SANTA EULALIA M. MD. 7: A CRITICAL EDITION AND STUDY OF
SACRED PART MUSIC FROM COLONIAL NORTHWESTERN GUATEMALA

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
North Texas State University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

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By

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Master of Music (Musicology), May, 1981, 226 pages, 3 tables, 22 photographic plates, 21 figures, bibliography, 87 titles.

*Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7*, dated January 20, 1600, is part of the San Miguel Acatán Repertory, which originated in the northwestern highlands of Guatemala and is presently owned by the Lilly Library of Indiana University. The manuscript contains thirty-four four-part songs and dances, two thirds of which are villancicos for Christmas, Easter, the Eucharist, and the feasts of All Saints and St. Michael. The remaining third consists of Latin biblical texts in either fabordón or contrapuntal settings, three pieces with Náhuatl texts, and an instrumental pavana.

The thesis contains a modern edition of *Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7* with critical notes and commentary, a comparison of the pieces with villancicos and fabordones of European origin, and a survey of several aspects of Mayan culture.
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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The San Miguel Acatán Repertory

The Lilly Library of Indiana University owns a group of late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Guatemalan music manuscripts consisting of thirteen bound volumes and two fragments. They were copied for use in the villages of Santa Eulalia, San Juan Ixcoy, and San Mateo Ixtatán in the Department of Huehuetenango in northwest Guatemala. All are still encased in their original deerskin bindings, and some even have the hair remaining on the hide. The first nine of these manuscripts were designated by Robert Stevenson as the San Miguel Acatán Repertory after the name of the village in Huehuetenango where they were assembled in 1963 by two Maryknoll fathers, Edward F. Moore and Daniel P. Jensen.

The manuscripts have become known through Stevenson's writings by the names of the villages from which they were gathered. Since the first seven originated in Santa Eulalia, they were further identified by the Fathers with the sigla M. Md. ___. Hence the manuscript which is the basis of this study is referred to as Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7 or simply as M. Md. 7. A complete list of the manuscripts can be found in Table I.

1. Information is from photocopy of Lilly catalog cards.
Stevenson inventoried these nine choirbooks in his catalog, *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas*, and according to him, the earliest composers in the manuscripts whose activities can be traced in Spain are Johannes Urrede, Alonso de Avila, Francisco de Peñalosa, Pedro de Escobar, Juan García de Basurto, Diego Fernández, Matheo Fernández, Cristóbal de Morales, and Pedro de Pastrana. The earliest Flemings include "Xosquin," Heinrich Isaac, Jean Mouton, and Loyset Compère.

In addition to these polyphonic codices, Maryknoll missioners gathered from the villages surrounding San Miguel Acatán numerous printed liturgical books and plainchant manuscripts for safekeeping. Among the printed materials gathered at San Miguel Acatán are a Venetian *Processionarium secundum ritum et morem fratrum predicatorium* printed by Antonio Junta in 1545 and purchased in 1561 by the alcalde (chief local executive) of San Juan Ixcoy; two missals printed in 1545 and 1550 and purchased soon after the *Processionarium*; and Pedro de Ocharte's *Psalterium Chorale secundum consuetudinem sancti Domini* printed at Mexico City in 1563.

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3. *Ibid.*, 55-62. Due to his combining *Santa Eulalia M. Md. 5* and *M. Md. 6* in the catalog, Stevenson refers to the nine manuscripts as being "eight choirbooks" (p. 55, *Renaissance and Baroque*). The leaves of these two manuscripts were numbered consecutively, with *M. Md. 6* beginning at f. 33r of *M. Md. 5* (p. 60, *Renaissance and Baroque*). However, *M. Md. 6* is mentioned as a separate manuscript with different foliation on p. 51 of the catalog.


The earliest date in any of the hand-copied plainsong books in the San Miguel Acatán collection seems to be the year 1570, which appears as part of a Spanish inscription in the back of a 200-leaf mutilated gradual.\(^7\) This item is not owned by Lilly Library.\(^8\)

According to their flyleaves, *Santa Eulalia* Codices *M. Md. 1* and 2 are the earliest dated of the polyphonic manuscripts.\(^9\) Both were copied and signed in 1582 by Francisco de León, who referred to himself on the title page of *M. Md. 1* as "maestro deste pueblo De sancta olaya" [Santa Eulalia].\(^10\) Codices *M. Md. 5* and 7 bear the signature of another local *maestro de capilla* Tomás Pascual, a native Indian,\(^11\) who may have been a pupil of de León.\(^12\) Pascual was active as maestro in San Juan Ixcoy between 1595 and 1635.\(^13\)

*Santa Eulalia M. G. 5*, dated August 14, 1635, is an antiphonary\(^14\) which is not inventoried in Stevenson's catalog,\(^15\) but Santa

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\(^7\) Ibid., 349-51.


\(^10\) Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque*, 57.


\(^12\) Stevenson, "European Music," 351.

\(^13\) Stevenson, *Aztec and Inca*, 206.

\(^14\) Lilly catalog cards.

\(^15\) Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque*, p. 63, n. 8. Although Stevenson did not inventory *Santa Eulalia M. G. 5*, he did discuss its inscription. There has been some confusion concerning *Santa Eulalia M. G. 5* (= *Lilly No. 13*) due to a difference in foliation by Robert Stevenson, Lilly
Eulalia M. Md. 7 is included on pp. 58-59. At folio 11r of the manuscript, Pascual inserted a paragraph in Nahuatl, the trade language of northern Guatemala during the Conquest century\(^\text{16}\) (Figure 4). Here he described the manuscript as "a collection of original coplas and villancicos completed January 20, 1600, for use at San Juan Ixcoy, where he was maestro de capilla."\(^\text{17}\)

The predominant language of the Lilly manuscripts is Latin, often corrupt, but at least two-thirds of them contain texts and inscriptions in Spanish, Nahuatl, or one of a variety of local Indian languages—in all, at least six. Throughout are to be found songs in Chuj, Kanjobal and Jaltec,\(^\text{18}\) and phrases and inscriptions in Cakchikel, Quiché and corrupt Nahuatl.\(^\text{19}\)

In addition to liturgical music, and sacred music in languages other than Latin, the San Miguel Acatán Repertory also includes dance music, with and without texts, which has secular origins. For example, M. Md. 7 contains several villancicos which are designed for dancing at church festivals. Instrumental dances without text can be found in M. Md. 7 (Figure 10), and in M. Md. 2, as well as in the manuscripts

Library, and Paul Borg. In his thesis (pp. 4-6) Borg wrote that Stevenson's information concerning Santa Eulalia M. G. 5 did not coincide with the contents of any of the Lilly Library manuscripts, but has later acknowledged (letter dated 24 March, 1980) that the signature, inscription and date in Lilly No. 13 are the same as those described by Stevenson as being located in Santa Eulalia M. G. 5.

17. Stevenson, Renaissance and Baroque, 51.
18. Ibid.
19. Lilly catalog cards.
San Juan Ixcoy, and San Mateo Ixtatán. When cataloging these instrumental dances, Robert Stevenson proclaimed them "the only purely secular music thus far discovered in any sixteenth-century Guatemalan manuscripts." Further secular pieces were identified by Stevenson as French chansons which had been contrafacted for use in the San Mateo Ixtatán manuscript.

A brief discussion of the codices owned by Lilly Library that are not included in Stevenson's inventory can be found on pp. 4 and 6 of Paul Borg's thesis. Throughout the thesis he gives the codices the same numbers as does Lilly Library, but precedes them with "Bloomington" or "Manuscript" rather than "Lilly." (See Table I for coordination of designations given to the codices by the Maryknoll Fathers, the Lilly Library, and by Paul Borg.)

Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7 is a collection of thirty-four four-part songs and dances. The majority of the pieces in this manuscript are villancicos and most of them are thought to have been written by Tomás Pascual, who dedicated them to the Archangel Michael (Figure 4). The villancicos fill approximately two-thirds of the manuscript. The remaining third consists of Latin biblical texts in either fabordón (Figure 11) or contrapuntal settings (Figure 7), three pieces with Náhuatl texts (Figures 13, 14), the instrumental dance piece previously mentioned, three pages with inscriptions, and several unidentified fragments of music.

20. Stevenson, Renaissance and Baroque, 52.
21. Ibid., 61.
23. Stevenson, Renaissance and Baroque, 58.
<table>
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*These were the original numbers assigned to ten of the manuscripts by Fathers Jensen and Moore. They were also used by Robert Stevenson in *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas*.

**These numbers were assigned to the manuscripts by Lilly Library. Their complete catalog title is *Latin American Mss. Guatemala, Music Mss. Nos. 1-15*.

***These manuscript numbers were assigned by Paul Borg in his thesis, *The European Repertoire of the Guatemalan Music Ms. No. 8 in the Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana*. 
In order to give some idea of Pascual's duties at San Juan Ixcoy, I refer to a general description given by Thomas Gage, an English Dominican friar who traveled in Guatemala during Pascual's lifetime. Gage observed that the maestro de capilla in Guatemalan Indian villages was called the fiscal, and was the priest's officer over the singers, trumpets, and waits. The fiscal was able to read and write, executed justice, and taught Christian doctrine to the young youths and maids of the village at the church before and after services. He directed the musicians at morning and evening Mass in their use of organs and other musical instruments, attended important visitors with waits and trumpets, and prepared arches with boughs and flowers for their arrival. He attended the priest, carried out his errands, and had more influence in the town than the mayors, jurats, and other officers of justice. He was exempt from the service of the Spaniards, from carrying burdens, and from acting as a guide for travelers. According to Robert Stevenson, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Indian villages of southern Mexico and Guatemala conferred more power and prestige on the leading local musician than has ever been allowed by the social and political system at any other time in American history. The authority of the colonial maestro de capilla was inherited throughout the Mayan area from the pre-conquest holpop, who was the principal musician of the village and a greatly venerated man.

25. Ibid., 230-231.
The Republic of Guatemala is divided into twenty-two departamentos, units which are the largest political divisions within the republic and equivalent to states in other countries. The smallest political unit within a departamento is the municipio, which is similar to what we think of as a township. Each municipio is made up of a pueblo (village which is the capital of the municipio) and one or more aldeas (rural hamlet-like settlements). The governmental capital of both a departamento and a municipio is known as a cabecera. But, where the cabecera of a municipio is often named after the municipio, the cabecera of a departamento frequently does not share the name of the departamento. However, in the Department of Huehuetenango, in which the villages associated with Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7 are located, the tradition of synonymous naming is followed.

The Department of Huehuetenango, located on the Mexican border in northwestern Guatemala, has an area of 2,859 square miles, which is divided among thirty-one municipios. Within this departamento is found a portion of the main Andean mountain range known as the Cuchumatanes Highlands or Los Altos Cuchumatanes, which are considered to be the highest and most rugged mountains of all Central America (Plates 1-4). With their main ridge running roughly southeast-northwest, the mountains usually have altitudes of 4,500 to 8,500 feet above sea level,


but there are some peaks which rise to almost 12,000 feet. It is rare to find level spots larger than an acre or two on these ravine-filled steep mountain sides. There are two seasons in the Cuchumatán area: a dry summer season lasting from November through April, and a wet winter season during the remainder of the year. As is characteristic of tropical highlands climates, the temperature varies more with the altitude than with the season, plunging to 32°F or below in the heights and rising to 90°F in protected valleys. The mean temperature for altitudes of 6,000 to 8,000 feet is 50°F - 65°F.30

As of 1950, 73.3% of the 200,101 inhabitants in the Department of Huehuetenango were Indians,31 with the remainder of the population consisting of Ladinos. The distinction between Indians and Ladinos is cultural rather than physical. The name Ladino represents non-Indian people of Spanish culture, often with a mixture of Spanish and Indian blood. Ladinos speak Spanish, have Spanish surnames, wear shoes and clothing in the European style, are usually literate, live in houses with windows (Plate 5), and have a higher standard of living than do most Indians. Indians are the pure-blooded descendants of the people of pre-Columbian Guatemala. They speak Indian languages, wear Indian costumes, have Indian surnames, and live according to traditional Indian customs.32 Europeans, Negroes, and even Indians who adopt the dress

31. Moore, op. cit., 72. Other population statistics given in this paper are also from 1950.
and mannerisms associated with western culture can be loosely classified as Ladinos. When an Indian takes on characteristics associated with Spanish cultural traits, he is said to be ladinized.33

Distinct variance in religion and political organization exists among the highland municipios. In addition to having their own patron saint (Plates 6-8) and costume (Plates 5-15), the people of each municipio often have their own tradition of origin.34 The inhabitants of each municipio share a common tribal name and are "a people' distinct from all others, even those speaking a mutually intelligible dialect."35 Considerable variation on specialization of custom occurs from one municipio to another, and the Indians are conscious of these differences along with even minor dialectal differences.36 Therefore, a different and relatively independent social organization exists in each municipio.37

The natives of the highlands all speak languages of the Kanjobal group, with the exception of the two Mames municipios of San Martín Cuchumatán (for which the area is named) and Todos Santos. The Kanjobal group is "divided into two languages, Kanjobal and Chuj, with Jalteca as a major dialect of the former."38 San Juan Ixcoy, Santa Eulalia, and San Miguel Acatán Indians all speak the Kanjobal language, while Chuj is

33. Moore, op. cit., 83.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
38. La Farge, op. cit., vi-vii.
spoken in San Mateo Ixtatán. Each municipio has minor variations when the same basic language is involved. For example, the language of San Miguel Acatán is basically true Kanhobal with Jaltecan influences. ²³⁹

Municipios vary in size from thirty to 1,000 square miles. ²⁴⁰ Those in the highlands are smaller in area and larger in population than those of the lowlands. ²⁴¹ San Juan Ixcoy, with 5,310 inhabitants, ²⁴² is one of the more densely populated municipios. ²⁴³ It is in the east central part of the departamento, with its cabecera located on the road north from Huehuetenango (the capital city of the departamento) a distance of twenty-one miles (Figure 1). Its main products are corn, wheat, beans, potatoes, and woolen shirts and robes. ²⁴⁴ In 1898 the Indians of San Juan Ixcoy, in an attempt to prevent further immigration into their municipio, ²⁴⁵ massacred those Ladinos who were already living there. The government retaliated by exterminating the inhabitants of the village, and it has been only recently, with the construction of a new highway to the departmental cabecera, that new life has come to the region. The pueblo has an old church which has been repaired several times (Plate 16). ²⁴⁶

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²³⁹ Ibid., vii.
²⁴⁰ Moore, op. cit., 99.
²⁴² Moore, op. cit., 138.
²⁴³ Adrian Recinos, Monografía del Departamento de Huehuetenango (Guatemala, 1954), 361.
²⁴⁴ Moore, loc. cit.
²⁴⁵ La Farge, op. cit., xii.
²⁴⁶ Recinos, op. cit., 363-64.
Thirty-five miles north of Huehuetenango is San Mateo Ixtatán, one of the most extensive municipios of the departamento (Figure 1). It lies astride a high ridge near the head of the Ixquisís River Valley in the northern Cuchumatanes at an altitude of 8,540 feet with a population of 7,835. Salt production, sheep raising, wool, and wheat provide the main means of livelihood of the inhabitants. This Chuj-speaking area is divided into three municipios, all of which treat San Mateo Ixtatán as their central village and show ceremonial dependence upon it. The parish church is very old, and by its architecture and present condition appears to be one of the first that was constructed in this area during the colonial epoch (Plates 17, 18). Early in the present century, the San Mateo Ixtatán Indians came close to perfecting an uprising similar to the 1898 San Juan Ixcoy massacre previously described.

Between San Juan Ixcoy and San Mateo Ixtatán is Santa Eulalia, which is about twenty-seven miles north of Huehuetenango (Figure 1). This municipio sits at an altitude of 8,300 feet on a westward-facing shoulder of the main north-south Cuchumatán ridge. As late as 1959,

47. Moore, op. cit., 141.
49. La Farge, op. cit., viii.
50. Moore, loc. cit.
51. La Farge, loc. cit.
52. Recinos, op. cit., 375.
53. La Farge, op. cit., xii.
54. Ibid., 3.
the cabecera was not accessible by road.  \(^{55}\) The population of the municipio is 8,273, and crops of corn, wheat, beans, and potatoes are produced in the area.  \(^{56}\) Santa Eulalia was originally much larger than it is at present, but in 1889 and 1900, two other municipios were shorn from it by request of the Ladinos, who wished to develop that territory. The Indians of the two newer municipios are still considered part of the Santa Eulalia tribe, and they think of Santa Eulalia as their ceremonial and commercial capital.  \(^{57}\) The parish church was constructed in 1884 (Plates 9, 10, 19).  \(^{58}\)

Of special interest in this municipio are the many deep caverns and caves which produce a thundering roar when the wind blows violently.  \(^{59}\) In the early twentieth century, a governor of the departamento entered Santa Eulalia's sacred cave of Yalan Na' and removed from it a collection of ancient idols which he took to Huehuetenango and dispersed, much to the horror and dismay of the Indians.  \(^{60}\) Highlands natives believe that the spirits of their young people leave them and go to this sacred cave twenty-five days before the Mayan religious new year and return twenty days later. Adult spirits are believed to visit the cave during the last five days before the new year.  \(^{61}\)

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57. La Farge, \textit{op. cit.}, 3, 4.


59. Recinos, \textit{op. cit.}, 368.

60. La Farge, \textit{op. cit.}, 5.

San Miguel Acatán is one of the most heavily populated zones of the Department of Huehuetenango. Its cabecera is also on a western slope of the mountains, twenty-nine miles northwest of the capital city of the departamento (Figure 1). The elevation here is 6,020 feet above sea level. The municipio's 10,446 inhabitants subsist by making hats and ropes, milling flour, and mining lead. They are dispersed over a wide area, occupying the pueblo center and seven surrounding aldeas. On the eastern side of the pueblo's plaza rises an old church and convent annex, built by the Fathers of the Mercedarian Order and recently reconstructed by the Fathers of the Maryknoll society, which administers the parish (Plate 11). Ethnological field work was done in San Miguel Acatán for ten months during 1938-1939 by Morris Siegel of Columbia University. He later wrote that conditions there were representative of most Guatemalan villages at that time, and on this basis I shall relate his description of San Miguel Acatán's pueblo center and outlying area as an example of the similar organization of San Juan Ixcoy, San Mateo Ixtatán, and Santa Eulalia.

