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Playing Cards at the Eucharistic Table: Music, Theology, and Society in a Corpus Christi Villancico from Colonial Mexico, 1628

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Abstract

As part of the festivities of Corpus Christi in 1628, a cathedral choir in colonial Mexico sang about the Eucharist through the metaphor of a card game. This music is a previously unstudied, fragmentary villancico, composed by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla for the cathedral of Puebla de los Ángeles, and it opens a window into the social history of card-playing and gambling in the Spanish colonies. It stems from a broader tradition of "divinizing" cards, including poetry and drama by Lope de Vega and González de Eslava. The article explores the theological and social implications of using liturgical music to present Christ as a rogue card player, winning humanity back from the devil by laying down the trump card of his own body on the table. Includes an edition of the surviving music. The online version includes a recording played on the organ by the author.

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colonial Mexico – card games – music – villancico – Eucharist – Corpus Christi – Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla – Puebla de los Ángeles – Spanish literature

"The Game Is an Admirable Sight"

Across the global realms of seventeenth-century Spain, communities celebrated the feast of Corpus Christi with a mixture of piety and play. Inside churches, the musical ensembles performed a special program of liturgical music that then spilled out into the plaza with the procession. Outside, the parade featured didactic religious plays alongside giant puppets and mock battles of Moors and Christians. On this day, chapelmasters adorned the Latin liturgy with a set of eight or more *villancicos* based on vernacular poems—a literary and musical genre that sometimes brought aspects of life outside the church into the liturgy. Though the music could be sophisticated, villancicos often used earthy poetic conceits to connect the theology of the feast to everyday life. These pieces occupy the sometimes unsettling territory on the borders of modern dichotomies between sacred and secular, or elite and popular culture.

One such villancico from colonial Mexico juxtaposes the Eucharist, the most sacred part of Corpus Christi, with a seemingly profane social practice—gambling on card games. The musical ensemble at the cathedral of Puebla de los Ángeles performed this piece for Corpus Christi in 1628, led by the work's composer, chapelmaster Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (c. 1590-1664). The choristers began by singing these words in a lively, syncopated rhythm: "A que, a que/ [. . .] El juego es visto admirable./ Vale para el pecador" (Hey, I bet you [. . .] The game is an admirable sight. It avails for the sinner).[1]

The singers thus depicted the Eucharist as a game of cards, with Christ as a victorious gambler. Like the Eucharist itself in Catholic belief, this villancico takes something common and uses it to communicate the divine. As such, the piece provides an opportunity to consider how music fit into the Spanish colonial project in Puebla. What might it have meant to bring the widespread social

1 Please see table 1 for the full extant text and translation. Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, "A que [. . .] El juego es visto admirable," in *Corpus Christi del Año de 1628*, Archivo del Venerable Cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla (MEX-Pc: legajo 1/1). Microfilm in *Archivo de música sacra de la catedral de Puebla*, ed. Lincoln B. Spiess and Thomas Stanford (Mexico City, 1967), Puebla 1, Rollo 1. All translations are by the author.

practice of card-playing, which was often considered morally suspect, into the church through music? How might this music have supported or undercut the civilizing goals of the church and state in New Spain? And in which ways might this piece have reinforced or blurred the emerging boundaries between high and low culture, or between sacred and secular domains? This essay will consider Padilla's music in the context of the social history of card-playing in the Spanish empire, and trace the villancico's relationships to a Spanish tradition of "divinizing" card games, including literary examples by Lope de Vega and González de Eslava. In this way, the piece can open up new perspectives on the functions of music in colonial Spanish society.

Villancicos were a dominant form of musical religious expression throughout the Spanish empire. As a genre of music sung in church liturgies and paraliturgical festivities, sacred villancicos emerged around the turn of the seventeenth century and flourished through the end of the eighteenth. These pieces were typically sung by cathedral choirs as an integral part of the Matins liturgy on the eve of the Catholic year's highest feasts: Christmas, the (Immaculate) Conception of Mary, and Corpus Christi. At Matins, they were interspersed between the nine Latin liturgical lessons, following (or substituting for) the prescribed Latin Responsory chants taken from Gregorian tradition.[2]

Villancicos usually alternate a refrain section (*estribillo*) for the full ensemble, often arranged in multiple choirs, with verses (*coplas*) sung strophically by soloists. The estribillo was often followed (as in the piece studied here) by a *responsión* section, an elaboration of the estribillo. The estribillo and responsión were usually written in a grand style and often used sophisticated techniques of counterpoint to represent the poetry through music. The coplas, in contrast, were often very simple, catchy vocal melodies with a minimal instrumental accompaniment.

Gutiérrez de Padilla's piece about card-playing, "A que [...] El juego es visto admirable," is the third in a cycle of villancicos labeled "Corpus Christi of the Year 1628," in the archive of Puebla Cathedral (see Score as appendix and online Supplementary Audio).[3] Unfortunately, music survives for only

2 See Paul Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico* (Warren, MI, 1997); the entry for *villancico* in the *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio (Madrid, 1999); and the collection of essays, *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450-1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*, ed. Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente (Aldershot, 2007).

3 Though many scholars today refer to this composer by last name as "Gutiérrez de Padilla," it will be convenient here to follow the practice of the Puebla musical manuscripts and simply call him "Padilla."

two of the original six voice parts for this villancico—the Tiple (boy soprano) and Alto of Chorus I.[4] If it is like Padilla's later works, this piece was probably scored for two antiphonal choirs of voices and instruments.[5] As the long rests in the extant Chorus I parts suggest, the second choir probably sang separate verses in dialogue with the first, so the words and music of those parts is lost.

The work is a fragment, but this does not mean it was unimportant. On the contrary, the layers of fingerprints, dog-eared pages, and careful corrections written in different hands to facilitate performance (such as numbered rests and added bar lines), testify that this set of pieces was performed many times. Moreover, it was carefully preserved even long after the parts went missing. Thankfully, enough of the words and music survive to give a sense of the piece's subject matter and general musical style. Table 1 provides a translation of the poetry, and the appendix, a transcription of the music(The online version of this article includes a recording of the extant vocal parts, performed on the organ by the author).[6]

The anonymous poetic text (possibly written or adapted from other sources by Padilla himself) mixes theological language with lexical markers from the world of card games. Its opening phrase, "A que, a que," could be a simple interjection ("Ah!") but could also be a provocation to gamble ("Hey, I bet you. . ."). The game is embodied poetically with plays on words: *sí*/*si, vale*/*no vale*, and *envite*/*convite.* The word *vale* is still today an everyday expression like "okay" or "sure"; it also has a more literal sense of "worth" (as in money or values of cards). In historical gaming language, the *vale* was also the opening wager in a card game, and the word used to accept the proposed bet.[7] But this villancico uses the word theologically as well—"it avails for the sinner." *Envite* can mean a simple invitation (such as to the banquet, *convite*), but usually means a provocation to play a betting card game. It can also simply mean "bet." Most significantly, *manjar* means both "food" and "suit of cards." In the first sense,

4 A partbook for Bassus, Chorus II, also survives, though it was not microfilmed or catalogued by Spiess and Stanford. This part is not included in this villancico's scoring.

5 Many of Padilla's later villancicos "a 6" are scored for a Chorus I of Tiple, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus; and a Chorus II of Altus and Tenor. The upper three parts of the first chorus were likely performed by vocal soloists, while the Bassus was played instrumentally, probably on *bajón* (dulcian or bass curtal), doubled with the Spanish cross-strung harp and organ.

6 Audio 1. Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, "A que [. . .] El juego es visto admirable," extant vocal parts performed on the organ by Andrew Cashner.

7 See the entries for these words in Jean-Pierre Étienvre, *Figures du jeu: Etudes lexico-sèmantiques sur le jeu de cartes en Espagne* (*XVI^e^-XVII^e^ siècle*) (Madrid, 1987), 169-181; and María Inés Chamorro Fernández, *Léxico del naipe del Siglo de oro* (Gijón, 2005).

TABLE 1 *Padilla, "A que* [. . .] *El juego es visto admirable," extant poetic text and translation* (*orthography has been modernized and punctuation added*)

[*Introducción*] *a 3*	
A que, a que [. . .]	Hey, I bet you [text missing?]
El juego es visto admirable.	The game is an admirable sight.
[*Estribillo*]	
Vale para el pecador.	It avails for the sinner.
Sí, vale;	Yes, it avails;
que si el envite no vale,	for even if the bet does not avail,
vale el convite de amor.	the banquet of love does avail.
[*Responsión*] *a 6*	
[Same text as Estribillo]	
Coplas a 3	
1. Jugó la primera mano	He played the first hand
y envidó con treintaitres,	and he bet with thirty-three—
el que tres y uno es,	he who is three in one—
en el juego soberano.	in the sovereign game.
[Coplas sung by Chorus II?]	
[Estribillo repeated]	
2. Jugaron en fin los dos	In the end the two of them played
hasta hora de cenar,	until the hour of dinner,
que vino a ser el manjar	for the very body of God
el mismo cuerpo de Dios.	came to be the delicacy/suit of cards.
[Coplas sung by Chorus II?]	
[*Estribillo repeated*]	

the term appears widely in theological texts and in Eucharistic villancicos; in the latter sense it appears in manuals on card-playing.

As far as can be determined from the surviving music, Padilla also plays games with the setting. The piece abounds in competitive contrasts between vocal parts and melodic motives. The rests in the Chorus I parts at the beginning

suggest that the two choirs engaged each other in an antiphonal dialogue on the words "A que" ("I'll bet you. . ." / "Well, I'll bet *you*. . ."). After this phrase, the first choir sings *Vale*—the word used to indicate that a player has taken the bet and agreed to the game. Thus even as the piece describes a card game, it also stages the contest through music. The music's hard-driving rhythmic syncopations contribute to the rough character of this gambling scene—and provide a musical game for the performers who had to decode the difficult rhythmic notation. It is also possible that the musical style alludes to tavern songs and dances or other music associated with a low social register.

This is not the only villancico about card games. Evidence survives for dozens more, not to mention the numerous pieces about public games like bullfights and ceremonial jousting (*juego de cañas*).[8] Table 2 gives only a small sample of the musical scores and poetry imprints (*pliegos sueltos*) that survive. The villancico by Joan Pau Pujol, who died in 1626, certainly predates Padilla's, while the others all date from later in the century.[9] Within this musical tradition, the 1628 piece by Padilla deserves special attention because it is the earliest example that can be connected to a specific place and time. Like many other subgenres of villancico, the poetic topic became more stereotyped and conventional as the century progressed. But Padilla's work dates from a time when it may still have been controversial to sing about playing cards in church on one of the highest feast days of the year. And it comes from a place that was intended to be the religious center of a new kind of colonial society, where the vices of the Old World would not taint the construction of the New.

Music and Society in Colonial Puebla

The city of Puebla was at the center of the colonial experiment in New Spain. After decades of continuous conflict in the early sixteenth century between the Spanish and the natives of Mexica territory, Puebla was the first city in New Spain not to be constructed on the site of a previous settlement or within any native group's territorial claims.[10] First called "The City of Angels" because according to legend angels had revealed the city's location and plan to the

8 These events were staged regularly in Puebla's *zócalo.* One example is Padilla's *juego de cañas*, "Las estrellas se ríen" (Puebla Cathedral, Christmas 1655).

9 The later villancicos will be subject of a future investigation.

10 The following historical sketch draws on Leonardo Lomelí Vanegas, *Breve historia de Puebla* (Mexico City, 2001), 47-99; and Migel Ángel Cuenya and Carlos Contreras Cruz, *Puebla de los Ángeles: Una ciudad en la historia* (Puebla de los Ángeles, 2012).

