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BRINGING HEAVENLY MUSIC DOWN TO EARTH: GLOBAL EXCHANGE AND LOCAL DEVOTION AT SEGOVIA CATHEDRAL, 1678

By Andrew A. Cashner*

Being a Spaniard in the later seventeenth century meant maintaining a balance of identities: one was at once a subject of the Habsburg crown and a member of a local family, a participant in the day-to-day celebrations of a parish church and an adherent to the universal church of Rome.[1] One's Catholic identity required faith in a God who was both transcendent, dwelling as spirit in the heavenly realms, and immanent, as near as the consecrated wafer or the anointed hands of the local priest.[2] It makes sense, then, that Spaniards would cultivate musical practices of religious devotion that embodied these dual universal and local aspects. The complex genre of sung vernacular poetry known by the catch-all term 'villancico' formed a point of intersection between heaven and earth—especially through the many pieces for Christmas and Corpus Christi that urged listeners to discern timeless truths in a dizzying variety of worldly manifestations—and between global and local concepts of both music and devotion.[3] The poetic texts, printed in commemorative pamphlets, circulated widely throughout the Spanish Empire, allowing churches at the far corners of the Iberian world to feel connected to the peninsular centres. While composers did share musical settings, in most cases they had a specific charge from their employers to craft new music every year, and so they edited and centonized the poems they received from abroad and then projected them through musical structures and styles that were especially suited to the performing forces and cultural situation of the local church.

* University of Rochester. Email: andrew.cashner@rochester.edu.
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[1] William A. Christian, Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, 1981).

[2] Ireri Elizabeth Chávez Bárcenas, 'Singing in the City of Angels: Race, Identity, and Devotion in Early Modern Puebla de los Ángeles' (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2018); Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991).

[3] Álvaro Torrente, 'El villancico religioso', in *La música en el siglo XVII*, Historia de la música en España e Hispanoamérica, 3 (Madrid, 2016), 435–530; Paul R. Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico* (Warren, Mich., 1997); Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente (eds.), *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800: The Villancico and Related Genres* (Aldershot, 2007); Esther Borrego Gutiérrez and Javier Marín López (eds.), *El villancico en la encrucijada: Nuevas perspectivas en torno a un género literario-musical (siglos XV–XIX)* (Kassel, 2019).

Villancicos formed a central part of the daily musical experience of people all across the planet for over two centuries.[4] Understanding them is vitally important if we want to be able to write a global history of music, one that moves beyond the handful of European capitals whose music currently dominates our textbooks, classrooms, and concert halls. In this genre we find the intersection of elite and common culture as well as official and popular religious and musical practices. Contrary to a still-pervasive stereotype that they are trivial popular religious songs, villancicos in the mid-seventeenth century were large-scale, complex polyphonic settings of poetic texts in a vernacular language (Castilian Spanish or Portuguese) for voices and instruments, often in polychoral arrangements. They were sung by skilled ensembles in cathedrals, cloisters, and royal institutions on every major feast day, particularly Christmas and Corpus Christi. Villancicos were most often integrated into the liturgy of Matins for these feasts, commonly sung just after or in place of the Latin Responsory chants. They were often performed in cycles of eight pieces at Matins (one for each Responsory, with the ninth spot taken up by the Te Deum) but sometimes there were more or less, and they were also featured at Mass, during processions, before and after Corpus Christi dramas, and during Eucharistic devotional services. Their formal structures were flexible, but most commonly included a through-composed *estribillo* section performed by the full ensemble (sometimes preceded by an *introducción*), and a central section of usually strophic *coplas* or verses performed by soloists or a reduced ensemble, followed by a repeat of all or a portion of the *estribillo*. There were numerous conventional subgenres within each cycle of villancicos that included topics of Christmas shepherds and angels, comic dialogues, the so-called ethnic villancicos in which Spanish and Portuguese ensembles imitated Africans and other low-caste groups, *jácara* outlaw ballads, and many different types of pieces *en metáfora de*—built around an extended metaphor between Christian theology and some other field like mathematics, surgery, astrology, or music theory.

Compared with the other major vernacular genres of early modern Europe, including Italian sacred concertos, English anthems, French *grands motets*, and German motets and cantatas, villancicos make an especially interesting object of study because the Spanish Church employed this genre in its dual efforts to colonize the New World and reform the Old. Villancicos are evidence for a concerted effort on the part of Spanish church leaders to address lay and common people in their own language, and though Catholic worshippers did not participate in this music by singing, their interests and fascinations created a demand that poets and composers endeavoured to supply.

Like mass-mediated popular music today, including Christian worship music, the villancico repertory became highly conventionalized. One sees the same stock characters and devotional tropes over and over again in the poetic texts, and though the number of scores that have been edited is only a tiny fraction of what survives, it is still evident that villancico composers were catering to an audience with a fairly narrow set of expectations. Building on the detailed catalogues of commemorative poetry imprints of villancicos preserved in Madrid and elsewhere, Cipriano López Lorenzo has analysed the corpus of texts from seventeenth-century Seville and provided a foundation, along with work by Alain Begue and others, for tracing the development of tropes and conventions through reworkings of similar subjects across the years, though this work only

[4] Andrew A. Cashner, *Hearing Faith: Music as Theology in the Spanish Empire*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 194 (Leiden, 2020), https://brill.com/view/title/56183.

focuses on the verbal texts.[5] This emphasis on conventions, however, has unfortunately led to an attitude among some scholars that the genre as a whole is nothing *but* conventions, lacking any kind of local specificity, especially in the American context.[6] On the other hand, much of the research on Spanish and Spanish-American music has focused on the local level, with detailed studies of the repertories of specific archives and the musical life of individual cities, including important studies of music in Salamanca, Jaca, Sigüenza, Cuzco, Sucre, Mexico City, and Puebla.[7] Despite their local focus, many of these studies also deal with global dissemination and circulation of sources and people between sites, because the archives document a large amount of such interchange across the empire.