Besides the church, which was previously described, the pueblo center had a school house, jail, and courthouse (Plate 12) around its


63. Moore, op. cit., 141.

64. Morris Siegel, "Resistances to Culture Change in Western Guatemala," Sociology and Social Research XXV (September 1940-August 1941), 416.


67. La Farge, op. cit., xv, 3. See also Wagley, "Economics," 8.
plaza, with a fountain in the middle for drawing water (Plate 13). This pueblo center was the focal point of civil administration and the scene of most economic, social, and religious activities (Plates 9, 10, 13, 16, 22). Most of the houses in the pueblo center belonged to Ladinos. The majority of the Indians lived near their fields as did their ancient ancestors. The Indian's single-room, rectangular house was made of adobe bricks with a slanting thatched roof and an earthen floor (Plates 2, 5-7, 12, 21). Cooking and heating were done on an open hearth that was placed in the center or to one side of the room. Furnishings consisted of two or three tiny chairs, and some plank beds.

Religion and Government in the Cuchumatán Region

Great similarity in local government and religion has also been witnessed in highlands Indian villages, even though small differences make each municipio an individual society. These similarities can be seen through a glance at the history of the Cuchumatán region.

During the Period of Conquest (1524-1600) the violent clashes between the Spanish and Mayan Indian cultures led to the decline of the Indian way of life. Immediately after the Conquest, probably by mid-sixteenth century, the Indians of the Kanbal-speaking group seem to

68. Siegel, "Resistances," 416.
69. Wagley, loc. cit.
70. Siegel, "Resistances," 417.
have been organized into six major villages: San Juan Ixcoy, San Mateo Ixtatán, Santa Eulalia, San Miguel Acatán, Soloma, and Jacaltenango. They were divided into two Parishes of the Mercedarian Order, Soloma and Jacaltenango (Plate 22). With the exception of Jacaltenango, these six main villages are associated with pre-Conquest ruins of some importance. In these "outlying Indian districts European music played a paramount role in the evangelization of the indigenous population," as is evidenced by the earlier description of the San Miguel Acatán Repertory's contents.

From the beginning, the indigenes flocked eagerly to learn everything possible concerning European music—so much that intricacies in the . . . repertory such as the combined $\Phi$, C, and $\breve{\epsilon}$ mensurations in Isaac's O pæclara Mass clearly gave them the delights of a puzzle. To say that they themselves did not marvel at Mouton and Morales is to deny the evidence showing that these very books were eagerly shared with maestros from Soloma to Chiantla. To claim that this repertory did not join with their native-language coplas and villancicos to become their most prized personal possession is to overlook the frequent petitions of cofangas [religious cofraternities] until the end of the colony that choirs be in no way abated, and that even hours in small parish churches be sung polyphonically and with as full solemnity as the village could muster.

Sufficient literary data survives from such travelers as Thomas Gage to confirm the Guatemalan Indians' avid interest in European music, even without the evidence of these codices.

72. La Farge, op. cit., viii, xi.


74. Ibid., 352.

During the colonial period, the church was almost entirely responsible for educational programs. Along with training in arts and crafts, the clergy gave instruction in the catechism. To the children of Spaniards and sons of principal Indians of the villages they offered instruction in reading, writing, and other rudiments of knowledge. Before the middle of the sixteenth century, monks were teaching Latin in Guatemala, considering it to be the foundation of all education.76

With the suppression of Indian traits and absorption of Spanish traits during the Conquest, the Indian culture began its evolution toward a culture which Oliver La Farge has labeled "Recent Indian." In a report concerning his 1932 field work in Santa Eulalia, he writes that the church became less powerful and the control of the centralized government became more lax after the initial Conquest years.77 The church lost even more power shortly after the time of Guatemala's independence from Spain in 1817, when it "became involved in politics and eventually lost, with subsequent curtailment of its power, its right to hold property, its authority to make unrestricted appointments, and its right to manage its own affairs."78 As soon as the Catholic Church began to diminish in power, the Indians began to revive their aboriginal practices.79 The religion that evolved during the succeeding three centuries was a distinctively new one, with a fusion of Catholic

76. Nathan L. Whetten, Guatemala; The Land and the People (New Haven, 1961), 259.
77. La Farge, op. cit., xi, xv.
78. Whetten, op. cit., 305.
and ancient Mayan elements. 80 Here Christianity and paganism became so thoroughly blended together that one element could not be separated from the other. The integration was so complete that the natives did not realize that their religion stemmed from two different sources. 81 They worshiped a sort of pantheon which consisted of God, several mysterious supernatural beings, and a number of saints. Every religious festival was celebrated with heavy drinking, mourning for the dead, loud wailing over past misfortunes, and dancing to the music of marimbas. 82 The Indians had "not the faintest idea of any conflict between the most purely Mayan religious practice and the most orthodox Catholicism." 83 Each municipio had its own local adaptation of this hybrid religion, using its own set of legends, myths, prayers, supernaturals, and special formulae for appeasing the gods. 84

Differing from the community religion were the special cults practiced by family units. Also important to these Indians was divination, which played a large part in social, economic, medical, and religious problems and decisions. The natives dreaded sorcery, to which they attributed all illnesses, misfortunes and untimely deaths, and practiced Nagualism with the belief that every individual had a spirit-counterpart that lived in an animal whose fate was inseparably united with that of

80. Siegel, "Religion," 64.
81. Whetten, op. cit., 287.
82. Siegel, "Resistances," 419.
83. La Farge, op. cit., 79.
84. Whetten, loc. cit.
There was a vigorous survival of parts of the Mayan ceremonial calendar with simultaneous use of the Gregorian 365-day calendar for fixing of the Christian festivals and installation of civil and religious officers. This syncretism of aboriginal and imported religious elements has been given the name of "Folk Catholicism." Closely interwoven with "Folk Catholicism" is the local government structure of the municipios. June Nash, whose field work in the western highlands was during 1953-1954 and 1956, explains the system as follows:

... Throughout the region is found the ranked hierarchy of civil and religious offices. Aided by their families, all townsmen are expected to hold a series of positions within the official hierarchy of their township. As an individual advances in his career the offices that he holds become progressively more responsible and deserving of respect [Plate 12]. In this manner the communities provide for the upkeep of their churches and other public facilities, for the enforcement of law, the care of saints' images, and the performance of rites appropriate to the ritual calendar.


86. La Farge, op. cit., 163, 165.


As the hold of the Catholic Church was weakened, so was its contact with the mountain villages, to the point that the only formal tie consisted of biannual visits of a priest to the villages to participate in the celebration of Corpus Christi and perform baptismal rites. Around 1920 the Diocese of Los Altos, which contains the Parishes of Soloma and Jacaltenango, was merged with the Diocese of Guatemala City, and until its restoration in 1931, there was no resident priest at all in the highlands. During this long period of minimal contact with the church, and especially during the time when there was no resident priest, most religious functions were conducted by officers of the hierarchy. The catechism and mass were unimportant, and confession unknown. Marriages were performed according to aboriginal tradition, rather than that of the church. Burials were directed by cantores, Indian men who had learned Latin chants by rote from their predecessors. The person in the hierarchy with qualifications closest to those of a priest was the Maestro Cantor, who had the ability to write and to lead the cantores in chants for the wakes and burial processions.

During this period of separation from the church the different codices and liturgical books of the San Miguel Acatán Repertory were guarded in locked cupboards in their respective villages by chimanes

89. Siegel, "Resistances," 419.
90. La Farge, op. cit., xii, 79.
91. Wagley, Economics, 16.
92. La Farge, op. cit., 82.
(soothsayers, sorcerers, and healers), who took them out for only the most important festivals. In his article entitled "European Music in 16th-Century Guatemala," Robert Stevenson tells us that

... enough evidence is now at hand to give Guatemala a proud place beside Mexico and Peru in the annals of Renaissance music. Ironically, it has been pure-blooded Indians in Guatemala rather than ladinos and descendants of conquistadores who most scrupulously respected the treasure of European Renaissance music brought over by Dominican colleagues of Las Casas. ... Seen in this light, the effort of some present-day folklorists to dichotomize the indigenous Guatemalan heritage and the European tradition, and to pit them against each other as irreconcilable opposites, betrays history. ... Finally, to contend that the Indians did not continue honoring this repertory three centuries after the native maestros de capilla created and copied it is to forget that we today hail the preservation of this musical treasure in so remote and unheard-of a hamlet as San Miguel Acatán because their descendants continued for generations to secrete the books as talismans of an unutterably precious past.93

The religious wing of the hierarchy was organized into several cofraternities of laymen called cofradías. Each cofradía was in charge of caring for and protecting the image of a particular saint and arranging fiestas in honor of that saint (Plates 6-8).94 The aboriginal pattern of religion combining secular and religious functions is still common in Highland Guatemala.95 However, the hold of the religious organization over the civil administration has been weakened in recent times through the Ladinos' success in obtaining a ruling from the national government

95. Tax, Heritage, 284-85.
which placed them in the highest-ranking, policy-controlling civil offices of the municipios, causing a separation of church and state at the municipio level.\textsuperscript{96} Also, there has been a recent lack of participation in the civil-religious hierarchy by a number of Indians, due to a falling off of contributions from citizens with which to reimburse officers for the neglect of their own personal business during terms of unpaid office.\textsuperscript{97}

After completing his work in Santa Eulalia in 1932, Oliver La Farge reported that the breakdown of the "Recent Indian" culture with its heritage of Mayan survivals—the process of de-Indianization—was still only beginning in most of the Cuchumatán villages. There had only recently been a significant degree of change in that area, which had long stood as a fortress against change.\textsuperscript{98} In the late 1940's the Viking Fund Seminar on Middle American Ethnology put together an index of acculturation which showed retention of pre-Columbian traits in twenty Mesoamerican areas. Of the twenty areas rated, northwestern Guatemala, specifically the Department of Huehuetenango, was rated second highest in retention of purely Indian elements. Members of the Seminar, all specialists in the field of middle American ethnology, agreed that approximately 80% of the Indian trait loss had probably occurred in the sixteenth century during the period of the Conquest, and the other 20% in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{99}

\textsuperscript{96} La Farge, \textit{op. cit.}, 13, 134.

\textsuperscript{97} Ibid., 132.

\textsuperscript{98} Ibid., xii, 1.

\textsuperscript{99} Tax, \textit{Heritage}, 263-64.
Isolation has been the key deterrent to change in the highlands. The area is boxed in on all sides by forbidding mountain walls or wild, uninhabitable lowland jungles (Plates 1-4). During La Farge's stay in Santa Eulalia "none of the area could be reached by wheeled vehicles," and he described the Heights of Cuchumatán as "an isolated region of high ridges and precipitous valleys, hard to approach, hard to cross in any direction, and, in the main, high, cool, fertile, and beautiful beyond the possibility of expression." A travel guide published in 1949 confirms La Farge's report:

The massive bulk of the Cuchumatanes Mountains near Huehuetenango [the city] is still isolated from the rest of Guatemala. Numerous Indian villages hang onto the sides of the mountains . . . as cut off from the outside world as they were before the Spaniards invaded the new world. . . . As the crow flies some of the communities are not far away from the highway. In terms of distances over narrow footpaths or mule trains serpentining up and down the high Cuchumatanes they might as well be in Tibet as far as the average tourist is concerned. Among these secluded villages are those of . . . San Juan Ixcoy, . . . Santa Eulalia, . . . San Mateo Ixtatán, and San Miguel Acatán.

Santa Eulalia and its neighboring municipios were neglected for perhaps two centuries by central authority and the outside world. This happy isolation began to shatter in the last half of the nineteenth century due to an influx of Ladinos and the development of coffee fincas (plantations) on the Pacific slopes of the mountains, whose labor demands could be filled only by drawing upon the population reservoirs of the

100. La Farge, op. cit., 1.

highlands. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards had coerced native labor through the encomienda system, changing in 1616 to the mandamiento system which was abolished in 1894. The finca system was also carried out by force at first, but was later changed to an elaborate system of debts known as habilitación, a form of the indenture system which finally resulted in debt slavery. In 1934 the system of debt peonage was abolished and replaced by a national vagrancy law which remained in effect until the adoption of a new constitution in 1945, at which time forced labor in Guatemala virtually came to an end. This "vagrancy law required any person not having a trade or profession or not cultivating specified amounts of land to seek employment from others for 100 or 150 days per year, depending on the amount of land he farmed. . . . If the worker tilled less than these amounts he would have to seek work on the plantations for specified periods of time during the year." The likelihood that most Indians would have to work on plantations was great due to a reduction of the Indians' common farm lands through early twentieth-century surveys of land and land titles which had passed much valuable land into the hands of the Ladinos. Through plantation labor, which required workers to be absent from their own farms for months at a time, the Indians lost

102. La Farge, op. cit., xii, 4.
103. Whetten, op. cit., 116-123.
104. La Farge, op. cit., xii.
106. La Farge, op. cit., 4.
their economic independence. The cash wages they received caused a surplus of cash among them, resulting in abandonment of some of the local crafts which had been a source of additional income since pre-Conquest times. These economic changes, along with excessive erosion of their land, have caused many Indians to continue working on plantations and also as migratory workers following the harvests, even though forced labor came to an end in 1945.

Plantation work has caused some important changes among the highlands Indians. According to La Farge, "Experiences on the coast and en route taught the natives new tastes and desires; contacts with more sophisticated people weakened their faith in native ways and all religion. Through the finca system the Machine age began to invade even this remote part of the highlands, despite the continuing barriers of mountains and trails."

Guatemala has one of the highest illiteracy rates found in the Americas. In 1950 the illiteracy rate in the Department of Huehuetenango began at 70%, soaring to over 90% in the most isolated highland areas due to a greater concentration of the Indian population in those areas. There are several factors which have worked through the years to cause illiteracy to reach these proportions. In the first place, Indian parents do not want their children to learn "new ways and useless things," or to

107. Ibid., xi, 5.

108. Whetten, op. cit., 123.

109. La Farge, op. cit., xii.

become like Ladinos, but rather to maintain the Indian way of life. Relations between Ladinos and Indians seem peaceful and harmonious, but there is actually an undercurrent of hostility and resentment on both sides. Natives express their hostilities toward Ladinos through passive resistance to Ladino ways.\footnote{Siegel, "Resistances," 420, 424-25, 429-30.} Parents see little use for the information taught at school and react against sending children there, because the values taught are not consistent with those which prevail at home.\footnote{Whetten, \textit{op. cit.}, 269.} Literacy is considered to be of no value because the lack of roads into mountain communities hinders progress, keeping Indians who do not travel to plantations out of contact with cosmopolitan society.\footnote{Waldemar R. Smith, \textit{The Fiesta System and Economic Change} (New York, 1977), 57.}

Second, Indian children who attend school are handicapped by not knowing Spanish, which their parents discourage them from learning, and appear backward and stupid to Ladino children, who excel through their knowledge of Spanish. The teachers are always Spanish-speaking Ladinos who cannot speak the native tongue. This language barrier has for some time perpetuated the belief among Ladinos that Indian children are inferior and naturally stupid. Native children have learned to accept this stigma through what has seemed to be daily proof of Ladino superiority.\footnote{Siegel, "Resistances," 420, 423-25.} Even though the majority of the Guatemalan population has always been Indian, they have long submitted to Ladino domination and accepted
subordinate roles in economic and social spheres, making only rare and feeble attempts to gain equal status with Ladinos.  

A third factor contributing to illiteracy among Indians is that Guatemala simply does not have enough schools to accommodate school-age children even if they have the desire to attend. The facilities are far from adequate to serve the needs, even though new educational programs have been introduced at various times.

This shortage of schools has been eased somewhat since the end of Guatemala's 1944 Revolution, at which time Catholic and Protestant missionaries were allowed into the country. Many Catholic missionaries began working in mountain parishes which had had no resident priest for decades. Strong efforts to reach even the most isolated villages have been made by both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, and both groups have actively promoted schools, cooperatives, and other social welfare programs on a national level. Conversion from "Folk Catholicism" to Orthodox Catholicism or to Protestantism is one of the most important social movements in contemporary highlands communities, with religious orthodoxy becoming a major institutional link with Guatemalan society.

There are several motives for conversion to Protestantism among Indians:

1) Heavy drinking is an essential part of ritual in "Folk Catholicism," but is discouraged in Protestantism. Therefore, Indians have a chance to break the vicious cycle of drinking and poverty.

115. Ibid., 414-15.


117. Smith, op. cit., 52-3, 100.
2) Indians who join Protestant sects are relieved of the financial burden of participating in "Folk Catholic" brotherhoods (cofradías).

3) They can take advantage of better educational opportunities in Protestant schools.

Young members of Protestant sects have been mentally stimulated and the possibilities of realizing their ambitions increased through their attending out-of-town boarding schools and conferences and being drawn into a network of social relations that is national in scope. The effects of these missionary efforts have been summarized by June Nash, who reports that

... in the highland villages organized religion, particularly but not exclusively Protestantism, may be the main agent of culture change at present. Protestantism, because it leads to literacy and through intervisiting units, converts from different towns, is slowly eroding municipio localism. Because converts withdraw from the age-grade cofradía system, Protestantism is slowly lessening deference to age and respect for traditional authority, thus increasing receptivity to innovation. Finding itself challenged, the Catholic church in turn is introducing changes in the form of social events, charity for the stricken, and opposition to the cofradía system.

Since the 1944 Revolution the cofradía system has also felt the effects of the government's attempts to promote democracy and programs of social and economic reform. The rise of political parties, the enacting of election laws, and the formation of national organizations extending their influence into rural areas, have promoted emphasis on individual action by Indians rather than on group decisions made by cofradías.

