

INTERTEXTUALIZATION: AN HISTORICAL AND CONTEXTUAL STUDY OF THE
BATTLE *VILLANCICO, EL MÁS AUGUSTO CAMPEÓN*

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This document addresses the cultural and significance of the battle *villancico, El más augusto campeón*, and its historical, social, and musical contexts within the *villancico* genre of the Latin American Baroque. This study focuses on the *villancico, El más augusto campeón*, and explores the possible origins of the text and its relevance to the political and social structure of Cuzco's San Antonio Abad Seminary. Other areas of investigation are the musical analysis of the score and performance practice issues that surface when making choices as a conductor.

Considering the seminal position *villancicos* held in the catechization of the Incans, in part due to their popular nature, the study of a representative example of this significant genre lends further insight into how important the *villancico* was to the ordinary and feast services of Peruvian (and, by association, Latin American) churches. While within the *villancico's* textual and musical structure one reads the obvious reflection of peninsular Spanish Catholic culture, its application to the *criollo* subculture carries an even more striking relevance.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Problem and Its Purposes

This document addresses the cultural and significance of the battle *villancico El más augusto campeón* and its historical, social, and musical contexts within the *villancico* genre of the Latin American Baroque. This study will focus on the *villancico El más augusto campeón* and explore the possible origins of the text and its relevance to the political and social structure of Cuzco's San Antonio Abad Seminary. Another area of investigation will be the musical analysis of the score and performance practice issues that surface when making choices as a conductor. Considering the seminal position *villancicos* held in the catechization of the Incans, in part due to their popular nature, the study of a representative example of this significant genre may lend further insight into how important the *villancico* was to the ordinary and feast services of Peruvian (and, by association, Latin American) churches. While within the *villancico's* textual and musical structure one reads the obvious reflection of peninsular Spanish Catholic culture, its application to the *Criollo* subculture carries an even more striking relevance.

The San Antonio Abad Seminary was founded on 1 August 1598 by the Bishop Antonio de la Raya who came to the area of Cusco in southeastern Perú.¹ The bishop's Catholic name, Antonio, shares the namesake of the Seminary, Saint Anthony Abad, the Egyptian Christian saint who, in the third century, was one of the founders of

¹ José Quezada Machiavello, *El legado musical del Cusco barroco: estudio y catálogo de los manuscritos de música del Seminario San Antonio Abad del Cusco* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2004), 29.

Christian monasticism.² In 1692 the San Antonio Abad Seminary became the University Regia y Pontifica under the direction of Bishop Mollinedo. The church and seminary today exist alongside the National University of San Antonio Abad of Cusco, a university which is a center for scientific, artistic, and cultural studies for its students.³

Sources of Data

Aurelio Tello, a Peruvian musician and musicologist⁴, arranged *El más augusto campeón* and published it alongside other works from the San Antonio Abad Seminary and the Archbishop Archive of Lima. This volume, entitled *Música barroca del Perú: siglos XVII-XVIII*,⁵ contains *villancicos* and motets by the composers Carlos Patiño and Roque Ceruti; the majority of the remaining works are without attribution, a circumstance resulting possibly due to the prolific exchange of music that occurred between major cathedrals of Latin America,⁶ which made it difficult to even establish a particular score's origin since cataloguing was not of prime importance during this exchange.⁷

² Catholic Online, "St. Anthony the Abbot," Catholic Online, http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=23

³ National University of San Antonio Abad of Cusco, "FINES, PRINCIPIOS y FUNCIONES GENERALES," National University of San Antonio Abad of Cusco, http://www.unsaac.edu.pe/about_us/fines.php.

⁴ Enrique Iturriaga, "Tello, Aurelio," Grove Music Online, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

⁵ Aurelio Tello, *Música barroca del Perú: siglos XVII-XVIII* (Lima: Asociación Pro Música Coral, 1998).

⁶ Bernardo Illari, "The popular, the sacred, the colonial and the local: the performance of identities in the *villancicos* from Sucre (Bolivia)" in *Devotional music in the Iberian World: the villancico and related genres*, ed. Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 690.

⁷ In regards to *El más augusto campeón*, Tello postulates that the *villancico* was written in the 17th century. He further states that perhaps this could have been written by the *maestro de capilla* who felt confident to perform a *villancico* of "thirteen voices, doubling instruments, a basso continuo for every choir, and a continuo line for one or two harps." (*¿Lo sería el maestro de capilla de la cathedral, en algún año del Siglo XVII, y que la escribiera con la certeza de que serían sus cantores y músicos cuzqueños quienes formarían el contingente necesario para resolver el juego polifónico a 13 voces, los doblajes*

El más augusto campeón occupies a special place in Tello's *Música barroca del Perú*, for he states that this *villancico* is “perhaps the most notable of the works” in the musical repository in the San Antonio Abad Seminary.⁸ This repository of San Antonio Abad Seminary contains over three thousand manuscript pages (folios) from the latter part of the seventeenth century through the end of the eighteenth century. In this collection, there are motets, *villancicos* scored for one and more choirs, masses and other works by composers who either traveled to South America from the Old World or who were born there.⁹

The Seminary, as well as much of this area of Perú and the rest of South America, has a rich legacy of music through its various *maestros de capilla* and composers such as Juan de Araujo (1646-1712), Roque Ceruti (ca. 1685-1760), Sebastián Durón (1660-1716), Carlos Patiño (1600-1675), and Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco (1644-1728). Many of the composers who frequented San Antonio Abad Seminary traveled to the principal cities that housed churches and shared their music they composed.¹⁰

Method of Procedure

The method of analysis of this study first proceeds from the literary and musical roots of the *villancicos* of Spain and Portugal in order to provide an understanding of

instrumentales, el bajo continuo para cada coro y el guión general a cargo de una o dos arpas?). Tello, 30.

⁸ Tello, 30. “And perhaps the most significant of the works is the *Villancico* of *Battle* for 4 choirs to San Antonio Abad *El más augusto campeón*.” (*Y quizá la más significativa de las obras sea el Villancico de Batalla para 4 coros a San Antonio Abad El más augusto campeón*).

⁹ Quezada Machiavello, 29.

¹⁰ Quezada Machiavello, 147-150.

their importance as a literary form. Contemporary New World scholars began to resurrect the *villancico* art form in the 17th century, particularly the Mexican nun Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz, and it was this renewed growth of the literary *villancico*'s popularity that led to a resurgence of texts to set for religious feast days and other special occasions in the life of New World Spaniards. Therefore, the importance of the *villancico* poetry itself requires examination of its literary form in relation to the musical manifestation.

Musical analysis consists of the classification of cadential formulae, phrasing, text underlay, and other facets of convention as one may observe in the Spanish Baroque style found in Latin America, drawing examples from local composers such as Juan de Araujo, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, Roque Cerruti, and other European composers active in the Peruvian-Bolivian cultural centers of the 17th and 18th centuries. In addition to the analysis of the score's compositional technique, an examination of historical performance practice of *villancicos* broadens the study's analysis of the circumstances in which this *villancico* would have been performed. In the course of this analysis the paper also presents evidence to support a possible attribution to a contemporary composer working in the area.

From this point, the focus of the paper turns to a historical and social contextualization of a possible occasion for the performance of the *villancico*, *El más augusto campeón*. The text of the *villancico* and its specific origins linked to the Seminary's name sake, San Antonio Abad, suggest the composer wrote the work as a tribute to be sung at an anniversary or other festival celebrating San Antonio Abad, but

no record appears to confirm this. Hopefully, further investigation may shed light on this work's unique arrangement of performance forces and purpose.

CHAPTER 2

THE LITERARY AND MUSICAL GENRES OF THE *VILLANCICO*

Early Examples of the *Villancico* Poem and Its Influences and Predecessors

The origin of the word *villancico* comes from the word *villano* (“rustic”), which points to a possible tradition of this type of poetry originating in the lower castes, and not in the aristocracy. The *villancico* grew out of the literary art form *canción*¹¹ as early as the fifteenth century in the Europe, localized in the Iberian peninsula.¹² This tradition of *canción* was a primary vehicle for knights and clergy to gain popularity through the courts, for their performances were primarily seen in aristocratic or regal circles. Its textual themes were frequently both sacred and profane – a literary tradition very common to the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Considering the *villancico*’s wide application in the Old and New Worlds, Knighton and Torrente’s broader definition of “*villancico*” works very well to encapsulate (as best as one may) this genre’s defining features:

[T]he term “villancico” began to be used to designate sacred songs in the vernacular, together with other terms such as “canciones” or “villanescas,” to the extent that, by the early 17th century its use became restricted to designate these kinds of pieces; other terms were then used for their secular counterparts, notably “letra” or “tono.” Probably from around the mid-19th century the word

¹¹ On page 53 of Robert Laird’s dissertation, “The villancico repertory at San Lorenzo el Real del Escorial, c.1630-1715,” Laird refers to Danièle Becker’s theory that the *villancico* has ties to the French Noël due to it being a vernacular song written for Christmas celebrations in France. In Laird’s later book *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus*, he defines *canción* as “a musico-poetic form in which the rhyme scheme and musical repeat are symmetrical.” Robert Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico* (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 9.

¹² Bernardo Illari, “Baroque *Villancicos*,” Seminar presented as a doctoral musicological course at the University of North Texas, Denton, TX., 19 November 2006. According to Bernardo Illari, this genre could have ties to the Franciscan traditions of the virelai, lauda, and other earlier song forms. One such example would be the *Cantigas de Santa María*.