TABLE 2 *Selected villancicos with card-playing topics*

Card game	Place preserved today	Occasion, date	Composer	Title
Primera	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya[a]	Corpus Christi, Barcelona Cathedral	Joan Pau Pujol (1570-1626)	*El Príncipe soberano*
Hombre	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional[b]	Christmas, 1632, Real Convento de Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes, Madrid	Unknown	*En noche que todo es juegos, el hombre quiero entablar* [. . .] *Que pues hombre se ha hecho*
Hombre	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional[c]	Christmas Matins, 1657, Toledo Cathedral	Tomás Miciezes (c.1624-1667); poetry attr. Manuel de León Marchante	*Vaya el juego del hombre*
Hombre	Segovia, Cathedral Archive[d]	Christmas Matins, 1671, Segovia Cathedral	Miguel de Irízar (1635-c.1684) (student of Miciezes)	*Vaya el juego del hombre*
Hombre	Guatemala City, Archivo Arzobispal[e]	(unknown)	Raymundo Selgue (dates unknown)	*En el juego del hombre*
Hombre (?)	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya[f]	Corpus Christi?, n.d., Monastery of Montserrat?	Joan Cererols (1618-1680)	*Galanes, a ver, jugar*
(Unknown)	Salamanca, Cathedral Archive[g]	Corpus Christi, n.d., Salamanca Cathedral	Unknown	Va de juego, señores

a E-Bbc: M. 749/1, 732/6.
b Poetry imprint only, no music, E-Mn: VE/1309/5.
c Poetry imprint only, E-Mn: VE/88/23. Edited by Jean-Pierre Étienvre, *Márgenes literarios del juego*, 69.
d E-SE: 1/2. See catalog by José López-Calo, *La música en la Catedral de Segovia* (Segovia, 1988), 111.
e Robert Murrell Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington, DC, 1970), 99.
f E-Bbc: M. 735. Edited by David Pujols in *Joan Cererols III*, Mestres de L'Escolania de Montserrat 3 (Montserrat, 1932), 95-104.
g E-SA: 45/9. Dámaso García Fraile, *Catálogo archivo de música de la catedral de Salamanca* (Cuenca, 1981), 396.

Bishop of Tlaxcala, Puebla was founded in 1531 as a city for the Spanish only. The city had a civilizing mission from the beginning: according to the mid-sixteenth-century chronicle of Fray Toribio de Benavente (Motolinía), the city was envisioned as a place to settle Spaniards who did not have an *encomienda* (responsibility for native indentured servants), where "they would gather many Christians who at the time were drifting about as idle vagabonds; and that even the Indians would follow their example and learn to work and cultivate in the manner of Spain." The founders hoped that "by making this beginning, many other benefits will follow after it."[11]

Motolonía presents Puebla as a model city that could mark a new beginning for both Spaniards and natives. With this utopian goal, Puebla was to be a corrective to the mess the Spaniards had made of the native urban centers. The city's perfect grid plan of *calles* and *avenidas*, its stucco-and-tile two-story houses, the columned arcades around its central square (the *zócalo*), all resembled an idealized version of the southern Spanish cities from which many colonial settlers had come, Seville in particular.

Just as the neighboring city of Cholula had been for centuries a sacred site for the indigenous peoples, the City of the Angels became an important religious center of New Spain. In 1543 the Bishop of Tlaxcala, Fray Julián Garcés, received royal approval to make Puebla the new seat of the archdiocese of Tlaxcala-Puebla, whose dominion stretched from central Mexico to the Yucatan.[12] By the time Padilla arrived there in the 1620s, Puebla had earned its reputation as a "levitical" city, with a church, convent, or seminary on nearly every corner.[13] Few days would have passed unmarked by a liturgical feast or procession.

Puebla's religious life centered on its cathedral. The first cathedral was erected beginning in 1535, but it was poorly built, and by 1575 the city was already planning a new cathedral to replace it.[14] Construction of the new building repeatedly stalled, however, until being frozen indefinitely in 1626.[15] Bishop Gutiérrez Bernardo de Quiróz, installed the following year, did little to further the project. Building was not continued until 1640, when Puebla's next bishop, the celebrated and now beatified Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, arrived

11 Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, ed. Daniel Sánchez García (Barcelona, 1914), 237.

12 Lomelí Vanegas, *Breve historia de Puebla*, 72.

13 Cuenya Mateos and Contreras Cruz, *Puebla de los Ángeles*, 12.

14 Eduardo Merlo Juárez, José Antonio Quintana Fernández, and Miguel Pavón Rivero, *La Catedral Basílica de la Puebla de los Ángeles* (Puebla, 2006), 27-52.

15 Ibid., 42-43.

from Spain and began a vigorous reform of the city's religious life.[16] Through close oversight of painters, architects, and the cathedral's musical ensemble, Palafox brought the cathedral project to the point where the building could be consecrated on April 18, 1649.[17] In a chronicle of the elaborate consecration ceremonies, Antonio Tamariz de Carmona singled out Padilla's musical leadership for praise.[18]

Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla has in recent years become one of the best-known colonial Spanish composers.[19] He was born near the Andalucian city of Málaga, and worked as chapelmaster at the collegiate church of Jerez de la Frontera and the cathedral of Cádiz before emigrating to the New World in approximately 1622. The Puebla cathedral chapter acts list him as a priest and a *licenciado*, indicating a relatively high level of education. In Puebla he first served as assistant to the current chapelmaster, Gaspar Fernandes (c. 1570-1629), and then was appointed as his successor shortly after Fernandes's death. Padilla remained in this prestigious musical post until his own death in 1664, and in a long career that coincided with the golden age of colonial Puebla under Palafox, Padilla built up the cathedral's musical program to its height.

In the spring of 1628 Padilla was likely already taking over Fernandes's duties while the elder master was sick. Padilla's 1628 Corpus Christi villancicos are his earliest known work, and may have served as an *oposición* or audition piece to prove his worthiness for the chapelmaster position. Fernandes appears to

16 See the articles by Ricardo Fernández Gracia and María Gembero-Ustárroz in the collection *Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla y la Época Palafoxiana*, ed. Gustavo Mauleón Rodriguez (Puebla, 2010).

17 Palafox published a set of rules for the cathedral choir in 1649: *Reglas y ordenanzas del coro desta santa iglesia cathedral de la Puebla de los Angeles* (Puebla, 1649; reprinted, Puebla, 1998).

18 Antonio Tamariz de Carmona, *Relacion y descripcion del tempo real de la civdad de la Puebla de los Angeles en la Nueua España, y su Catedral [. . .]* (Puebla, 1649; reprinted, Puebla, 1991).

19 See the essays and compact-disc recording in *Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla y la Época Palafoxiana*, ed. Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez (Puebla, 2010), especially the article by María Gembero-Ustárroz, "Muy amigo de música: El obispo Juan de Palafox (1600-1659) y su entorno musical en el Virreinato de Nueva España," 55-130. See also Nelson Hurtado, "Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla: El insigne maestro de la catedral de Puebla de los Ángeles (Málaga, c. 1590; Puebla de los Ángeles, 8-IV-1664)," *Heterofonía*, vols. 138-139 (2008): 29-67. A selection of Padilla's villancicos have been edited (with some errors) in *Tres Cuadernos De Navidad: 1653, 1655 y 1657*, ed. Aurelio Tello (Caracas, 1998); and recorded by the Angelicum of Puebla, directed by Benjamin Juárez Echenique, *Maitines de Navidad, 1652*, UMA-2011 (Urtext, 1999), and *Maitines de Navidad, 1653*, UMA-2004 (Urtext, 1996); and by Ars Longa de Habana, directed by Teresa Paz, *Música de la Catedral de Puebla de los Ángeles*, DS-0142 (Seville, 2005).

have pioneered the performance of villancicos in the old Puebla cathedral. He composed a large number of villancicos in the years around 1610, when choir stalls were finally built in the old cathedral.[20] But whatever efforts Fernandes may have made to expand the cathedral's music program, by the time Padilla was drafting his 1628 villancicos, Fernandes was ailing, the old cathedral was falling apart, and the half-finished columns of the new cathedral stood open to the elements, with little hope of completion.[21]

Padilla's 1628 cycle, it would appear, was more than just a job application: it was a manifesto of the musical program Padilla intended to build, along with the new cathedral. With these villancicos Padilla showed the cathedral chapter and the new bishop Quiróz that he was capable of providing music on a much grander scale and in a more modern idiom than that of his predecessor. These villancicos provided a first glimpse of the sumptuous music Padilla would later provide for the new cathedral under Bishop Palafox.

The Corpus Christi festivities of June 1628 probably drew a large host of parishioners to the old cathedral. There they witnessed a splendid display of musical ritual. Like the Corpus celebrations in colonial Cuzco studied by Carolyn Dean and Geoffrey Baker, the liturgical services would have employed the full musical forces available in a long and varied program of vocal and instrumental music.[22] For the procession, Puebla's many religious communities, lay confraternities, and educational institutions all vied with each other in the construction of elaborate floats. They staged dramatic and musical performances ranging from the pious to the outrageous. That year's feast may not have had the full splendor of the later Palafox-era celebrations in the new cathedral, but it would have preserved more of the elements that Palafox later sought to bring into post-Tridentine order. The carnivalesque local customs of late medieval Spain mixed with the distinctive traditions of each religious order and the practices of the indigenous and black communities.

Miri Rubin, Carolyn Dean, and others have argued that Corpus Christi ritually enacted the hierarchical power structures of colonial, Catholic society.[23] Music—especially villancicos—was an integral part of that ritual

20 The villancicos are preserved in a manuscript volume in the archive of Oaxaca Cathedral; see the selections edited by Aurelio Tello, *Cancionero musical de Gaspar Fernandes*. See also Robert Stevenson, "Fernandes, Gaspar," *Grove Music Online* (2012).

21 For a visual reconstruction of the location and appearance of the old cathedral, see Merlo Juárez, Quintana Fernández, and Pavón Rivero, *La Catedral Basílica de la Puebla de los Ángeles*, 36.

22 Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cusco, Peru* (Durham, NC, 1999); Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham, 2008).

23 Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 2002).

process. The sonic structures of music both reflected and reinforced a stratified society. Geoffrey Baker describes the use of music as a tool for shaping society as "imposing harmony." Bernardi Illari speaks of "polychoral culture"; David Irving's term is "colonial counterpoint."[24]

As a feast of Christ's incarnate body, and as a celebration of the community, Corpus Christi emphasized theological and social inversion. Villancicos were apt for the feast because the genre had from its origins blended high and low cultural traditions. The villancico originated as a genre of courtly entertainment music, but always drew on popular sources (by, for example, glossing the refrain of a well-known song or poem). When villancicos started to be sung frequently in church, around 1600, they retained their character as a mixture of high and low, sacred and secular. The *estribillo* that framed a seventeenth-century sacred villancico featured complex polyphonic music, while the simple, strophic *coplas* in the center probably drew on popular traditions such as improvisational melodic formulas for singing *romance* poetry.[25]

The leaders of the Spanish church after the Council of Trent likely permitted vernacular villancicos in church because they hoped they would attract common people and aid in the church's reforming goals of educating and kindling devotion in the laity. But at times there were gaps between what the authorities wanted music to reinforce, and what the music reflected. In the case of Padilla's 1628 card-playing villancico, it is hard to tell whether the piece was a tool in the civilizing mission or an obstacle to it. This music may have fit with the authorities' agenda at Corpus Christi to regulate dangerous activities by briefly permitting them, or the villancico could simply have been a way to play along with the festival fun.