119. Ibid., 53.
120. Whetten, op. cit., 321.
The 1949 Viking Seminar predicted that in just a few years Indian culture would decline sharply due to government projects to better their way of life. Members of the Seminar credited this acceleration in acculturation to the idea that relationships between Ladinos and Indians become more pleasant when the government does something constructive for the Indian rather than just exploiting him.\textsuperscript{121} The truthfulness of their prediction has been made evident by a statement published by Waldemar Smith in 1977. According to his findings, "political and social relations have . . . been altered in important ways, such that no Indian village, however hidden in the rugged sierras, is the folkish world-unto-itself that all villages were just a few decades ago."\textsuperscript{122}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{121} Tax, \textit{Heritage}, 294, 288-89.
\item \textsuperscript{122} Smith, \textit{op. cit.}, 43.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Plate 1. Rock formations on either side of the highway which goes toward San Juan Ixcoy.
Plate 2. View from Santa Eulalia, looking east.
Plate 3. View from Santa Eulalia, looking north.
Plate 4. Ridge of the Cuchumatanes Mountains as seen from the south.
Plate 5. Ladino houses front on the road, while Indian houses are set back in the fields. In the foreground, men from Santa Eulalia dance the Toro.
Plate 6. Image of Santa Eulalia being carried to the plaza amid clouds of incense during the Saturday of Glory procession.
Plate 7. Saturday of Glory procession returning from the plaza with a canopy above the image of Santa Eulalia.
Plate 8. Image of Our Lady of the Conception being carried during the Saturday of Glory procession.
Plate 9. Figure of Judas hanged in front of the Santa Eulalia church on Good Friday. In the background are the market buildings.
Plate 10. Prayer in front of the church at Santa Eulalia.
Plate 11. Morning prayer in front of the church at San Miguel Acatán.
Plate 12. Principal men of the village in front of the Santa Eulalia juzgado.
Plate 13. Women drawing water from the public fountain in front of Santa Eulalia's municipal building.
Plate 14. Young Santa Eulalia woman in native dress.
Plate 15. Santa Eulalia men in native dress playing the flute and drum in the Saturday of Glory procession.
Plate 16. Plaza and parish church in San Juan Ixcoy.
Plate 17. Parish church in San Mateo Ixtatán.
Plate 18. A different view of the San Mateo Ixtatán parish church.
Plate 19. Santa Eulalia church and juzgado.
Plate 20. Chapel of the Rosario, built by the principal Indian of Santa Eulalia in the early twentieth century.
Plate 21. The calvario, an adobe chapel in Santa Eulalia used only during Lent and Easter week.
Plate 22. Parish church and market in Jacaltenango.
Figure 1. Map of the northwestern highlands of Guatemala.
Figura 2. "hui nace la nueva estiella," Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, f. 6v (No. 7).
Figure 3. "Asi andando: El palto," Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, f. 10v (No. 11).
Figure 4. "Aquesten toncerial," Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, f. 11r (No. 23-3); Inscription, Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, f. 11r.
Figure 5. "Sed miguel fuerza y escudo," Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, f. 12v (No. 13).
Figure 6. "Sed miguel fuerza y escuto," Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, f. 13r (No. 13).
Figure 8. "Aquestan tonceria," Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, f. 18r (No. 23-2).
Desde el cielo bajo Dios, la virgen [faltaría] siempra
Santa María, virgen para subir a la vida

[Notas musicales]

Figure 11. "Donec ponam/Tecum principium/Dominus adextris/De torente,"
Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, f. 25v (No. 26).
Figure 12. "Maria magdalena," Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, f. 35v (No. 31).
Figure 13. "magalhi vinac dios a tu belen hiyuus," Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, f. 41v (No. 36).
Figure 14. "magalhi vinac dios a tu belen hiyuus," Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, f. 42r (No. 36).
Chapter II

STRUCTURE AND FORM OF THE PIECES IN SANTA EULALIA M. MD. 7

The Villancico

A villancico may be considered both a musical and a poetic form whose parts are often the work of one person. Structurally, "the villancico belongs to that type of lyric poem which is characterized by the repetition of an introductory refrain in combination with a stanza or stanzas according to a recognized pattern."\(^1\) The term "villancico" is derived from the Spanish villano, which in the Middle Ages was the official word denoting a serf, or individual of humble origin. In its original sense the diminutive form "villancico" referred to songs composed for and sung by the folk.\(^2\)

The development of the villancico can be traced from as early as the Middle Ages, as has been shown by Isabel Pope in her very thorough article, "Musical and Metrical Form of the Villancico."\(^3\) The villancico appeared as one of the most important forms of secular music in Spain during the Renaissance, the time of its most perfect flowering both poetically and musically. While in its strictest sense the term refers

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to a poetic and musical form intended to be sung with or without instrumental accompaniment, the word was also frequently applied in the sixteenth century to purely instrumental pieces which were variations on the melody of a well-known villancico.\(^4\)

By the end of the sixteenth century villancicos with sacred texts sung in Spanish were being performed in the churches by the faithful, especially at Christmas time and also on the occasion of other church festivals. Ecclesiastical authorities often frowned upon their use, and royal decrees prohibited them at various times because of their secular origin. The custom, however, "continued in many churches in Spain until the early years of the nineteenth century, and until the present day in some churches in Latin America."\(^5\) Villancicos were often interpolated in the Offices and the Mass, and by the eighteenth century had developed into a type of cantata with an opening chorus, interspersed arias, and a choral ending.\(^6\)

Formal Structure

As was mentioned earlier, about two-thirds of the pieces in *Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7* are considered to be villancicos. Musically and

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poetically they are similar to the secular villancicos found in the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio*\(^7\) which was the basis of Pope's summary of the form. Her outline of the formal patterns derived from the *Cancionero*, which was compiled in the late fifteenth through sixteenth centuries, has provided the basic pattern for the following discussion of the villancicos in *M. Md. 7.*\(^8\)

The spontaneous folk-like air of the villancico is conveyed by an introductory refrain referred to as the *estribillo* (= refrain), which sets the tone and theme for the whole piece. The estribillo is composed of a couplet, tercet or quatrains, and is so indispensable that it alone was sometimes called a villancico.\(^9\) The poetic idea presented in the estribillo is developed in succeeding stanzas called *coplas*. A copla is divided into two parts, the first being the *mudanza* (= change) and the second the *vuelta* (= return). The mudanza presents a new melody, and a rhyme pattern which is independent from that of the estribillo.\(^10\) The vuelta returns to the rhyme of the estribillo. If the estribillo is not monorhymed, but has two rhymes, the vuelta often returns to the second rhyme. The last verse or two verses of the vuelta may in some cases repeat not only the rhyme of the last or last two verses of the


\(^8\) Pope, "Metrical and Musical Form," 194-95.

\(^9\) Ibid., 193, 211.

\(^10\) Ibid., 193, 202.
estribillo, but may repeat them in whole or in part as a "true refrain." The melody of the vuelta repeats that of the estribillo and is sung to the last verse of the independent rhyme and to the verse or verses which rhyme with the estribillo or which are repeated from the estribillo. In the following diagram of the simplest type of villancico, that which has a couplet estribillo (Figure 15), it will be observed that the repetition of the rhyme and music of the estribillo are not simultaneous:

This lack of concurrence between its musical and poetic repetitions constitutes an asymmetrical vuelta and is an essential characteristic common to all villancico types. By means of returning to the melody of the estribillo while singing the last verse of the independent rhyme, the copla is bound together as a unified whole instead of being stiffly divided into two unrelated sections.

Although asymmetrical vueltas are typical in villancicos, cases of perfect symmetry do occur. It is especially rare to find parallel musical and poetic vueltas among villancicos with the couplet estribillo,\textsuperscript{15} but such an arrangement is found in No. 3, "Esta es cena de amor llena" (Figure 16). It is a variant of the simplest villancico type diagrammed above (Figure 15), having a monorhymed tercet in the mudanza of each copla, and vueltas which return to the second rhyme or the actual words of the second verse of the estribillo.

Figure 16. Poetic and musical form of No. 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Music</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Estribillo</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Esta es cena de amor llena</td>
<td>A Estribillo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b esta es cena de amor</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mudanza</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a quanto ay en esta cena</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a es amor ya amor se ordena</td>
<td>C Mudanza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a cena de la gloria buena</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Copla</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b esta es cena de amor</td>
<td>B Vuelta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vuelta</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) cena de [amor quia junsta</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c con el amate amato</td>
<td>C Mudanza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c de amor con amor ques sato</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Copla</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b y de amor a su sabor</td>
<td>B Vuelta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 197.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copla</th>
<th>Mudanza</th>
<th>Vuelta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d que nacio tal gema diene</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d aunque a totas las mandiene</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d esta sola nos conviene</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b porque concluye a su sator</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The diminutive No. 5, "Virgen madre de dios," is a variant of this type in that it consists of only a couplet in the introductory estribillo.

Villancicos with tercet estribillos appear frequently in *Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7*. In the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio* the tercet estribillo is by far the most usual and can be found in two main types of villancicos which differ only in the rhyme schemes of their mudanzas. Both tercet types have asymmetrical vueltas and use a middle truncated verse in the estribillo called a *pie quebrado* which allows greater flexibility in musical treatment as well as a more developed poetic form than the villancico introduced by a couplet estribillo.16 In *M. Md. 7*, Nos. 10, 20 and 21 (Figure 17) exactly duplicate the musical and poetic form of one of these two main types, and Nos. 6, 19 and 22 have only slight variances in the rhyme schemes within their mudanzas. Nos. 2, 3, 4-1 and 8 show less similarity to the main types of tercet estribillo villancicos, but can still be considered variants of those forms.

Figure 17. Poetic and musical form of No. 21.

Text  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
a \text{ Alegria pecadores:} \\
b \text{ ques nacida} \\
b \text{ de quien naze nuestra vida} \\
\end{array}
\]

Music  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
A \\
B \text{ Estribillo} \\
C \\
\end{array}
\]

Mudanza I  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
c \text{ de la Real generacion} \\
d \text{ de david y de juda} \\
\end{array}
\]

Mudanza II  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
d \text{ naze otl que nos da} \\
c \text{ Nuestra eterna redencion} \\
\end{array}
\]

Copla  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
c \text{ maria consolacion} \\
b \text{ escogida} \\
\end{array}
\]

Vuelta  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
b \text{ de quien naze nuestra vida} \\
\end{array}
\]

Villancicos with quatrain estribillos were equally as popular as the tercet type in M. Md. 7, but there is only a small group of the quatrain type in the Cancionero Musical de Palacio. The majority of those found in that collection have the typical asymmetrical vuelta, but a few illustrate complete musical and poetic symmetry. One form of the quatrain type with asymmetrical vueltas is illustrated in Figure 18:

17. Ibid., 199-200.
Of the villancicos with quatrain estribillos in our manuscript Nos. 1 and 25 have asymmetrical vueltas. However, their vueltas are unusual in that the rhymes rather than the melodies of their estribillos return first; this is opposed to the situation seen in the typical asymmetrical vuelta diagrammed above (Figure 18). The estribillos and mudanzas in these two villancicos are similar to those in the diagram.

Only one piece in the Cancionero Musical de Palacio duplicates the form of the quatrain type of villancicos in M. Md. 7 which have symmetrical vueltas. These are Nos. 12, 13, 16-1 (Figure 19) and 35. Of these, No. 35 has a shorter vuelta, but all four have a true refrain.

Figure 19. Poetic and musical form of No. 16-1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Music</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a muestra la tierra alegria</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b vistase de gloria el suelo</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b Oy quel acorde del cielo</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a celebra su eterno dia</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. Ibid., 200.
Nos. 11, 28 and 31 have quatrains estribillos, but are variants of the two forms discussed above (Figures 18, 19) with highly irregular rhyme patterns.

There are two villancicos in the manuscript which have not been included in the couplet, tercet or quatrain estribillo classifications. The first is No. 27-1, whose estribillo and three coplas could each be considered to contain either one verse or two, depending upon whether or not the lines of verse are divided. The second is No. 36, whose corrupt Náhuatl text obscures the poetic form, thus making classification difficult.

Performance Practice

Villancicos may vary in texture from one to twelve voices, and in some several of the parts may be played by instruments rather than being sung, but the villancicos in Santa Eulália M. Md. 7 are all of the four-part variety. The estribillo of a villancico is conventionally sung by a chorus, and the mudanzas of the coplas by a soloist or soloists. All or

part of the vuelta is sung by the chorus, which reinforces the refrain-stanza-refrain pattern of the villancico. Part-singing of the kind practiced in Spain was unknown to the natives of Latin America before the Conquest, but their enthusiasm and aptitude for studying European music enabled them to sing polyphony reasonably, and in some cases amazingly well soon after their training began.

In Spain, villancicos accompanied both religious and secular dances. This use was particularly associated with pastoral plays and autos sacramentales which ended with the singing and dancing of villancicos. By the mid-sixteenth century the enormous popularity of the religious autos had spread to Latin America, where they were introduced into the colonies by missionaries. Even though Christian men and women no longer "danced promiscuously together," the composition of dance villancicos for church use gave Indian chapel masters the opportunity to express themselves "in dance measures as vigorous as any that their ancestors may have known."

20. Robert Stevenson, Music in Mexico; A Historical Survey (New York, 1952), 139.


25. Stevenson, Aztec and Inca, 207.
Solving the problem of accompaniment of the villancicos of 
*M. Md. 7* requires knowledge of performance practice in Spain and the 
New World during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This together 
with some reports of musical activities in the Mayan area of Central 
America at the time of the manuscript's compilation will allow us to 
deduce something of the instrumental practice.

Noncontinuo instruments were important in the villancicos of 
Spain and the New World. In some instances these instruments had in-
dependent parts with running lines, and in other cases simply doubled 
the vocal parts. There are several surviving reports of *colla parte* 
accompaniment in the New World which describe non-liturgical occasions 
requiring polyphony, such as outdoor processions and fiestas. These 
occasions were the most relished by humbler classes and the most stimu-
lating to Indian composers. The processions and fiestas often included 
a choir singing villancicos or other popularized polyphony with parts 
doubled by a flute choir, trumpets, and *chirimias* (folk shawms). Addi-
tional accompaniment was provided by large and small bells, *teponaztles* 
two-toned slit-drums), and other drums such as the *huehueltl* (upright 
three-legged cylindrical drum with a tuneable skin drumhead which produces 
two pitches a fifth apart and is played with the hands) (Figure 20). 
The *teponaztli* resembles an elaborately-carved wooden barrel enclosed


at both ends and lying on its side. Two tongues created by an \[\text{II}\] shaped incision sound different pitches ranging from a minor third to a perfect fifth apart. On the bottom side of the hollow, resonant drum is cut a rectangular opening which increases the volume. The drum is placed on a support or on the ground and is played with a pair of mallets which are tipped with rubber (Figures 20, 21).\(^{29}\)

Cathedral capitular acts and instrument inventories also name noncontinuo instruments available for use with villancicos. Some of these not mentioned above are the sackbut, cornett, violin, treble and tenor viols, bassoon, rebeck, marine trumpet, and clarion.\(^{30}\)

It was also common practice in Spain and parts of the New World to use continuo instruments in villancico performance. Instruments included in this category are the organ, portable organ, harp, guitar, lute, cittern and bandore.\(^{31}\) When present, the continuo part consisted of an unfigured, textless line which merely duplicated the lowest vocal part of the villancico, although in some cases it played a purely instrumental fourth part. Figured bass did not become common practice in Mexico or Spain until the eighteenth century.\(^{32}\)


Figure 20. Musicians playing the teponaztli and the huehuetl.

Figure 21. Carved teponaztli.
In Latin America the Indians themselves played all of these instruments. In part because of the local tax liability which musicians were not subject to, the churches became overcrowded with singers and instrumentalists to the point that in 1555 the First Mexican Council was convened by Archbishop Alonso de Montúfar to alleviate the problem. The resulting edict banished many of the singers and all instruments from the church except the organ. The banished instruments were to be reserved for outdoor processions and festival days of patron saints, and could no longer be used for accompanying the liturgy. This ruling was not severely enforced, however, and Indian participation continued to flourish in instrumental church music during the sixteenth century.33

Some of the instruments mentioned above were introduced to the New World by the Spaniards, but others were already present before the conquerors' arrival. Reports written by Spaniards during the first half of the sixteenth century tell us that, among other indigenous instruments, the Mayas played vertical flutes made of reeds, long thin wooden trumpets with long twisted gourds at their ends, and the tunkul, another name for the Aztec teponastli or slit-drum.34 This is still an indispensable Mayan instrument. Among the tunkules still used in Guatemala in the twentieth century is the one seen by Oliver La Farge during his stay in Santa Eulalia. He wrote that it was kept in the church near the altar rail and was brought out for important dances.35

33. Stevenson, Aztec and Inca, 163, 167-70.
34. Stevenson, Aztec and Inca, 18, 69-71, 108. See also Saville, op. cit., 59-60.
35. La Farge, op. cit., 82, 86, and Stevenson, Aztec and Inca, 11, 25.
The Indians of Mexico became so skilled in the manufacture of European instruments that by the end of the sixteenth century it was no longer necessary to import instruments from Spain.36 For example, one of the instruments, the double-reed chirimea, was already in local manufacture by the mid-sixteenth century.37 It is possible that the Mayas of Guatemala learned to make them also, or at least were able to obtain chirimias from neighboring Mexico. The chirimía has long remained one of their favorite instruments, and along with drums and marimbas, it still provides music for dances, processions, burials, and the fiestas of Lent and Holy Week in Santa Eulalia and San Miguel Acatán.38 Indians in the highlands of Guatemala may have continued to build them since they are known to have also constructed their own reed pipes, six-stop wooden flutes, snare drums, and tunkules in the present century (Plate 15).39

It seems likely that several of the noncontinuo instruments listed in connection with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century villancico performances in Spain and Mexico would have been used to accompany the villancicos in Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, either colla parte or in an improvised style. One might conservatively suggest that the pre-Conquest Mayan trumpet and flute (or their European equivalents), tunkul, and other indigenous percussion instruments probably would have been available.

36. Stevenson, Aztec and Inca, 85, 172.
37. Ibid., 96, 158.
39. La Farge, op. cit., 36.
The chirimía, on the basis of the Indians' reported skill in building copies of European instruments as well as its present popularity in highland Guatemala, may have also been used.

Although Pope Paul III's bull of January 15, 1534, allowed for the employment of an organist who would play every feast day at the Guatemala Cathedral, it does not seem likely that so sophisticated a continuo instrument as the organ would have made its way into the isolated highlands by the year 1600. All bass parts in M. Md. 7 are texted and there are no instrumental instructions written in the music, which makes any use of continuo instruments even less likely. It would have been more likely that groups of flutes playing in harmony were used to replace the sound of a pipe organ, as was done in some areas of Mexico.41

Fabordón

Four of the pieces in Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, Nos. 9, 26 (Figure 11), 34-1 and 37, have fabordón settings. Fabordón is the Spanish equivalent of the Italian term falsobordone, which is used to denote simple homophonic settings in four parts of the psalm tones and other liturgical recitatives.42 Both words are derived from the French fauxbourdon, but their differing musical style is evident even though the definitions of the terms became blurred during the sixteenth century. From their first

40. Stevenson, Renaissance and Baroque, 50.

41. Stevenson, Aztec and Inca, 158.

appearance in the fifteenth century, fabordones were written for four mixed voices (soprano, tenor, alto and bass) instead of three, used five-three instead of six-three triads, and had all of their parts written out with none left for the performers to add by rule, although it did become popular to improvise cadences according to the musical clichés of the day. In his study entitled *The Falsobordone*, Murray Bradshaw discusses several theories of the origin of the fabordon and its possible historical connection with fauxbourdon.