Specialists in Spanish music have been aware for decades that villancico poems and music circulated widely through networks of affiliated composers, since José López Calo and others first documented the troves of surviving letters of Spanish musicians, especially the remarkable documents of the Segovia Cathedral chapelmaster Miguel de Irízar (1634–84, at Segovia 1671–84).[8] In the 1990s Paul Laird and Pablo-Lorenzo Rodríguez were the first to explore these connections systematically, drawing on the continuing efforts of Álvaro Torrente and numerous other scholars to catalogue all of the surviving imprints of villancico poetry and the manuscripts of the musical settings.[9] The music of seventeenth-century villancicos survives primarily as sets of manuscript performing parts, with only a few collections of composers' draft scores, but in the Irízar manuscripts we have a precious combination: the archive preserves both the performing parts and original draft scores of complete cycles of villancicos for Christmas, Corpus Christi, and other feasts, along with a large body of the composer's letters.[10] These are preserved because

[5] Cipriano López Lorenzo, 'El villancico sevillano del siglo XVII (1621–1700)', *Calíope*, 21/2 (2016), 59–92; Alain Begue, 'A Literary and Typological Study of the Late 17th-Century Villancico', in Knighton and Torrente (eds.), *Devotional Music in the Iberian World*, 231–82.

[6] Drew Edward Davies, 'Finding "Local Content" in the Music of New Spain', *Early Music America*, 2/19 (2013), 60–4.

[7] Álvaro Torrente, 'The Sacred Villancico in Early Eighteenth-Century Spain: The Repertory of Salamanca Cathedral' (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1997); Miguel Ángel Marín, *Music on the Margin: Urban Musical Life in Eighteenth-Century Jaca* (Kassel, 2002); Javier Suárez-Pajares, *Música en la catedral de Sigüenza, 1600–1750* (Madrid, 1998); Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham, NC, 2008); Bernardo Illari, 'Polychoral Culture: Cathedral Music in La Plata (Bolivia), 1680–1730' (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2001); Jesús A. Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral: Music, Race, and Status in New Spain* (New York and Oxford, 2016); Javier Marín López, 'Música y músicos entre dos mundos: La catedral de México y sus libros de polifonía (siglos XVI–XVIII)' (PhD diss., Universidad de Granada, 2007); Dianne Lehmann Goldman, 'The Matins Responsory at Mexico City Cathedral, 1575–1815' (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2014); John Swadley, 'The Villancico in New Spain 1650–1750: Morphology, Significance and Development' (PhD diss., Canterbury Christ Church University, 2014); Chávez Bárcenas, 'Singing in the City of Angels'.

[8] Miguel Querol Gavaldá, 'Corresponsales de Miguel Gómez Camargo', *Anuario musical*, 14 (1959), 165–78; José López Calo, 'Corresponsales de Miguel de Irízar', *Anuario musical*, 18 (1963), 197–222; Matilde Olarte Martínez, 'Miguel de Irízar y Domenzain (1635–1684?): Biografía, epistolario y estudio de sus Lamentaciones' (PhD diss., Universidad de Valladolid, 1992); Matilde Olarte Martínez, 'Aspectos comerciales en los músicos españoles del Barroco: La correspondencia de Miguel de Irízar como fuente documental', *Revista de Folklore*, 14/164 (1994), 53–62.

[9] Paul Laird, 'The Dissemination of the Spanish Baroque Villancico', *Revista de musicología*, 16/5 (1993), 2857–64; Pablo-Lorenzo Rodríguez, '"Sólo Madrid es corte": Villancicos de las Capillas Reales de Carlos II en la catedral de Segovia', *Artigrama*, 12 (1996), 237–56; Pablo-Lorenzo Rodríguez, 'Villancicos and Personal Networks in 17th-Century Spain', *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies*, 8 (1998), 79–89; Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Catálogo de villancicos de la Biblioteca Nacional, Siglo XVII* (Madrid, 1992); Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Catálogo de villancicos y oratorios en la Biblioteca Nacional, siglos XVIII–XIX* (Madrid, 1990); Álvaro Torrente and Miguel Ángel Marín, *Pliegos de villancicos en la British Library (Londres) y la University Library (Cambridge)* (Kassel, 2000); Álvaro Torrente and Janet Hathaway, *Pliegos de villancicos en la Hispanic Society of America y la New York Public Library* (Kassel, 2007); Daniel Codina i Giol, *Catàleg dels villancicos i oratoris impresos de la Biblioteca de Montserrat, segles XVII–XIX* (Montserrat, 2003).

[10] José López Calo, *La música en la Catedral de Segovia*, 2 vols. (Segovia, 1988).