Today, the area outside the walls of Puebla Cathedral remains a site where people enjoy worldly entertainments in the shadow of the church. Teenage couples sit kissing on the embankment of the cathedral gates, while children play in the nearby fountains and street musicians play barrel organs. Passing through the Puebla *zócalo* of the seventeenth century, Father Padilla would cer-

24 Bernardo Illari, "Polychoral Culture: Cathedral Music in La Plata (Bolivia), 1680-1730," PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2001; David R. M. Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (Oxford, 2010).

25 Bernardo Illari contends that the *estribillo* was addressed to the elite portion of the audience, while the *coplas* appealed to the broader audience of commoners: "The Popular, the Sacred, the Colonial and the Local: The Performance of Identities in the Villancicos from Sucre (Bolivia)," in *Devotional Music in the Iberian World*, ed. Knighton and Torrente, 409-440.

tainly have passed people playing card games. In his music for Corpus Christi 1628, Padilla brought the *zócalo* into the choir with his villancico about card-playing—a pastime that was just then enjoying a peak of popularity across the Hispanic world.

Playing Cards in Colonial Spanish Society

In the early seventeenth century, card games were a ubiquitous part of daily life, played by both peasants and kings—and even by priests like Padilla. Card games were closely connected with meals and music, whether in the tavern hall or aristocratic salon. Many genre paintings depict eating, gaming, and playing music in the same scene, and there are numerous secular musical works on the topic of cards, probably performed at aristocratic meals.[26]

Cards were especially popular in Spain, where they probably came into Europe via the Moors. Jean-Pierre Étienvre has explored the impact of card-playing on Spanish language and literature, and Ángel López Cantos has placed the social history of card games in the broader context of festivities and public recreations in Spanish America.[27] The Spanish settlers of the New World brought cards with them: the conquistadors Hernán Cortés and Pedro de Valdivia were notorious gamblers and card players.[28] The native peoples of Mexico had their own strong gaming traditions, which perhaps contributed to the tremendous popularity of card-playing in colonial New Spain.[29]

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26 The connections between divinized representations of gambling in villancicos and genre painting will be the subject of a future study. Secular card-themed music includes madrigals by Alessandro Striggio and Carlo Grossi, and a cantata by Antonio Caldara. Louis XIV sponsored numerous card-themed *ballets a cour*. See Manfred Zollinger and Thierry Depaulis, "Zwischen Allegorie und Realismus: Zur Thematisierung des Spiels in der Musik," in *Musik und Spiel*, ed. Günther G. Bauer (Munich, 2000), 37-114.

27 Étienvre, *Figures du jeu*, and *Márgenes literarios del juego: Una poética del naipe; Siglos XVI-XVIII* (London, 1990); Ángel López Cantos, *Juegos, fiestas y diversiones en la América española* (Madrid, 1992). See also Manfred Zollinger, *Bibliographie der Spielbücher des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts; Erster Band: 1473-1700* (Stuttgart, 1996); and Juan de Dios Agudo Ruiz, *Playing Cards in Spain* (Álava, 2000).

28 Lopez Cantos, *Juegos*, 288-289; Javier Villa-Flores, *Dangerous Speech: A Social History of Blasphemy in Colonial Mexico* (Tucson, 2006), 85.

29 Many of the Puebla valley's pre-Columbian archeological sites contain courts for ceremonial ball games (*juegos de pelota*): Lomelí Vargas, *Breve historia de Puebla*, 25-46.

The forty-eight-card Spanish deck (*baraja*) had cards of different numeric values and face cards, divided into four suits, called *palos* or, as in this villancico, *manjares*. The suits were *espadas* (swords), *bastos* (clubs), *oros* (coins), and *copas* (cups). Many different games were played, whether of skill or chance, for money or just for fun. The games most frequently mentioned in contemporary books on card-playing are *la primera*, a variety of poker with betting; and *el juego del hombre*, a complicated game derived from *primera*, preferred more by the upper classes. *Hombre* was a high-status, refined game, a favorite of Louis XIV.[30] But other games could have much lower social registers, and even upper-class games were open to infiltration by cardsharps. Both *primera* and *hombre* are listed among the games favored by cheats and swindlers in Theophilus Lucas's *Memoirs of the Lives, Intrigues, and Comical Adventures of the Most Famous Gamesters and Celebrated Sharpers* (London, 1714).[31] Such gambling swindlers are found among the rogues celebrated in the widely read Spanish picaresque novels of Padilla's day. In Francisco de Quevedo's *La vida del Buscón* (published in 1626), the *pícaro* Pablos is cheated out of his money in a tavern card game by a cardsharp disguised as a bumbling friar.[32]

Because of card-playing's popularity and potential to lead to vice, the Spanish authorities of church and state maintained a complex relationship toward cards and gambling, as López Cantos and Javier Villa-Flores have described.[33] Religious writers produced a large moralistic literature on card-playing. Fray Pedro de Covarrubias sought to show confessors when games could become sinful in his 1542 *Remedio de jugadores* (Cure for Gamers). Francisco de Luque Faxardo parodied picaresque fiction in his *Fiel desengaño contra la ociosidad y los juegos* (Faithful Disillusionment against Sloth and Games), warning against the corrupting effects of gambling on society. Palafox, during his period as bishop of Puebla in the 1640s, included card-playing among the vices forbidden

30 *Hombre* also features prominently in Alexander Pope's *The Rape of the Lock*. For the rules of the game, see Richard Seymour, *The Court-Gamester* (London, 1722). For its history, see Manfred Zollinger, *Bibliographie der Spielbücher*; and Thierry Depaulis, "Ombre et Lumière: Un peu de lumière sur L'hombre," *The Playing-Card*, 15, no. 4: 101-110; 16, no. 1: 10-18; and 16, no. 2: 44-53 (1987).

31 Lucas, *Memoirs*, preface. As Étienvre states (*Figures du jeu*, 220), it is difficult now to determine the social register of *primera*, since the game was played by nobles but also features prominently in picaresque novels.

32 The scene has Eucharistic overtones, since it is a parody of the Supper at Emmaus (Lk. 23:13-45). Francisco de Quevedo, *La vida del Buscón*, ed. Fernando Cabo Aseguinolaza, Biblioteca Clásica 63 (Barcelona, 1993), 129.

33 López Cantos, *Juegos*, 269-314; Javier Villa-Flores, *Dangerous Speech*, 77-103.

to Mexican clergy in a treatise against public spectacles and theater.[34] Palafox's explanation is similar to the theology of Covarrubias: while play and recreation were necessary and lawful parts of human life, certain games could be abused if taken to excess, played at improper times, or if they led to sinful behaviors (such as avarice, sloth, feuds, and brawling).

The Spanish crown shared the clergy's fears about the social dangers of card-playing. In a decree of 1529, Charles V ordered the American viceroyal authorities to "prohibit and defend against, placing grave penalties, the great and excessive games that there are in those provinces."[35] The decree forbade all dice games, and restricted betting on card games to less than ten gold *pesos* per day.

But Charles's heir had to balance moral reservations about card playing against the possibility for the gaming industry to help assuage the perpetually debt-ridden state's need for revenue. Economically, the manufacture of cards was a subset of the paper industry. A mill in Puebla produced cards along with papers for rolling tobacco.[36] In 1552, Philip II, desiring to regulate this "vice industry," placed a levy on cards and brought them under his direct control.[37] The royal treasury maintained a monopoly on the production and distribution of cards, all of which had to bear the royal seal.[38]

Much like the United States government's taxes on cigarettes today, the state control of card-playing put the Spanish government in an ambivalent position. From one perspective, the crown was limiting a dangerous activity

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34 Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, "De la carta pastoral sobre los espectáculos," in *Tratados mejicanos II: Memoriales civiles y epistolas-tratados*, ed. Francisco Sanchez-Castañer, Biblioteca de autores españoles 218 (Madrid, 1968).

35 *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, 3rd ed. (Madrid, 1774), bk. VII, título II, law 1 (vol. 2: 280), ascribed "El Emperado D. Carlos en Toledo à 24 de Agosto de 1529. El mismo y la Reyna de Bohemia G. en Valladolid à 12. de Mayo de 1552."

36 Hans Lenz, *Historia del papel en México y cosas relacionadas (1525-1950)* (Mexico City, 1990), 119-123; Maria Angeles Cuello Martinell, *La renta de los naipes en Nueva España* (Madrid, 1966), 94.

37 Cuello Martinell, *La renta de los naipes*, 18. See also Victor Ferro Torrelles, "Los impuestos sobre los naipes en los reinos de España," *The Playing-Card*, vol. 27, no. 5: 208-217; and vol. 27, no. 6: 254-267 (1999).

38 Agudo Ruíz reproduces such a deck (from Toledo in 1610) in *Playing Cards in Spain*, 70. The monopoly destroyed the livelihood of one card manufacturer in Toledo, Diego del Campo: Zollinger reproduces his letter requesting restitution for his lost business in the form of a government position in the administration of card taxes. Manfred Zollinger, "L'Inquisition, le monopole et les cartiers en Espagne au XVI^{e} Siècle," *The Playing-Card* 29, no. 1 (2000): 27-37.

and paternalistically protecting its subjects from it. But from another angle the state profited handsomely from the vice and was actually responsible for fostering it. Acknowledging this problem, Palafox instructed his pastors that even though the state had its own reasons to be more lenient toward gaming, Christians should not assume that everything the state allowed was morally licit or edifying.[39]

Some of the crown's legislation did seem to have a primarily moral motivation. In 1609 and again in 1618, Philip III cited the "blasphemies, deaths, and financial losses" that came from "playing on public tables," and cast specific blame on governors and other authorities—even churchmen—for permitting such gaming houses on their own property. The law did not prohibit any specific games, but did demand that the authorities "punish the crimes committed in gaming houses."[40]

But these moral concerns were outweighed by the money brought in by the card tax. The Spanish monarchs kept increasing the tax on cards, raising the price of a deck from three *reales* in the reign of Philip II to eight under Philip IV.[41] In the period from 1627-1635, under *asentista* Don Alonzo Álvarez y Cebrián, the annual value of the tax on cards in New Spain was 100,000 *pesos*.[42] The income was still not enough to stave off the economic crisis of the 1620s, in which the rapid inflation of the *vellón* currency caused a spike in the cost of commodities. While Spain was facing wars in Italy and France, in August 1628 the royal Council of Finance announced a budget shortfall of 2,000,000 ducats. In a drastic austerity measure, the government cut the value of the *vellón* by half on August 7, 1628.[43] In the climate of inflationary prices of June 1628, when Padilla's Corpus Christi cycle was first performed, the line "si el envite no vale" may have prompted a bitter chuckle from some listeners, whose coins were counting for less and less every day.

Through all this, people kept playing cards. The practice was too pervasive for either the church or state to adequately control. Whatever distinctions between sacred and secular, licit and illicit, that reformers like Palafox sought to enforce, those categories were defied by the overwhelming popular demand for this recreation. From the theological perspective of a reforming pastor like Palafox, there was a clear distinction between the sacred domain of church

39 Palafox, "De la carta pastoral sobre los espectáculos."

40 *Recopilación de leyes*, bk. VII, título II, law 2 (vol. 2: 280-281), ascribed "D. Felipe Tercero an Madrid à 10 de Abril de 1609 y à 10 de Noviembre de 1618."