Fabordones originated in Spain, Portugal and Italy, and were most commonly used for the singing of psalms at Sunday Vespers. A Gregorian psalm tone was placed in the soprano, tenor, or occasionally the bass voice as a *cantus firmus*. The whole piece followed the form of the psalm tone, dividing the psalm verse into two parts, then further dividing these halves into two smaller sections known as the recitation and the cadence. These were strophic compositions with the same music sung to different verses, just as is done in psalmody. A single chord was repeated as many times as necessary during the recitation section, and clarity of text was given first priority along with good accentuation. Near the end of the sixteenth century, some composers discarded

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44. Ibid., 31-33. See also Ernest Trumble, "The Contratenors of Fauxbourdon," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* VIII/1 (Spring 1955), 71-72.

45. Bradshaw, op. cit., 20, 50.

46. Ibid., 21, 23-24.
the psalm tone cantus firmus, but retained the essence of the style, that is, the declamatory repeated chords followed by a cadence. 47

There was a great growth in popularity of the fabordón between 1580 and 1620. This style of composition found its way not only into cathedrals and princely establishments, but also into village and parish churches, monasteries, and convents as well. 48 The growing trend toward singing in parts at the end of the century, the need for simple music that could be quickly mastered by any church choir, the simplicity of the genre itself which made it easily adaptable to other mediums, and the demand for clarity of text by the Council of Trent (1545-1563) are all reasons that gave impetus to its widespread adoption. The requirements of the Council were inherent to fabordón, which was

the most explicit, and perhaps most perfect musical reflection of ecclesiastical thinking on music: a completely sacred orientation, clarity of text declamation, and simplicity of musical style. 49

The end of the sixteenth century was the golden age of the fabordón, and by 1613 it was reported that "in these kingdoms of Spain the singing of psalms in figured music is not customary except in falsobordone." 50

47. Ibid., 58.
48. Ibid., 72-73.
49. Ibid., 46-48.
The fabordones in M. Md. 7 have many characteristics in common with those composed in Spain, including the basic features of four-part texture and root-position triads with the third usually present. The melodic movement of the upper three voices is primarily by step, with their ranges not exceeding an octave. The bass usually moves by leaps of fourths and fifths, although some movement by steps and thirds does occur in M. Md. 7.51 As in the Spanish settings, those in M. Md. 7 begin with the reciting tone rather than the intonation, generally use notes of only one or two rhythmic values and have more melodic motion toward the cadence.52 The cantus firmus of each piece is unembellished, though the other voices are often decorated at the cadences.53 An attempt has been made in these settings to properly accentuate the text, but an accurate result was not achieved, especially in No. 26.

As was mentioned earlier, the singing of fabordones was associated with Sunday Vespers. One of the most commonly set psalms in this style was the first one of that office, Psalm 109, of which No. 26 is an example. Fabordones were also used in the Offices of Matins, Lauds, Terce, and Compline, in the Office of the Dead, and as settings for litanies. The remarks for No. 9 in Chapter III discuss its possible use as a litany. The texts of Nos. 34-1 and 37 both come from Psalm 50, and are discussed in Chapter III in connection with the Burial Service. Fabordón settings of the Miserere psalm were also traditionally used in the service of Tenebrae.54

51. Bradshaw, op. cit., 27. 52. Ibid., 24-25.
53. Ibid., 54. 54. Ibid., 68-73.
Performance Practice

Fabordones were sung a cappella, with either several singers to a part, or a soloist on each part. An alternatim performance was usually called for, in which the fabordón verses were alternated with plainsong verses.55

The manner of singing the recitations is not at all certain, and Bradshaw offers three known possibilities:

1) equal note values allotted to all syllables with attention given to the natural accentuation of the words.

2) the strict use of two note values within a regular metrical system.

3) beginning with the first, lengthening the alternate syllables and the final vowel of a word or phrase in a graceful manner.56

In all cases the cadences are exceptional. The regular use of meter signatures and notated long and short values in M. Md. 7 points to a variation of the second of these practices.

55. Ibid., 24-27, 66.
56. Ibid., 24-25, 105, 109-110.
Chapter III
COMMENTARY

Text Problems

Spanish and Latin

The spelling and usage of Spanish and Latin and the manuscript style in which they are written in Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7 together produce problems sufficiently complex in scope to merit a separate study. Since that is not possible in this project, I shall only briefly discuss each type of problem encountered while dealing with the texts of M. Md. 7.

The most evident problem, quite likely attributable to phonetic spellings, is the continual interchange of alphabetic characters. After dealing with the texts for a while this becomes less of a problem, because many of the spelling errors are consistent enough to make the intended spelling obvious. Following is a list of the most common substitutions, with an example of each:

Table II. Common Letter Substitutions
Found in Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Used for</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Used for</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>nueva</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>angelical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>veneris</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>acercando = acercando</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>lestar = restar</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>comita = comida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>pavana</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>plaxer = placer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>estiella = estrella</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>confrexit = confregit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>otra</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>hazer = hacer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>redencio = redención</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>bazo = bajó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>Luciferum</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Not all of the letter substitutions in M. Md. 7 can be attributed to phonetic or poor spelling. Certain situations are due to the "Old Spanish" script style, in which the letter i stood not only for the vowel i, but also for y and j.\(^1\) Initial u was usually written as u\(^2\) (uida = vida), and frequently phonetically confused with b\(^3\) (bida = vida) (Figure 2). The differentiation between i and j, and between u and v took place after the invention of printing, when Antonio de Nebrija published his 1517 spelling book, *Reglas de orthographia.*\(^4\) During the first thirty years of the sixteenth century, under the influence of humanistic ideas and classical studies, "Spanish was stripped of much of its ancient costume and began to emerge as the language of the present day."\(^5\) It was during the latter part of this period of change that Spain conquered Guatemala (1524), and the conquerors began teaching the transitional Spanish to the Indians. Thus it seems likely that the condition of the Spanish language and the script style were in part responsible for the spelling problems encountered in *Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7.*

Omitted letters and syllables are to blame for some of the most troublesome areas of the texts. When a word begins with the same letter or syllable that ends the word immediately preceding it, that letter or syllable is often elided. For example, *sien doncella = siendo doncella*

---

(Figure 2), \textit{dios incorrompimiento} = \textit{dios sincorrompimiento}, and \textit{suma altura} = \textit{suma altura} (Figure 9).

Reversed letters also appear in several instances, such as \textit{garn} = \textit{gran}, and \textit{paler} = \textit{placer}. The confusion between \textit{b} and \textit{v} combined with a letter reversal results in \textit{bre} = \textit{ver}.

In this edition I have, with one exception, left all spellings of Spanish and Latin texts as they were originally written. In situations where omitted letters result in the absence of a whole syllable, most of a syllable or the only vowel in a syllable, I have replaced the missing letters, enclosed in brackets, in order to allow the text to fit the music. I have also attempted to show upper and lower case letters as they are in the manuscript, but it has been difficult to differentiate between them in many cases, especially the letters \textit{D} (Figure 12), \textit{E} (Figures 6, 7), \textit{L} (Figure 11), \textit{S} (Figures 6, 7, 9), and \textit{Y} (Figures 11, 12).

In addition, it was difficult to differentiate between \textit{g} and \textit{q} in \textit{M. Md. 7}, because they were often made alike in the sixteenth century (Figures 5, 6).\textsuperscript{6}

Abbreviations common to the Spanish and Latin of the time are numerous in the manuscript. In this edition I have spelled out all abbreviations which are present in the Spanish and Latin texts of the original manuscript to allow facility in reading and singing. The most common method of abbreviation omitted the letters \textit{i}, \textit{n}, \textit{m}, or \textit{r}, but any number of letters might have been dropped from a word as long as the context enabled the reader to guess what word was meant. A straight,
curved, or looped horizontal flourish above all or part of the abbreviated word indicates a contraction. This flourish written above a vowel shows the omission of a succeeding m or n (Figures 3-12), as in cētēto = contento, and cētar = cantar. The syllable que (Figures 4-6, 8, 10) is represented by ṇ, ṇ, 〈, or ṇ. The omission of larger groups of letters can be seen in Dēus = Dominus, espū = espiritū (Figure 13), glā or ĝ = gloria, grā = gratia, and nrā = nuestra or nostra (Figure 2).

A second type of abbreviation frequently encountered in M. Md. 7 uses superior letters to denote the omission of one or more letters or syllables within a word. The titles Señor and Señora are written -S- (Figure 3) and -S- respectively, while San is simply -S- (Figures 4, 11) with no superior letter. The abbreviation -S- = sancto(a) or santo(a) is used a number of times (Figure 13). Proper names abbreviated with superior letters in this manuscript are María and Juan, represented by - and Ju (Figure 4) or Zu (from English Jn = John).

Brevigraphs form the third type of abbreviation used in the manuscript. These are special symbols that are used to take the place of whole syllables. According to Tannenbaum, they are derived by modifying an ordinary letter. These symbols occur infrequently in M. Md. 7, and are as follows: Ṇ = et used as the Latin word et; ₥ = por used as the Spanish word por (Figure 2), ₪ = rum as used in sancto = sanctorum (Figure 11); ʒ = us as used in splendoribus = splendoribus (Figure 11); and ₧ = vir as used in virgen = virgin (Figures 2, 3, 10). The symbol

7. Ibid., 134. 8. Ibid., 125.
\( X\Phi o = \text{Christo or Cristo} \) appears only once, and is related to the chrismon, the Greek monogram of the word Christ.\(^9\)

Several symbols are used in the manuscript to indicate repetition of the text: 1) \( \bar{ij} \) (Figures 5, 6, 10), 2) \( \bar{Z} \) (Figures 7, 9), 3) \( ij \) (Figures 13, 14), 4) \( \| \) and 5) \( \|\| \). Symbols similar to these are often found in Continental manuscripts, but in \( M. \, Md. \, 7 \) they often have variant meanings. Number five, for example, can be considered a text repeat sign in \( M. \, Md. \, 7 \) only when it does not correspond with a rest or congruence sign (\( \text{\textcircled{C}} \)) in the music; where it does appear with a rest or the sign it shows congruence between the text and the music (Figure 2).

The versions of the Spanish and Latin texts given later in this chapter include footnotes which contain the following information:

1) corrected spellings of words whose identities are obvious (based on Table II).

2) modern spellings (ex: \( \text{corazon} = \text{modern corazon} \); Spanish \( \text{santo(a)} = \text{modern santo(a)} \); \( \text{igual} = \text{modern igual} \)).

3) suggestions for possible orthography where words are unreadable or unidentifiable (based on Table II and abbreviations).\(^{10}\)

4) spellings in the different voice parts (represented by S, A, T and B) which vary from the typewritten version (such as AB: mercio; S: melecio).

When sources for Latin texts are cited, \( \text{Liber Usualis} \) is abbreviated as \( \text{LU} \).

\(^9\) Ibid., 85-86.

\(^{10}\) Assistance in reading the Spanish texts was given by Profs. Malena Kuss and Philip Smyth. A few emendations were made after Paul Borg’s catalog of the manuscript.
**Náhuatl**

The highland villages of Guatemala have continuously used mutually unintelligible dialects within the Kanjobal group of the Mayan language, even into the present century (see p. 4). During the sixteenth century, the Aztec Náhuatl was used as a means of communication in carrying on trade in the region. In time its use was also extended to some of the musical texts of the San Miguel Acatán repertory to facilitate the exchange of the manuscripts among the villages.

The language seen in these texts is not the elegant, classical Náhuatl of the early Aztecs. The corruption of the Náhuatl language in Guatemala may have occurred in the same manner that it occurred in New Spain (Mexico), where the Indians imitated the Spaniards' incorrect pronunciation of the Aztec tongue. Because of this, only a general sense translation of the texts and Pascual's inscription (f. lir) can be given without the aid of Náhuatl dictionaries contemporary with Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7.

The translations of this inscription and the three Náhuatl song texts, and suggestions for their word and syllable divisions were made by Dr. Dow Robinson of Wycliffe Bible Translators, Inc. His remarks concerning each text are contained in the commentaries for those songs. A few suggestions regarding Pascual's dedication were offered by Mr. Earl Brockway, also of Wycliffe Bible Translators. I am responsible for the treatment of the Spanish words in this inscription.

There are several abbreviations in the three songs (Nos. 9, 32-1, and 36) and in Pascual's inscription which are similar in appearance to those seen in the Spanish and Latin texts (Figures 4, 13, 14). Since the particular abbreviations used (the straight, curved, and looped flourishes) can represent many different letters and groups of letters, I have not attempted to interpret them unless the word in question happens to be written out in one of the voice parts. A few abbreviated Spanish words are used in the Nahuatl songs and inscription. They are included in the previous discussion of Spanish and Latin abbreviations, and interpreted in the same manner as abbreviated words found in the Spanish and Latin texts.

Remarks on the Texts and Music

1. "Victoria victoria quién a vencido" (f. lv-2r). This villancico for the feast of St. Michael describes Michael in one of the roles given to him by Christian tradition, that of a special protector against the attacks of Satan (Luzbel). Michael is traditionally regarded as the chief of the archangels, and in the Western church has two feasts. The May 8 feast commemorates his alleged fifth-century appearance at Monte Gargano in Italy and his victory over Greek pirates at Manfredonia. His September 29 feast celebrates the anniversary of the sixth-century dedication of his most ancient church, located on the Salarian Way at Rome. (See also remarks for Nos. 12 and 13.)

Robert Stevenson has published a transcription of this piece in which measures 9-14 have become two nearly identical musical periods of two short phrases each, through alteration of several rests and note values.  

Este canto para fiesta de San miguel a 4 voces [voces]

[Estribillo]: Victoria quien a\textsuperscript{15} vencido
el gran \textsuperscript{16} miguel que vencio
A luzbel\textsuperscript{17} el \textsuperscript{18} atrevido\textsuperscript{19}
y venciendo del triunpho\textsuperscript{20}

copla: con zust\textsuperscript{21} titulo dan
a miguel por la victoria
Contucta\textsuperscript{22} de capit\textsuperscript{23}n
y premio eterna de gloria
pues fue \textsuperscript{24} tan exclarecido\textsuperscript{25}
que al profundo deslijo\textsuperscript{26}

[Repeat Estribillo]


\textsuperscript{15} S: atrevido \textsuperscript{16} triunfo; B: triPho \textsuperscript{17} Luzbel \textsuperscript{18} justo
\textsuperscript{19} esclarecido
\textsuperscript{20} derribó, but possibly desterró, desvió, deshizo, or desdijo.
2. "yesuchristo nuestro dios" (f. 2v-3r). The Eucharist is described as a sacrament in the text of this villancico. A piece has been torn from the middle of the second stanza of the coplas, making it difficult to understand the text.

The soprano part has been raised a minor third throughout the piece because the C clef was incorrectly placed in the manuscript.

**[Estribillo]:**

```
yesuchristo27 nuestro dios28
por nos tar29 contento y uita30
dasenos31 oy32 en comita33
```

**[Coplas]:**

1) el34 ques pan te35 selapinas36
tiuino37 y angericar38 ali39
se ta40 yal41 hombre morticinlo42
car[il][ad]43 mui44 caritat45

[Repeat Estribillo]

2) es tiuino37 sangramento45
[y] comita33 supri[ ]nate
y siento46 onprem[ ]47 prata
con ello ser ota48 [ ] uita30

[Repeat Estribillo]
3. "Esta es gena de amor llena" (f. 3v-4r). This villancico is designated "for the feast of holy sacrament," which it describes as the "supper full of love."

Measures 1-6 of the soprano voice have been raised a major third, because the C clef in the manuscript was incorrectly placed for the estribillo.

Este canto para fiesta de santo saclamento [sacramento] a 4 vozes [voces]

[Estribillo]: Esta es gena de amor llena esta es gena de amor

1) quanto ay en esta gena es amor ya amor se ordena gena de la gloria buena esta es gena de amor

2) gena de amor quia junsta con el amate amato de amor con amor ques sato y de amor a su sabor

49. B: mormor in the repeat of this line
50. cuanto 51. y amor
52. [a]mor
53. quien junta, or que junta
54. ama[n]te y amado, or ama[n]te el amado
55. qua,els sal[n]to
3) que nací6 tal gema diene57
aunque a totas58 las mantiene59
esta sola nos conviene
porque oncluye 60 a su sator61

4-1. "llegaos al convido" (f. 4v). Here is yet another
villancico for the Eucharist, this time describing the sacrament as
a "divine" or "holy supper full of mysteries."

[Estribillo]: llegaos al convido
desta santa cena
de misterios llena

[Coplas]:
1) llegaos a comer
pues que dios os llama
lleno a de plaxer65
en divina cena
llegaos al convite
desta santa cena
de misterios llena

2) no tengáis71 lecelo68
veni peccadores70
gusta estos savores72

56. nació 57. tiene 58. todas 59. mantiene
60. incluye 61. sabor 62. de la festa 63. santa
64. Dios 65. placer 66. [santa] = [santa]
67. tengáis 68. recelo 69. veni[da] 70. peccadores
71. gusta[da] 72. sabores
venidos del cielo

pues alla en cielo

esta gracia plena
de misterios llena

4-2. (f. 13v). At the top is the soprano voice of No. 4-1, defaced and with incomplete text.

5. "Virgen madre de dios" (f. 5r). Robert Stevenson calls this piece, which begins "Virgin mother of God," a Christmas villancico. Since the folio containing the soprano and tenor parts is missing, it is impossible to know if this song originally included coplas. Without coplas it could have been sung as a hymn consisting of two stanzas, but if there had been coplas, the first of these stanzas would have served as an estribillo, and the second (both verses or only the last one) as a vuelta at the end of each copla.

Virgen madre de dios
Virgen senora vos

[Virgen madre de Dios]
Cosa soberana

6. "De la sagrada maria" (f. 5v-6r). The Christmas text found in No. 6 describes Christ as "the Sun who expels the darkness by His birth," and is one of six villancico texts set to this piece of music.