“villancico” began to be used for popular Christmas song, and this is the current meaning of the term.¹³

For addressing the *villancico* that stands as the focus of this document, I offer the following definition of *villancico*:

A part-song in the vernacular, frequently containing elements of popular music or lyrics, which may be used in either sacred or secular contexts.

The first literary instance of a poem being called a “*villancico*” occurs in the *Cancionero de Herberay des Essarts* (1461-64).¹⁴ This anonymous poem’s refrain (*estribillo*) and stanza (*copla*) begin thusly:

Estribillo

La niña gritillos dar
no es de maravillar.

The girl screams,
This is not a surprise.

Copla

Mucho grita la cuitada
con la voz desmesurada
por se ver asalteada:
non es de maravillar.

The wretched one screams a lot
With an insolent voice
Upon seeing the assault:
This is not a surprise.¹⁵

The *villancico*’s rhyme scheme is AAbbba, with the connecting last line of the *copla* returning to the *estribillo*’s rhyme scheme. Sánchez Romeralo relates this *villancico*’s structure to the Moorish *zajal*¹⁶, and further distinguishes it from other *villancicos* due to

¹³ Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente, *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450-1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*, ed. Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2007), 2.

¹⁴ Laird uses the Spanish title found in this document in his 1997 book, but the *Grove Music Online* article refers to the source in its French name, *Chansonniere Espagnol d’Herberay des Essarts*. (See Isabel Pope and Paul R. Laird, “Villancico,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29375> (accessed January 3, 2009).

¹⁵ Laird, *Towards a History*, 6-7.

¹⁶ *Grove Music Online*’s contributors define the *zejel* (*zajal*) as a type of strophic song with refrain that came with the Moors during their invasion and conquest of the Iberian peninsula.

the lack of *vuelta*,¹⁷ a variance that will come to play in further codifying the specific form (if any) of a *villancico*.

Paul Laird points out that the *villancico* as a particular type of poetry meant to be sung, and he then draws further comparisons to the French *chanson spirituelle* and the Italian *madrigale spirituale*.¹⁸ In *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus*, Robert Stevenson cites an eighteenth century Spanish Jesuit, Juan Andrés, who relates the Moorish *zajal* and the Spanish troubadour song to the *villancico*.¹⁹ Bernardo Illari further defines the *villancico* as it pertains to Latin American colonization as “religious part-songs in the vernacular with popular elements.”²⁰ Isabel Pope, a prominent *villancico* and Spanish music scholar, defines the *villancico* as “a particular type of strophic poetry whose rhyme scheme at the end of a couplet (*copla*) spills over into the refrain (*estribillo*).”²¹

There is a significant poetic influence of the Galician-Portuguese genre *cantiga de refram*²² to the *villancico*'s poetic development, whose rhyming pattern is ABccabAB. This rhyming pattern is not consistent, however, within the entire genre, for there exists flexibility in the fifteenth century *villancico* due to the frequent appearance of popular

¹⁷ “[U]na composición de estructura zejelesca, aunque *sin verso de vuelta tras los tercetos monorrimos* [Italics are Sánchez Romeralo’s].” Antonio Sánchez Romeralo, *El villancico: estudios sobre la lírica popular en los siglos XV y XVI* (Madrid, Spain: Editorial Gredos, 1969), 36-37.

¹⁸ Laird, *Towards a History*, 3.

¹⁹ Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus*, The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1960, 17-18.

²⁰ Bernardo Illari, “Polychoral culture: cathedral music in La Plata (Bolivia), 1680-1730,” Thesis (Ph. D.)--University of Chicago, 2001, v. 1, 136.

²¹ Isabel Pope, “Musical and Metrical Form of the *Villancico*,” *Annales Musicologiques*, II (Paris: Société de Musique d’Autrefois, 1954), pp. 189-214.

²² While the *villancico* was widely cultivated in Portugal during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the 1580-1640 Spanish Empire’s reign (King John IV, former Duke of Braganza, ruling), this document will mainly focus on the Spanish roots of the *villancico* and its use in Spain and the New World. King John IV collected music manuscripts contained many *villancicos* catalogued, but an earthquake in Lisbon in 1755 destroyed the collection. Laird, *Towards a History*, 51.

elements in the *villancico*'s structure, a circumstance that influences both its poetic and musical development.²³

As to a general guide to the *villancico*'s poetic structure, Bernardo Illari offers a general analysis of the poetic *villancico*'s structure:²⁴

The refrain, of two to four lines, is followed by a quatrain with a different rhyme scheme and (at least partly) different music, called the *coplas*, *mudanza* (change), or *glosa* (gloss). The third element in the *villancico* form is a *vuelta* (return) with as many lines as the refrain, which rhymes with both the *mudanza* and the refrain, bridging the gap between the two of them. Usually, the *glosa* is sung to music different from the refrain, twice repeated, but the *vuelta* is set to the refrain itself. The resulting scheme of musical sections (AbbaA) is not very different from the French *virelay* or the Italian *ballata*, except that the *villancico* repeats it as needed to cover the text and (supposedly) delays the appearance the refrain until the end (Abbabba...A).²⁵

Due to the convention of popular song enjoying a flexibility of rhyme and form, however, the composer Juan del Encina (1468-1529/1530) describes the *villancico* as having “no specific poetic form.”²⁶ One frequently finds in analyses of *villancicos* inconsistency in rhyme schemes or the rhyme scheme's musical settings due to the *villancico*'s chameleon-like function within the vocal repertory of Spain.

The Musical Genre of the *Villancico*

The first musical setting of a *villancico* comes from the *Cancionero musical*²⁷ de

²³ Paul Laird further states in the same cited pages (6-7) that “The AAbbba rhyme scheme is common in the early *villancico*.” Laird, *Towards a History*, 6-7.

²⁴ On page 138 of “Polychoral culture,” however, Illari states that the scope of the general structure of the *villancico* was “far more limited and stable than what it was around 1700,” possibly accounting for the many styles of *villancicos* that emerged from the Old World and New World composers.

²⁵ Illari, “Polychoral culture: cathedral music in La Plata (Bolivia),” v. 1, 136.

²⁶ Isabel Pope, “*Villancico*,” Grove Music Online, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29375> (accessed December 13, 2008).

²⁷ Laird makes a point to distinguish between *cancionero* and *cancionero musical*, with the former being poems not set to music and the latter containing poems set to music.

la *Biblioteca Colombina* (CMC, dating from around 1490), the earliest Spanish collection of music set to poetry. The title of the *villancico* is *Andad, pasiones, andad* by the Iberian composer Pedro de Lagarto (c 1465-1543). The work is titled as a *villancico* in the CMC, and it is found among three other works found in this section of the collection which contains Lagarto's works. Laird cites it as a *villancico* "in its narrowest definition" found in the CMC due to the rhyme scheme and musical repeat having an asymmetrical relationship – typical of most *villancicos*' structure of this period.

Example 1: *Andad, pasiones, andad* by Pedro de Lagarto

An-dad, pa - sio - nes, an-dad. A - ca - be quien co - men -
En-trad en vues - tro pla - cer. To-mad quan to ten - go

5
có, que nun-ca es di - ré de no. ¿Que mal me po-déis ha -
yo, Yo la ten-go tan per-di -

10
-cer, sy no que pier-da la vi - da?
-da, que no la pue-do más per - der.

The Lagarto example above, however, contrasts in style to the typical *villancico* found in *cancioneros* of the same period and collection. Stevenson writes that this work was inserted by a later hand in the CMC, so this might account for the variation.²⁸ *Andad, pasiones, andad* is not of the typical *canción* style with rhythmic independence of parts, imitation, and melodies of narrow range. Lagarto's example might exhibit facets of a popular tune of this period, but this work has no imitation and is more

²⁸ Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, p. 237, n. 87.

homophonic with less independence between the voices as a typical *villancico* or *canción* would have.²⁹ There seems to be no indicator in *villancico* research that *Andad, pasiones, andad* represents a consistent stylistic departure or evolution, so the stylistic inconsistency of Lagarto's compositional style is not clear.

The mutability of the *villancico's* internal musical or poetic structure poses a significant problem for musicologists in definitively classifying texts as *villancicos*. It is for this reason that Illari describes the *villancico* as a “metagenre” – a musical form whose many incarnations take on different guises based on the work's needs and immediate environment.³⁰ Therefore, while Juan Díaz Rengifo (1553-1615) and the aforementioned Juan del Encina both cast the *villancico* as being the most frequently used form in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries³¹, that “form” is frequently a loose interpretation of a musical-poetic structure that has no specific or set identity outside of the function for which the composer composed the work.

These variations in the *villancico's* structure also may take root in their process of composition. In his collection of editions of religious music found in a seminary library in Cuzco, Perú, Aurelio Tello describes two distinct contexts in which *villancicos* were composed.:

The first [*villancicos*] were born from the inspiration of musician-poets, in a courtly environment – exquisite, cultured, and refined. The second [*villancicos*], more “democratic,” were always the fruit of the collaboration between a *villanciquero* (so called having written the texts) and a chapel master (who set them to “metered music”).³²

²⁹ Laird, *Towards a History*, 9.

³⁰ Illari, “Polychoral culture,” 140.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 138.

³² [I]os primeros nacieron de la inspiración de músicos-poetas, en un ámbito cortesano, culto y refinado. Los segundos, más “democráticos”, eran, siempre, el fruto de la colaboración entre un villanciquero (que así se llamaba al que escribía los textos) y un maestro de capilla (que los ponía en “metro músico”).