41 Cuello Martinell, *La renta de los naipes*, 21.

42 Ibid., 88.

43 J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716*, revised ed. (London, 2002), 334-335.

and the secular realm of the gaming hall. But from the economic perspective of a printer, these were just two markets for paper goods. The same printers who made books for the church also published card decks (and may well have sold both to the same customers).[44] This is illustrated by a sheet of Italian playing cards, circa 1540 (Fig. 1).[45] On one side of the paper is a draft sheet of playing cards with illustrations of famous military leaders (Roland, Scipio, Hannibal, the biblical Joshua). The reverse side is covered with red Latin liturgical instructions—the rubrics from a breviary or devotional book. The cards appear to have been printed on the backside of scrap paper left over from a book used for liturgical prayer. Apparently, the connection Padilla's villancico makes between Matins and *manjares* may not have been as far-fetched as it might seem today.

All the same, cards were certainly a source of anxiety in this period for theologically-minded people. The gaming table was a focal point for some of the most vexing fascinations and fears of early modern European society. Villa-Flores paints a lively portrait of the many gamblers in colonial Mexico who were tried before the Inquisition each year for blasphemy during card games. Church authorities feared that when players cursed the hand they were dealt, they were really cursing God and potentially drawing down divine wrath on the whole society.[46]

The theological anxiety about cards also stemmed from deeper concerns of the age, as part of a broader crisis of certainty. This phenomenon is well known to scholars of Spanish "Golden Age" literature as the tension between *engaño* and *desengaño* (illusion and dis-illusionment), and its most famous expressions are *Don Quijote* and Calderón's *La vida es sueño.* As the title of Luque Faxardo's *Fiel desengaño* makes clear, cards "played into" the fear of being deceived and cheated. Books about card-playing claimed to protect readers against deception by unmasking the tricks of cardsharps, as one English manual declares: "Mistake me not, it is not my Intention to make Gamesters by this Collection, but to inform all, in Part, how to avoid being cheated by them."[47]

The problem of deception was compounded in the Eucharist, for in the Mass, what physically looked and felt like bread (in its "accidents," to use the theological term), was transformed in its Aristotelian "substance" to become Christ's body. The faithful Catholic had to play a subtle game of *desengaño* to believe something contrary to the senses.

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44 Lenz, *Historia del papel en México*, 119-123.

45 Chicago, Newberry Library (US-Cn: Case Wing ZX 5351.969).

46 Villa-Flores, *Dangerous Speech*, 77-103.

47 Seymour, *The Compleat Gamester*, preface.

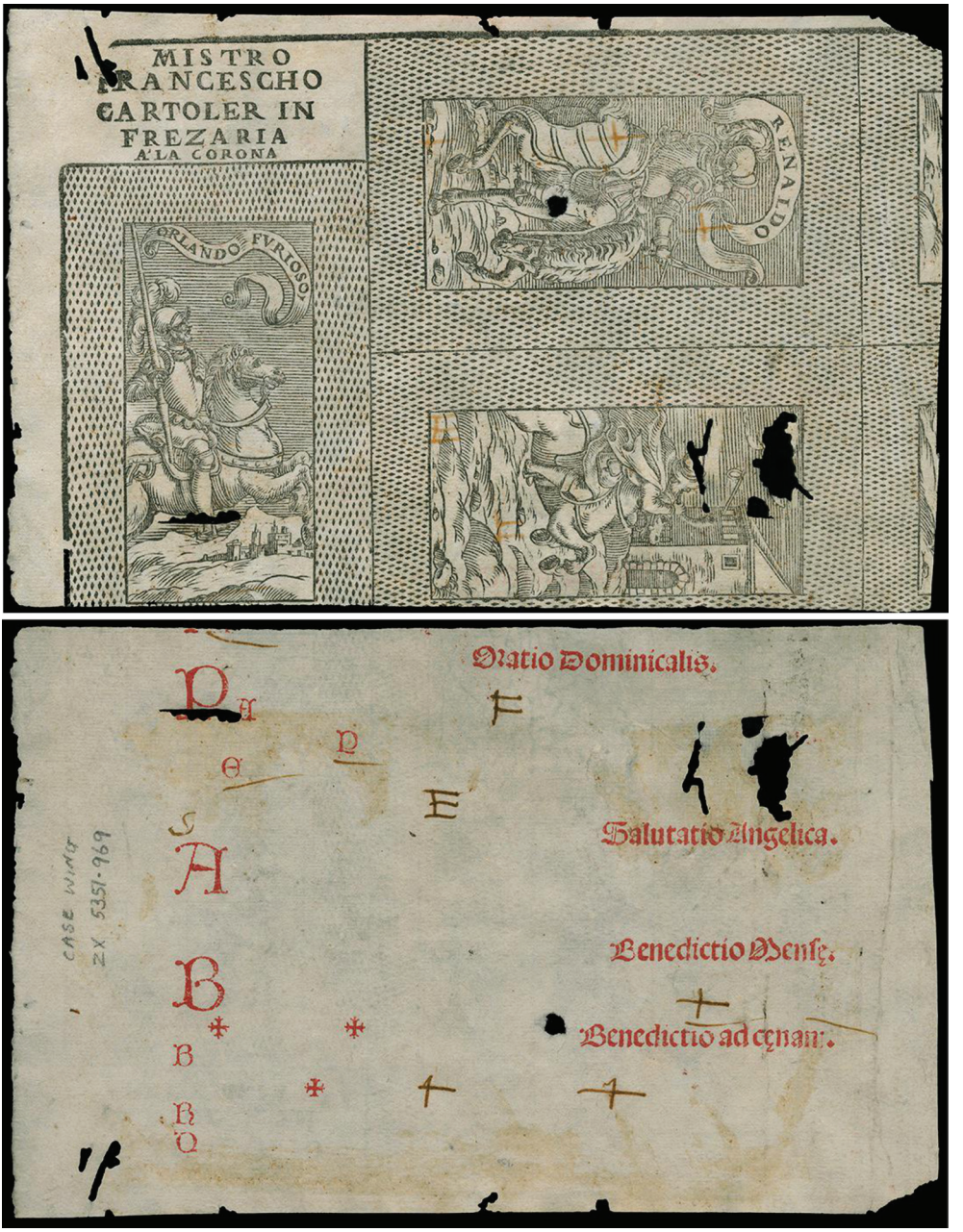


FIGURE 1 *Uncut sheet of Venetian playing cards, c. 1540, and the reverse side with Latin liturgical rubrics (Photo courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, call no. Case Wing ZX 5351.969). This figure is published in color in the online version.*

Bringing together cards and the Eucharist as Padilla does, then, juxtaposes two sites of illusion—one holy, the other potentially illegal. More research is needed into the exact legal status of gaming in seventeenth-century New Spain. No one has yet provided documentation that the Spanish crown forbade any games outright (other than dice) in the seventeenth century. Despite extensive discussions of so-called *juegos prohibidos*, neither López Cantos nor Villa-Flores cites any specific evidence of an official, legal proscription on games prior to a 1771 decree, which banned games of "suerte, envite y azar" (luck, betting, and chance).[48] Prior to this, the state certainly attempted to control the card industry, and the church definitely attempted to set limits on what kind of gaming could become sinful (as in Covarrubias), but it seems difficult to say with any authority that particular games were forbidden.

The legal status of gaming directly affects the interpretation of Padilla's villancico, since the piece depicts Christ himself as playing a game of *envite* in which he bets "thirty-three." Since bets larger than ten *pesos* per day were forbidden, this amount—if taken literally as a sum of *pesos*—would be illegal. If Christ were playing the game in a gambling hall, then that would be against the law as well—not to mention if he actually cheated at the game. It is one thing to place Christ in a potentially disreputable situation and then show how he redeems it; this is in line with the gospel accounts of Christ eating with prostitutes and tax collectors. But it is potentially subversive to represent Christ as breaking the law. As the following section will show, Spanish writers did just that: they depict Christ not just as a card player, but even as an outlaw.

Christ the Card Player: The Literary Tradition of Cards *a lo divino*

We have seen that playing cards was much more than a simple recreation: it was a source of income for the Spanish crown and of anxiety for the church. Aside from the moral vices stemming from gambling and gaming halls, early modern writers saw supernatural power at play in the chance operations of card games, since, as Villa-Flores explains, "even at the gaming table, Divine Providence manifested."[49] A card game becomes the site of a cosmic conflict in a play by Ángela de Azevedo, lady in waiting to the Queen of Spain in 1621-1644. As a young couple's hopes to wed hinge on the outcome of a game of cards, the

48 López Cantos, *Juegos*, 271-274; Villa-Flores, *Dangerous Speech*, 82-87. The 1771 *Pragmática sobre juegos de suerte, envite y azar* is cited in López Cantos, 273.

49 Villa-Flores, *Dangerous Speech*, 78.

genre of *comedia* gives way to that of the *auto sacramental* as Satan and the Virgin Mary themselves appear onstage, both seeking to influence the game.[50]

The idea that otherworldly powers were at work in the card deck coupled easily with giving symbolic meanings to the illustrations and numbers on the cards themselves, such as "the king of cups." This, of course, is the principle behind tarot readings. But fortune telling was not permitted for orthodox Catholics, and pious Spanish writers devised their own alternative "readings" of cards, in a tradition that the philologist Jean-Pierre Étienvre has deemed *naipes a lo divino*, or divinized cards.[51] Influential poets like Jorge de Montemayor ("Ensalada del juego de la primera aplicada a Nuestra Señora," 1554) and Lope de Vega ("El juego del hombre," 1625) interpreted cards with allegorical, theological meanings. In most of these poems, the story of salvation is played out as a card game, usually between Christ and the Devil, where Christ puts his body on the table as a bet and thereby defeats Satan. Examples by five authors seem especially illuminating for understanding Padilla's villancico (in rough chronological order): a Corpus Christi drama by González de Eslava; a religious play and poem by Ledesma; a *romance* by Lope de Vega; another Corpus Christi play by Mejía de la Cerda; and Pujol's *El príncipe soberano*, the one villancico on card playing known to predate Padilla's.

1. *González de Eslava*. The first example is a *coloquio* for Corpus Christi by Fernán González de Eslava (priest and poet, 1534-1601), in celebration of the arrival of a new viceroy (the Count of Coruña) in Mexico City in 1580. The text was published there in 1610 in a collection that included villancicos.[52] This *auto sacramental* includes a scene with two cardsharps (*fulleros*), Lope Bodigo and Juan Garabato, who get in a fight after both accusing each other of cheating at a game of *presas y pintas*. At this moment a learned Doctor appears and deftly resolves their conflict. The Doctor asks what game the men were playing, and when they tell him, he responds, "A good game, if you take note of it." He then begins to explain in verse that "truly, this game signifies great things": "See that

50 Ángela de Azevedo, "Dicha y desdicha del juego y devoción a la Virgen," in *Women's Acts: Plays by Women Dramatists of Spain's Golden Age*, ed. Teresa Scott Soufas (Lexington, KY, 1997), 4-44.

51 Étienvre, *Márgenes literarios del juego*, 55-132.