Irízar composed his scores in makeshift notebooks sewn together from his received letters, fitting as many as thirteen staves of notation into the margins and blank reverse sides of this valuable scrap paper. Other Spanish composers' correspondence reveals similar patterns of exchange through personal networks, though no other sources provide the unique combination of music and letters that Irízar's letter-notebooks do.[11] By correlating the letters, the music, and surviving imprints of poems held at Segovia and in other archives, Rodríguez demonstrated that Irízar acquired poetic texts and music through a network of musicians, several of whom were fellow former pupils of Tomás Miciezes, Sr, a circle first identified by Lothar Siemens-Hernández.[12]

Musicians not only exchanged sources; they also adapted them to suit their local needs. Rodríguez demonstrated this through the case of a motet by Cristóbal Galán that survives in three versions, one dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Valladolid, another to San Ildefonso (St Ildephonse) in Zamora, and a third to San Frutos (St Fructus) in Segovia.[13] In each case the local chapelmaster adapted the words and music of the more prestigious Madrid composer Galán to suit the devotional needs of his local community. In my own study of a global corpus of villancicos, I showed that villancicos on the subject of music itself—'metamusical' villancicos—circulated through these same networks of affiliated composers, forming families of related texts and their settings linked in chains of influence and homage.[14] Chapelmasters distinguished themselves within a tradition of composition by the distinctive ways that each one configured a set of widely shared conventions.

The idea that leaders of specific communities configured commonly available texts and conventions in particular local ways accords well with the patterns of dissemination and adaptation in other repertories, such as fifteenth-century chansons and liturgical music.[15] For eighteenth-century Metastasian *opera seria*, Martha Feldman has probed the ways sovereigns, impresarios, and performers took texts and formal patterns that were both conventional and widely repeated and particularized them to serve local political purposes and suit local tastes and expectations.[16] The appropriation of mass culture by individuals and communities, precisely with the purpose of articulating a relationship between local and global identities, is the primary object of study for many scholars of popular religious music and culture today.[17] Bernardo Illari points the way forward for thinking about such intersections in Spanish colonial music.[18] For most Spanish subjects

[11] Carmen Caballero Fernández-Rufete, 'Miguel Gómez Camargo: Correspondencia inédita', *Anuario musical*, 45 (1990), 67–102.

[12] Lothar Siemens Hernández, 'El maestro de capilla palentino Tomás Micieces I (1624–67): Su vida, su obra y sus discípulos', *Anuario musical*, 30 (1975), 67–96; *Grove Music Online*, s.v. 'Miciezes, Tomás', by Álvaro Torrente.

[13] Pablo-Lorenzo Rodríguez, 'El motete *O beate Ildefonse*: Un ejemplo de recepción periférica de la obra de Cristóbal Galán', *Revista de musicología*, 20/1 (1997), 245–59.

[14] Cashner, *Hearing Faith; Villancicos about Music from Seventeenth-Century Spain and New Spain*, ed. Andrew A. Cashner, Web Library of Seventeenth-Century Music, 32 (Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, 2017), http://www.sscm-wlscm.org/.

[15] Jane Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society: The History and Reception of the Loire Valley Chansonniers* (New York and Oxford, 2010); David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480* (Oxford and New York, 1999); Anne Walters Robertson, 'The Man with the Pale Face, the Shroud, and Du Fay's Missa "Se la face ay pale"', *Journal of Musicology*, 27 (2010), 377–434.

[16] Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago, 2007).

[17] Monique Marie Ingalls, *Singing the Congregation: How Contemporary Worship Music Forms Evangelical Community* (New York and Oxford, 2018); Melvin L. Butler, *Island Gospel: Pentecostal Music and Identity in Jamaica and the United States* (Champaign, Ill., 2019).

[18] Bernardo Illari, 'The Popular, the Sacred, the Colonial and the Local: The Performance of Identities in the Villancicos from Sucre (Bolivia)', in Knighton and Torrente (eds.), *Devotional Music in the Iberian World*, 409–40.

of the seventeenth century, family, town, and regional affiliations were more important than any broader Spanish identity, but villancicos played a major role in helping to connect those two kinds of identity.[19]

In this article I examine Irízar's output of villancicos for Segovia Cathedral, and, through a codicological analysis and sketch study of his letter-notebook of 1678, reconstruct the chapelmaster's compositional process. Rodríguez has already shown that Irízar obtained most of the texts for his 1678 Christmas cycle from Madrid and Toledo poetry imprints received through his correspondence network; I show further that Irízar adapted and rearranged these texts from other cities and inventively modified his own music to tailor a coherent cycle for his own community. Based on a new edition of the first villancico in the 1678 cycle, the eleven-voice 'calenda' piece beginning *Qué música celestial*, I analyse Irízar's creative use of musical conventions and practical craftsmanship in producing music that suited the needs of his ensemble and the congregation they served.[20]

I argue that Irízar's process and output demonstrate that villancicos served as an intersection point for local and global, unique and conventional, aspects of both music and devotion. Irízar's service to his church in 1678 also reveals economic aspects of Spanish church music, which originated through exchange within a community of limited resources, and in which value was determined both by meeting local needs and by connecting to a broader currency. Finally, Irízar's actual music for the calenda shows how a specific type of villancico—the 'metamusical' piece on the subject of music—was built from an interplay of widespread convention and local concerns, while also calling on hearers to listen for the echoes of heaven in earthly music-making.

MEETING THE LOCAL NEEDS OF A WORSHIPPING COMMUNITY

The mountaintop fortress town of Segovia was itself an intersection of global power and localized devotion.[21] Whenever the Spanish monarchs retreated to the Alcázar, a small Castilian town was transformed into the seat of power for the world's largest empire. Segovia provided refuge not only to the political powers but also to the influential spiritual reformers Teresa of Ávila and Juan de la Cruz (John of the Cross), who founded monastic houses there for their Discalced Carmelite order.[22] The sumptuous royal life in the Alcázar made an especially stark contrast against the severe austerity of Juan's male monastery deep in the valley below.

The cathedral was built between 1525 and 1768, after the 1521 revolt of the *Comuneros* had destroyed most of its medieval predecessor.[23] While Teresa and then Juan de la Cruz were reforming monastic life in their cloistered communities, the cathedral was rising as a testament in stone to the official Spanish Church's efforts to purify and strengthen Catholicism in the broader community. The building's high vaulted ceilings and ornately

[19] Henry Kamen, *Early Modern European Society* (New York, 2000).