Therefore, the needs of the musical composition may have taken precedence over the original poetic *villancico*'s structure, allowing for various changes to occur that flowed better in a musical sense.³³ Quezada Macchiavello further illuminates this process of license during composition:

The *villancico* with its popular and *mestizo* roots and with its formal origins of *zejel* ancestry, allow major licenses, and the relation between music and text is more imaginative and creative. With rhythmic sources, melodic turns, and onomatopoeic devices, the composers decorated the text that, in general, previously existed and arrived to them in little notebooks so that they were musically realized.³⁴

The *villancico* (outside of Latin liturgical music) was “the other characteristic musical manifestation of this era in the Hispanic World.”³⁵ The dual sacred and profane themes found in the poetic form of the *villancico* invariably made it so effective in attracting people to the church, particularly during major feast days such as Christmas, Ascension, and the Invention of the Cross, that the Friar Hernando de Talavera (1428-1507) frequently inserted *villancicos* (sometimes called *chansonetas*) as responses to the Matins of the Nativity office, each *villancico* replacing the normal responses in each of the nocturnes of the office.³⁶ The *villancico* seems to have been well-fit to substitute for responses in the *Officium Divinum*, for Quezada Macchiavello states that one may

Aurelio Tello, *Música barroca del Perú: Siglos XVII-XVIII* (Lima, Perú: Asociación Pro Música Coral, 1998), 20-1.

³³ “El villancico con sus rasgos populares y mestizos y con sus orígenes formales de ancestro zejelesca, admite pues mayores licencias y la relación entre música y texto es más imaginativa y creativa. Con recursos rítmicos, giros melódicos e inclusive onomatopéyicos, los compositores engalanaban el texto que, por lo general, existía previamente y llegaba a ellos en cuadernillos para que fueran musicalizados.” While the original text of *El más augusto campeón* does not exist and does not allow a comparison between a source text and this musical setting found in Cusco, Tello’s explanation of the procedural context of *villancico* composition offers the reader an idea of how this genre’s evolution came into being.

³⁴ José Quezada Macchiavello, *El legado musical del Cusco barroco* (Lima, Perú: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2004), 88-9.

³⁵ “La otra manifestación musical característica de esta época en el mundo hispano.” *Ibid.*, 39.

³⁶ Tello, *Música barroca del Perú*, 21.

find the *villancico* even replacing parts of the appropriate music of the offices themselves.³⁷ The *villancico* eventually found its way to the Capilla Real by 1563,³⁸ and their popularity never seemed to wane, despite King Phillip II's decree that only Latin be sung in his chapel;

Royal decree by King Phillip II, 11 June 1596. I order that in my Royal Chapel villancicos will not be sung, nor any piece in a romance language, but all in Latin as you have disposition from the Church.

I, the King. To Garcia de Loaysa, my first chaplain.³⁹

The King's decree had little to no effect on his court or others, for Christmas *villancicos* were copied and used in King Phillip II's court.⁴⁰

Christmas was a significant feast for the Catholic church in the New World, for it was a day of celebration whose very nature drew upon both holy and pagan symbols as a part of its ritual. This festive holiday mirrored the *villancico's* dual nature as one of the main musical forms for expression of faith and wonder in the Catholic tradition. Due to the *villancico's* tremendous popularity, it found a seminal place in the catechization of pagans (in Latin America, the native *indios*) due to the Spanish composers' inventive (often licentious) use of popular elements from indigenous culture in Latin America and Spain. *Villancicos* sometimes contained "errors' in harmony . . . in order to put in relief the rustic character of a text or personage."⁴¹

³⁷ Quezada Macchiavello, *El legado musical*, 43.

³⁸ Laird, *Towards a History*, 20.

³⁹ "Real decreto del Rey Felipe 2.^o de junio de 1596. Mando que en mi Real Capilla no se canten villancicos, ni cosa alguna de romance, sino todo en latín como le tiene dispuesto la Iglesia. Yo el Rey. A García de Loaysa, mi capellán mayor." *Ibid.*, 29.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁴¹ Quezada Macchiavello, *El legado musical*, 89.

Old World Sources of *Villancicos*

The aforementioned *Cancionero musical de la Biblioteca Colombina* (CMC), being the earliest source for *villancicos* set to music, was probably compiled for a court in Seville and copied around 1490. Pope and Stevenson judge many of the works in the CMC to be *canciones*.⁴² As relating to the previously cited Lagarto example, *Andad, pasiones, andad*, Laird describes the style of *canción* as:

quite similar to French chansons from the generation of Antoine Busnois, with rhythmic independence of parts, some brief points of imitation, melodies of narrow range, and the presence of short melismas.⁴³

Composers represented in this *cancionero* are the Spanish composer Juan de Triana (fl. 1477-1490, and the most represented in the CMC), Johannes Ockeghem (c.1410-1497), Juan de Urrede (fl. 1451-c1482), Pedro de Lagarto.⁴⁴

The *Cancionero musical del Palacio* (CMP) was discovered in Madrid's Palacio Real in 1870. It contains 463 items, and is the largest Spanish manuscript of secular song from the Renaissance.⁴⁵ It also represents a wealth of composers found on the Iberian peninsula before and after the turn of the sixteenth century, and is the most ubiquitously representative *cancionero* of Iberian composers than any other source of its kind.⁴⁶ Johannes Cornago (c.1400-after 1474), Encina, Francisco Millán (fl. early 16th century), and others are found in the CMP. The CMP has two sections for

⁴² Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 208.

⁴³ Laird, *Towards a History*, 9.

⁴⁴ Other than Ockeghem and Urrede, most of the composers found in the CMC are of Spanish origin. Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 206.

⁴⁵ Originally containing 552 works (89 of them lost due to missing folios), the copying occurred between 1505 and 1520, mostly by one scribe. Laird, *Towards a History*, 10.

⁴⁶ 53 composers' names are listed in the manuscript or recovered from concordances. All of these composers composed for the Spanish courts of Ferdinand and Isabella. Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 253, 272.

villancicos – Section 1, labeled *Villancicos*, and Section 4 labeled *Villancicos omnium sanctorum*, denoting these *villancicos* written for specific use in church services.⁴⁷

Within the CMP, Stevenson points out that the word *villancico* has a more liberal use by the original indexer:

The original indexer calls everything in Spanish with a prefatory refrain a *villançico*. He also gives this name to a Spanish song if any individual section in it, not necessarily the first, is repeated. . . For the original indexer, then, the term *villançico* covers a wider class of songs than present-day morphologists would allow.⁴⁸

He then illuminates a further departure from the system the original indexer uses. Four works which one finds in the *Villançico* section of CMP do not have any musical repetition at all.⁴⁹

A collection of *villancicos*, printed by Scotto in Venice (1556), and republished by Rafael Mitjana in 1944 as the *Cancionero de Upsala*⁵⁰, is the only extant sixteenth century collection devoted entirely to *villancicos*. It contains works by Cristóbal de Morales (c. 1500-1553), Mateo Flecha *el mayor* (?1481-?1553), and other composers. This collection contains *villancicos* that display prolific use of imitative polyphony, which Laird cites was becoming very popular in Western European music around 1520 and a departure from the more homophonic style composers employed previously (such as found in Encina's *villancicos*).⁵¹

⁴⁷ In the CMP, there are 389 *villancicos*, 14 *estrambotes* (a *frottola*-related musical work), 44 *romances*, and 29 *villancicos omnium sanctorum*. Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 251.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 252.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*. 252.

⁵⁰ The *Cancionero de Upsala* is sometimes referred to as the *Cancionero del Duque de Calabria*, named for the repertory from that court in Italy.

⁵¹ Laird, *Towards a History*, 14-15.

Francisco Guerrero's (?1528-1599) *Canciones y villanescas*⁵² *espirituales* (CVE, published in Venice, 1589) contain many songs conceived originally with secular lyrics, and Stevenson regards them as "one of the three finest collections of Spanish polyphonic song published by any composer during this century."⁵³ This collection is the last major extant collection of *villancicos* from the sixteenth century, and Guerrero's works in this collection pave the way for a new style of *villancico* composition to begin in the following century. His use of the word *villanesca* shows a burgeoning Italian influence on his conception of these songs, and these works seem to reflect the madrigalian style of composition one finds in the Italian literature of the same period.⁵⁴

In *Spanish Cathedral Music of the Golden Age*, Stevenson writes of Guerrero and the significance of the CVE:

If Guerrero's masses, magnificats, and motets merely equal but do not surpass Morales's and Victoria's in quality and substance, his 61 Spanish songs . . . demonstrate, on the other hand, his superiority to all other sixteenth-century peninsular composers when the setting of vernacular poetry is the task in hand.⁵⁵

In the CVE prologue, Mosquera de Figueroa⁵⁶ writes that Guerrero's *canciones* had secular origins, and the composer changed the "amatory" lyrics to sacred themes and words where needed to convert them to *canciones sacras*.⁵⁷

⁵² Stevenson quotes Sebastián de Covarruv[b]ias (1539-1613), chaplain to Phillip II of Spain, as stating "Villanescas are those songs which country folk are wont to sing when at leisure," and then continues later to relate the two rustic song forms, saying "[v]illancicos, so well known at Christmas and Corpus Christi, have the same origin." Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), 217.

⁵³ Stevenson lists Juan Vásquez's two books, *Villancicos i canciones* (Osuna: 1551) and *Recopilacion de sonetos y villancicos* (Seville: 1560) as being the other two sources among the three lauded collections. *Ibid.*, 136.