52 Fernán González de Eslava, "Coloquio Sexto: Que se hizo para la fiesta del santísimo sacramento, en la Ciudad de México, en la entrada del Conde de Coruña, cuando vino por virrey de esta Nueva España; Va simbolizando a la entrada que Dios hace en el alma," in *Coloquios espirituales y sacramentales*, ed. José Rojas Garcidueñas, vol. 1 (Mexico City, 1958), 173-200.

you are attentive, for St. Augustine says that out of the bad God draws good. He put his life on the gaming table, Christ playing at *presas* [captives], and to save captive souls, from the gatekeeper of hell he broke all their bonds. [...] And since a game with such high stakes was so important, as king, he desired that the winnings should go to us and the losses to him."[53]

González thus presents the card game as a metaphor for the history of salvation, in which Christ plays against death, sin, and the Devil. Satan is "walking in the shadows" ("andando a oscuras") like a cardsharp's accomplice who hovers in the background, pretending to be a casual onlooker.[54] Satan's role matches the actual practice of card players, documented in a 1565 print and famously depicted in Caravaggio's *Cardsharps*.[55] González has Christ "put his body on the gaming table" to win the game, passing on all his winnings to humanity (while absorbing their losses); correspondingly, in Padilla's villancico, Christ bets "thirty-three," the number symbolic of the fullness of Christ's life at the point of his sacrificial death.[56]

In this Augustinian reading of card-playing, what appears as a deceitful game is actually a place for salvation to be revealed, just as what appears on the altar as bread in Catholic theology is in substance Christ's redemptive body. St. Augustine was the dominant patristic authority for early modern Spanish theologians.[57] A sermon by Augustine was read at Corpus Christi Matins, just before the procession in which González's *coloquio* was probably performed. In Augustinian theology, evil only exists as a deprivation of the good, and every vice, such as the card-playing vices of prodigality and avarice, only as the corruption of some virtue.[58] When a person is converted, he must turn his ultimate attention from the perversion of the good to the true and ultimate good in the Triune God. The same created objects that formerly served as idols and obstacles to God, even cards, now become means through which God can be revealed. The coloquio presents the inverse of the inn scene in *El Buscón*:

53 Ibid., 159.

54 Ibid.

55 See the definition of "helpers," under "The Company of Cozeners and Shifters" in *The Fraternitie of Vagabondes* (London, 1565); reprinted in Salgado, *Cony-Catchers and Bawdy Baskets*, 66.

56 The Biblical commentator Cornelius a Lapide cites patristic sources for calculating Christ's age at his crucifixion at thirty-three years and three months: "Chronotaxis gestorum Christi," in *Commentarii in IV. Evangelia* (London, 1636, and many other editions).

57 Augustine is the most frequently cited source in Luis de Granada's widely disseminated *Introducción del símbolo de la fe* and in many other Spanish theological books.

58 Augustine, *Confessions*, II: v-vi.

instead of a false friar who turns into a cheat, here the Doctor is a true religious teacher and the players themselves are shown to be deceived.

2. *Ledesma*. The poet Alonso de Ledesma divinized cards in two works, one of which can be tied directly to Puebla. In 1607 Ledesma published his *Conceptos espirituales y morales*, a collection of villancicos and other religious poetry that includes a "Coloquio pastoril en metafora de ciertos juegos aldeanos" (Pastoral Dialogue using the Metaphor of Certain Village Games).[59] The book circulated in Puebla: one of the few remaining copies is preserved there today.[60] The style of Ledesma's villancico texts is closely related to those Padilla uses—including one Eucharistic villancico by Ledesma entitled "Manjar de manjares."[61] The "Coloquio pastoril," apparently an *auto sacramental* for Corpus Christi, uses games much as González does, as metaphors for the life and death of Christ.

In 1611 (a year after González's *auto* was published), Ledesma published his *Juegos de Noches Buenas a lo divino* (Christmas Eve Games Divinized).[62] The twelfth poem in the set divinizes the game *pasa, pasa*—a sleight-of-hand game. This could be a shell game or magic tricks with cards. Ledesma's verses compare the game to the priest's ceremonial actions at the altar when consecrating the Eucharist: "At the game of *pasa, pasa* (speaking with the decency that such a great mystery demands) the priest is playing; but this sleight-of-hand game is different from the other in that here it is infallible truth, what there is only false appearance. For the priest says with pure and upright intention, *Hoc est enim corpus meum* [Latin: This is my body], and causes what was bread to become God."[63]

Ledesma follows this *romance* with a villancico about the transubstantiation, in which he uses the term *manjar* for the Eucharist: "¿Quereis saber de qué modo?/ Comiendo deste manjar" (Do you want to know in what mode [you will find me]? By eating this delicacy). His use of the word *manjar* suggests the same double meaning of Eucharist and cards as in Padilla's villancico. Like González, Ledesma reverses the deception of *pasa, pasa* in Augustinian

59 Alonso de Ledesma, *Segunda parte de los conceptos espirituales, y morales* (Barcelona, 1607).

60 Puebla, Biblioteca José Maria Lafragua, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, call no. 19783-32060404.

61 Edward M. Wilson sees Ledesma's *Conceptos espirituales* as the fountainhead for the earthy *conceptismo* of seventeenth-century sacred villancico texts: "Spanish and English Religious Poetry of the Seventeenth Century," in *Spanish and English Literature of the 16th and 17th Centuries*, ed. D. W. Cruickshank (Cambridge, 1980), 239-240.

62 Alonso de Ledesma, "Juegos de Noches Buenas a lo divino," in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vol. 35 (Madrid, 1872), 151-181.

63 Ibid., 160.

fashion: rather than being a site of *engaño*, the altar is the prime locus for *desengaño*, where the deceptions of the world are shown to be masks for sacred meaning.[64]

3. *Lope de Vega.* The third example, and the closest concordance to Padilla's text, is the *romance* "El juego del hombre," published by Félix Lope de Vega Carpio in his *Triunfos divinos* of 1625.[65] Lope's poetry circulated in Puebla: examples from before 1628 survive in the Biblioteca Lafragua and the Biblioteca Palafoxiana. Gaspar Fernandes based villancico settings on Lope's poetry, which Padilla probably knew.[66] In Lope's allegorical reading of *hombre*, Satan plays the game against multiple opponents—first, against God, causing Satan to be cast out of heaven; then against Adam, with the result that "as a man Adam lost the game of Man, and lost his property, his honor, and his house."[67] But God steps back into the game by making himself a man in Christ, and Christ's life becomes the "carta de copas" (card of cups) that wins the game.

The poetic style and theology of Lope's *romance* and Padilla's villancico are strikingly similar. Padilla's diction recalls that of Lope: for instance, Padilla's "Jugaron en fin los dos" sounds like an echo of Lope's "Jugaron los dos al hombre," and both poems prominently use the word *soberano*. The theological allegory is essentially the same: in both poems Christ wins the game by becoming incarnate and giving his life for humanity; in both cases this is allegorized as a winning suit of cards (in Lope the suit is specified as *copas*). In both cases the profits of the game accrue to the credit of those saved by Christ (for Padilla, the sinner whose bet did not avail; for Lope, the Church).

4. *Mejía de la Cerda*. In the same year that Lope's *romance* was published (1625), Luis Mejía de la Cerda of Valladolid wrote an *Auto sacramental del juego*

64 A Protestant counterpart to Ledesma's conceit may be found in the contemporary English manual for prestidigitators, *Hocus Pocus Junior: The Anatomy of Legerdemain* (London, 1638). Just as the book's title parodies the Catholic words of consecration, the frontispiece mocks the Roman liturgy: it shows a prestidigitator plying his trade behind a table arranged with various cups (to be used in an English version of *pasa, pasa)* and waving his hands over them with a mysterious Latin phrase. In a lengthy chapter explaining the tricks behind shell games, the author's goal is to strip away mystery, where Ledesma's goal is the opposite.

65 Félix Lope de Vega Carpio, "El juego del hombre," in *Triunfos divinos (1625)*, ed. in *Poesía*, vol. 5 (Madrid, 2004).

66 These are listed in Miguel Querol Gavaldá, *Cancionero musical de Lope de Vega* (Barcelona, 1986).

67 Lope de Vega, "El juego del hombre," 200.

del hombre that sums up the tradition of cards *a lo divino*.[68] Here Christ takes up a card game against the vices and death in order to free humankind from slavery to Satan. Like the other examples, Mejía presents the card game as an entertainment at mealtime. In a card version of the Last Supper, Christ consecrates bread and wine, calling them *manjares*.

The game that follows becomes a kind of Stations of the Cross, with symbolic readings of each card and suit. Christ explains that the cards are "dibujos de mi passion" (pictures of my Passion).[69] For example, when the pool of money bet on the table reaches thirty, Christ says, "This is the price for which Judas sold me to the Pharisees."[70] Padilla's "thirty-three" is not included in Mejía's allegory, but it is the same type of numerological symbol used here. Death plays a series of winning suits against Christ (such as *bastos* for his beatings), and since Christ has bet his life, the Devil is about to win all. But at the moment of Death's apparent victory, Christ is resurrected and Satan and Death are defeated and cast into the inferno. As the musicians sing a chorus celebrating Christ's triumph, Christ suddenly appears in a remarkable scenic display: "Christ appears gloriously on the cross. In one hand he holds a very large Host; in the other a chalice. [. . .] Christ is encircled by rays of light and another circle somewhat farther out, like that of the *Toisón*,[71] which are playing cards linked together, and painted on them are the instruments of the Passion."[72]

This over-the-top combination of typical Baroque crucifixion imagery with an *Arma Christi* display made of playing cards would seem to mark the apogee of the cards *a lo divino* tradition. The author arranges the cards to recall the *Toisón*, the insignia of the Golden Fleece—the symbol of the Habsburgs and of their devotion to the Eucharist.[73]

In Mejía's play, Death, who at his first introduction was called a cheating *tahúr*, is himself cheated.[74] He wins the game but only because the game was rigged. By means of Christ's crucified, incarnate body, God inverts and over-

68 Louis Imbert, "El juego del hombre: Auto sacramental," *The Romanic Review* 6, no. 3 (1915): 239-282.

69 Ibid., l. 943.

70 Ibid., ll. 1090-1091.

71 Insignia of the Habsburg Order of the Golden Fleece.

72 Ibid., 279, stage direction.

73 See Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven, 1993). The image of cards within an *Arma Christi* iconographic device mirrors the frontispiece of Francisco de Úbeda's 1605 picaresque novel *La pícara Justina*, where a female rogue is shown surrounded by the instruments of her vice, including cards.

74 Death is called a *tahúr* in Imbert, "El juego del hombre," l. 887.

throws the game, breaks the rules, and shows the game to be a deception. Like Padilla's villancico, Mejía uses cards not to moralize about gambling, but to teach soteriology and Eucharistic theology. Mejía's auto also connects Christ with the Spanish crown, its monopoly on cards, and its manipulation of Eucharistic religious symbolism, particularly at Corpus Christi.

5. *Pujol*. Joan Pujol's villancico *El Príncipe soberano* (The Sovereign Prince) was composed for Corpus Christi, possibly at the cathedral of Barcelona, sometime before the composer's death in 1626 (see Table 2).[75] As the earliest known sacred villancico about card-playing, it could have influenced Padilla directly if he had access to the poem or music. The text circulated as far as Lisbon: the now-lost music collection of King João IV of Portugal contained a villancico by Gabriel Dias, apparently on the same text (according to the 1649 printed catalog).[76] Pujol's version presents the card game as a convivial gathering of the royal Christ and his servants, playing the game *primera* at dinner. Through the game Christ "humanizes himself," ("se viene a humanar"), places his body on the table, and plays the suit of *espadas* (swords) in order to win over human souls. As in Mejía's auto, Christ does not play the game according to ordinary rules: he wins the game but only in order to give his winnings to his "opponents" (sinful humanity). The *responsión*, "Paso, paso el pan en carne," may allude to the sleight-of-hand game *pasa, pasa* in the same way Ledesma uses it, as a symbol for transubstantiation.

The Theology of Cheating and Illusion

The theology of these literary sources draws on a much older Christian theological tradition of speaking about human salvation in financial or transactional metaphors, even in terms of cheating and deceit. Actual gambling is present in the Gospel narratives of the crucifixion, as the soldiers who have just nailed Christ to the cross cast lots to divide up his seamless tunic

75 Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (E-Bbc) M. 749/1 and 732/6. See Mariano Lambea, "Los villancicos de Joan Pau Pujol (1570-1626): Contribución al estudio del villancico en Catalunya, en el primer tercio del siglo XVII" (abridgement of doctoral thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1999), 61-62. Recording in *Música para el Corpus*, La Grande Chapelle, dir. by Albert Recasens, LAU-007 (Madrid: Lauda Música, 2008).