[20] *Villancicos about Music from Seventeenth-Century Spain and New Spain*, ed. Andrew A. Cashner, ii, Web Library of Seventeenth-Century Music, 36 (Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, 2021), http://www.sscm-wlscm.org/. The calenda was the first villancico performed at Christmas.

[21] *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana* [*DMEH*], ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio, 10 vols. (Madrid, 1999), s.v. *Segovia*.

[22] Gillian T. W. Ahlgren, *Teresa of Ávila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca, NY, 1996); Antolín Fortunato OCD, *San Juan de la Cruz en Segovia: Apuntes históricos* (Segovia, n.d.).

[23] López Calo, *La música en la Catedral de Segovia*; Santiago Ruiz Torres, 'La monodia litúrgica entre los siglos XV y XIX: Tradición, transmisión y praxis musical a través del estudio de los libros de coro de la catedral de Segovia' (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2013).

carved Choir (preserved from the old cathedral) mark it as Gothic, but its spacious plainness gives it the sober serenity of the reforming Tridentine church. The new Segovia Cathedral was being erected at the same time as the cathedrals of Mexico City and Puebla in New Spain, and these parallel projects on either side of the Atlantic exemplify the double thrust of the Church's reforming and evangelizing missions.[24] Just as the Puebla chapelmaster Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla provided masses, motets, and villancico cycles as a musical contribution to the *fábrica* (furnishings) of his New World cathedral alongside new visual art and sculpture, likewise Irízar's music should be understood in connection with the broader project to adorn Segovia Cathedral and equip it to serve as a centre of worship for the surrounding community.[25] Irízar filled the church's archive with compositions scored for as many as twelve vocal and instrumental parts in multiple choirs, featuring virtuosic solo vocal writing.[26] The spacious proportions of the music reflect those of the cathedral, and its rich textures are fitting for this royal city—patterns that were continued by Irízar's successor Jerónimo de Carrión (1660–1721).

Visual representations of music-making throughout the church highlight the interconnection of sound and space, bringing common devotional tropes into a particular local configuration.[27] The Chapel of the Immaculate Conception, designed during Irízar's tenure by Alonso de Herrera, includes several paintings by Ignacio Ríes with moralistic depictions of music as part of a *vanitas*. Two plaques flanking the altar bear the words of the early seventeenth-century popular song *Todo el mundo a voces eleva*, which was disseminated throughout the Spanish Empire to affirm the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary.[28] The plaques symbolize musical devotion itself and demonstrate the effective use of music to propagate faith in this specific dogma. Exactly opposite this chapel, such that the two chapels flank the main entrance to the church, is the Chapel of San Blas (St Blaise), which became an important site for devotion that focused on the theological theme of music.

Music for San Blas: Global Tropes for Local Devotion

The cult of San Blas exemplifies a local pattern of religious practice that created a demand for devotional music particular to Segovia. Blas was not the only saint favoured in local devotion, of course. Both Irízar and Carrión also provided polyphonic music to complement the cathedral's repertory of chants for the office of San Frutos, the

[24] Cashner, *Hearing Faith*.

[25] Andrew A. Cashner, 'Imitating Africans, Listening for Angels: A Slaveholder's Fantasy of Social Harmony in an "Ethnic Villancico" from Colonial Puebla, 1652', *Journal of Musicology*, 38 (2021), 141–82; Ricardo Miranda, '"…de Ángeles también el coro": Estética y simbolismo en la misa *Ego flos campi* de Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla', in Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez (ed.), *Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla y la época Palafoxiana* (Puebla, 2010), 131–53; María Gembero-Ustárroz, 'Muy amigo de música: El obispo Juan de Palafox (1600–1659) y su entorno musical en el Virreinato de Nueva España', ibid. 55–130.

[26] José López Calo, 'Las misas policorales de Miguel de Irízar', *Príncipe de Viana*, 46/174 (1985), 297–313; López Calo, 'Los villancicos policorales de Miguel de Irízar', *Inter-American Music Review*, 10 (1989), 27–48; López Calo, 'Las lamentaciones solísticas de Miguel de Irízar', *Anuario musical*, 43 (1988), 121–62.

[27] Pablo Zamarrón Yuste, *Iconografía musical en la catedral de Segovia* (Segovia, 2016).

[28] Pablo González Tornel, 'The Immaculate Conception Controversy and the Accusation of Scandal: Public Conflict and Religious Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Spain', *Renaissance Studies*, 34 (2019), https://doi.org/10.1111/rest.12560; Alfonso de Vicente, 'Música, propaganda y reforma religiosa en los siglos XVI y XVII: Cánticos para la "gente del vulgo" (1520–1620)', *Studia Aurea*, 1 (2007), https://www.studiaaurea.com/articulo.php?id=47; Víctor Rondón, '*Todo el mundo en general*, ecos historiográficos desde Chile de una copla a la Inmaculada Concepción en la primera mitad del siglo XVII', *Revista de Historia Iberoamericana*, 2/1 (2009), 30–45; Torrente, 'El villancico religioso'.