⁵⁴ Laird, *Towards a History*, 26.

⁵⁵ Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music*, 216.

⁵⁶ Born in Seville, Figueroa received a bachelor of laws in Salamanca and then worked in the University of Osuna. He also studied the *vihuela* and pursued music "diligently" throughout Spain. *Ibid.*, p. 218, n. 391.

The collection contains 33 songs á 5, 20 á 4, and 8 á 3. Guerrero further separates the songs into those with initial refrain (*estribillo*) and those without (those that are through composed). Those with *estribillo* Guerrero calls *da capo* or *dal segno villancicos*.⁵⁸ In all of the songs, the textures diminish to smaller numbers during the *coplas*, and then frequently return to *tutti* at the *estribillo*.⁵⁹ A point to note, however, is the lingering Hispanic nature of these *villancicos* found in an Italian-influenced collection. These *villancicos* contain the typical “sharp and frequently displaced accents” that became the “stock-in-trade of every Spanish baroque composer of villancicos.” Stevenson notes that this style was prevalent in Peru in composer Juan de Araujo’s (1646-1712) music and in the *villancicos* of Mexican composer Antonio de Salazar (c. 1650-1715).⁶⁰

With the tremendous expansion of the Spanish Empire in Western Europe and the New World, the *villancico* proved to be one of the more prominent genres, either secular or sacred, in the scope of Western music. Its versatility and adaptability as a secular and sacred genre show a utility within this genre that was to find ample use in the New World. With a large number of native *indios* to convert and control, the

⁵⁷ Stevenson points out at the conclusion of this chapter on Guerrero (p. 224) that “every truly popular poem was always changed sooner or later *a lo divino*,” yet he later states that “Although Guerrero’s villancico style can be proved to have become essentially popular, he forbears using folk melodies.” He further says that Guerrero did not use *canti firmi* or other plainsong quotations. These two statements seem to be “at odds” with one another, given the established fact by Stevenson, Laird, and other scholars that the *villancico* metagenre as a whole relies upon popular themes and folk styles (both melodically and poetically). This might bear further investigation, but will not figure into this document’s main investigation.

⁵⁸ Stevenson calls the through-composed works **Type I songs**, and the *villancicos* with repeats of either the *coplas* or *estribillos* **Type II songs**. *Ibid.*, 223.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁶⁰ The rhythmic use found in Guerrero’s and the other mentioned composers’ music will receive further discussion in the analysis of *El más augusto campeón* in the following chapters. *Ibid.*, 223.

villancico's place in Spanish religious music was to be a seminal device through which the Old World would graft its ideals and beliefs to the New World.

CHAPTER 3

THE DISSEMINATION OF THE *VILLANCICO* AND ITS NEW WORLD SOURCES

Genre Influence in South America

The *villancico*'s presence in Perú, and the rest of South America, was just as prominent as in the Old World. Its use of popular elements such as instrumentation, melodies, rhythmic figures, and secular textual elements and themes made it the perfect vehicle for church composers to incorporate native musical elements and draw people into the church's doors. Tello makes this statement about Peruvian *villancicos* in *Música barroca del Perú*:⁶¹

The Peruvian *villancicos* . . . [s]hare the same purpose and the same function that all those that were sung in the peninsula or on both sides of the American continent. They followed a similar historical process in their development, in their transformation, in their assimilation of new elements according to the sway of changing artistic, social, and political aesthetics.

Villancicos were a crucial part of the liturgical and para-liturgical functions of the Catholic church, and their particular use in feast days gave them an especially important role in the lives of Indians, Spaniards, and *Criollos*.

Every colony in Central and South America held repositories of *villancicos* and other related genres, and the *villancico*'s utility in Latin America to help control and colonize the natives cannot be emphasized enough. The aspect of the *villancico*'s use of popular music was to be extremely effective in the catechization of the New World's indigenous inhabitants, for composers employed by churches would compose music incorporating language, melodies, and other elements of native culture into their

⁶¹ Tello, 27. *Compartieron el mismo destino y la misma función que todos aquellos que se cantaron en la península o en otros ámbitos del continente americano. Siguieron un similar proceso histórico en su desarrollo, en su transformación, en su asimilación de elementos nuevos según el vaivén de los cambios estéticos, artísticos, sociales y políticos.*

villancicos to further draw the natives into the church's services – one of the primary methods of Spanish control of the region. Cathedrals in Mexico City, Oaxaca, Bogotá, Puebla, La Plata, Cuzco, and other cities and towns used *villancicos* on typical days where they seemed to appear in Iberian churches – Christmas, Ascension, Epiphany, Corpus Christi, and various saints' feast days.⁶²

As for sources of *villancicos* in the Americas, one finds a comparable amount of *cancionero*-type collections scattered across Central and South American churches and libraries. The Columbian musicologist José Ignacio Perdomo Escobar (1917-1980)⁶³ offers a catalog and description of the various musical works (many of them *villancicos*) found in the Bogotá Cathedral from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. Among his *El cancionero de la Catedral*, Escobar lists 500 pages of *villancico* texts, almost 400 vernacular songs, and a commentary that expounds their theological use in the church service. This cathedral employed a number of prodigious composers, including Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo (c1547-1623), José Cascante (c1620-1702), and Juan de Herrera (c1670-1738), whom Laird describes as "its [the Cathedral's] finest *maestros* and composers."⁶⁴ The archive of the collection records the use of *villancicos* in the various feasts stated above, thirty-nine saints' feast days, and various Marian feasts.⁶⁵ The Bogotá Cathedral's wealth of *villancico* texts also demonstrates their dissemination from the Old World to the New World, for many correlations exist

⁶² Laird, *Towards a History*, 51.

⁶³ Escobar studied law concurrently with music at the Bogotá National Conservatory. He eventually became a priest and found work in the Bogotá Cathedral where he compiled and published "El cancionero de la Catedral." Escobar also researched the *villancico* and wrote a study of the "Villancico español e indo-americano," where he engaged in more commentary of the texts' theology. *Ibid.*, 54-55

⁶⁴ Hidalgo worked at the Bogotá Cathedral for two years (1584-6), and Herrera from 1703 until his death. Laird describes Cascante as "a dominant figure in the musical life of Bogotá for fifty years." *Ibid.*, 55.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 55-56.

between text settings in Spain and Bogotá.⁶⁶ However, at the close of the seventeenth century, the *villancico* began to decline in popularity. The poetic divisions of the musical setting of the text (the refrain and couplet groupings, hereafter referred to as the *estribillo* and *copla*) began to fade as the more popular Italian recitative/aria format of cantatas emerged.⁶⁷

Structure of the Baroque *Villancico* of the Old World and New World

As the *villancico* remained popular at the turn of the seventeenth century, it continued to evolve and assimilate styles of Italian origin and other international musical flavors. In particular, the use of Italian elements, such as *basso seguente*, *continuo*, and recitative/aria sections, becomes more prevalent in the compositions found in Latin America.⁶⁸ In contrast to the polyphonically and contrapuntally conceived *villancicos* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the seventeenth century *villancico* frequently displays a substantially functional harmonic structure due to the developing tonality at the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁶⁹

In Spanish archives, there are few *villancicos* remaining that date before 1650, and one observes a new style evolving in the repertoire.⁷⁰ The typical Spanish voicing of the time is two sopranos, alto, tenor, and *continuo* (often following the tenor line, as in many *villancicos* of this century). The *villancico* begins often with the *estribillo* or an

⁶⁶ Laird provides a table showing six *villancico* texts and their concordances between Spanish and New World composers. *Ibid.*, 57.

⁶⁷ Stevenson, *The Music of Peru*, 98.

⁶⁸ Laird, *Towards a History*, 69.

⁶⁹ Quezada Macchiavello, *El legado musical*, 116.

⁷⁰ Laird, *Towards a History*, 71.

introducción. The *introducción* is strophic and composed of a couple of arioso-like movements which preface the *estribillo*'s appearance. After the first statement of the *estribillo*, various verses appear (*coplas*) for either solo or groups of singers.⁷¹ The *estribillo* is frequently *tutti*, contrasting in both volume and character of the *coplas*⁷² (particularly when scored for two or more choirs).

In terms of compositional practice found in Baroque *villancicos*, the *estribillos* typically carried the melody of any pre-existing material used in its composition (first sung by one voice and then echoed by other voices). The music of the *estribillo* is typically through-composed, while the *copla* is frequently strophic, employing a separate, repeated musical treatment different from that of the *estribillo*. Harmonically, many Baroque *villancicos* follow a hexachordal tonicization system that uses the six tones of a hexachord as “pitch key” centers, using root movement of fourths at cadences.⁷³

The *Villancico de Batalla*'s Origins and Its Prominence in Latin American Repertory

El más augusto campeón, the object of this study, is of a specific subgenre within the *villancico* repertory which begins to appear prominently in both the Old and New World – a battle *villancico* (*villancico de batalla*). In this specific subgroup, bellicose elements in the text, theme, and musical motives are prominent features which the

⁷¹ Laird, *Towards a History*, 70.

⁷² The *coplas* of poetic and musical *villancicos* consist of octosyllabic lines that contain assonance in odd-numbered lines. As one finds these set for fewer singers, composers treated *coplas* syllabically. These couplets convey most of the *villancico*'s texts.