76 *Primeira parte do index da livraria de musica do mvyto alto, e poderoso Rey dom Ioáo o IV. Nosso Senhor* (Lisbon, 1649). The catalog lists under caixão 25, no. 663, "Villancicos do sacramento de Gabriel Dias," and gives the title "El principe soberano. a 3. Passo, passo. solo, & 8" (f. 180).

(Mt. 27:35, Mk. 15:24, Jn. 19:23). This story was likely one inspiration for the tradition of cards *a lo divino*.

Cheating and illusion recur throughout the main history of salvation in the Old Testament, starting with Jacob cheating his brother out of his birthright (Gn. 25:29-34, 27:6-29) and continuing down through the genealogy of Christ (Mt. 1:1-17), which includes the prostitute Rahab, the pretend prostitute Tamar, and the adulterer King David. Christ's parables invert listeners' expectations of economic justice. In the parable of the dishonest manager (Lk. 16:1-13), a steward threatened with losing his job marks down the amounts his master's debtors owe so that the debtors will receive him kindly after he has been fired. Even though the steward cheats the master out of his money, the master praises him for his shrewdness.

In this parable, the accounts do not really add up. If God is the master in the story, how can he pay himself the debt his servants owe him? St. Paul explains the crucifixion as the payment of debts (Gal. 3), but St. Augustine clarifies that God is in fact absorbing his own losses: "You pay off debts, though owing nothing to anyone; you cancel debts and incur no loss."[77] For humanity's sake, God in Christ breaks the rules of his own game, steals the devil's winnings and restores them with interest to the children of Adam, who had long ago gambled away their own birthright. These themes are captured especially well in Mejía de la Cerda's card-themed *auto sacramental*: death actually wins the card game, but through the resurrection, God overthrows the game and abolishes the rules. The game was always rigged, and God's victory was assured from the beginning.

In post-Tridentine Catholic theology, the Eucharist was the foremost site where these transactions occurred. The Council of Trent vigorously asserted that "in the Mass, that same Christ is contained and immolated in an unbloody manner, who once offered Himself in a bloody manner on the altar of the cross," and that therefore "this sacrifice is truly propitiatory [...]. For the Lord, appeased by the oblation thereof, and granting the grace and gift of penitence, forgives even heinous crimes and sins."[78] The altar, then, was a place where the game of salvation was played every mass, where Christ, by cheating the Devil, won human salvation by wagering his own crucified body. The benefits of Christ's sacrifice were transferred to the truly penitent sinner who received the sacrament.

77 Augustine, *Confessions*, I: iv.

78 *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, ed. and trans. J. Waterworth (London, 1848), 154-155.

In Padilla's villancico, the sinner's bet (*envite*) does not avail, because he could never repay all that he owes. Instead Christ's banquet (*convite*) of his own crucified body does avail, and covers all the sinner's debts. Christ's wager of "thirty-three"—his own life—counts against the life the sinner owes to God. Thus Christ's body is the winning suit (*manjar*), as well as nourishment for the sinner who receives it. The villancico therefore seems to present Christ not only as a card player, but as a cheating *tahúr*. Socially, the villancico can be perceived by different audiences as both a lifting of a low-register activity to a more exalted plane, and as a subversive celebration of a socially suspect activity.

The Music of Card-Playing

Did Padilla's music similarly invert listeners' expectations of high and low social register or of sacred and secular? Compared with Padilla's Latin church music, this villancico may sound to modern ears more raucous and "popular" in style. But this distinction is common to almost all seventeenth-century villancicos; as Bernardo Illari has argued, the villancico genre appears designed to appeal to the "general public," but that does not make it "popular music."[79]

The three-beat rhythmic pulse with jarring syncopations is somewhat reminiscent of Padilla's later *jácaras*.[80] The tone and theme of the poetry certainly suggest the poetic genre of *jácara*, a narrative usually in *romance* of the exploits of a ruffian, using underworld slang and often recited between acts of *comedias*. The music lacks some of the specific calling-cards of the sacred *jácaras* that Padilla incorporated in his later villancico cycles for Christmas, but perhaps dates from a time before the characteristics of the *jácara* as a musical, rather than just a poetic, genre had become firmly established. Even if there is not a specific musical allusion like the *jácara*, however, there may still be musical markers that would cause the piece to sound in some way like lower-class music to its 1628 audience.

The performers and others with more musical training would have heard elements of music that dramatically and symbolically represented a card-playing scene. What can be seen from the extant parts is that Padilla stages a conflict of melodic gestures: one motive is a falling fifth first heard on *pecador* (Tiple, mm. 19-20) and then sung repeatedly on the word *vale* (Tiple, m. 30;

79 Illari, "The Popular, the Sacred, the Colonial and the Local."

80 E.g., "Afuera, afuera, pastores" in the 1652 Christmas cycle.

echoed in the Altus, m. 31; then both voices, m. 36). This falling figure could be associated symbolically with the fallen sinner and the sinner's failed bet. The second motive is heard first on *vale el convite de amor* (Altus, mm. 28-29). This motive makes a gradual descent in pitch, on a leaping rhythm; its convivial character matches the idea of *convite*, and the downward motion is a rhetorical *catabasis*, symbolic of Christ descending to be present at the Eucharistic banquet and "condescending" to the undeserving sinner. These two motives—one perhaps suggesting the sinner's *envite*, and the other, Christ's *convite*—play against each other until finally coming together homophonically (as the word *convite* suggests) on the *convite* motive in m. 35.

The full antiphonal double-choir texture of the original would likely have created an effect of competition between players or teams. Adding to the antagonistic character of the game are the sharp contrasts between the rhythmic and affective character of each phrase: for example, in mm. 23-24 the singers sing drawn-out, offbeat notes on *Sí, vale*, and then suddenly shift to more quickly moving diction in m. 25 on *que si el envite*.

Perhaps the constantly changing rhythmic patterns that characterize this piece are themselves a musical game, a kind of metrical play. The piece is written in triple meter, but Padilla plays with rhythm by using *hemiola* (also known as *sesquialtera*) to change the metrical pattern from two groups of three beats to three groups of two.[81] This technique became a defining feature of his later *jácaras*. Padilla uses this stylistic convention symbolically in the coplas when he applies it to the words, *él que tres y uno es* (m. 68). By using hemiola, Padilla puts three semibreve beats inside a single breve *tactus*—"three in one" (Fig. 2).

But there is more to Padilla's rhythmic games. In the *estribillo* and *responsión*, Padilla constantly plays with the meter by placing vocal entrances on the second beat of the *measure*—to the point that in listening to the middle of the *responsión* (mm. 46-49), with only the extant parts it becomes almost impossible to tell where the downbeat is at all. At this point the Tiple and Altus are, in fact, singing an argument about counting: the Tiple insists, *no vale, no vale* ("It doesn't count") while the Altus keeps responding, *Sí, vale* ("Yes, it counts"). Then Padilla suddenly shifts back to a regular triple-meter pattern on *que si el envite.*

Padilla illustrates *vale* with a strange note *value* that requires the performers to take special effort to *count* out all three beats. This rhythmic figure could only be expressed through unusual musical notation. In technical terms, Padilla writes the *vale* figure using an "imperfect" (blackened) semibreve that

81 Technically, the meter is *tiempo menor de proporción menor*, indicated by the sign CZ. See Andrés Lorente, *El porqué de la música* (Alcalá de Henares, 1672), bk. 2, 165-168.

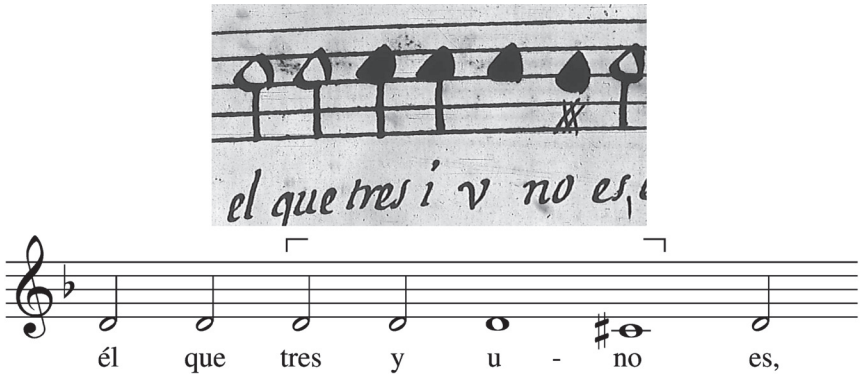


FIGURE 2 *Hemiola on "three and one," indicated with blackened notes in the manuscript and small brackets in the transcription* (*Altus, coplas, mm. 67-8, shown without barlines; manuscript image from microfilm*).

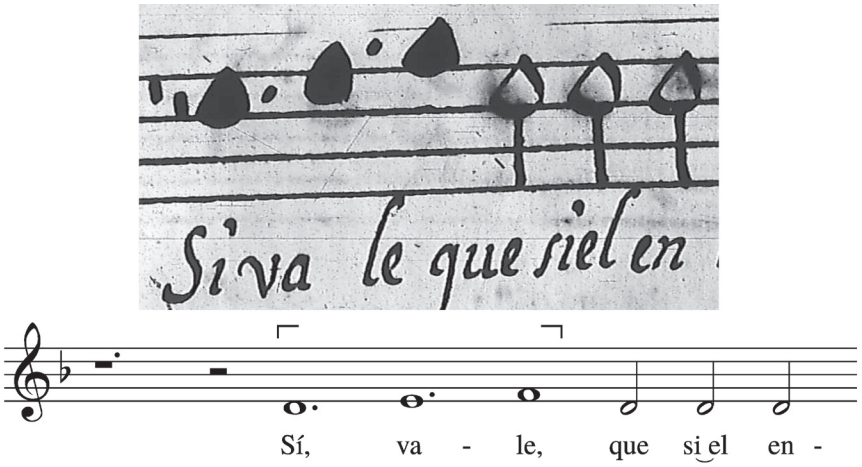


FIGURE 3 *On the word* vale, *a difficult passage to count: semibreves imperfected through coloration, then perfected again by adding a dot* (*Altus, first page, mm. 24-25*).

he has made artificially "perfect" by adding a dot (Fig. 3). Even in rhythmically complex Hispanic villancicos, it is striking to see three such notes in a row. This notation may be a cryptic symbol—a puzzle for the performers to solve—depicting the central idea of the villancico's text: these "imperfect" notes are "perfected," just as the sinner's imperfect bet is perfected by Christ's invitation to the banquet.

Padilla makes this villancico into a musical game on several levels: on the most overt level, obvious to most listeners, he uses musical diction and rhetoric to present a poetic text about gaming. On a performative level, he has the singers stage a dramatic conflict through music. And on a more arcane compositional level (probably accessible only to the musicians themselves) he plays with the elements of music to create crafty contrapuntal tricks and rhythmic puzzles. With all of these musical games and perhaps also with references to other music associated with the culture or character of card players, such as the *jácara*, Padilla brings the poetic text to vibrant life and creates a memorable card-playing scene through music.

The Meta-Conceit of the Villancico Cycle: The Divine *Pícaro*'s Wedding Banquet

The full meaning of the villancico can only be approached in the context of Padilla's complete Corpus Christi cycle for 1628. Many scholars have not considered that villancico cycles may be this tightly integrated, but there are clear relationships between the 1628 texts and the Matins liturgy (see Table 3). Padilla does not just compose a single musical miniature; rather, like the painter of a large multisectional altarpiece, Padilla has shaped his villancico cycle according to the overarching conceit of a wedding banquet.