---

73. cielo
74. alla
75. e[ll]
76. estable
78. Dios
79. possibly senora-[a] vos
(cf. Nos. 10, 19, 20, 21, 22). The main differences among the six versions of the music in M. Md. 7 are some rhythmic accomodations for the text in No. 20, and an independent tenor part in measure 5 of Nos. 6 and 10; the four other settings duplicate the alto part at this point.

[Estribillo]: De la sagrada maria
que 01 nacio
nacio el sol que dios embio

Copla: el sol en su nacimiento
la tiniebla expelio
maria que lo pario
que dios in corrompimiento
de la que gano el contento
que 01 nacio
nacio el sol que dios embio

7. "hoi nace la nueva estiella" (f. 6v-7r). In this Christmas text we find God described as "the true Sun and the Star that shines upon us," and Mary as the "mother and virgin [who] has God as her son."

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80. Maria 81. Chloy; A: i in repeat of this line
82. naci6; A: naci in repeat of this word 83. Dios
84. envi6 85. la[s] tiniebla[s] 86. expelio
87. 88. Dios [Sl]in corrompimiento
89. gan6
The song consists of four stanzas, each consisting of four verses, and was probably sung in the manner of a strophic hymn. The poetic form of the text is not immediately clear in the manuscript, because the first two verses of the third stanza were initially omitted and later added following the fourth stanza. The practice of writing two verses per line of text has also obscured the form to some extent, although each line is divided into two verses by the sign $\|$ which corresponds with a congruence sign in the music (Figure 2). After the verses are put in their correct order, the stanzas all follow the rhyme pattern A B A B.

Robert Stevenson couples this Christmas song with the Christmas villancico which immediately precedes it in the manuscript (No. 6). In this, he may consider the hymn-like No. 7 to be a romance, since it has several characteristics in common with that form. The custom of appending a villancico (No. 6) to a romance (No. 7) as a deshecha (poetic conclusion) was common during the Conquest century. The metrical relationship of the two pieces follows the general rule for the romance-villancico combination: a duple- or common-meter romance combined with a villancico in triple meter; however, the different keys of the two pieces make it less likely that they were used together.

90. Stevenson, Christmas Music, 9. See Table III for Stevenson's foliation of these two pieces.


92. Pope, "Musical and Metrical Form," 205-06.

93. Querol Galvadá, op. cit., 120. See also Stevenson, Christmas Music, 12.
1) hoy nace la nueva estrella que por lumbre tiene a Dios. Refrujente pura y bella virgen santa que sois vos.

2) Dios es el sol verdadero y la estrella que nos claca es del mar norte y lucero.

3) maría madre y doncella por [su] hijo tiene a Dios nació y sien doncella querida esposa de Dios.

4) co la reina esclarecida y luna resplandeciente Remedio de nuestra vida la que nace del oriente.

94. hoy 95. AT: la omitted 96. nueva
97. estrella 98. Dios 99. refulgente; S: refujente
100. B: pulla 101. virgen santa 102. ATB: bos
103. verdadero 104. [al]clara 105. lucero
106. allá 107. María 108. nació
109. sien[do] 110. es[ponsa] 111. co[n]
112. reina 113. resplandeciente 114. vida
115. nace
8. "Dios es ya nacido" (f. 7v-8r). The text of this Christmas villancico speaks of the "God of Israel" being born among us of a virgin.

[Estribillo]: Dios es ya nacido
entre nosotros aca

116. Dios es ya nacido
entre nosotros aca

117. es nacido ya

dios es nacido ya

[Copla: 1) Dios de ysrael
que jamas
Dios es nacido ya

[Repeat Estribillo]

118. Dios de ysrael

119. abra

120. Dios es nacido ya

[Repeat Estribillo]

2) mas lindo estrellas
A nacido el
De virgen doncella

[Repeat Estribillo]

121. mas

122. lindo estrellas

123. A nacido el

124. De virgen doncella

[Repeat Estribillo]

3) [mas lindo estrellas
A nacido el
Es mas linda y bella

[Repeat Estribillo]

9. "y technepa sacramento dios" (f. 8v-9r). This text is "fairly obvious 'trade' Náhuatl of 16th-century Middle America; syllable breaks follow regular phonemic rules for Náhuatl. Some word meanings

116. acá

117. Dios

118. Israel

119. jamás

120. abrá

121. más

122. [que] estrellas

123. el
[are] clear--others [are] confused by orthography or local 'idioms.' Due to the corrupted condition of the language, word division throughout the song is only approximate.

Several features in the text and music may classify this piece as a litany. The text is a supplication addressed to God at the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, and is sung in the simple chordal style (fabordón) that is sometimes used when a litany is sung by an entire church congregation.125

The last eleven notes of the tenor part were missing from the manuscript because of a torn folio. This and the several other missing notes within the other three parts caused difficulty in the reconstruction. Only the first stanza was underlaid, and care needs to be taken in setting the remainder of the stanzas because of their differing lengths. Reconstruction was made more complex by the following pitch problems (see critical notes):

**Soprano:** Notes 1-7, 9 and 10 of section 1 were originally written one step too high. Notes 11-13 and all of section 2 return to correct pitch.

**Alto:** Notes 12-14 of section 1, and notes 1, 2, 4 and 5 of section 2 were originally written one step too low, with the correct pitch returning on the final note of section 2.

**Bass:** Notes 1-8 of section 1 were originally written one step too high. Notes 9-13 of section 1 and notes 1-4 of section 2 return to correct pitch.

---


With the raising and lowering of pitches in the appropriate sections and the filling in of missing notes, this piece can be reconstituted in a manner which suggests that the bass line may have originally been similar to the formula for Tone I.

Text of No. 9:

1) y technepa sacramento
dios oncacama
val tic tlatlauil tic\textsuperscript{126}

2) ceca y tevel y tech yal
chicavo
val tic tlatlauil tic\textsuperscript{a}

3) to naca yo quichipava
val tic tlatlauil tic\textsuperscript{a}

4) no ch ne miliz melavac
val tic tlatlauil tic\textsuperscript{a}

5) y tlas cali nepaca
val tic tlatlauil tic\textsuperscript{a}

6) hostica y tech ano ne qui
val tic tlatlauil tic\textsuperscript{a}

7) y nixquixtiz ne qui
val tic tlatlauil tic\textsuperscript{a}

General sense of text:

1) And on that sacrament of God sing
come, we pray to Him

2) [...] and strengthen our hearts
come, we pray to Him

3) cleansed our body
come, we pray to Him

4) [...] straighten
come, we pray to Him

5) and [...] home there
come, we pray to Him

6) we want the Host in us
come, we pray to Him

7) and I want to be saved
come, we pray to Him

\textsuperscript{126}. According to Dr. Robinson, tic\textsuperscript{a} is an honorific.
10. "Oy es día de placer" (f. 9v-10r). Robert Stevenson published this piece as a Christmas villancico. The text invites everyone to sing, dance and rejoice on this "day of pleasure" and see the "mysteries of great ecstasy" (cf. No. 6).

[Estribillo]:

Oy es día de placer:
y de cantar
via todos a bailar

[Copla]:

Regozamos este día
por ser: de tan placer
Pues en el tenemos que bre
misterios de gran alegría
comencemos con melodía
y de cantar
via todos a bailar


128. [H]Oy
129. día
130. S: placer

131. venid; AT: bia in repetition of this word
132. S: dodos in repetition of this word
133. AB: bailar
134. Regocijamos
135. tan[tol], or tal
136. placer
137. Pue[ls]
138. el
139. tenemos
140. ver
141. gran
142. alegría
143. melodía
11. "Así andando: El palto" (f. 10v). The story of Christ's birth is told by Mary in this Christmas villancico. She tells us that He was conceived inside her in Nazareth while the world awaited Him in Bethlehem, and says that she "gave birth without pain [and] with much ecstasy."

The copla music uses a four-fold repetition of its one phrase in order to accommodate the four verses of the stanza, but its repeats are not written into the manuscript (Figure 3).

[Estribillo]:
Así andando: El palto
se me va acercando
andando así quedando
virgen parió

[Repeat Estribillo]

12. "El fiel peso y medida" (f. 11v-12r). Here is another text for the celebration of St. Michael's feast. It concerns an

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>144. Así</th>
<th>145. parto; T: pardo</th>
<th>146. acercando</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>147. S: andado</td>
<td>148. parió</td>
<td>149. parió</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150. alegría</td>
<td>151. [N]azareth</td>
<td>152. venía</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153. fue [en]</td>
<td>154. día</td>
<td>155. el [está]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156. esperando</td>
<td>157. en</td>
<td>158. Belén, or Bethlehem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
additional office given to him by Christian tradition, that is, the
calling from earth of men's souls for judgment. 159 (See also remarks
for Nos. 1 and 13.)

Measure 7 contains one of the few examples of coloration in
Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7.

Este canto para fiesta de San miguel A 4 vozes [voces]

[Estribillo]: El fiel peso y medida:
que en el uivir 160 dios 161 nos dio 162
En vos miguel 163 lo dexo 164
para medir nuestra vida

[Coplas]: Es peso que solo a dios 161
que avita 165 en el alto cielo
Se le humille cielo y suelo:
Y ese miguel 163 teneis 166 vos
pues ese peso y medida:
que vida y muerte causo: 167
En vos miguel 163 lo dexo 164
para medir nuestra vida

1 and 12, this text deals with Michael the archangel. It describes

159. Holweck, op. cit., 710.
160. vivir
161. Dios
162. dió
163. Miguel
164. dejó, or dejó
165. Chlabita
166. tenéis
167. causó, or causa
his role as our protector against Satan, calling him the "strength and shield of the sinner in death, . . . who always breaks the head of the demon and deceives him." (See also remarks for Nos. 1 and 12.) Measures 7, 14 and 30 contain examples of coloration.

One of the most clearly marked repeat systems in M. Md. 7 is found in No. 13. The combination of congruence signs, custos marks, and the first few words of the text to be repeated, along with the rests placed after the soprano and alto parts of the estribillo, show clearly that the last half of the estribillo is to be repeated following the copla (Figures 5, 6).

**[Estribillo]:**

Sed Miguel

fuerza

y escudo

del pecador en la muerte:

que quien ay

que sea tan

que ante dios esté

seguro

**coplas:**

Sois Miguel

tal fortaleza

y de tan alto valor:

que al demonio engañador:

quebráis siempre la cabeza

y así de quien sois el muro

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>168. Miguel</th>
<th>169. SAT: fuerza</th>
<th>170. escudo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>171. ChJay</td>
<td>172. SB: ta</td>
<td>173. esté</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174. TB: seguro; A: seguro</td>
<td>175. fortaleza</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176. engañador</td>
<td>177. cabeza</td>
<td>178. así</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
segura lleva\textsuperscript{179} la fuerte\textsuperscript{180}
que quien ay\textsuperscript{171} que sea tan\textsuperscript{172} fuerte
que ante dios este\textsuperscript{173} seguro\textsuperscript{174}

14. "principatus" (f. 13v-14r). This piece appears three times in the San Miguel Acatán repertory. The \textit{Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7} copy has the title or text incipit "principatus." The \textit{San Juan Ixcoy} copy (See Table III for the location of this and the following citations.) is entitled "O gran principe," while the \textit{San Mateo Ixtatan} copy is without title or text incipit. The harmonization of the former varies somewhat from the copy in \textit{M. Md. 7}, while that of the latter is quite different. Both concordances have a written out repeat of measures 5-10, but \textit{M. Md. 7} does not. The \textit{San Mateo Ixtatan} copy has a flat before e in measure 9 of the bass voice, which I have added to both the bass and alto voices of that measure in \textit{Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7}.

Neither of the concordance manuscripts is dated, but the \textit{San Juan Ixcoy} manuscript is thought to date from about 1585 and to have many characteristics similar to Francisco de León's work in \textit{Santa Eulalia M. Md. 1} (dated 1582).\textsuperscript{181} This composition could therefore predate Pascual's known term of activity in the area (1595-1635).\textsuperscript{182}

15. "Domine ad ajuvando/gloria patri" (f. 14v-15r). This text consists of the second half of Psalm 69:2 plus the lesser doxology, \textit{Gloria Patri}. It is the response to the versicle "Deus in adjutorium

\textsuperscript{179} lleva\textsuperscript{180} or suerte\textsuperscript{181} Lilly catalog cards.
\textsuperscript{182} Stevenson, \textit{Aztec and Inca}, 206.
meum intende," which is the beginning of Psalm 69:2. In the Roman Catholic service, this versicle and response is sung at the beginning of each Office (LU, pp. 250-51, 263-64).\(^\text{183}\)

Sections 3 through 5 of the music contain some of the rare instances of contrapuntal writing in M. Md. 7 (Figure 7).

\begin{align*}
\text{Domine} & \quad \text{ad ajuvando me festina:} \\
\text{gloria patri et filio:} & \quad \text{185} \\
\text{Et spiritui sancto:} & \quad \text{188} \\
\text{Sicut erat in principio} & \quad \text{189} \\
\text{et nunc et semper:} & \quad \text{190} \\
\text{Et in secula seculorum} & \quad \text{192} \\
\text{Amen: Alleluia} & \quad \text{193}
\end{align*}

16-1, 16-4. "muestre la tierra alegria" (f. 16v-17r, 18v).

The estribillo of this villancico is complete only in No. 16-1. Its copla has been defaced and was recopied later in the manuscript where it is now designated as No. 16-4. These have been combined in the transcription in order to complete the piece.

No. 16-1 is designated "for the feast of All Saints," which is

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[184.] S: Domjne
\item[185.] a[dl]juvandum; T: ajuvando
\item[186.] Gloria Patri, et Filio
\item[187.] e[t]
\item[188.] Spiritui Sancto: A: spiritu sancto
\item[189.] A: principio
\item[190.] se[m]per
\item[191.] s[a]lecula
\item[192.] s[a]leculorum
\item[193.] Alleluia
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
solemnly celebrated on November 1. All those martyrs, confessors and virgins who have been formally beatified and canonized by the Church, those whose names are entered in the various martyrologies or whose cultus is of local observance, and all those known to man or only to God who have contended manfully in this life in whatever circumstances and states of life and now enjoy the blissful vision of God forever in Heaven are commemorated on this day.\(^{194}\) (Cf. Nos. 16-2, 16-3.)


---

La presencia\textsuperscript{210} de su gloria
vistase\textsuperscript{199} pues de alegria\textsuperscript{198}
E\textsuperscript{211} memoria desto\textsuperscript{212} el suelo
Oy\textsuperscript{201} quel acorde\textsuperscript{202} del cielo\textsuperscript{203}
celebra\textsuperscript{204} su eterno día\textsuperscript{205}

16-2. (f. 16r). Alto and bass voices of No. 16-1, scratched out and textless.

16-3. (f. 17v). Alto voice of No. 16-1, scratched out and textless.

16-4. (f. 18v). See remarks for No. 16-1.

17. (f. 16r). Fragment with the text "Dixit Dominus plataes."

18. (f. 17v). Fragment entitled "jesucristo nuestro dios."

19. "De la hermosa Rebeca" (f. 19v-20r). The Old Testament book of Genesis (Chapters 25, 27, 28 and 32) is the source for this villancico text which moralizes on Rebekah's choice of Jacob to receive Isaac's blessing. (Cf. No. 6.)

[Estribillo]:
De la hermosa Rebeca
ha escogido
nuestro zacob\textsuperscript{213} el\textsuperscript{214} su vestido

Copla: Alegria\textsuperscript{215} pues que bes\textsuperscript{216}
pecador lo que Res\textsuperscript{217}
pues lo que eres se\textsuperscript{218} hizo
20. "Forzado de amor de amores" (f. 20v-21r). It is likely that this piece was meant to be another Christmas villancico. The text tells how God, "compelled by love," chose Mary, "completely pure and more beautiful than the lily or rose, and through her made Himself human." (Cf. No. 6.)

[Estribillo]:

\[ \text{forzado}^{220} \text{ de amor de amores} \]

\[ \text{dios}^{221} \text{ embía}^{222} \]

\[ \text{llena de gracia a maría}^{223} \]

copla:

\[ \text{escogió}^{224} \text{ la soberando}^{225} \]

\[ \text{toda limpia toda hermosa} \]

\[ \text{mas}^{226} \text{ que lirio ni}^{227} \text{ que Rosa} \]

\[ \text{y en ella se hizo humano} \]

\[ \text{es dios}^{221} \text{ y nuestro hermano} \]

\[ \text{el}^{228} \text{ que embía}^{222} \]

\[ \text{llena de gracia a maría}^{223} \]

21. "Alegria pecadores" (f. 21v-22r). Here is another villancico text that was probably sung at Christmas. In it, sinners
are urged to be happy because, "from the royal generation of David and Juda is born Another, who gives us our eternal redemption."

(Cf. No. 6.)

[Estribillo]: Alegria<sup>229</sup> pecadores:
ques<sup>230</sup> nacida
de quien naze<sup>231</sup> nuestra vida

Copla: de la Real generation<sup>232</sup>
de david<sup>233</sup> y de juda<sup>234</sup>
naze<sup>231</sup> otila<sup>235</sup> que nos da
muestra eterna redemgion<sup>236</sup>
maria<sup>237</sup> consolacion<sup>238</sup>
escogida
de quien naze<sup>231</sup> nuestra vida

22. "Desde el cielo bajo Dios" (f. 22v-23r). Another Christmas villancico, this text tells us that the descent of God from heaven through the pure Virgin Mary "was for the sake of giving us life always." (Figure 9; cf. No. 6.)

[Estribillo]: Desde el cielo<sup>239</sup> bajo<sup>240</sup> Dios
su venida<sup>241</sup>
fue por danos<sup>242</sup> siempre vida

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>229. Alegria</th>
<th>230. que, les</th>
<th>231. nace</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>235. otra</td>
<td>236. redemgion</td>
<td>237. Maria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238. consolacion</td>
<td>239. A: cielo</td>
<td>240. bajo; A: bazo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>241. A: vinida</td>
<td>242. dariemos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
copla: bazo de la sumaltura
por hazerse igual a nos
el eterno y sacro dios
hizose hombre en su natura
en maria virgen pura
su venida
fue por danos siempre vida

23-1. "Aquestan tonceria" (f. 23v-24r). This song is marked "for the feast of Christmas." The text is quite corrupt. It has been reconstructed on the basis of No. 23-2 which, though also corrupt, has the abbreviations written out (Figures 8, 10). It says that the "mother, being a virgin, gave birth to more than she has looked on or heard."