Pl. 1. Altar of the Chapel of San Blas in Segovia Cathedral. Photo: author, courtesy of Segovia Cathedral

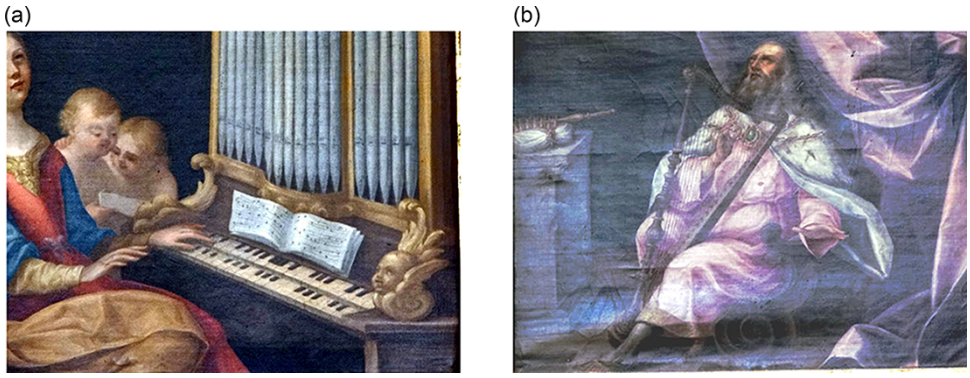
city's patron.[29] The city also funded lavish celebrations for Nuestra Señora de la Fuencisla in addition to its processions and dramas for Corpus Christi.[30] San Blas, though, was the dedicatee of a disproportionally high number of villancicos by Irízar and Carrión, compared with the repertory from other locations and with Irízar's output from before coming to Segovia. Irízar composed twenty-three villancicos dedicated to San Blas, and several survive by Carrión as well. Blas (Blasius or Blaise), bishop of Sebastea, Armenia, was martyred in about 316 by beheading; for having saved a boy from choking, he is the patron saint of the throat and, by extension, of singing and singers.[31] Traditionally there is a blessing of throats on his feast day, 3 February.[32] The altar in the chapel of San Blas is ornamented with a set of paintings of musicians from sacred history with their typical symbols: King David with his harp, St Cecilia at her organ, St Gregory taking dictation of plainchant from the Holy Spirit as a dove, and

[29] Ruiz Torres, 'La monodia litúrgica', 348; Rodríguez, 'El motete *O beate Ildefonse*'.

[30] Michael J. McGrath, *Religious Celebrations in Segovia 1577–1697* (Lewiston, NY, 2002).

[31] *Dictionary of Saints* (New York, 2005), s.v. *Blaise*.

[32] On surviving traditions of popular devotion to San Blas in another local centre, see Alberto Hidalgo Pérez, 'La recuperación de una fiesta: La romería de San Blas en Torreagüera', *Revista de Folklore*, 431 (2018), 19–27.



Pl. 2. Details of the altar painting: (*a*) St Cecilia and (*b*) King David. Photo: author, courtesy of Segovia Cathedral

scenes from the life of Blas himself (see Pl. 1 and details in Pl. 2). The Blas villancicos were probably performed in or around the chapel on the saint's day.

The Segovia musicians venerated Blas by 'singing about singing'. A villancico poem set by Miguel de Irízar shows how musical conceits were used to celebrate the saint's martyrdom:[33]

Pues es Blas de los cielos	Since Blas is a heavenly
músico y mártir,	musician and martyr,
atención a una letra	hearken to a verse
corriendo sangre	written in blood,
de fiesta varia que oí:	an odd, festive verse I heard:
Son pasos de gloria	The passages of the throat
los de garganta.	are pathways to glory.
Vaya de fiesta,	On with the festival,
que si por la fe	since if for his faith
puso Blas su cabeza,	Blas laid down his head,
si perdió la garganta	though he lost his throat
ganó la puesta.	he won the day.
Vaya de fiesta.	On with the festival.

Metamusical tropes—including references to birdsong, heavenly choirs, solmization, imitations of musical instruments—were used across the empire to celebrate holy figures, most commonly the infant Jesus at Christmas, the Virgin Mary, and Saint Peter.[34] The connection to San Blas, however, is specific to the sacred landscape laid out by the Cathedral of Segovia.

Segovia's practices were linked to similar traditions in the cathedrals of Toledo and Seville. Toledo Cathedral features a chapel for San Blas that is as large as some parish churches. It is filled with fourteenth-century frescoes of scenes from Blas's life alongside a depiction of the heavenly chorus singing and playing instruments. We will see below that

[33] Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral: 11/12. All transcriptions and translations are by the author.

[34] Drew Edward Davies, 'St. Peter and the Triumph of the Church in Music from New Spain', *Sanctorum*, 6 (2009), 67–89.

the chapelmasters of the two cathedrals corresponded frequently and exchanged villancico poetry. Demonstrating a connection to Seville, Irízar's successor Carrión adapted the text of one of his villancicos for San Blas, *Qué nueva grave armonía*, from two poems set by Diego Joseph de Salazar for the Cathedral of Seville.[35] According to the commemorative imprint for the Seville pieces, Salazar's music was sung 'in the Chapel of Nuestra Señora de la Antigua at the exhibition of the effigy of the glorious bishop and martyr Sr. San Blas'.[36] The estribillo and excerpts from the coplas as set by Carrión demonstrate poetic conceits that are typical of villancicos about music, but that this piece connects specifically to the story of Blaise:

Estribillo	
¿Que nueva grave armonía	What new, grave harmony
puebla la región del viento	fills the region of wind,
siendo imán de los sentidos	since its tuneful, sweet echoes
sus acordes dulces ecos?	are the magnet of the senses?
Son avecillas que alegres festivas	They are little birds who joyfully, festively,
a voces publican de San Blas portentos.	loudly announce portents of San Blas.
Pues canten a coros	So let them sing in choirs,
sus picos sonoros,	their little resounding beaks,
pues canten suaves, canoras y graves,	so let their song be mild, tuneful, and weighty,
haciendo la salva	making their fanfare
clarines del alba	as clarions of the dawn,
y pues todas con métrica acorde dulzura	and so, with metrical, tuneful sweetness,
rendidas explican su fiel devoción.	they humbly explain their faithful devotion.
Coplas	
1. Es música Blas, y el órden	1. Blas is music, and the course/order
episcopal con su vida	of his life as bishop
fue consonancia a la Iglesia	was a consonance of celestial harmony
de celestial armonía… .	for the church… .
2. Es música porque tuvo	2. He is music because he took
las seis voces reducidas	the six notes/voices and reduced them
a tres virtudes que eleva,	to three virtues that elevate
y a tres potencias que humilla… .	and three powers that give humility… .
4. Es música en que se canta,	4. He is music in which is sung,
por las claves nunca unidas	on clefs that are never united,
del bemol de la paciencia	the soft B (B flat) of patience
y el be cuadrado de la ira… .	and the square B (B natural) of wrath… .

Carrión's text draws on the same well of metamusical tropes as villancicos on the subject of music from across the empire, with close textual correspondences to such villancicos about music by Joan Cererols (Montserrat), José de Cáseda (Zaragoza),

[35] Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral: 36/23.

[36] *Letras de los Villancicos que se cantaron en la Santa, Metropolitana y Patriarchal Iglesia de Sevilla, este presente año de 1694. en la Capilla de N. Señora de la Antigua, a la estrena de la efigie del glorioso obispo, y martyr Sr. San Blas, que celebro la capilla de musica de dicha santa iglesia. Compuestos por D. Diego Joseph de Salazar Racionero, y Maestro de dicha Capilla.* Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Departamento de Música y Audiovisuales: VE/1301/59. Carrión's text draws from the estribillo of the second villancico and the coplas of the third.

and Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (Puebla).[37] The chapelmasters of Segovia, Toledo, and Seville took this global tradition of 'music about music' and applied it to their local practices of devotion to San Blas, drawing on a translocal network of affiliated musicians. Carrión's piece demonstrates the continuity of these practices in one worshipping community from Irízar's time in the 1670s through the turn of the new century.

Supplying Seasonal Needs under a Deadline

These works for the feast of San Blas were only part of the Segovia chapelmaster's responsibility to provide for the community's devotional needs each year. Irízar used his letter-notebooks to prepare all the music for the season ahead of him, or at least as much as would fit in the space available on the paper. The notebook containing the villancicos for Christmas 1678 also includes other music needed for the 1678–79 liturgical year (see Table 1). By correlating the dates of the letters with the musical contents of the notebooks in which those letters are bound, we can see a clear pattern of how Irízar composed. Olarte Martínez has transcribed the letters, which are preserved today in *legajo* 18 of the cathedral archive, mostly bound as composition notebooks.[38]

The table shows that every few months Irízar gathered a bundle of recent letters, in no particular order, and sewed them together into a notebook. The latest date of the letters in each packet suggests an approximate date of making the bundle. The musical contents of each notebook correlate with the liturgical feasts a few months in the future. For example, notebook 18/28, with the latest letter dated 17 March 1677, contains a villancico and psalm for Ascension (27 May 1677) and the complete villancicos for Corpus Christi (17 June 1677). The next year, Irízar composed his Corpus Christi villancicos in notebook 18/11, with the last letter dated 2 March 1678.[39] The latest dates of the letters in each of Irízar's notebooks for 1677–9 progress steadily with a gap of two to three months between them. The earlier letters in each pile overlap somewhat, except for the notebooks of music for Holy Week and Corpus Christi in both 1677 and 1678, which constitute a strict chronological sequence of letters. In almost every case, there is a gap of only a few months between the last letter and the liturgical occasion of the music in the notebook.

Most of the music in these notebooks was required in every major Spanish church and satisfied a standing demand year after year, such as the Vesper psalms, Matins villancicos for Christmas and Corpus Christi, and Lamentations verses for Holy Week. But the funeral motet interpolated among music for Christmas, the piece 'for nuns', the villancico for St Francis—these also met specific needs as they arose. Irízar created original music for most of these occasions, but also copied music by the renowned Carlos Patiño and Juan Pérez Roldán. Rodríguez has discovered examples in which Irízar arranged other composers' music to suit local needs and omitted the ascription to the

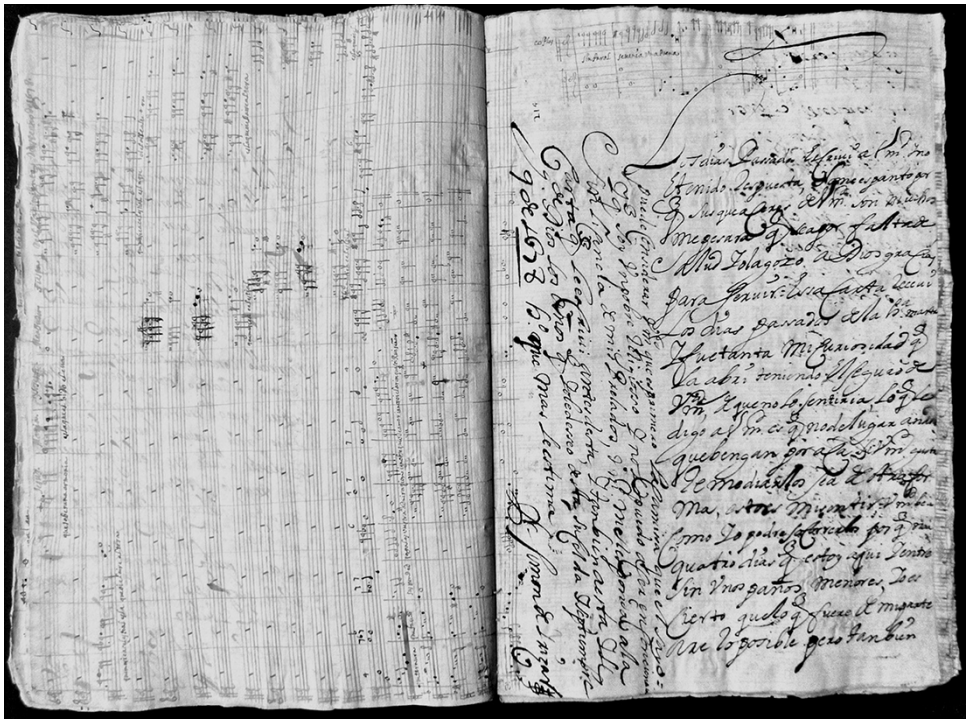
[37] Cashner, *Hearing Faith*.