The liturgical inspiration for the idea would seem to come from the readings of the first Nocturne (from 1 Cor. 11), in which St. Paul criticizes the Corinthian community for allowing their Eucharistic communal meals to become scenes of drunkenness and social inequity. The Corpus Christi liturgy already emphasized that the Eucharist was a divinization of ordinary meals.[82] Padilla thus arranges the whole villancico cycle to show the connections between the Eucharist and everyday meal customs.

82 See Maxwell E. Johnson, "The Apostolic Tradition," in *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, ed. Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen B. Westerfield Tucker (Oxford, 2006), 48-50: "Whatever conclusions may be drawn about eucharistic origins, our earliest documents (1 Cor. 11 and *Didache* 9 and 10) do confirm that the eucharist was initially a literal meal."

TABLE 3 *Possible order of service for Corpus Christi Matins 1628 at Puebla (Liturgical texts from 1568* Breviarium Romanum, *485-487*)

Invitatory, Hymn (Sacris solemniis juncta sint gaudia)

NOCTURNE I
Psalms 1, 4, 15, with antiphons

Lesson 1. 1 Cor. 11 (Criticism of Corinthians: Some have not eaten, others are drunk)
Responsory 1. Immolauit haedum multitudo filiorum Israel ad uesperam Paschae
Villancico 1. Quedaos a comer, haréis con nosotros penitencia

Lesson 2. 1 Cor. 11 continued (Institution narrative)
Responsory 2. Comedetis carnes, et saturabimini panibus
Villancico 2. Porque todos comamos, hace Dios bodas

Lesson 3. 1 Cor. 11 continued (Warning against not discerning body)
Responsory 3. Respexit Elias ad caput suum subcinericium panem
Villancico 3. A que [. . .] El juego visto admirable, vale para el pecador

NOCTURNE II
Psalms 19, 22, 41, with antiphons

Lesson 4: Sermon of St. Thomas Aquinas (On transubstantiation), part 1
Responsory 4. Coenantibus illis accepit Jesus panem. . . hoc est corpus meum.
Villancico 4. Bello anda al Agosto y el Septiembre bello, que divino Mosto

Lesson 5. Aquinas pt. 2 (Transubstantiation, deception of senses)
Responsory 5. Accepit Jesus calicem, postquam cenauit, dicens: Hic calix nouum testamentum est
Villancico 5. Este es pan, cuerpo de Christo

Lesson 6. Aquinas pt. 3 (Meanings of sacrament)
Responsory 6. Ego sum panis uitae
Villancico 6. De mil varios modos guisa Dios a los hombres su sangre y cuerpo

NOCTURNE III
Psalms 42, 80, 83, with antiphons

TABLE 3 (*cont.*)

Lesson 7: Jn. 6 ("My flesh is true food and my blood true drink"); Sermon of St. Augustine on Jn. 6
Responsory 7. Qui manducat meam carnem, & bibit meum sanguinem, In me manet
Villancico 7. Despues de comer [. . .] Bien el alma duerme, nadie le despierte
Lesson 8: Augustine pt. 2 (The one who eats me, I remain in him and him in me)
Responsory 8. Misit me uiuens Pater, & ego uiuo propter patrem. Et qui manducat me, uiuet propter me.
Villancico 8. Salir primero de tí
Lesson 9: Augustine pt. 3 (Life through Christ)
Te Deum laudamus
PROCESSION, ADORATION, OCTAVE?
Villancico 9. Gosad eternamente, dulcísimo Bocado
Villancico 10. Si el fuego de Dios es fuego que en divino amor abrasa
Villancico 11. Blanco y rubio es tu esposo, Morena

The first two villancicos presents the governing conceit of a wedding banquet. In the first villancico, those invited to the meal keep declining in typical Hispanic fashion; the chorus warns them not to treat the banquet too lightly (as Paul's Corinthians did). After the initial invitation, the second villancico describes the banquet as a wedding feast and emphasizes (as Paul does) that all are to eat of it. Now, before the meal arrives, the guests do just as the characters in *El Buscón* and the Mejía's *El Juego del Hombre* do—they play cards (villancico 3).

Villancico 4 represents the meal itself of bread and wine, with villancico 5 providing the actual words of institution. Villancico 6 presents the distribution, in which God is served to man; the coplas, drawing on the story of John reclining on Jesus' breast at the Last Supper (John 13:23), speak of the next stage in the evening's schedule—falling asleep after dinner. In villancico 7 ("Despues de comer [. . .] Bien el alma duerme"), the guests have fallen completely asleep. After the meal and at the end of the liturgy, villancico 8 ("Salir primero de ti") actually divinizes drunkenness. The phrase "salir de sí" could

mean to "be beside oneself" under the influence of the Holy Spirit or of more worldly "spirits."[83] This villancico also plays with the idea of "departing," since it was probably the last villancico sung inside the church before the service concluded with the *Te Deum laudamus*.

The remaining villancicos may be intended for devotional use in Eucharistic adoration. Villancico 9 is a hymn of praise to the bread itself. Villancico 10 speaks of God entering a house and consuming it with fire—perhaps a reference to the sunburst monstrance. Finally, the last villancico is a gloss on the Song of Songs in which the "fair" *sponsus* is connected to the white wafer of the Host. This piece suggests the final event of the wedding night—the union between Christ and his bride. While glossing the liturgy, Padilla's villancico cycle divinizes not only card-playing but also the whole ritual of a festive wedding meal, amplifying Paul's admonition to "eat and drink in a manner worthy of the body of Christ."

Building a New Society through Music: Critique of Cards or Celebration?

Padilla's 1628 villancicos made audible the desire of Spanish colonial leaders to build a new world from the distilled, purified essence of the old. Divinizing cards was neither new nor unique to the colonial setting: we have seen that Padilla's villancico was part of a larger tradition with sources primarily in peninsular Spain. But this reliance on mainland authorities is itself a defining characteristic of art in New Spain, as Martha Tenorio has argued for colonial poetry.[84] The goal of colonial Spanish music was not to create something new (such as a uniquely "Mexican" musical style), but to bring something old to a new place and people—a goal epitomized in the name *New Spain*. The widespread vice of gambling with cards challenged this civilizing mission by bringing that Old World's corruption into the New. Thus the cards *a lo divino* tradition sought to reclaim this dangerous pastime for the church. In Padilla's villancico, cards became a tool for teaching a central church doctrine: the

83 Fray Luis de Granada uses *salir de sí* with the same double meaning, comparing Noah's nakedness, "beside himself" with wine, to Christ's nakedness on the cross, "beside himself" with love for humankind. "Sermon en la fiesta del nascimiento de nuestro Señor," in *Doctrina Christiana* (Madrid, 1595); Biblioteca de autores españoles (Madrid, 1945) 11: 38-39.

84 Martha Lilia Tenorio, *Poesía novohispana: Antología* (Mexico City, 2010), 17-21.

sinner's redemption through Christ's incarnation and passion, made present in the Eucharistic banquet.

Like many other villancicos, this piece emphasizes the connections between the common and the divine, and thus reflects a society where these domains were constantly overlapping. Padilla's contemporaries distinguished between music *a lo humano* and music *a lo divino*: the first type dealt with human–human relationships and was performed in theaters and homes, while the second treated human–divine relationships and was performed in churches and private devotional services. While Padilla is turning the *humano* subject of meals and gaming to a *divino* aim, he is also "humanizing" the divine (Pujol's "humanar") by emphasizing the Eucharist's connection with everyday meals—both Christ's meals with his disciples, and the daily *comidas* of parishioners in Puebla. Drawing this connection made particular sense in a city still famous both for its intense religiosity and its distinctive cuisine (according to legend, nuns in seventeenth-century Puebla invented *mole*).

This musical villancico was capable of doing real work in society, edifying and challenging its hearers to reconsider the moral stakes of betting and card games. The piece suggests that there may be sacramental power "at play" even in an ordinary card game. When Padilla's card villancico is followed by the reading from Paul, "Whoever, therefore, eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be answerable for the body and blood of the Lord" (1 Cor. 11:27), the moral warning extends beyond the listeners' conduct in the liturgy to their daily eating and drinking as well, together with the mealtime entertainment of cards. The game, which was depicted in the moralistic literature as an execrable sight of wantonness and quarrelling, could—if understood and played with pious intent—become instead a truly "admirable sight." As González de Eslava's Augustinian doctor teaches his card players, the game is "a good game, if you take note of it": likewise, in Padilla's villancico, "the game is a sight to be looked at" carefully to discern the virtue hidden behind the vice.

By "baptizing" card-playing in this way, though, Padilla also distances his portrayal from the gritty social reality of actual card players. Father Padilla may never have been in a gambling hall in his life. And one can hardly imagine a real *tahúr* being converted to a life of piety by this villancico.

Even if Padilla did intend (perhaps naïvely) to contribute to the Spanish civilizing mission by teaching a moral lesson to card-players, his lively, playful music suggests that he and his choir still had fun bringing the card-playing milieu into the liturgy. Most of the lay people in the congregation could not understand the Latin liturgical chants and lessons at Matins, so the moralizing

frame of the villancicos would have been lost on them. And Padilla's ingenious "plays on notes" were not likely to communicate much to anyone outside the gates of the choir.

Most listeners would, however, have perceived that the chorus was singing about Christ betting on a game of cards. That meant identifying Jesus with a social type that was at best on the margins of respectability, if not a total outlaw. A portion of the audience must have considered that to be a subversive celebration of card-playing. Even listeners untrained in listening for musical rhetoric could have perceived the general mood and style of the musical setting. The piece's rough rhythms and other musical elements may have alluded to popular music traditions or low-register social associations. If so, many hearers may have perceived this piece not as a moral critique, but as a celebration of a pastime from their daily life.

This villancico, then, could be both a critique and celebration of card-playing: indeed Padilla critiques the practice by celebrating it. As Mary Gaylord has said of Spanish Baroque poetry in general, this music uses "sensual means for sober ends, [. . .] cultivating the very desires it aims to subvert, luring readers [and hearers] into carefully laid pleasure traps where, once ensnared, they will be read bitter lessons of sin and death [. . .] It deceives in order to undeceive."[85] Padilla brings together two types of play—card games and music—as a way of teaching a serious moral and theological lesson. His villancico on card-playing is composed as early modern people believed all material substances were: from opposed elements held in tension, or to use the preferred term of the period, in harmony. Just as the inimical elements of fire and water coexisted in the material substance of bread, just as that bread when consecrated maintained the accidents of the wafer while bearing the substance of Christ's body, just as that body was itself the hypostatic union of God and Man, so Padilla's villancico holds together human and divine, warning and celebration, piety and play.