Robert Stevenson's opinion that this villancico was clearly designed for dancing because of its reiterated rhythm is questionable. Its thirteen measure length and phrasing of 3 plus 2 plus 3½ plus 4½ measures does not seem to lend it to that purpose. There are no coplas given for it in the manuscript.

Este canto para fiesta te navitat Aquestan tonceria
mate siento virgen pario mas que a mira que oyo

243. bajó 244. suma_fallura 245. hacerse
246. igual 247. Dios 248. hizose 249. María
250. Stevenson, Renaissance and Baroque, 52.
251. Aquel_estan[dol] doncella 252. madre 253. siendo
254. parió 255. más; B: ma 256. [h]la mira[dol] 257. oyó
23-2. (f. 18r). At the top is the text for No. 23-1. The bottom half contains dates and scribbles.

23-3. (f. 11r). At the top are text and music incipits for the alto voice of No. 23-1.

24. (f. 23v-24r). This instrumental pavana in duple meter is titled both "favana" and "fahuana" in the manuscript (Figure 10), and its three strains, each repeated, do indeed fit the form of that dignified dance. It is the only complete piece in Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7 that is without text or text incipit.

25. "Si tanta gloria se da" (f. 24v-25r). The feast of All Saints may have been the occasion for singing this text which exclaims, "If such glory is given to the bodies on the earth, what glory remains for the souls in heaven."

Robert Stevenson says this villancico in quick triple meter serves as a \textit{Nachtanz} to the slower duple-meter pavana that immediately precedes it, and "conjures up the still prevalent scene of Chuj- and Mam-speaking Indians stamping out their costume dances in Guatemalan church festivities, to the clatter of drums and other percussion."$^{258}$ He has published a transcription of it which does not include the bass voice in measures 22-45.$^{259}$

[Estribillo]: Si tanta$^{260}$ gloria se da:
A los$^{261}$ cuerpos en el suelo:

$^{258}$ Stevenson, \textit{Renaissance and Baroque}, 52.
$^{260}$ TB: tanda
$^{261}$ S: loos
que gloria se lestará:
A las almas en el cielo

coplas:
Si por las pobres casillas:
donde los santos moraron:
los Ángeles abajaron:
de los soberanos sillas:
Haciendo mil maravillas:
Cum gloria de Hommano vuelo

[Repeat Estribillo]

26. "Donec ponam/Tecum principium/Dominus a dextris/De torente"
(f. 25v-27r). The text for this Tone VIII fabordón setting comes from Psalm 109, verses 1, 3, 5 and 7 (LU, p. 133, verses 2, 4, 6 and 8).
The three incorrect spellings of "bibet" in the alto, tenor and bass voices of this psalm show not only the confusion between initial b and v at this time, but also the common use of initial u for v.

If Santa Eulalia M. Md. 3 dates from about 1585 as has been suggested, then the concordance in that manuscript for No. 26 would predate the period of Tomás Pascual's known activity as maestro de capilla (1595-1635). This would, of course, make the possibility of his being the composer of this psalm setting unlikely. Pascual may

262. rostará; B: lesdara
263. A: Dondes
264. santos; B: sanctos
265. las soberanas
266. Haciendo
267. de Homano; or deo mano; A: de ommano
268. vuelo
269. Lilly catalog cards.
270. Stevenson, Aztec and Inca, 206.
have been responsible for the occasional differences in pitch and duration, and the numerous faintly visible added notes in the M. Md. 7 copy which can be seen when comparing it with the copy in M. Md. 3. Several of these added notes appear in Figure 11 in the "ex utero" section of both the soprano and tenor parts.

Donec ponam inimicos tuos:
Scaberum ²⁷¹ pedum ²⁷² tuorum

Tecum principium in die virtutis tue:²⁷³
in ²⁷⁴ splendoribus ²⁷⁵ sanctorum: ²⁷⁶
Ex utero ante lugiferum ²⁷⁷ genui te

Dominus a dextris tuis:
Confregit ²⁷⁸ in die ²⁷⁹ ere ²⁸⁰ sue ²⁸¹ reges

De torente ²⁸² in via ²⁸³ bibet: ²⁸⁴
Propterea ²⁸⁵ exaldauit ²⁸⁶ caput

²⁷¹. "Surrexit dominus alleluia" (f. 27v-28r). This villancico was no doubt used for Easter or within the octave. There is also a

| 271. scabellum | 272. ST: pedu | 273. tu[ale] |
| 274. SAT: y | 275. splendoribus | 276. T: sanctuorum |
| 277. S: luciperum | 278. Confregit | 279. AB: di |
| 280. ir[ale] | 281. su[ale]; A: suae omitted |
| 282. tor[rente] | 283. SAB: uia |
| 284. A: bibit; T: vibit; B: uibit |
| 285. A: Propterea | 286. exaltavit |
possibility of its having been incorporated into the traditional *Quem quaeritis* Easter drama (see remarks for No. 31). Two complete copies of the text and music appear in *Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7* (cf. No. 27-2).

The text of the first stanza of the coplas is based on Mark 16:6-7, in which the angel at Christ's empty tomb announced to Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome that the Lord had risen and gone to Galilee, just as he had promised.

The text of the second stanza is based on Luke 24:34. Cleopas and another follower of Jesus returned to Jerusalem after having met Him on the road to Emmaus. The two then found the disciples and other followers who were saying that the Lord had risen indeed and had appeared to Simon. The subject of this text suggests use in the simpler type of Peregrinus dramas which deal with the incidents on the road to Emmaus.

The third stanza text is a portion of the alleluia verse following the gradual for the Easter Tuesday Mass (*LU*, p. 790), and states that the Lord has risen from the grave.

cuilancicos [villancicos] de pascua Resurreccion [Resurrección]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 27-1</th>
<th>No. 27-2</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>[Estribillo]:</strong></td>
<td><strong>[Estribillo]:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surrexit 288</td>
<td>Surrexit 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dominus 289</td>
<td>dominus 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alleluya 290</td>
<td>alleluya 290</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


288. STB: Surrexit

289. Dominus

290. alleluya
coplas:
1) Sicut dixi vobis alleluia
[Repeat Estribillo]
2) et paluit simonis alleluia
[Repeat Estribillo]
3) Surrexit dominus de sepulchro alleluia
[Repeat Estribillo]

28. "O virgen maria" (f. 29v-30r). Christmas is again the theme in this villancico. The text first addresses Mary saying, "Oh, Virgin Mary who gave birth to God, there is not another like you in the world," and then describes Christ as "the gentle Lamb who is the son of God [and the] light of my life."

The music for the soprano and tenor parts in No. 28 is identical to the music for those two parts in No. 31 (the alto and bass parts are missing from No. 31). In the transcriptions the soprano line was raised a minor third because of the incorrectly placed C clef in the manuscript, and the flat in the tenor key signature was moved to b from the original
Although No. 31 includes coplas, there are none for No. 28. The adaptation of the coplas of No. 31 to this piece would require a substitution for their Easter text.

The final note of the bass part is the only use of a ledger line in the manuscript. Beneath it is written "vasco" (= basso).

1) O virgen maría
   que paristes a dios:
   no ay en el mundo
   odra como vos

2) el cortelor manso
   que es hijo de dios:
   lumbre de mi vida
   dulce corazón

3) [el cortelor manso
   que es hijo de dios]
   el es mi visita
   con mucha razón

29. "Et misericordia/Deposuit potendes/Suscepit israel/gloria patri" (f. 31r-33r). This Tone VI setting of the even-numbered verses
of the Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55; LU, p. 207) was probably performed in the traditional style which juxtaposed them with the plainsong odd-numbered verses. The Tone VI formula can be seen in its entirety in the tenor voice of the doxology, and in part in the tenor and bass voices of "Suscepit israel."

The Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7 setting of the Magnificat includes verses 50, 52 and 54, but its concordance in Santa Eulalia M. Md. 5 also includes verses 46 and 48.\(^{310}\) Our version was undoubtedly considered complete by its compiler since it, like the M. Md. 5 setting ends with the doxology. The only verses in both versions that exist in four parts are the "Suscepit israel" and "gloria patri" of M. Md. 7. In all other verses only two of the four voices remain (soprano and tenor, or alto and bass) depending upon which folio is missing.\(^{311}\)

No. 29 is one of the few examples of contrapuntal writing in M. Md. 7; as with similar pieces in this compilation, it was apparently borrowed from one of the earlier manuscripts, in this case M. Md. 5 which contains the date 1589.\(^{312}\) Hence Pascual, who is thought to be the composer of the villancicos in our manuscript, was probably not the composer of this piece.

\(^{310}\) A transcription of verses 46 and 48 from M. Md. 5 may be found in the Appendix.

\(^{311}\) The transcription of No. 29 in this edition was completed with the aid of a version prepared by Paul Borg.

\(^{312}\) Lilly catalog cards.
[Magnificat] Anima mea dominum 313
Quia respexit humilitatem ancille 314 sue 315
 Ecce enim Ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes 316
Et misericordia ejus a progienie 317 in progenies timentibus 318 eum
Deposuit potentes 319 de 320 sede et exaluit 321 humiles 322
Susgepit israel 323 puerrum 324 suum 325 recordatus misericordie 326 sue 327
 Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto 328

30. "Ne recorderis" (f. 33v-34r). This text is the third response of the second nocturn within the Office for the Dead which is sung during Matins. The plainsong texts and music in the transcription have been adapted from the Liber Usualis and the Roman Gradual, but the
polyphonic sections are as found in the manuscript and appear to be harmonizations based on the sixth tone (LU, p. 1792 and GR, p. 94).

Paul Borg has found two published transcriptions and eight manuscript concordances of the polyphonic setting of this *Ne recorderis* response (see Table III for concordances).\textsuperscript{329} Most of these concordances credit Cristóbal de Morales as the composer of the setting, but the two Tarazona manuscript sources cite it as the work of Francisco de la Torre.

The Morales setting, as published by Pedrell,\textsuperscript{330} specifies an *alternatim* performance for the response, in which the polyphony is sung by four cantors and the plainsong by a chorus. The text, but not the music, of the plainsong is included in that edition.

The Pedrell edition repeats the "Dum veneris" section immediately before "Kyrie eleison," and repeats the "Kyrie" section following "Christe eleison." "Dum veneris" is also repeated in the Liber Usualis, but is followed by "Requiem aeternam" rather than by "Kyrie," "Christe," "Kyrie." The *M. Md. 7* copy does not indicate repetition of any of the sections.

Although much similarity exists between the Pedrell edition and the copy in *Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7*, several differences are immediately noticeable when comparing these two versions of the setting. The most

\textsuperscript{329} Paul W. Borg, "The Polyphonic Music in the Guatemalan Music Manuscripts of the Lilly Library." Dissertation in progress, Indiana University. Four of these manuscript concordances are discussed in Robert Stevenson's Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961), 13, 107-08, 127 n. 270.

extensive pitch differences occur in the first few measures of the "Ne recorderis" section in all four voices. Most rhythmic differences involve the unequal division of a larger note value, in either of the versions, into two smaller note values in the other version to create a repeated note or a passing tone (\( \cdot \)) becomes \( \cdot \). The only textual differences are the text repeats within most polyphonic sections of the M. Md. 7 version, none of which occur in the Pedrell edition. Another difference is the tying of repeated notes in Pedrell's edition, while there is no indication of this in M. Md. 7. Perhaps the repetition of a pitch without a change of syllable in M. Md. 7 indicates the reemphasis of that pitch rather than merely a long duration which could have been shown just as easily through use of a larger note value.

\[\text{Ne recorderis}\]
\[\text{peccata mea, Domine,}\]
\[\text{Dum veneris}\]
\[\text{judicare saeculum per ignem.}\]
\[\text{Dirige}\]
\[\text{Domine Deus meus,}\]
\[\text{in conspectu tuo viam meam.}\]
\[\text{Kyrie eleison}\]
\[\text{Christe eleison.}\]

---

331. T: Recorderig

332. S: Dum verig, dum veneris in repeats of these words; B: Dum neris in repeat of these words

333. eleison; S: Kirie leyson; AB: Kyrie leyson
31. "Maria magdalena" (f. 35v). Although there are numerous unsolved problems remaining in this text, it is evident that it contains the story of the three Marys at the tomb of Christ on Easter morning. The estribillo concerns Mary Magdalene ("Maria magdalena"), while the first and second stanzas of the copla mention Mary the mother of Jesus ("la matre te Dios") and the other Mary ("et altera maria"). This villancico, along with No. 27-1 ("Surrexit Dominus") may have been used in an Easter drama stemming from the tenth-century trope Quem quaeritis which was customarily prefixed to the Introit of the Mass for Easter. Through the centuries this trope was extended into a number of dramas with added scenes, additional music, and new text. The trope originally covered the resurrection story from the arrival of the three Marys at Christ's tomb, through their encounter with the angel and their declaration that the resurrection had occurred. The elements of the story can be seen in the text of No. 31 as follows.

In the estribillo, "cruz" could refer not only to the actual cross on which Christ was crucified, but also to the cross which was wrapped in grave cloths and placed in an artificial tomb to symbolize Christ's death and resurrection in ancient Easter ceremonies. In the Quem quaeritis trope, the angel shows the three Marys that the cross is no longer in the tomb.

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One of the suggested readings for the letters "az," which begin line two of the estribillo, is θλαζ (= right side, or outside of cloth). This word, when combined with "cama" (= piece of cloth which is part of a cloak) at the end of the same line of text, may refer to the grave cloths which the Marys hold up before the eyes of the clergy as proof of Christ's resurrection.336

In the first stanza of the coplas, "amanecer" (= dawn) gives the time of the Marys' arrival at the tomb.

The third line of the second stanza, all of which was written in a different hand (Figure 12), refers to Christ's tomb ("at monumento" = ad monumentum, or a monumento = at the tomb). These words are included in numerous versions of the Easter play, and introduce a section sung by the three Marys in which they relate how they came mournfully to the tomb and found that the Lord had risen.337

The final line of the second stanza is "isus quen quéris ti" (= Jesus queil en quierés tú, or Jesum quem quæseritis = Jesus whom you seek). These words originate in Matthew 28:5 and Mark 16:6, in the dialogue between the angel and the women at the tomb, and are the opening words for the Quem quaeritis trope.

The "Surrexit Dominus" villancico (No. 27-1) also contains elements of the Easter drama. The estribillo corresponds to the part

336. Ibid.

337. Ibid., 322. An eleventh-century version of Quem quaeritis is printed in Arnold Schering's Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen (Wiesbaden, 1959), 5.
of the dialogue in which the three Marys say to the choir, "Alleluia! resurrexit Dominus!," immediately after receiving the news from the angel. The third stanza of the coplas contains the text that is sung by the Marys after displaying the grave cloths. The first stanza is part of the angel's announcement of Christ's resurrection. The text of No. 27-1 and its other possible uses are discussed in the remarks for that villancico.

Since the story of the three Marys was a favorite dramatic subject in Spain, the tradition of the Easter drama was probably carried on in the Spanish colonies of the New World, making the use of these two villancicos in such a drama a distinct possibility.

The music for the soprano and tenor parts in No. 31 is identical to the music for those two parts in No. 28, including the clef and key signature errors discussed in the remarks for No. 28. The alto and bass parts are missing from No. 31, but have been replaced by their corresponding parts from No. 28. No. 31 has a soprano copla which is not present in No. 28. This copla has a portion which appears to have been scratched out in the manuscript (Figure 12). The transcription omits this portion because its use results in a style which is much more melismatic than that of the other villancicos in Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7.

339. Ibid., 195.
Estribillo: María magdalena
quien bi Delya cruz
azel Delya cama
qui nino Jesus

Coplas:
1) ya canta ya canta
el calloasc amanece:
asta qui sopblece
la matre te Dios

[Repeat Estribillo]

2) et altera maria
ibat ti lucolo
at monumento
isus quen quieres ti

[Repeat Estribillo]

340. María Magdalena 341. queñen vi, queñenví, or quien vi
342. della = de Jella 343. Chlaz él, Chlacer, or Chlacejell
344. cama falqui 345. niño; S: niyo 346. Jesús
347. or casloasc; possibly carrasca, or carraca
348. Chlasta falqui sopblece, Chlasta quiso pblece, or Chlasta quiso... L CFOREE
349. madre 350. de 351. María
352. possibly ipan, iban, or ibas
353. ti, or tú 354. possibly luctuoso, or luctum
355. a, or ad 356. Jesús
357. quien quieres ti, quien quieres tú, or quem quaeritis
32-1. "bay magalhi" (f. 36v-37r). Since the entire tenor part and all but a fragment of the soprano part of this song have been torn from the manuscript, it is likely that there are several portions of their texts missing in measures 1-5 where the alto and bass parts have rests. About one half of the text is also missing from measures 10-14 of the bass part. The word order in measures 12 and 13 of the alto part is also conjectural due to both this lack of text in the corresponding bass area and the complete absence of text in the concordance (No. 32-2).

The syllabification of this text is normal for Náhuiatl, but the word meanings are tricky. More comparative materials are needed in order to make a complete translation. 358

Text of No. 32-1: Partial translation:

bay magalhi            [     ][     ] my house

tzet yechel magalhi    [     ][     ] my house

nimá xpuuh magalhi     soon/quickly [     ][     ] my house

yban ypat hata magalhi  and on/in [     ][     ] my house

zachol dios

hagaç cazcahol dios    [     ][     ] God

mag yu neneh

ztoh quinal

go poh *S. ta *m 359    that He us
draw near

[     ][     ] Holy Mary

358. Letter from Dr. Dow Robinson, May 12, 1980.

359. Santa Maria
32-2. (f. 40r). Alto and bass voices of No. 32-1, textless.

33. (f. 37v). Textless fragment.

34-1. "tibi soli pecaui" (f. 38v-39r). The text for this fabordon setting is Psalm 50:6 (see remarks for No. 37). The spellings in the different copies of this text within Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7 (cf. Nos. 34-2 and 34-3, which are the only other two of the five versions of this piece that have texts) are a good example of the interchangeability between u and v and between i and j in Latin at the time this manuscript was copied.

No. 34-1

- tibi soli pecaui
- et malum coram te fecit
- ut justificeris
- sermonibus tuuis
- et uincas cum juticaris

No. 34-2

- tibi soli pecaui
- et malum coran te fecit
- vt justificeris
- sermonibus tuuis
- et vincas cum juticaris

No. 34-3

- tibi soli pecaui
- et malum coran te fecit
- vt justificeris
- sermonibus tuuis
- et vincas cum juticaris

No. 34-4

- textless

No. 34-5

- textless

---

360. peccavi
361. feci
362. SAB: vt
363. T: justifigerris
364. in
365. vincas
366. judicaris; A: juticalis
367. coram
368. ut
369. justificeris
370. A: uincas
371. judicaris
34-2. (f. 39v). Soprano and alto voices of No. 34-1 with text.