[38] Olarte Martínez, 'Miguel de Irízar y Domenzain (1635–1684?): Biografía, epistolario y estudio de sus Lamentaciones.' Olarte Martínez uses a double numbering system for the letters. The first number in her system indicates the chronological order; this number is followed by a second in brackets, which indicates the letter's topographical location in the archive, as given in her index beginning on p. 568. For clarity, I add the letter C to her chronological numbers, and a T to her topographical numbers. Topographical numbers from T333 to T349 are loose letters, not part of bound notebooks. Letters T350 to T362 were transcribed by José López Calo in 1963, but Olarte Martínez could not find them in the archive in 1992. The prefix M indicates an entry in López Calo's catalogue of musical sources, López Calo, *La música en la Catedral de Segovia*. Rodríguez has corrected the data for several key letters in his "'Sólo Madrid es corte"'. A signature like 18/36 refers to the thirty-sixth numbered separate document within that archival grouping.

[39] The contents of notebook 18/11 have not previously been identified with this feast, but the titles listed between M1346 and M1357 correspond to the parts for Corpus Christi 1678, M810–M817.

Table 1. *Contents and functions of music in Irízar's letter-notebooks, 1677–1679*

Signature	Letter dates	Catalogue	Musical contents	Possible functions
18/35	18/7/1674–6/1/1677	M1572–M1583	Passion villancicos, Lamentations paraphrase 'to Christ crucified', 2 *Miserere* psalms, motet *Tristis est anima mea*	1677 Holy Week (11–17 Apr.)
18/28	15/1/1677–17/3/1677	M1505–M1520	Villancicos for Ascension, Corpus Christi 1677 (matches parts M802–M809), Vespers psalm *Laetatus sum*	1677 Ascension (27 May), Corpus Christi (17 June)
18/12	14/1/1677–30/6/1677	M1358–M1360	Marian villancico, Vespers psalm *In exitu, Missa sobre 'In exitu'*	1677 Assumption of Mary (15 Aug.)
18/26	16/12/1676–24/8/1677	M1477–M1480	Compline psalms *Ecce nunc benedicite, In te Domine speravi*; motet *Salve Regina*; villancico for St Francis	1677 St Francis (4 Oct.); Compline after Trinity
			(missing)	1677 Christmas
18/11	19/11/1677–2/3/1678	M1345–M1357	Patiño, *Misa de batalla*; Irízar villancicos for Corpus Christi 1678 (matches parts M810–M817)	1678 Corpus Christi (9 June)
18/15	13/2/1678–25/5/1678	M1389–M1393	*Miserere*, Lamentations lesson, motet 'to Christ in the tomb', mass, villancico 'for nuns'	1678 Holy Week (3–9 Apr.), Convent (profession?)
18/36	27/3/1677–9/9/1678	M1584–M1596	Villancicos for Conception of Mary, Christmas 1678 (matches parts M699–M706), motet *Parce mihi*	1678 Conception (8 Dec.), Christmas, funeral (Matins for the Dead)
18/45	28/9/1678–3/2/1679	M1676–M1695	Villancicos for Corpus Christi 1679; Compline psalms *Cum invocarem, Qui habitat; Magnificat*	1679 Corpus Christi (1 June); Compline, Vespers
18/4	9/9/1678–28/4/1679	M1275–M1277	Pérez Roldán, *Misa In cymbalis*; Irízar psalms *Lauda Jerusalem, Laetatus sum*	1679 general post-Easter (2 Apr.)



Pl. 3. Irízar, draft score of *Qué música celestial* on reverse and margins of received letters (18/36, fos. 9v–10r). Photo: author, courtesy Segovia Cathedral Archive

original author.[40] Villancico texts were exchanged and adapted with even less respect for authorship.

BUILDING THE 1678 VILLANCICO CYCLE

In September 1678 Miguel de Irízar faced the perennial problem of church musicians across the empire: the challenge of composing a new cycle of villancicos for the coming Christmas season, and also in his case for the Immaculate Conception. The Christmas cycle for 1678 was composed in notebook 18/36, which contains letters dated from March 1677 to 9 September 1678. This means that sometime after receiving a letter dated 9 September, Irízar folded a pile of his received letters and sewed them into a makeshift notebook. He opened to one of the blank sides in the middle, inscribed the prayer 'May Jesus, Mary, and Joseph help me' at the top of the page, and began to compose the opening piece of his Christmas cycle—the eleven-voice calenda beginning *Qué música celestial* (see Pl. 3).