⁷³ This procedure was common in the Baroque development of functional harmony, and is discussed further in Walter Atcherson's article “Key and Mode in Seventeenth-Century Music Theory Books” (see bibliography).

composer implements to illicit the sounds of battle. Its roots are in the famous chanson *La guerre* by Janequin.⁷⁴ There are various battle masses and other works in Spain and Latin America which have a similar theme and contextualization within them. Francisco Guerrero (c. 1528-1599) wrote a *Missa de la batalla Ecoutez* directly in reference to the Janequin work. Juan de Araujo's *Afuera que sale / a herir con su harpón* employs its battle motives in tandem to the Greek figure, Cupid, in pursuit of a lover's heart. Other contributors to this genre are Juan Esquivel de Barahona (c.1563-after 1612), Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548-1611), Fabián Pérez Ximeno (c. 1595-1654), and Francisco López y Capillas (c. 1605-1674).⁷⁵

The only other battle *villancico* in Tello's selective editions of the San Antonio Abad Seminary repository alongside *El más augusto campeón* is *Al campo sale María* by Roque Ceruti (c. 1683-1760) for eight voices, two violins, and organ *continuo*.⁷⁶ While *El más augusto campeón* is written in the early Spanish Baroque style, Ceruti's *Al campo sale María* displays a heavy Italian influence by his use of *ritornello* in the *coplas*, recitative, and an *aria a coros* complete with *ritornello*. The fact that Ceruti was born in 1685, when paired with Tello's postulate that *El más augusto campeón* probably is a seventeenth century work exhibiting characteristics of a style before Ceruti, Tello firmly places *El más augusto campeón* earlier than Ceruti's battle *villancico*. His observations about meter in his edition state that the style of notation used showed

⁷⁴ While *El más augusto campeón* is titled a *villancico de batalla* and shares significant features with the other *villancicos* of its type, it does not carry in it the onomatopoeiatic elements of Janequin's chanson.

⁷⁵ Bernardo Illari, "Polychoral Culture: Cathedral Music in La Plata (Bolivia), 1680-1730" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2001), 289.

⁷⁶ There are seven *villancicos de batalla* found in the archive, three of them specifically labeled as containing two or more choirs. Quezada Macchiavello, *El legado musical*, 219.

white mensural notation with blackened figures for the iambic rhythms and the hemiolas. Perfect *tempus* (ternary) for the Introduction, the response of the *estribillo* and the *coplas*; sign of *sesquialtera* proportion. The beginning of the *estribillo* is of imperfect *tempus* (binary).⁷⁷

Based on this use of a more antiquated notation prevalent in the Renaissance and earlier Baroque, this work possibly was composed in the earlier 17th century.

Polychorality in Latin America

In the San Antonio Abad Seminary repository in Cuzco alone, there was “the presence . . . of a vast number of sacred compositions with text in Latin, bichoral and polychoral, that were performed routinely.”⁷⁸ As composers begin to embrace a vertically conceived style of composition, the layering of different ensembles or groups within the *villancico* becomes not only a compositional device, but a cultural expression of the various castes found in the New World colonies. Bernardo Illari describes the formation and function of groups in the New World as “polychoral culture,” where:

Individuals lived and acted in function of the groups of which they were members. In such a society, there was no place for “horizontal” divisions in classes based on income level; each estate was a “vertical” unit including a higher, a middle, and a lower rank.⁷⁹

Within these estates (analogous to the various choirs in a polychoral setting), the groups understood their function within the whole, yet “they permanently struggled with

⁷⁷ “Notación mensural blanca con figuras negreadas para los ritmos yámbicos y las hemiolas. Compás perfecto (ternario) para la Introducción, la responsión del *estribillo* y las *coplas*; signo de proporción sesquialtera. El inicio del *estribillo* es de compás imperfecto (binario).” Tello, *Música barroca*, 55.

⁷⁸ “[I]a presencia . . . de un número vasto de composiciones sacras con texto en latín, bicorales y policorales, que se ejecutaban con alternancia” Quezada Macchiavello, *El legado musical*, 268.

⁷⁹ Illari, “Polychoral Culture,” 55.

each other.”⁸⁰ The group’s master plan (which Illari ascribes to the *basso continuo*) then is an expression of the interaction among the various choral groups and the basso continuo, which one would describe in a social context as “culture.”⁸¹

The Political and Musical Culture of Cuzco, Perú

Within the Spanish colonies there was a hierarchical organization of the population in the New World, comprising a rich and diverse group of societies. At the top of the population were the peninsular-born Spaniards (*peninsulares*), who considered themselves superior to New World-born full-blooded Spaniards (*criollos*). The next caste below *criollos* and *peninsulares* were those born of mixed Spanish and native blood (*mestizos*), who had relatives in the native population (*indios*, named after Spain’s supposition that they had discovered the West Indies). The final group was *negros*, the African slaves brought to do manual labor in the colonies. All of the groups found in Cuzco participated in music of one kind or another in Cuzco.⁸²

The ratio of natives to Spaniards was rather large, considering the dominating power the Spaniards had over the natives. Trujillo, being a coastal city with a large port for much peninsular influx of culture and Europeans, had a ratio of 10,000 *peninsulares* to 465,000 *indios*. Therefore, land-locked Cuzco was even more populated by natives

⁸⁰ The cultural and political functions of music performance and composition in seventeenth-century Cuzco will further undergo explication in chapter 4.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Baker points to instances where *negros* sometimes served as trumpeters in both Seville and the New World, but their presence was one of an expensive luxury and not frequently incorporated into musicmaking in Cuzco. Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham, England and London: Duke University Press, 2008), 86

(93 percent being Andean as of 1689)⁸³, and the chapelmasters' jobs in San Antonio Abad were of prime importance to the foundation of the Spanish presence there. The priests and various church officials used music to pacify and calm the *indios*, teaching the native servant-workers (*yanaconas*) and the *yndios menestriles* European music,⁸⁴ although the Spaniards did not discourage native music. Native music was, in fact, "incorporated into important civic displays in order to dramatize the colonial social hierarchy."⁸⁵ The Incans used divine ceremonies and fiestas to continue worshipping their own Incan heritage and religions, such as the beatification of Ignatius Loyola in 1610 which likened the new saint to the black Andean eagle called the *curiquenque*.⁸⁶ These types of music would always occur before the entrance of the Catholic processions and festival performances, considered the most important parts of the festival's performances. All these performances took place in various locations around Cuzco. In the case of one such festive day in 1571, the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo⁸⁷ found in his tour of the city and its surroundings musical performances within mock battles outside the city limits, upon his procession to the city's cathedral, and then within Cuzco's cathedral where "a solemn mass with great music and clamor of voices, both of which are highly regarded in this holy church."⁸⁸

⁸³ Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, 4.

⁸⁴ Robert Stevenson, *The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (Washington: Pan American Union, 1959), 94-95.

⁸⁵ Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, 11.

⁸⁶ Stevenson, *The Music of Peru*, 146.

⁸⁷ The Viceroy was the king's "supreme representative in Peru," and his visit was three years following his appointment "to inspect his domain and to impose good government on the Spanish colonists in the former Inka capital." Later in his visit, he supervised the military defeat of Túpac Amaru, the last remaining rebel of the Inkan presence in Cuzco. Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, 17.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 17-19.

Cuzco, the Incan capital before the Spanish colonization of Perú, is located in the southeastern portion of the country, in the middle of other large Spanish colonies like the Peruvian colonies of Trujillo and Lima, and the southeastern Bolivian cities of La Paz and Sucre. Its centrality in the Andean colonies led to Cuzco developing into a “pass-through” city where many composers found themselves over time. Many composers and musicians who frequented San Antonio Abad Seminary traveled to the principal cities that housed churches and shared their music they composed, leading to copies of their works being circulated throughout Cuzco, La Plata, Sucre, and other larger colonial cities of South America.⁸⁹ Cuzco frequently lost many of its chapelmasters to the larger centers of Trujillo and Lima, however, as they were lured away by more lucrative positions.⁹⁰

Two main centers of music (besides the Cathedral and other churches both in and around Cuzco) in the city were the Jesuit Colegio Real de San Bernardo and the San Antonio Abad Seminary (both of whom had a presence in the Cathedral of Cuzco). The Seminary stood for two centuries as a “continental center of ecclesiastical training and cultural dissemination”⁹¹ in Latin America, and was a school primarily for the poorer

⁸⁹ Quezada Machiavello, 147-150.

⁹⁰ The fact that Cuzco lost musicians to other cities is somewhat perplexing. Stevenson mentions Cuzco’s loss of one particular chapelmaster, Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo, who was “the earliest cathedral maestro of real distinction,” to La Plata’s cathedral at the turn of the seventeenth century. Yet, they were able to import a Spanish castrato, Francisco de Otal, in 1618, which evidently cost considerable funds (Stevenson, *The Music of Peru*, 184). Baker consistently writes of Cuzco’s singular position of excellence and musical accomplishment among the colonies and European cathedrals. In addition to Stevenson and Baker’s praises of Cuzco’s musical establishment, Tello writes that the “level of musical development in Cuzco in the seventeenth century” was “at the height of any of the Spanish cathedrals (or of those European ones).” <<*Su sola sobrevivencia pone de relieve uno de los rasgos que nos permiten medir el nivel de desarrollo musical en el Cusco del setecientos: el de la existencia de un conjunto profesional a la altura del de cualquiera de las catedrales españolas (o europeas)*>> Tello, *Música barroca*, 30.