34-3. (f. 42v-43r). Tenor and bass voices of No. 34-1 with text.

34-4. (f. 37v). Soprano voice of No. 34-1, defaced and textless.

34-5. (f. 38r). Soprano voice of No. 34-1, textless.

35. "Abrase el rey de cielo" (f. 40v-41r). The Immaculate Conception is the subject of this villancico text which describes the crowning victory of "mercy here on the earth" through the espousal of "the King of heaven [and] the Queen of glory." The description in the copla of the angels carrying Mary in victory and triumph to be presented to her Son "today" may indicate that this text was sung at Christmas.

The music of No. 35 appears three other places in the San Miguel Acatán repertory (see Table III for concordances). The text of the concordance in Santa Eulalia M. Md. 3 is written in one of the native Indian languages, and a large portion of it is given in Stevenson's catalog of that manuscript. Those in Santa Eulalia M. Md. 1 and 5 both contain a text commemorating the feast of the virgin martyr Saint Eulalia of Mérida (born c. 292 A.D., died 304 A.D.), which is celebrated December 10.

Pascual may have borrowed this music from Francisco de León, because M. Md. 1, dated 1582, contains a signed statement from de León saying that he "made this book of songs." M. Md. 3 and 5 are also

372. Stevenson, Renaissance and Baroque, 62.

373. Butler, op. cit., 530, and Berchmans Bittle, A Saint a Day According to the Liturgical Calendar of the Church (Milwaukee, 1958), 323.
thought to predate *M. Md. 7* (1600), possibly dating from 1585 and 1589 respectively.\footnote{374}

\[\text{[Estribillo]}:\quad \text{Abrase 375 el 376 reyno 377 del 378 cielo}\]
\[\quad \text{a la reyna 379 de la gloria}\]
\[\quad \text{pues mercio 380 aca 381 en el suelo}\]
\[\quad \text{tal corona de victoria}\]

\[\text{copla:}\quad \text{oy 382 los angeles 383 la lleva 384}\]
\[\quad \text{zunto 385 el 386 caer con el alma}\]
\[\quad \text{lleva 387 victoria de palma}\]
\[\quad \text{y a su hizo 388 la presentan}\]
\[\quad \text{pues mercio 380 aca 381 en el suelo}\]
\[\quad \text{tal corona de victoria}\]

36. "magalhi vinac Dios" (f. 41v-42r). According to Dow Robinson this text is the most understandable of the three Náhuatl texts in *Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7*, and is about the redemptive life of Christ according to the final chapters of Matthew, Mark and Luke. It is apparently a worship or praise song used along with the mass.\footnote{389}

\footnote{374. Lilly catalog cards.}
\footnote{375. Abrasense}
\footnote{376. AB: el omitted}
\footnote{377. reino; AB: reyna}
\footnote{378. B: tel}
\footnote{379. reina; A: reina}
\footnote{380. mer[el]ció; AB: mercio; S: melecio}
\footnote{381. aca}
\footnote{382. [h]Joy}
\footnote{383. ángeles}
\footnote{384. lleva[n]l}
\footnote{385. Junto}
\footnote{386. al}
\footnote{387. lleva[n]l}
\footnote{388. hijo}
\footnote{389. Letter from Dr. Dow Robinson, May 12, 1980.}
The musical form of this piece is confusing because of the ambiguity of the custos marks following the soprano, alto and bass parts. No rests are included for the alto, tenor and bass parts during the soprano copla, and no text incipits are given to show what part of the estribillo is to be repeated. Congruence signs (\(\text{\textcircled{C}}\)) usually precede the custos marks in instructions for repetition in M. Md. 7, but in this case the two are reversed, with the custos marks appearing first (Figures 13, 14). Due to this reversal, it appears that the repeat begins with the first occurrence of the pitches corresponding with the custos marks which immediately precedes a congruence sign in the music. This suggestion results in a complete da capo of the estribillo following the soprano copla.

Text of No. 36:

[Estribillo]:

magalhi vinac dios a tu belen
hiyuus

yus macoz cole locyuahul zcab

oxla hutex

valnimá valnimá
valnimá valnimá

[Copla]:

ma gii cobac chil

max vas hivinac

coc bues chicani vagil nos nac

General sense of text:

[Estribillo]:

God made His house in Bethlehem

coming from far away His inner self/heart pierced

[along] His rough/difficult road/trail

come quickly, come quickly,
come quickly, come quickly

that He bought [with] red [blood]

that coming to be shamed/made guilty

well, really He was dried out/killed in His flesh
the Holy Spirit, on our behalf, will appear from nowhere

sing His glory, come, sing His glory

that He bought [with] red [blood]

that coming He was shamed/made guilty

[Repeat Estribillo]

37. "miserere mei Deus" (f. 42v-43r). Psalm 50 is included in the Burial Service of the Roman Catholic Church (LU, pp. 1763-64). The first half of verse three, "Miserere mei Deus," is intoned by the cantors, after which two alternating choirs continue with "secuntum magnam misericordiam tuam" and sing Psalm 50 in its entirety as the corpse is borne from the house to the church. Following the psalm, the versicle "Requiem aeternam dona ei Domine" is said.

Since Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7 includes fabordón settings of both verses 3 and 6 of Psalm 50 (verses 1 and 5 in the Liber Usualis, with different division of verses), an alternatim setting using polyphony and plainsong may have been intended for the whole psalm (see remarks for No. 34-1).

miserere mei Deus

Secuntum magnam misericordiam tuam

390. de spíritu santo, or de spiritu sancto

391. secundum

392. misericordiam

393. tuam
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Number</th>
<th>Foliation</th>
<th>Text Incipit/Description</th>
<th>Concordances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1r</td>
<td>Scribbles and writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7/1</td>
<td>1v-2r</td>
<td>victoria victoria quien a vengido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7/2</td>
<td>2v-3r</td>
<td>yesus chrysto nuestro dios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7/3</td>
<td>3v-4r</td>
<td>Esta es cens de amor liena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-1</td>
<td>7/4</td>
<td>4r</td>
<td>llegaos al convido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7/5</td>
<td>5r</td>
<td>Virgen madre de dios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7/6</td>
<td>5v-6r</td>
<td>De la sagrado maria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>7/7</td>
<td>6v-7r</td>
<td>hoy nace la nueva estrella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>7/8</td>
<td>7v-8r</td>
<td>Dios es ya nacido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>7/9</td>
<td>8v-9r</td>
<td>y techena sacramento dios ono陰cana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>7/10</td>
<td>9v-10r</td>
<td>Oy es dia de plager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>7/11</td>
<td>10v</td>
<td>Así andando: El palto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23-3</td>
<td></td>
<td>11r</td>
<td>Aqués; music fragment, A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11r</td>
<td>11r</td>
<td>Inscription signed by Tomás Pascual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>7/12</td>
<td>11v-12r</td>
<td>El fiel peso y medida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>7/13</td>
<td>12v-13r</td>
<td>Sed miguel fuerza y escuto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-2</td>
<td>7/14</td>
<td>13r</td>
<td>llegaos al convido; complete 8, incomplete copias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>7/15</td>
<td>13v-14r</td>
<td>principatus; complete music with text incipit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>7/16</td>
<td>14v-15r</td>
<td>Domine ad ajuvando/gloria patri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15v</td>
<td>Blank page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item Number</td>
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<td>Concordances</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-2</td>
<td>7/17</td>
<td>[muestra la tierra alegria; A and B of estribillo, music only]</td>
<td><em>Santa Bualia M, Md. 7, No. 16-1.</em> Contains complete text and music of estribillo, and defaced, incomplete copla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>7/18</td>
<td>Dexit Dominus plen tes; music fragment with text incipit</td>
<td><em>Santa Bualia M, Md. 7, No. 16-2.</em> Contains defaced, textless A and B of estribillo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-1</td>
<td>7/19</td>
<td>muestra la tierra alegria</td>
<td><em>Santa Bualia M, Md. 7, No. 16-3.</em> Contains defaced, textless A of estribillo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-3</td>
<td>7/20</td>
<td>[muestra la tierra alegria; A of estribillo, music only]</td>
<td><em>Santa Bualia M, Md. 7, No. 16-4.</em> Contains complete music and text of copla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>7/21</td>
<td>jesucristo nuestro dios; music fragment with text incipit</td>
<td><em>Santa Bualia M, Md. 7, No. 16-5.</em> Contains complete text and music of estribillo, and defaced, incomplete copla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23-2</td>
<td>18r</td>
<td>Aquestan tonereria</td>
<td><em>Santa Bualia M, Md. 7, No. 16-6.</em> Contains complete music and text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-4</td>
<td>7/22</td>
<td>guarda el mundo la memoria; copla only</td>
<td><em>Santa Bualia M, Md. 7, No. 16-7.</em> Contains defaced, textless A and B of estribillo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item Number</td>
<td>Foliation</td>
<td>Text Incipit/Description</td>
<td>Concordances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
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<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>7/23</td>
<td>De la hermosa Rebeca</td>
<td>Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, Nos. 6, 10, 20, 21, 22, Contain the same music as No. 19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>7/24</td>
<td>forgado de amor de amores</td>
<td>Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, Nos. 6, 10, 19, 21, 22, Contain the same music as No. 20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>7/25</td>
<td>Alegria pecadores</td>
<td>Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, Nos. 6, 10, 19, 20, 22, Contain the same music as No. 21.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>7/26</td>
<td>Desde el cielo bajo Dios</td>
<td>Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, Nos. 6, 10, 19, 20, 21, Contain the same music as No. 22.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23-1</td>
<td>7/27</td>
<td>Aquestan tonceria</td>
<td>Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 23-2. Contains text only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>7/29</td>
<td>Si tanta gloria se da</td>
<td>Santa Eulalia M. Md. 3, f. 40v-41r (Borg), or 36v-37r (Stevenson). Same text and music as No. 26.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>7/30</td>
<td>Domine ponam/Tecum principium/ Dominus a dextris/ De torente</td>
<td>Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 27-2. Contains same music and text as No. 27-1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-1</td>
<td>7/31</td>
<td>Susurrit dominus alleluya</td>
<td>Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 31, Contains same music as S and T of No. 26; has coplas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>7/32</td>
<td>O virgen maria</td>
<td>Santa Eulalia M. Md. 5, f. 16r-15v (Borg), or 9v-10r (Stevenson). Contains same music and text as No. 29; Et misericordia; A and B only/Deposuit potentes; A and B only/Suscepit israel/gloria patri; S and T only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>7/33</td>
<td>Et misericordia; A and B only/ Deposuit potentes; A and B only/ Suscepit israel/gloria patri</td>
<td>Avila, Archivo de la Catedral, Ms. 1, Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, Ms. 454, f. 68v-73r. Mexico City, Catedral, Choirbook 2, f. 13v-1br. New York, The Hispanic Society of America, Ms. RC 392/378, f. 14v-15r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>7/34</td>
<td>De recorderis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Item Number</td>
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<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baird</td>
<td>Borg</td>
<td>Baird/Borg</td>
<td>Stevenson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-2</td>
<td>7/35</td>
<td>34v-35r</td>
<td>29v-30r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>7/36</td>
<td>35v</td>
<td>36r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32-1</td>
<td>7/37</td>
<td>36v-37r</td>
<td>30v-31r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>7/38</td>
<td>37v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34-4</td>
<td>7/39</td>
<td>37v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34-5</td>
<td>7/39</td>
<td>36r</td>
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Puebla, Catedral, Archivo musical, Libro de coro No. 3, f. 92v-93r.

Taronzola, Catedral, Archivo musical, Ms. No. 1, f. 22v-22r (123v-124r).

Taronzola, Catedral, Archivo musical, Ms. No. 5, f. 82v-83r.

Toledo, Catedral, Biblioteca Capitolaria, Ms. 21, f. 121v-122r.


Rubio, Morales, p. 301.

Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 27-1. Contains same music and text as No. 27-2.

Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 28. Contains complete music; S and T are the same music as No. 31; no coplas.

Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 32-2. Contains textless A and B.

Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-1. Contains complete music and text.

Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-2. Contains music and text for S and A.

Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-3. Contains music and text for T and B.

Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-5. Contains textless S.

Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-1. Contains complete music and text.

Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-2. Contains music and text for S and A.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Number</th>
<th>Foliation</th>
<th>Text Incipit/Description</th>
<th>Concordances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 34-1        | 7/40      | 38v-39r 31v-32r tibi soli pecaui | Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-3. Contains music and text for T and B.  
Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-4. Contains textless, defaced S.  
Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-2. Contains music and text for S and A.  
Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-3. Contains music and text for T and B.  
Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-1. Contains textless, defaced S.  
Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-5. Contains textless S. |
| 34-2        | 7/41      | 39v --------- tibi soli pecaui; complete S and A | Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-1. Contains complete music and text.  
Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-3. Contains music and text for T and B.  
Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-4. Contains textless, defaced S.  
Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-5. Contains textless S. |
| 32-2        | 7/42      | 40r --------- [bay magalhí]; A and B, music only | Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 32-1. Contains music and text for A and B, fragment of music and text for S. |
| 35          | 7/43      | 40v-41r 32v-33r Abrazo el rey do del cielo | Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, 1, f. 29v-30r (Borg), or 28v-29r (Stevenson). Contains same text and music as No. 35.  
Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, 1, f. 45v-46r (Borg), or 41v-42r (Stevenson). Contains same music as No. 35, with text beginning "Vachon lom."  
Santa Eulalia M. Md. 5, 1, 26r (Borg and Stevenson), contains music and text for A and B of No. 35. |
<p>| 36          | 7/44      | 41v-42r 33v-34r magalhi vinas dios a tu belen huyuas |  |
| 37          | 7/45      | 42v-43r 34v-35r miserere mei Deus |  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Number</th>
<th>Foliation</th>
<th>Text Incipit/Description</th>
<th>Concordances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 34-3        | 7/46      | 42v-43r ------ tibi soli pecauj; complete T and B | Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-1. Contains complete music and text.  
Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-2. Contains music and text for S and A.  
Santa Eulalia M. Md. 7, No. 34-5. Contains textless S. |
| -----       | 43v       | 35v Inscription, upside down. |              |


Chapter IV

EDITION OF SANTA EULALIA M. MD. 7

Editorial Procedures

The four voice parts in the pieces have been designated as soprano, alto, tenor and bass in order to make use of the abbreviations S, A, T and B in the critical notes and concordance table. The highest voice is actually labeled *tiple* in the manuscript, but an abbreviation of this would result in confusion with the tenor. The spellings of part designations vary in the manuscript:

Soprano: *tiple*, *tible*
Alto: *altus*, *alto*
Tenor: *tenor*, *denor*
Bass: *vasus*, *baxo*, *vaxo*, *vaso*

The missing material in pieces that are lacking a portion or all of a voice part has been replaced. In only one piece, No. 31-1, has this procedure been excepted; here the soprano and tenor parts evidently contained some duetting section with additional text.

Accidentals have not been added to the voice parts except in some obvious cases where they were needed to correct an octave. These have been cited in the critical notes.

The congruence signs ∴ and ♭ from the manuscript are shown as in this edition and fulfill one of the following purposes according to the context of their use:
1) to show congruence among voice parts (Figures 3, 5, 6).

2) to show congruence between the music and text when the sign appears in both (Figure 13).

3) to show congruence between the music and text when used in conjunction with the signs ††, :, or ... in the text (Figure 2).

4) to mark a dal segno repeat when directions for such are given following a copla (Figures 5, 6), usually in combination with number one.

5) to signify a sectional repeat (Figure 10).

6) to mark the beginning of a new stanza.

The signs †† and : in the text can also show congruence between the text and music when either is combined with a rest in the music (Figure 3). Occasionally, a : in the text corresponds with no rest or sign in the music, but simply divides one word from another (Figure 12). If either of the signs †† or † is used alone in the text with no corresponding mark in the music, only a text repeat is intended.

G clefs have been substituted for the C clefs in the alto, tenor and soprano parts except where they were already present. In No. 1, a G clef was substituted for the original alto clef in the bass part. In most cases there has been no change of pitch with the substitution of clefs. Exceptions are recorded in the critical notes.

Rests have been added to the alto, tenor and bass parts of the coplas in villancicos whose coplas are sung by a soprano soloist. Exceptions to this procedure are as follows:

1) the coplas of Nos. 12 and 13 are sung by tenor and bass soloists; rests for the soprano and alto parts were present for those measures in No. 13, and partially present in No. 12.
2) the copla of No. 16-1 is sung by a tenor soloist; rests have been added in the soprano, alto and bass parts for those measures.

3) the copla of No. 25 is sung by alto and bass soloists; rests have been added in the soprano and tenor parts for those measures.