Appendix

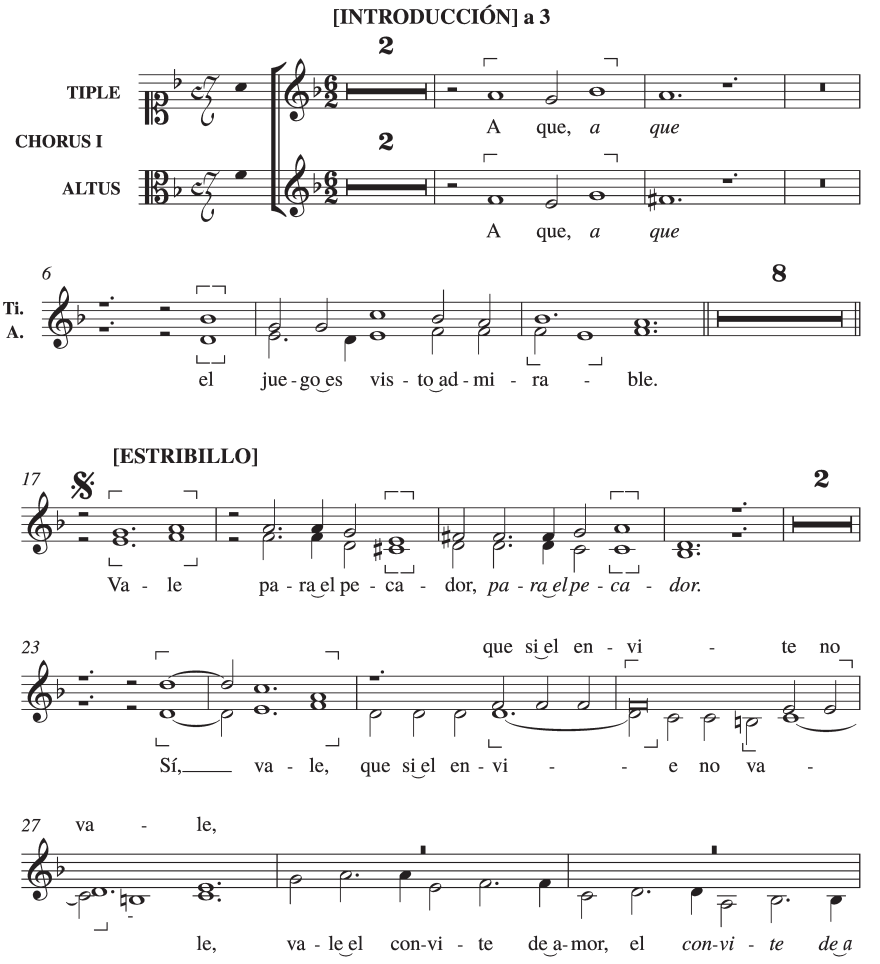
Score of Gutiérrez de Padilla's piece about card-playing, "A que [. . .] El juego es visto admirable," third in a cycle of villancicos labeled "Corpus Christi of the Year 1628," in the archive of Puebla Cathedral. Edited by Andrew A. Cashner.

85 Mary Malcom Gaylord, "The Making of Baroque Poetry," in *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, ed. David Gies (Cambridge, 2004), 229.

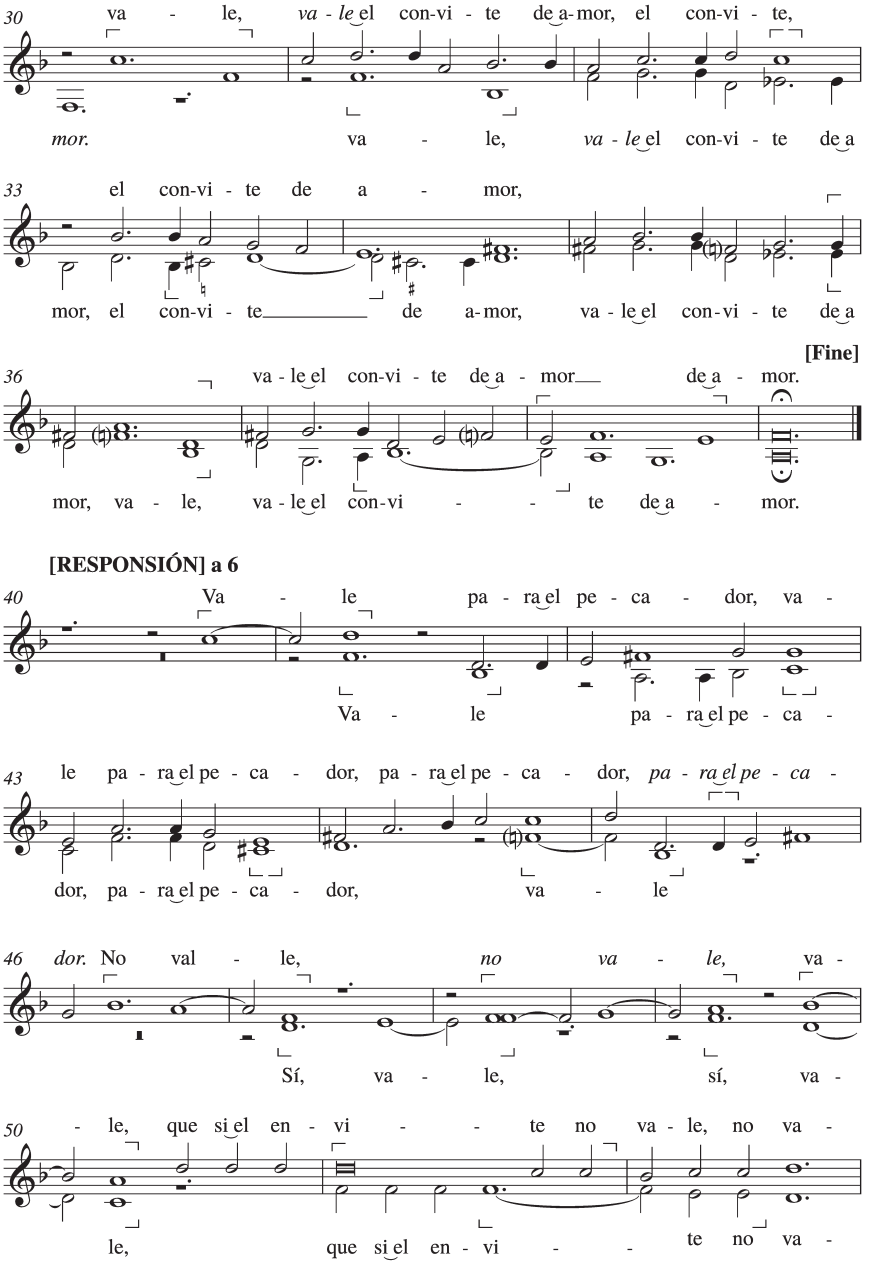
A que [. . .] El juego es visto admirable

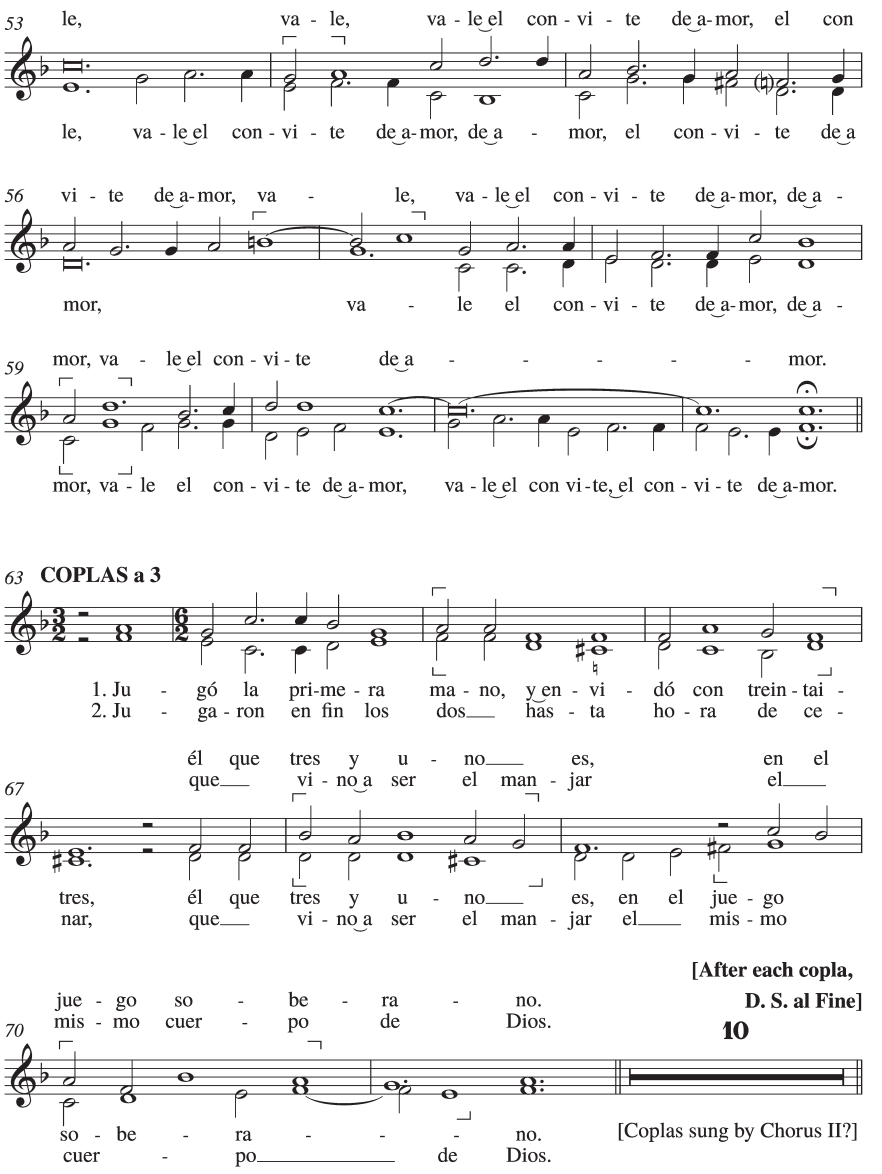
Corpus Christi del Año de 1628, no. 3
Puebla Cathedral Archive
(MEX-Pc: Legajo 1/1)

JUAN GUTIÉRREZ DE PADILLA
(c. 1590–1664)
Edited by Andrew A. Cashner



Editorial note: Of the original six voice parts (likely divided into two choirs), only the partbooks for these two voices survive.


30
va - le, va - le el con-vi - te de a-mor, el con-vi - te,
mor. va - le, va - le el con-vi - te de a
33
el con-vi - te de a - mor,
mor, el con-vi - te de a-mor, va - le el con-vi - te de a
[Fine]
36
va - le el con-vi - te de a - mor de a - mor.
mor, va - le, va - le el con-vi - te de a - mor.
[RESPONSIÓN] a 6
40
Va - le pa - ra el pe - ca - dor, va -
Va - le pa - ra el pe - ca -
43
le pa - ra el pe - ca - dor, pa - ra el pe - ca - dor, pa - ra el pe - ca -
dor, pa - ra el pe - ca - dor, va - le
46
dor. No val - le, no va - le, va -
Sí, va - le, sí, va -
50
- le, que si el en - vi - te no va - le, no va -
le, que si el en - vi - te no va -


53
le, va - le, va - le el con - vi - te de a-mor, el con
le, va - le el con - vi - te de a-mor, de a - mor, el con - vi - te de a
56
vi - te de a-mor, va - le, va - le el con - vi - te de a-mor, de a -
mor, va - le el con - vi - te de a-mor, de a -
59
mor, va - le el con - vi - te de a - - - - - - mor.
mor, va - le el con - vi - te de a-mor, va - le el con vi - te, el con - vi - te de a-mor.
63
COPLAS a 3
1. Ju - gó la pri-me - ra ma - no, y en - vi - dó con trein - tai -
2. Ju - ga - ron en fin los dos has - ta ho - ra de ce -
él que tres y u - no es, en el
que vi - no a ser el man - jar el
67
tres, él que tres y u - no es, en el jue - go
nar, que vi - no a ser el man - jar el mis - mo
[After each copla,
D. S. al Fine]
jue - go so - be - ra - no.
mis - mo cuer - po de Dios.
10
70
so - be - ra - - - no.
cuer - po de Dios.
[Coplas sung by Chorus II?]