⁹¹ “[U]n centro continental de formación eclesiástica e irradiación cultural.” Quezada Macchiavello, *El legado musical*, 29.

criollos of good families who obtained admission by providing musical services for vocational scholarships to the Seminary. The Jesuit Colegio Real's student body primarily consisted of wealthy *criollo* families' sons.⁹²

Within the various groups of colonial Cuzco, those who were members of various smaller organizations that sponsored festivals (parishes, guilds, and confraternities operating during various feast days and other religious or civic occasions) frequently competed with each other through their civic musical displays and feast day celebrations. The various groups would organize festivals "to emphasize not only group solidarity but also cultural differences between the Andean and Spanish republics."⁹³ Inner conflict within groups (both culturally and literally) was also common, and music played a part in these clashes where groups had the right on certain feast days associated with their organizations to

go out into the streets and plazas on horseback, accompanied by trumpets, shawms, and drums, without their celebrations being impeded by the city authorities or any other residents.⁹⁴

One extreme example of competition in Cuzco between Jesuits and Dominicans⁹⁵ resulted in a musical duet for two sopranos being sung in the streets, singing "Vitor, vitor, q.e ganamos a la Compañía" (Victory, victory, we defeated the company [of Jesus]). These public displays of organizational pride eventually found themselves

⁹² Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, 107-109.

⁹³ Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, 57.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁹⁵ One may glean from this conflict that permeated the relationship between the Colegio Real and the Seminary that "class war" might have played a part in the animosity between the two institutions.

banned, the government having limited public festivities to only Hispanic Holy Catholic observances and festivals.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Baker follows this with an observation that the ban probably only was followed in the confines of Cuzco's city limits since the festivals were so financially lucrative. These smaller, organization-based festivals continued outside outside the city limits of Cuzco, away from the city's immediate colonial presence. *Ibid.*, 59-60.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF *EL MÁS AUGUSTO CAMPEÓN*

The Cultural Metaphors of *El más augusto campeón*

The text of *El más augusto campeón* centers around the struggles of Saint Anthony Abad of Egypt, the founder of Christian monasticism (fl. middle of third century). Before Anthony's self-seclusion in the Egyptian desert, men who practiced asceticism did not leave their homes or their families. He first lived in the city and examined the lives of men who were ascetics, and then he decided to seclude himself for fifteen years in a desert tomb outside of his home village. He then went further into the desert between the Nile River and the Red Sea, and he lived in a fort for 20 years, where various other religious ascetics followed him and lived there outside of the fort. Anthony eventually emerged, appearing not weak and emaciated from fasting, but "vigorous in body and mind."⁹⁷

While not explicit in the translation of *El más augusto campeón's* text, the *villancico* makes significant reference to Anthony's trials in seclusion – an analogy one might then apply to the Spaniards' colonization of South America, having isolated themselves from their homeland and doing "the work of God" in converting the Incans and their civilization into a proper Hispanic, ordered society. This metaphor may also play on the level of the *criollos*, for their New World birth via Hispanic parents set them apart from the *peninsulares* who considered anyone not born in Iberia as inferior. Many of the indigenous Andean hierarchy that emerged later in the Spanish colonization seemed to embrace Hispanic societal conventions, and their participation in the

⁹⁷ Edward Cuthbert Butler, "St. Anthony," The Catholic Encyclopedia Online, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01553d.htm> (accessed 20 May 2009).

performances of European sacred music “was a potent expression of the aspirations of a new native nobility . . . that emerged in the second half of the seventeenth century and sought to construct an honorable Christian identity.”

Considering this work rests in the *criollo*-based San Antonio Abad Seminary, there are more subtexts one might read into the *villancico*'s subject matter. The *villancico*'s prominent use in fiestas allowed a unique opportunity for *criollos* to express their own cultural values through the colonial genre of *villancico*. Reinhard Wendt addresses the idea of local re-identification of ritual in regards to the Spanish colonization of the Philippines.⁹⁸

Fiestas opened up a space for Filipinos to introduce their own cultural practices; they thus subverted the colonial character of fiesta, employing them as a channel to oppose the Spaniards and making them part of the new, post-colonial Filipino identity.

So, one may infer that the *criollos* who participated in the performance of *villancicos*⁹⁹ during fiestas may have thought of their textual content in a different light than that of the *peninsulares*.

Cadential, Harmonic, and Rhythmic-Melodic Features of *El más augusto campeón*

A prominent rhythmic feature found in *El más augusto campeón* is the beginning

⁹⁸ Reinhard Wendt, “Philippine Fiesta And Colonial Culture,” *Philippine Studies* 46

(1998), quoted in Bernardo Illari, “Polychoral Culture: Cathedral Music in La Plata (Bolivia), 1680-1730” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2001), 18.

⁹⁹ Dante Andreo, ed., *Hispanoamerica: música de la época virreinal* (Segovia: Federación Coral de Castilla y León, 1992), 12. Andreo states that “the skill of the Indians in making and playing musical instruments was generally renown and praised.” (*La destreza de los indios para hacer y tañer los instrumentos de música fue generalmente reconocida y elogiada*). Andreo continues by quoting an order by the Catholic Church about the teaching of music which states “as soon as possible, with gentleness and desire, all native children will get up every morning in order to learn doctrine, literacy, and singing.” (*cuanto más presto se pudiere, con suavidad y gusto, se recojan cada mañana los hijos de los indígenas para aprender la doctrina, leer, y cantar*).

of phrases with a rest, a facet of compositional style found in the *seguidillas* of many *villancicos*.¹⁰⁰ Each major section begins with this type of anacrusis figure that then prepares, in many instances, some of the extended hemiola figuration previously discussed. Each *copla* is in triple meter, while the only duple section (excluding the implied duple in the hemiolas) is in the *estribillo*.

A more striking feature in this *villancico* is the composer's extension of hemiola figuration past a typical two-measure regrouping of the rhythmic stress to three, four, even five measures of duple division. This use of extended hemiola occurs almost exclusively in the *coplas* than in the *estribillo*. As a result of this significant difference between the text settings of the *estribillo* and the *coplas*, the *coplas* exhibit a rhythmic quality that further brings to the expressive foreground of the *villancico* the *coplas*. Within this texture, they take on a "plot-like" function which have the effect of rhythmically accentuating the text within the overall text underlay of the *villancico* and drawing the listener into the various virtues and vices the composer illuminates through the *coplas*. The *estribillo*, in turn, shows the "action" of the struggle of Saint Anthony Abad and his ensuing victory. Within this battle, then, the social caste commentary that *El más augusto campeón* depicts becomes an allegory of the *criollos*' ultimate victory over the Spaniards' domination.

Text Painting and Musical Subtext of *El más augusto campeón*

An *introducción* begins *El más augusto campeón*, containing two *coplas* (eight-

¹⁰⁰ Michael Noel Dean, "Renaissance and Baroque Characteristics in Four Choral *Villancicos* of Manuel de Sumaya: Analysis and Performance Editions" (Ph.D. diss., Texas Tech University, May 2002), 121.

syllable lines with a final five-syllable *mudanza*) for solo voice and *guión al harpa*¹⁰¹ (first one for *triple primero* and the second for *tenor primero*) that speak of Saint Anthony's trials in the desert against the devil.¹⁰²:

1. El más augusto campeón
se dispone a la batalla,
que como sol, con sus rayos
ahuyentará a las sombras
que embarazan.
2. En la tebaida, glorioso,
Bien supo hacerse a las armas
Donde campeón fue grande
En que halló mejor lauro
su arrogancia.

*The most illustrious champion
prepares himself for battle,
like the sun, with his rays
will make flee into the shadows
those things which impede.
In the desert, glorious,
he knew well how to arm himself
when the champion was great
in that found greater praise
than his arrogance*¹⁰³

These introductory *coplas* refer to the preparation of Anthony in his rebuttal of assaults from the devil. He is to “prepare himself for battle, like the sun.” Sun worship was prominent in Cusco’s native religions, and this metaphor might have rung familiar in the ears of those either performing or listening to this work.¹⁰⁴ Indians would also recall images of the sacred Atacama Desert as a place which would test any man’s mental or physical constitution, where ancient Indian/Incan topographers drew patterns in the desert since the early times of the Incas.¹⁰⁵

In the *introducción*’s first *copla*, the first phrase consists of two hemiola figures which a brief measure of triple meter partitions, ending in a four-measure melodic

¹⁰¹ This is a continuo instrument prevalent in much of San Antonio Abad’s Baroque repertory.

¹⁰² The devil’s assault on Anthony took the form of visions, either seductive or horrible, experienced by the saint. (This is according to St. Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria.) Catholic Online.

¹⁰³ Spanish text from Tello, 56. The translations of all texts are by the author.

¹⁰⁴ Cusco Online, “Sacsayhuaman, The Royal House of the Sun,”
<http://www.cuscoonline.com/english/cuscossurroundings/index.shtml>.

¹⁰⁵ The Morien Institute, “Mystery on the Desert,” The Morien Institute,
<http://www.morien-institute.org/mariareiche.html>.

descent to the word *embarazan* (m. 15) which evokes the image of the shadows fleeing away.

Example 2: First *copla* of the Introduction

The musical score is titled "Introducción" and is transcribed by Aurelio Tello. It features two parts: "Tiple del Iº Coro Solo" and "Guion al harpa". The score is in 3/4 time and begins with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: "El mas 1º. El más au - gus - to cam - peón se dis - po - nea la ba - ta - lla, que co - mo sol, con sus ra - yos ahu - yen - ta - ráa las som - bras quem - ba - ra - zan, las som - bras quem - ba - ra - zan." The score is divided into four systems, with measure numbers 4, 9, and 14 indicated at the beginning of each system. The first system shows the vocal line and the harp accompaniment. The second system continues the vocal line and harp accompaniment. The third system continues the vocal line and harp accompaniment. The fourth system concludes the first copla with a final cadence.