Rests have also been added to the first three measures of the bass parts in Nos. 6, 19 and 20, and to measures 46-73 of the same voice in No. 29.
SANTA EULALIA M. MD. 7
Victoria victoria quien a vencido el gran Miguel

que vencio A luz-bel el atrevido y vencio

 siendo del triunfo con yustitu

 siendo del triunfo

 siendo del triunfo

 siendo del triunfo
lo dan a miguel por la victoria
Capitán y premio de gloria pues fue tan ex
clarend que al profundo deslumbro
Yesucristo nuestro Dios por nos

[tar contento y vida da-senos oy en comita]

el que pante selapinas tiui-no y ango
es tierno sangramiento
[y] comita supr[ ]nate
y siento onpre m[ ]pra
con ello ser ota [ ]uita  [D.C. al Fine]
cena de amor quieta junta
con el amate amante
de amor con amor que sato
[50] y de amor a su sabor

que nació tal cena diene
aunque a todas las mantiene
esta sola nos conviene
[50] porque concluye a su sabor
llegamos al convi- do de sta sancta ce- na
llegamos al convi- do de sta sancta ce- na
llegamos al convi- do de sta sancta ce- na
llegamos al convi- do de sta sancta ce- na
llegamos al convi- do de sta sancta ce- na
llegamos al convi- do de sta sancta ce- na
llegamos al convi- do de sta sancta ce- na
llegamos al convi- do de sta sancta ce- na

de mis-tre-rios lle- na de mis-tre-rios lle- na
de mis-tre-rios lle- na de mis-tre-rios lle- na
de mis-tre-rios lle- na de mis-tre-rios lle- na
de mis-tre-rios lle- na de mis-tre-rios lle- na

llegamos a co- mer pues que dios os llama
no tengáys lecelo
vení peccadore
gusta estos savores
venidos del cielo
pues allá en el cielo
esta gracia plena
[8'] de misterios llena
[de misterios llena]
Virgen madre de dios Virgen exorta vos Virgen exorta vos
Virgen madre de dios Co-sa so-be-rana Co-sa so-be-rana
Virgen madre de dios Virgen exorta vos Virgen exorta vos
Virgen madre de dios Co-sa so-be-rana Co-sa so-be-rana
Virgen madre de dios Virgen exorta vos Virgen exorta vos
Virgen madre de dios Co-sa so-be-rana Co-sa so-be-rana
Virgen madre de dios Virgen exorta vos Virgen exorta vos
Virgen madre de dios Co-sa so-be-rana Co-sa so-be-rana
dios es el sol heredero
y la estrella que nos clara
es del mar norte y luzero
que su luz toma de alla

maria madre y doncella
por [su] hijo tiene a dios
nacio y sien [do] doncella
querida esposa de dios

co la reyna esclarecida
y luna resplandesciente
Remedio de nuestra bida
la que nasce del oriente
Dios es ya nacido entre nosotros aca dios

[D.C. al Fine] copla

es nacido ya es nacido ya Dios de ye-
es nacido ya es nacido ya

es nacido ya es nacido ya

es nacido ya es nacido ya

[D.C. al Fine]
mas lindo estrellas...
A nacido el
De virgen doncella

[mas lindo estrellas
A nacido el]
Es mas linda y bella

[D.C. al Fine]
coca y tevel y tech yal chicavo u [vol tic tlaltlau tlac]

no ch ne miliz melavac u [vol tic tlaltlau tlac]

y tocali nepaca u [vol tic tlaltlau tlac]

hostica y tech ano ne qui [vol tic tlaltlau tlac]

y nixquiiz ti ne qui [vol tic tlaltlau tlac]
Así andando: El partose me va a

Así andando: El partose me va a

Así andando: El partose me va a

Así andando: El partose me va a

[Fine]

Serviendo andando así quedando virgen partió

Serviendo andando así quedando virgen partió

Serviendo andando así quedando virgen partió

Serviendo andando así quedando virgen partió

Copla

Sin dolor partió con mucha alegría
y en [n]a-çareth al Señor que de los cielos venía

fue mi vientre concebido este día

el mundo lesía esparando Em__beth-___len
El fiel peso y medida: que en el vivir

[Fine]

Es peso que solo a

El fiel peso y medida: que en el vivir
dios que a-vít-en el aíto cie-lo Se le hui-mi lle cie-lo

dios que a-vít-en el aíto cie-lo Se le hui-mi lle cie-lo

y sue-lo: Ye-se mi-gual te-neis-vos [pues e-

y sue-lo: Ye-se mi-gual te-neis-vos] pues e-

[D.S. al Fine]
Sed mi-guel fuer-ca y es-cu-to
Sed mi-guel fuer-ca y es-cu-to
Sed mi-guel fuer-ca y es-cu-to
Sed mi-guel fuer-ca y es-cu-to
que quien ay que sea tan fuer-te que an-te
que quien ay que sea tan fuer-te que an-te
que quien ay que sea tan fuer-te que an-te
que quien ay que sea tan fuer-te que an-te
que quien ay que sea tan fuer-te que an-te
que quien ay que sea tan fuer-te que an-te

[Fine]

antes los es-lese, an-te dios es-le- se-cu-ro

coplas

Sois mi-guel tal for-ta-le- ça y de tan al-to vo-
lor: que al demonio engañador: que braís siempre

la cabeza ya si de quien sois el

muerto segura lleva la fuerza
Domine ad ajuvando me festina
Domine ad ajuvando me festina
Domine ad ajuvando me festina
Domine ad ajuvando me festina
Domine ad ajuvando me festina

Tienna: gloria patri
tienna: gloria patri
tienna: gloria patri
tienna: gloria patri

et filio: espiritui sancto:
et filio: espiritui sancto:
et filio: espiritui sancto:
et filio: espi

et filio
E spiritui sancto e spiritui sancto
Et in secula: secula

Et in secula secula

lo-rum Amen Amen

lo-rum Amen Amen

le-lu-ya

le-lu-ya

le-lu-ya
16-1

muestra la tierra alegría
muestra la tierra alegría
muestra la tierra alegría
muestra la tierra alegría

de gloria el suelo
Oy quel acorde del cielo
Oy quel acorde del
Ria el suelo
Oy quel acorde del

Oy quel acorde del cielo
Oy quel acorde del
Oy quel acorde del
Oy quel acorde del

Corde del cielo
Oy quel acorde del cielo
Coro del cielo celebra su eterno día

Cuida el mundo me memoria El ser

Zencia de su Gloria vis se pues de a-

[Fine]
grita E[n] memoria des- to el sue- lo

Dix- it Do- mi- nus

jesucristo nuestro dios

neba
De la hermosa Re-be-ca ha es-co-gi-do
De e-sau sien-do qui-ne-s
nues-tro za-cob

[Fine]

nues-tro za-cob nues-tro za-cob el su ves-ti-do

Copla

A-le-grí-a pues que bes pec-a-dor lo que [Res]
Desde el cielo bajó Dios su venida
en maría virgen pura su venida
fue por daños

fue por daños — siempre vida

fue por daños — siempre vida

fue por daños — siempre vida

copla

bazo de la sumitura por hase-se y cual a nos
el eterno y sacro dios hizose hombre su natura

[Fine]
Si tanta gloria se da: A los cuerpos

Si tanta gloria se da: A los cuerpos

Si tanta gloria se da: A los cuerpos

Si tanta gloria se da: A los cuerpos

en el suelo que gloria se les dara

en el suelo: que gloria se les dara

en el suelo: que gloria se les dara

en el suelo: que gloria se les dara

A las almas en el cielo

A las almas en el cielo

A las almas en el cielo

A las almas en el cielo

A las almas en el cielo
coplas

Si por los pobres casillas: Donde los santos moraron:

los ángeles abajaron De los soberanos silllas

Hiçiendo mil maravillas: Cum gloria de hom-mano bue-lo
Donec ponam inimicos tuos: Scaberum

pedum tuorum: Te-

cum principium in die virtutis tu-e:

cum principium in die virtutis tu-e:

cum principium in die virtutis tu-e:
y splen-tori-bus sancto-rum: Ex utero ante

in splen-tori-bus sancto-rum Ex utero ante

lu-ci-per-um genu-i te

lu-ci-fe-rum genu-i te

lu-ci-fe-rum genu-i te

Do-mi-nus a dex-tris tu-is: Con-fre-xit in

Do-mi-nus a dex-tris tu-is: Con-fre-xit in

Do-mi-nus a dex-tris tu-is: Con-fre-xit in
et paluit simonis
alleluya alleluja [alleluya]  [D.C. al Fine]

Surrexit dominus de sepulcro
alleluya [alleluya]  [D.C. al Fine]
Et misericordia e jus a pro-giene-

Tacet et misericordia

e in pro-giene a pro-giene in pro-

ni - es [a pro-gienie in pro-gienie a-


\[ \text{pro-gen-i-e in pro-gen-ies] ti-men-di-bus e-} \]

\[ \text{um ti-men-ti-bus e- um [ti-men-ti-bus e-} \]

\[ \text{um ti-men-ti-bus e- um]} \text{ Deposu-} \]

\[ \text{Depo-su-} \]
it poten des te sed et ex al

81 da vit et ex al da uit hu

ex al da uit et ex al da uit hu mi

86 mi lles [et ex al ta vit hu mi les]

lle [et ex al ta vit hu mi les]
Suscepit Israël [Israël] purum suum

Recordatus

Recordatus [re-corda-tus re-]
Spiritualis sancto
et spirituali sancto
ritu sancto
Ne__ recorde-_
ris

Ne__ Re-__ cor-de-
ris

Ne__ Re-__ cor-de-
ris

Ne__ Re-__ cor-de-
ris

pec- ca-ta_ me- a Do-__ mi- ne,

Dum____ ve-__ [ne]__ ris Dum ve-__ ne-__ ris

Dum____ ve-__ ne-__ ris Dum ve-__ ne-__ ris

Dum____ ve-__ ne-__ ris Dum ve-__ ne-__ ris

Dum____ ve-__ ne-__ ris Dum [ve]__ ne-__ ris

ju-di-__ ca-re____ sae-

cu-lum per_____ ig-__ nem.
María Magdalena: quen bi Del-ya

5 cruz a-azel Del-ya cam-a qui ni-nyo Je-sus

9 coplas

Ya ca-nta ya ca-nta el ca-loas a-ma-ne-
ce: as-ta qui solle-ce la ma-tre te Dios

et al-tera maria
ibat ti lucolo
at monu-men-to
isus quen qui-eris ti  [D.C. al Fine]
[ha-ta ma-gal-hi zca-hol dios] ha-can caz-ca-hol dios mag yu

ne-neh z-toh quinal go poh santa maria
ut justifi-ce-ris in ser-mo-ni-bus

ut justifi-ce-ris in ser-mo-ni-bus

ut justifi-ce-ris in ser-mo-ni-bus

ut justifi-ce-ris in ser-mo-ni-bus

tu-is et un-cas cum ju-ti-ca-ris

tu-is et un-cas cum ju-ti-ca-ris

tu-is et un-cas cum ju-ti-ca-ris

tu-is et un-cas cum ju-ti-ca-ris
A-bras-e el reyno del cielo a la Reyna de la gloria

A-bras-e el reyno del cielo a la Reyna de la gloria

A-bras-e el reyno del cielo a la Reyna de la gloria

A-bras-e el reyno del cielo a la Reyna de la gloria

pues me-le-cio a-ca en el sue-lo tal co-ro-na de vic-to-ria,

pues me-re-cio a-ca en el sue-lo tal co-ro-na de vic-to-ria

pues me-re-cio a-ca en el sue-lo tal co-ro-na de vic-to-ria

pues me-re-cio a-ca en el sue-lo tal co-ro-na de vic-to-ria

Oy los an-ge-los la lle-va zun-ta el ca-er con el al ma
lle-va vic-to-ria de pal-ma y su hi-xo la pre-sen-tan
ni vagil nos nac despiritum Sanctum nac

soe haquezca ni kamac yzmul vos

kamac yzmul mati cobac chil max vos hiunac
CRITICAL NOTES

The notes below show the manuscript readings for passages which have been altered in the transcriptions. The abbreviated form employed gives the measure number, the voice (S A T B), the note or portion of the measure or section, and the original version. For example, 4 S 5: ♩ indicates that in the fourth measure or section of the manuscript the fifth note of the soprano line was a quarter note.

1. 8 SATB: ♩
3. 1-6 S: [music notation] / 6 S 3: ♩ / 6 TB 4: ♩

4-1. 4 T 1: c' / 21 S 2: ♩
4-2. 9 S: extra ♩ g' / 12 S 4: ♩ / 16 S 1: a' / 16 S 2-4: ♩ ♩ ♩
5. A: ♩ omitted / 2 AB: ♩ / 4 AB: ♩ / 6 AB: ♩
6. 5 B 3: f'/ 8 S 4: ♩
7. 1 B 4-2 B 1: ♩ / 2 A 1-2: ♩ / 2 T: extra ♩ a' / 4 S 5: ♩ / 4 T 4: ♩ g / 1 A 2-3: f' f'
8. 3 S 4: ♩ d' omitted / 10 S: ♩ / SATB: key signature omitted
9. SATB: ♩ omitted / B: key signature omitted / 1 S 1: g' / 1 S 2-7, 9: all b' / 1 S 10: a' / 1 A 9-10: ♩ ♩ / 1 A 12: b-flat / 1 A 13-14: [music notation] / 1 A 14: ♩ omitted / 1 B 1-7: all g / 1 B 8: e / 2 S 6: ♩ omitted / 2 A 1: c' / 2 A 2: d' / 2 A 4: e' / 2 A 5: d'
19. B: ♭3 / 7 S 3: ♭ omitted / 7 TA 4: ♭ / 11 S 4: ♭

20. SATB: ♭3 / 4 TB: ♭♭ ♭♭ ♭♭ ♭♭ / 7 / 5 SAT: ♭♭ ♭♭ ♭♭ ♭♭ / 7 / 5 B: ♭♭ ♭♭ ♭♭ ♭♭ / 6 S: ♭♭ ♭♭ ♭♭ ♭♭ / 6 ATB: ♭♭ ♭♭ ♭♭ ♭♭

21. S: ♭3 / B: meter signature omitted / 2 A: ♭♭ ♭♭ ♭♭ ♭♭ / 7 / 5 T 1: ♭ / 8 S: ♭3 / 11 S 3: ♭

22. 2 SA: ♭♭ ♭♭ ♭♭ ♭♭ / 7


27-1. 3 S 1: g' / 4 T 1-2: g g / 8 S 4: \\
27-2. 3 S 1: g' / 4 T 1-2: g g / 7 S 1: 7 / 7 S 3-4: e" e" / 8 S 4: \\
28. S: / T: SAT: C omitted / 4 S 1-2: b-flat' b-flat' / \\
   8 AT 3: / 8 B 3: omitted .
29. 8 T 3: / 11 S: omitted / 13 S 1: 7 / 15 S 3: 7 / 15 T 2: 7 / \\
   83 A 2nd half: extra 7 / 87 A 1-3, 88 l: e" d" e" f" / 90 A: 7 / \\
106 T 4-107 T 1: 7 / 107 A 1st half: extra 7 / 108 S 2nd half: \\
   extra 7 / 108 T 1st half: extra 7 / 108 B 3: 7 f omitted / \\
118 A 3-120 A 2: 7 7 / 119 T: 7 / 120 S: 7 / 120 T: 0 0 7 / \\
131 S 3-5: 7 7 / 132 B 2-133 B 1-2: 7 7 / 133 S 1st half: \\
   extra 7 / 136 B: 7 / 137 T: 7 / 137 B 3-138 B: 7 \\
   138 S: omitted / 139 T: 7 / 139 B: 7
30. S: key signature omitted / 1 T: 7 7 7 7 / 1 B: 7 7 7 7 /
   3 A 9: 7 / 5 A 3: 7 / 6 B 2: flat omitted / 6 T 3: flat omitted / \\
   6 A 5-6: 7 7 / 7 T 4: 7 omitted / 7 S 6: 7 omitted / \\
   omitted / 10 SA 4-5: 7 7 / 11 SA 6: 7 / 13 A 2: 7 7 / 13 S 4: 7 /
13 AB 6: 0 / 13 T 6: flat omitted / 13 T 7: 0 / 14 TB 1: flat omitted / 15 A: section ends with extra 0 f' / 15 T 4: 0 /
15 B 5: omitted / 15 S 6: 0
31. S: \[\text{image} \] / T: \[\text{image} \] / ST: omitted / 4 S 1-2: b-flat' b-flat'
32-1. 6 AB 3: \[\text{image} \] / 12 A 5: flat omitted / 12 A 7: \[\text{image} \] / 14 AB 1: \[\text{image} \] / 14 A 1-4, 15 A 1: f' f' e' e' e'
32-2. 6 AB 3: \[\text{image} \] / 8 A 3: \[\text{image} \] / 12 A 5: flat omitted / 12 A 7: \[\text{image} \] / 14 AB 1: \[\text{image} \]
34-1. B: C omitted / 3 S 4: \[\text{image} \] / 3 B 6-7: \[\text{image} \] / 3 A 7: g' /
34-2. 3 A 7: g' / 4 A 5-9: \[\text{image} \] / 5 T 1-21: all e' / 5 B 20: e / 5 T 21: omitted
34-3. B C omitted / 3 B 6-7: \[\text{image} \] / 5 B 20: e
34-4. 1 S 7: omitted
34-5. 1 S 7: omitted
35. S: \[\text{image} \] / 6 B 1: \[\text{image} \] / 13 A 1st beat: extra 7
36. SA: \[\text{image} \] omitted / 6 A 1-2: f' e' / 6 A 5: \[\text{image} \] / 7 S 4: \[\text{image} \] / 18 S 3: \[\text{image} \]
37. 1 A 1: \[\text{image} \]
APPENDIX A

INSCRIPTIONS: SANTA EULALIA M. MD. 7,
              f. 11r, 30v, 43v
INSCRIPTION (f. 11r)

Line

ORIGINAL: 1. Y njean china mitl .S. Juo y coco Y huan ypan ymnytla pual

CORRECTED

TRANSLATION: here of souls San Juan Ixcoy and on this place happened

2. loca veinte dias ter mes de enero ypa vnic ecupini nican
   about twenty days of month of January on this emerged gathered here

3. Coplas Cuillancicos ypal .S. miguel angel y huan a masa ** quin
    Villancicos ipal San Miguel huan nican quien

4. quisiste q3 y yaman S miguel y huan ypanyan huic xinuili
    quisiste quisiste que llaman San Miguel ipanyan
    they wanted who(m) and they call Saint Michael and during this year

5. de mil y seys cientos años
    seis años
    of 1,000 and six hundreds years

6. Tne hwatl motoca thomas PasCual
    nontic
    Here comes my name Thomas PasCual

* also means "within the area."
** can be read either way (writing is unclear); read by Stevenson as "nican" in Renaissance and Baroque, 58.
INSCRIPTION (f. 30v)

Juño calito [or caliyol] maestro de cabilya
INSCRIPTION (f. 43v)

nican moma [or nonal] canu oficio Señor maestro de cabira • S.
Matheo yzadadn nuestro señor [ ] cabilla orlendio
des su nase [ ] del puebro do yzadadn
APPENDIX B

SANTA EULALIA M. MD. 3, f. 9v
Animae meae dominum animae

Animae meae dominum Animae meae dominum

Animae meae dominum Animae meae dominum
Qui a respexit

Qui a respexit humilitatem

humilitatem Ansillem

ansillem sue ancillem

e Ecce enim Ex hoc bea

e Ecce enim Ex hoc be
tam me dicent omnes generationes omnes generationes

raciones omnes generationes omnes generationes

nes: omnes generationes

nes: omnes generationes

nes: omnes generationes
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Figure 20. Codex Philipp J. Becker I (Le Manuscrit du Casique), from the upper strip of panels 8-9; Figure 21. Saville, Marshall H. The Wood-Carver's Art in Ancient Mexico. NY: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1925, 44.

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