la música* (Alcalá de Henares: Imprenta de Nicolás Xamares, 1672).

Main, Ricardo de la. *Exposicion de la Música Antigua, y de la Música de Viadana, ó el Arte de Acompañar a lo Moderno* (Mexico City: Imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno, y del Nuevo Rezado de Doña Maria de Rivera en el Empedradillo, 1747).

Marín, Javier. "Música y músicos entre dos mundos: la catedral de México y sus libros de polifonía (siglos XVI–XVIII), Ph.D. Thesis, University of Granada, 2007.

Méndez Plancarte, Alfonso (editor). *Obras completas de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz: Volumen II, Villancicos y letras sacras* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952).

Morales, Omar. "La música en la catedral de Puebla de los Ángeles", *Heterofonía*, 129 (2003): 9–47.

Palacios, Arnoldo. Review, "Antonio Sánchez Romeralo: *El villancico*", *BICC*, 27, (1972): 351–354.

Praetorius, Michael. Translation Hans Lampl, *Syntagma musicum* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1957.

Quantz, Johann Joachim. *On Playing the Flute*, translation by Edward R Reilly (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1966).

Querol Gavaldá, conference paper, "La polyphonie religieuse espagnole au XVII^{e} siécle", Liège, Belgium,10 September 1957, subsequently published in *Les Colloques de Wégimont*, IV, "Le 'Baroque' Musical" (Paris: Société d'Edition "Les Belles Lettres", 1963.

Quevedo, Francisco de. *Primera parte de las obras en prosa* (Madrid: Melchor Sánchez, 1658).

Ramos-Kittrell, "Dynamics of Ritual and Ceremony at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico 1700–1750", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas, 2006.

Randel, Michael Don. *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*. 4th ed. (London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003).

Rave, Wallace. "Some Manuscripts of French Lute Music 1630–1770: An Introductory Study", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1972.

Roche, Jerome. "What Schütz Learned from Grandi in 1629", *The Musical Times*, 113, no. 1157 (November 1972): 1074-1075.

Sadie, Julie Anne and Christopher Hogwood, *Companion to Baroque Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

Sanz, Gaspar. *Instrucción de la música sobre la guitarra española* (Zaragoza: Herederos de Diego Dormer, 1674).

Subirá, José. "El villancico literario-musical. Bosquejo histórico", *Revista de Literatura*, 22, (1962) pp. 5–27.

Stevenson, Robert. *Music in Mexico* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1952).

_____ *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California, 1974).

Swadley, John. “The *Villancico* in New Spain 1650–1750: Morphology, Significance and Development”, Ph.D. Thesis, Canterbury Christ Church University, 2014.

_____ *Manuel de Sumaya (ca.1680–1755): Obras en romance de la Catedral Metropolitana de la Ciudad de Méjico* (Edition in progress).

Torres, Joseph de. *Reglas Generales de Acompañar* (Madrid: Imprenta de Música, 1736).

Tudela Calvo, Eva María. “Antonio de Salazar y los villancicos policorales: *¡Suenen, suenen, clarines alegres!* (1703)” in *Música, catedral y sociedad*, eds. L. Enríquez and M. Covarrubias (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2006).

Valenzuela, Ruben. “Basso Continuo in the Mexico City Cathedral, ca. 1700–1750” (Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate University, Michigan, 2015).

Vera, Alejandro. “Santiago de Murcia (1673–1739): New Contributions on his Life and Work”, *Early Music*, 4 (2008): 597–608.

Weckmann, Luis. *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico*. Vol. 1 (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992).