The text *las sombras que embarazan* receives a double setting at the end of this work, each with different melodic treatment. “The shadows” first descend to an E in the weaker of the two cadences (due to the bass’s half-step ascension to C), whereas the repeat of the text is a foreshadowing of the defeat Saint Anthony will deliver to his foes, the strong fifth movement in the bass and the perfect authentic cadence occurring in the rising vocal line.

The second *copla*'s cadential structure is very different. While one may suggest there are cadential patterns in measures 24 and 27 (on C and A, like the first *copla*), the first complete cadence with text closure and harmonic cadence is at measure 35 (authentic on G) and then at measure 39 (authentic on C) – both on the repeated word, *arrogancia*.

Example 3, Second *copla* of the Introduction

Copla 2^a de la Introducción

Tenor 1

Guión arpa

21 2º. En la te - bai - da, glo - rio - so, bien su - po - ha - cer -

26 sea las ar - mas don - de cam - pe - ón fue gran - de

31 en que ha - lló me - jor lau - ro sua - rro - gan - cia,

36 sua - rro - gan - cia.

The effect of the composer's use of the extended hemiola isolates this word within the *copla*'s composition as a means to underline one of the cardinal sins in the Catholic faith – pride. The setting of the words *su arrogancia* occur largely as the last half of the entire *copla*, possibly connoting *criollo*'s view of the *peninsular* subordination of the *criollos* as the object of “arrogance” which must be “expelled.”

The *estribillo* for four choirs (the bass line being for the *bajón* that was to be also accompanied with *continuo*) and *guión al harpa* is a long battle narrative that extols the warlike imagery that Anthony felt during his trials.

Pues déense la batalla y
virtudes y vicios salgan
a la campaña
que mi general Antonio
es columna tan sagrada
que, en lo fino
de su fe valiente,
todas las de Menfis callan.
¡Guerra, guerra!
Y tocando trompetas,
pífanos, clarines,
timbales y cajas,
¡déense la batalla!

¡Victoria, victoria,
victoria se canta!
Que ya huyen los vicios
de Antonio,
ya rinden las armas,
ya queda el campo por suyo
y yermo de aleves plantas.
¡Victoria, victoria,
victoria se canta!
seguid al alcance
que van de retirada.
No, los sigáis,
no, no, no,
no los sigáis que son vicios
y podrán volver la cara.

*So get to battle and
and virtues and vices depart
to the battlefield
that my general Antonio
is a most holy pillar
that, in the end
from his valiant faith
all of Memphis fall.
War, war!
and sounding trumpets,
fifes, bugles,
kettledrums and drums,
Get to battle!*

*Victory, victory,
Sing victory!
So that vices flee
from Anthony,
that they just lay down their arms,
that they leave the field for their own
and I may ruin their treacherous plans.
Victory, victory
Sing victory!
Follow to their reach
that they go to retreat.
No, do not follow them,
no, no, no,
do not follow them for they are vices
and they can turn against you.*

Que el enemigo huye,
 hacerle puente de plata.
 Y tocando trompetas,
 pífanos, clarines,
 timbales y cajas,
 ¡dénse la batalla!

*Let the enemy flee and
 Make them a bridge of silver.
 and sounding trumpets
 fifes, bugles,
 kettledrums and drums,
 Get to battle!*

It is in the *estribillo* where the musical and textual imagery of the *villancico*'s title, *Villancico de batalla*, emerges. Rhythmically, the *estribillo* begins with *Pues dénse la batalla* in a strict, march-like duple meter beginning at the words *y virtudes y vicios* in the first few measures.

Example 4: Beginning of *Estribillo*

Estribillo

The musical score shows the beginning of the *estribillo* for Coro I and Coro II. It includes parts for Tiple 1, Tenor 1, Tiple 2, Tenor 2, and Bajo 2. The lyrics are: "Dén-se la ba-ta-lla y vir-tu-des y vi-cios sal-gan a" and "Pues dén-se la ba-ta-lla, la ba-ta-lla y vir-tu-des y vi-cios sal-gan a".

The first section is full of echo effects within the entire performing ensemble's texture, which would have a significant impact in a resonant performing space such as a cathedral or a town market square if each choir were to be spaced apart slightly. Each tutti statement of a text – typically that of setting the scene of the battle – receives a punctuation of one of the upper choirs (choirs one or two) which narrate specific events pertaining specifically to Saint Anthony.

The rhythmic figuration of the second *guerra* section of the *estribillo* then repeats

a similar martial style in the instrumental narrative *Y tocando trompetas, pífanos, clarines, timbales y cajas*. Cadences at measures 59 and 66 on F conclude this second section of the *estribillo*. The continuos for each choir and the *guión* play a short interlude featuring bassoons before the choirs return for a three measure statement of *dense la batalla* that cadences to the triple *Victoria* section on C (measure 74).

The *Victoria* section is in triple meter, but its beginning rhythmic texture is continually punctuated with internal hemiola. As with the first section of the *estribillo*, the lower two choirs punctuate and echo the text sung by the upper choirs. The first major *tutti* cadence occurs on G in measure 86, and the first and second choirs begin the second section.

Example 5: Mensuration Change in *Estribillo*

The musical score illustrates a mensuration change from 3/4 to 3/2 at measure 74. It features vocal lines for four choirs and a bass line. The lyrics are 'dén-se la ba-ta-lla. Vic-to-ria, vic-to-ria, vic-to-ria se can-ta.'

The score is divided into two systems. The first system (measures 74-77) shows the vocal lines and bass line. The second system (measures 78-81) shows the vocal lines and bass line. The mensuration change is indicated by a vertical line and the new time signature (3/2) at measure 74.

Up until this section of the *villancico*, the choirs' roles are typical of Illari's and Tello's designs, those being the top two choirs (representative of *peninsulares*) assuming the bulk of the solo narrative of the *villancico*, as evidenced in the two *coplas* of the *introducción*. The choirs' roles change in measures 95-99, however, when the third, lesser choir sings *y yermo de alevos plantas* in three-part polyphony – an as-yet unseen feature of the lower choirs. This undoing of the firmly established hierarchical structure of choirs would resonate as possible struggle within the order of the work and its components – a small ripple of defiance in the polychoral cultural fabric that could underscore a feeling of unrest in the lower choirs. The *criollos* assert their own identity and independence from the *peninsular* ordination of role within the colonial society. The second section of the triple section cadences on C in measure 99, and the full ensemble restates the *Victoria* text which cadences on C in measure 110.

Seguid el alcance heralds even more independence of the standard choral roles for *El más augusto campeón*. To this point in the work, all cadential points have centered around C, F, and G (with D and A cadences being enmeshed in the quickly moving texture of the first *Pues déense la batalla* from measures 55-58), and the aforementioned polychoral colonial structure is firmly in place. The lower two choirs now take over the dominant role of narration as they make the first strong cadences on D (measure 124) and A (measure 126) in the entire *villancico*. The top choir then states *No los sigáis*, as if undone by the newly suggested ordering of choirs and musically calling for a halt in the polychoral insurrection. The tenor of the first choir then continues to sing the final text that introduces the reprise of the instrumental *batalla* texts and responds to the previous upset in the choirs' roles.

*[S]on vicios y podrán volver la cara.
Que al enemigo que huye,
Hacerle puente de plata.¹⁰⁶*

The choir's roles in the final cadence of the *estribillo* now completely reverse at the final cadence, their victory won. The lower two choirs now sing *above* the top choirs, achieving rightful superiority above the other ensembles.

The four *coplas* are for the *guión al harpa* and voices in the following order: first *copla* for *tiple I*, second *copla* for *tiple/tenor II*, third *copla* for *tenor I*, and fourth *copla* for *tiple/alto/tenor/bajo III*. The fourth (lowest) choir does not receive a *copla*.

1. Antonio, Gloria del orbe
da guerra a las sombras vanas
y a pesar de las tinieblas
sus esplendores dilata.

*Anthony, glory of the sphere
make war with the vain shadows
and when you walk in the darkness
your splendors will open it up.*

2. Desvanecido, el querube
corona su ilustre planta,
que es vanidad del vencido
rendirse a gloriosas armas.

*Dizzy, the cherub
crowns your illustrious plan.
that vanity is defeated
rendered helpless by glorious arms.*

3. A sus victorias, primero
con sus pasiones batalla
que en vencer su corazón
logró la mayor hazaña.

*Upon your victories, first
with your passions fight
that in winning your heart
earned the greater prize.*

4. Nuestro general Antón
triunfe con laurel y palma
que al triunfal carro del sol

*Our general Antonio
triumphs with laurel and palm
that on your victorious, fiery
chariot*

las pías serán las almas.

the pious will be the souls.

The first, second, and third *coplas* contain the same cadential points as the introductory *coplas*, yet their bellicose tones are markedly different in terms of range of the voices and the textual content. The *tiple primero*'s range in the first *copla* is extended to F5

¹⁰⁶ The phrase *al enemigo que huye, hacerle puente de plata* is a Spanish proverb that essentially means, "To an enemy that flees, don't stop them from fleeing."

(versus D5 in the first *copla* of the introduction) in a triumphant octave leap as they sing of Antonio's "wonders opening the darkness."

The second *copla*'s duet between the *tiple segundo* and the *tenor segundo* is the first duet outside of the *estribillo* one hears in the entire work. It is similar in range to the other *coplas*' ranges (excluding the tenor's dip down to C3 in measure 187). The duet nature of the *copla*'s setting allows the composer to bring the voices out of the entire musical texture and prepare the first two cadences with suspensions between the *tiple* and *tenor*. The two cadences and their contrapuntal exchange highlight the texts *ilustre planta* and *gloriosas armas*, the two devices of Saint Anthony's victory in the desert against the vices he endured. This summary of his victory might be an internal reflection upon the entire *villancico*'s compositional plan to "overthrow" the upper choirs' superiority and assert the *criollos*' standing in the Cuzco culture.

The third *copla* is also extended in range for the *tenor I* (to F4) with cadences on C, A, and G. His text is one that proudly recalls the battle and defeat over the vices and temptations in the desert through one's passions felt in the heart. The *tenor's copla* is a conclusion to the upper two choirs' responses of the battle fought, and shows not as the most important and ending performing force in the work, but second to the third choir's final *copla*.

The fourth *copla*, sung by the third choir, is an artistic statement of victory over the other choirs by using the laurel and palm, symbols found in Petrarch and other writings used in denoting victory. The homophonic statements in this *copla* are punctuated by suspension-prepared cadences with the voices singing in their middle or

upper-middle ranges, particularly the *tiplé* 3 who sings at the highest pitch set in the entire score. Hemiola figures prominently throughout the *copla*.

CHAPTER 5

FURTHER POINTS OF STUDY AND CONCLUSION

Performance Practice

In performing *El más augusto campeón*, the information available regarding San Antonio Abad's church music forces suggests the top two choirs would consist of one singer per part, with the lower two *ripieno*-like choirs having typical *seises* (boy singers) singing the *triple* parts and older male students singing the alto and tenor parts.¹⁰⁷ The *baxo* (bass) parts in each of the bottom three choirs and the main *continuo* part each have their own *continuo*, with the fourth choir's *baxo* scored for organ.¹⁰⁸ The bass part of choirs in Latin America were frequently not sung, but rested in the hands of curial or organ players.¹⁰⁹

Tempo was primarily dependent on the theme of the particular occasion. Illari states that in regard to tempo,

[T]he pace of the performances was regulated by the solemnity of the feasts: the more solemn the celebration, the slower the tempo . . . The Constitutions state the rule only in relation to Prime and Terce, which had to be sung "with greater or lesser pause or solemnity, according to the Feast" (fo. 8v: *con maior, ô menor pausa, ô solemnidad segun lo demanda la Fiesta*).

Yet given that the same rule appears in cathedral and monastic regulations throughout Spain, we can assume that it was applied to every sung service without exception.

Therefore, the tempo of a *villancico de batalla* would likely be one of a quicker fashion.

¹⁰⁷ Bernardo Illari states that the first choir of musicians in any polychoral *villancico* would have likely been the best singers a church employed. Illari, *Polychoral Culture*, 53.

¹⁰⁸ The Exaudi Choir of Havana and Soloists (recorded November 1998 to May 1999) uses, harpsichord, organ (in the *estribillo* only), and contrabass for the continuo realization of this performance of *El más augusto campeón*, instruments that were available to the singers in 17th century Cuzco. While the group uses bassoon for the continuo of the *coplas*, there is no record in any of the sources for this document that bassoons would have been used in Cuzco, particularly in the San Antonio Abad Seminary. The recording is listed in the bibliography.

¹⁰⁹ Illari, *Polychoral Culture*, 82.

The relationship between the initial tempo and the ensuing alternations of the remaining *coplas* and the *estribillo* is linked to the mensural notation used in its composition as discussed in Chapter 3. Since an indication of *sesquialtera* appears in the score, keeping the semibreve constant (the quarter note, in the case of modern notation) would dictate the tempo relationships between the binary and ternary sections.

Aurelio Tello suggests that each choir of *El más augusto campeón* plays a unique role. The top choir's main role is of narrator, carrying every portion of the text and often introducing it for the other choirs to follow in imitation. The first choir consists solely of *triple* and tenor. It is also notable that the top choir is the only one without *bajo* notated and whose parts carry more music than any other. This exposed design may suggest the choir's narrative and superior role in the whole *villancico*. Overall, the lower choirs introduce no new text in the work, and their texture is almost always homophonic, except for the two exceptions mentioned in the previous chapter that rupture the order set out by the composer.

Score of *El más augusto campeón*

In Tello's edition, there is no indication to sing the *estribillo* at the conclusion of each *copla*, except in the final *copla*. Within the typical poetic structure of the *villancico* genre, the nature of the *estribillo* is to repeat, and Illari's analysis of *villancico* sources speak to the performance of the *estribillo* after every *copla*:

No explicit sign singles out these sections as refrains, but the silence of the sources may indicate the very conventionality of the procedure, rather than any

intention of the composer. In fact, the anticlimactic effect of the (usually solo) *coplas* seems to cry for a repetition of the *estribillo*, in full or in part.¹¹⁰

Alongside the *estribillo*'s lack of repeat notated in the score is the realized continuo he provides. While Aurelio Tello's editions surely are seminal in the awareness of Latin American musical scholarship, his edition contains realized continuo in a rather pianistic style. The formulation of a clean edition with figured bass would be useful as a performance score. In addition to the figured bass, one might include specific notes regarding the suggested voicing of each of the four ensembles the composer scored in the *villancico*, the repeat of the *estribillo* after each of the concluding *coplas*, and other performance-related notes that would aid in a more historically informed performance.¹¹¹

Attribution to a Contemporary Composer

A looming question that surfaces immediately regarding this analysis of *El más augusto campeón* is the lack of attribution to a composer. As discussed previously, a probable range of its composition is early to mid-seventeenth century, but this could have been done by any number of composers who travelled through Cuzco. In some of the cadences and melodic writing, one may find similarities to one of the most famous composers of this region and period, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco (1644-1728).

Torrejón worked primarily in the Cathedral of Lima as *maestro de capilla* from 1676 until his death, and exerted a significant influence on many of the composers of this period in

¹¹⁰ Illari states that while the *estribillo* has "monopolized the attention" of many scholars, it is the *copla* that carries the most poetic and musically representative of the Spanish style. Illari, "Polychoral Culture," 165-6.

¹¹¹ Notes on standard instrumentation found at the Seminary, possible options for continuo instruments regarding the *bajón* and the *guión al harpa* would be useful items for a performing edition.

Latin America.¹¹² Torrejón's use of extended cadential hemiola is a particular feature that relates to some of the *coplas* of *El más augusto campeón*, as seen in the figures below from Torrejón's opera *La púrpura de la rosa* and the first *copla* of the *introducción*:

Example 6: Excerpt from *La púrpura de la rosa*,¹¹³ Scene 1



[Flo.]
la her - mo - su ra ven - ce más que no el ar - pón!

Ac.

Example 7: Excerpt from *El más augusto campeón*, *introducción copla*



9
sol, con sus ra - yos ahu - yen - ta - ráa las som - bras

6

14
queem - ba - ra - zan, las som - bras queem - ba - ra - zan.

14

¹¹² Quezada Macchiavello cites him as “the most important and influential composer of his time in Hispanic America” (*el compositor más importante e influyente de su tiempo en Hispanoamérica*). Quezada Macchiavello, *El legado musical*, 150.

¹¹³ Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, *La púrpura de la rosa*, ed. Bernardo Illari (n.p: 2004), page 1-2.

The treatment of the voices and the extended hemiola, however, are not firm proof of Torrejón's hand and may be solely the style that the anonymous composer would have known and implemented in Latin America through knowledge of Torrejón's widely disseminated works.

Conclusion: The *Villancico* and Its Role in Cultural Identity in Latin America

One of the more poignant questions of Cuzco's colonial history which surfaces in Baker's *Imposing Harmony* is "Where are the Indians?" While 93 percent of the diocese's population was Andean, with just 6.5 percent of white or *mestizo* background, the Spaniards managed to keep control over the population by retaining much of the Incan hierarchy and social strata by assimilating it into the colonial caste structure.¹¹⁴ Therefore, it was a natural development that the polychoral *villancico*, with its malleable structure and frequent use of popular or local elements throughout its development, was to become a mode of cultural expression and new founding of cultural identity for *criollos* and other New World populations that, either outwardly or not, struggled to define themselves in the colonial structure. Cuzco, "the head of kingdoms of Peru,"¹¹⁵ retained its status as the prime capital of Peru, even though Lima was the recognized as the capital of Peru by the viceroyalty.¹¹⁶ With the many voices present in *El más augusto campeón*, one might extend its subtext of cultural identity to the Incan population as being the fourth choir, hence adding another level of interpretation of

¹¹⁴ Baker echoes Valerie Fraser's question in her book *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru 1535-1635*. Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, 4.

¹¹⁵ Carolyn Dean, "Painted Images of Cuzco's Corpus Christi: Social Conflict and Cultural Strategy in Viceregal Peru" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1999), 24; quoted in Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, 4.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

cultural identity to this *villancico de batalla*. The three upper choirs further signal their dominance over the “lowest” choir, and the Spanish harmony that the continuo contains exerts its guiding role as supreme arbiter of order as the foundation of the entire work. While the harmony and polyphony that the Spanish brought to the New World seems to have taken hold as evidenced by the overwhelming compositional and performance activity in the churches of colonial South America, the prominence of hemiola in *El más agosto campeón* may act as a sort of rhythmic “resistance” of the *criollos* to the harmonic, tone-based control the harmonic plan of the *peninsulares* and their attempt to culturally and musically dominate the colonial structure.

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