After drafting the scores, Irízar had to leave time to have the parts copied. He corresponded with agents in Madrid about hiring music copyists, whose professional hand is similar to that in parts used by the Royal Chapel and quite distinct from Irízar's own hand. After that, of course, he needed time to rehearse these large-scale works, most of them scored for up to twelve voices and accompaniment, with his ensemble. Moreover,

[40] Rodríguez, "'Sólo Madrid es corte'", 249.

Table 2. *Contents of notebook 18/36: letters (chronological order)*

Label	Folios	Date	Sender	City	Catalogue no.
L1	3^{r}, 18^{v}	27/3/1677	Francisco Lizondo	Madrid	C186, T263
L2	1^{r}, 20^{v}	24/11/1677	Domingo Ortiz de Zárate	Madrid	C204, T261
L3	2^{r}, 19^{v}	12/1/1678	Domingo Ortiz de Zárate	Madrid	C215, T262
L4	8^{r}	26/6/1678	Francisco de Marrodanto	Ávila	C229, T268
L5	7^{r}	27/6/1678	Simón de Irízar	Alcalá	C230, T267
L6	5^{r}	28/6/1678	Manuel López de Matauco	Alcalá	C231, T265
L7	6^{r}	29/6/1678	Blas Palacios	Madrid	C232, T266
L8	9^{r}	2/7/1678	Francisco Cavallero	Sigüenza	C233, T269
L9	4^{r}	26/8/1678	Simón de Irízar	Alcalá	C234, T264
L10	10^{r}	9/9/1678	Simón de Irízar	Alcalá	C236, T270

the notebook includes not only Christmas music, but also a villancico for the Conception of Mary, celebrated on 8 December. Not even accounting for the likely lag time in postal delivery, Irízar probably had less than twelve weeks between 9 September and 8 December 1678, to compose the music in this notebook—an average of at least one piece per week.

We may deduce the probable order of composition of the pieces from their arrangement in the manuscript and their links with related poetry imprints. The manuscript is made from ten letters. Table 2 lists the dates and correspondents for each letter in the notebook, numbered chronologically. Each letter was written in a column on one side of a sheet of long double-folio paper.[41] Irízar made a pile of these ten letters, folded them in half, and sewed them into one signature down the crease, creating a folio-size notebook similar in proportions to the partbooks of Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla's villancico sets in Puebla. Having bound his notebook, Irízar set about utilizing all the available blank space for composition. He reserved the space on the front page (f. 1^{r}) to write this description of the contents once he was finished:

- Festival of Christmas of the year 1678.
- There is also a villancico for four voices for the same feast, which begins *Airecillos quedito*.
- There is another villancico for eight voices for the Conception, which begins *Quien es ésta, cielos*.
- There is a lesson for the dead for eight voices, *Parce mihi*.

Table 3 lists the compositions in the notebook in their probable order of composition. Their numbers in the table are keyed to Fig. 1, which shows the topographical locations of each score in the manuscript. Figure 1 provides a codicological analysis showing how Irízar worked his way through the notebook.

When the ten letters constituting the notebook were folded and stitched along the crease it produced a notebook of twenty folios. Each dotted line in Fig. 1 represents

[41] In some cases, the same piece of paper was folded to double as an envelope: three letters in this notebook have the address written on the other end of the sheet. For example, the text of Letter 1 is on the recto of fo. 3, and the address is on the same sheet, numbered in the bound notebook as fo. 18^{v}.

Table 3. *Contents of notebook 18/36: music (probable order of composition)*

Label	Incipit	Folios	Catalogue (sign.)	Voices		Function
				Score	Parts	
M1	Qué música celestial	9^{v}, 8^{v}–9^{r}, 7^{v}–8^{r}, 6^{v}–7^{r}, 5^{v}	1587	704 (3/28)	12	Calenda = Christmas Matins 1
M2	Quién de prodigios tan altos descifrar	6^{r}, 4^{v}–5^{r}	1586	706 (3/31)	9	Christmas Matins 2
M3	Porque el valle es hoy la cuna del sol	3^{v}, 2^{v}–3^{r}, 1^{v}–2^{r}	1584	702 (2/3)	10	Christmas Matins 3
M4	Airecillos, quedito, que reposa el sol	2^{r} (words), 10^{v}–11^{r}	1588	unknown	4	Christmas Matins?
M5	Qué voces el aire rompe en el monte	10^{v}–11^{r}	1589	705 (3/30)	8	Christmas Matins
M6	El alcalde de Belén, en la Nochebuena	11^{v}–13^{r}, 10^{r}	1590	699 (3/29)	8	Christmas Matins
M7	Escuchen dos sacristanes que disputan	12^{v}–15^{r}	1591	700 (2/1)	10	Christmas Matins
M8	Pedro Grullo está en el portal	14^{v}–16^{r}, 14^{v}	1592	701 (40/37)	9	Christmas Matins
M9	Quién es ésta, cielos	16^{v}–17^{r}	1593	997 (9/17)	8	Conception of Mary
M10	Pues que todas las naciones (*gallego*)	17^{v}–19^{r}	1594, 1595	704 (3/32)	8	Christmas Matins
M11	Parce mihi Domine	19^{v}–20^{r}, 18^{v}	1596	473 (13/13)	8	Matins for the Dead
M12	Si imitando el serafín fui clarín	3^{v}, 3^{r}, 9^{v}, 12^{v}	1585	707 (40/34)	4	Christmas Matins (?)

one folio. The solid line on folio 10 and the arc on the left margin between 10 and 11 indicate the centre folding. The vertical lines with bars on the end represent music written in sequence on consecutive folios, usually across an opening. The arrows show the chronological movement from one such span to another.

Irízar began composing the first piece in the cycle on the verso side of fo. 9, roughly in the middle of the notebook. He turned the notebook sideways and drew the staves in

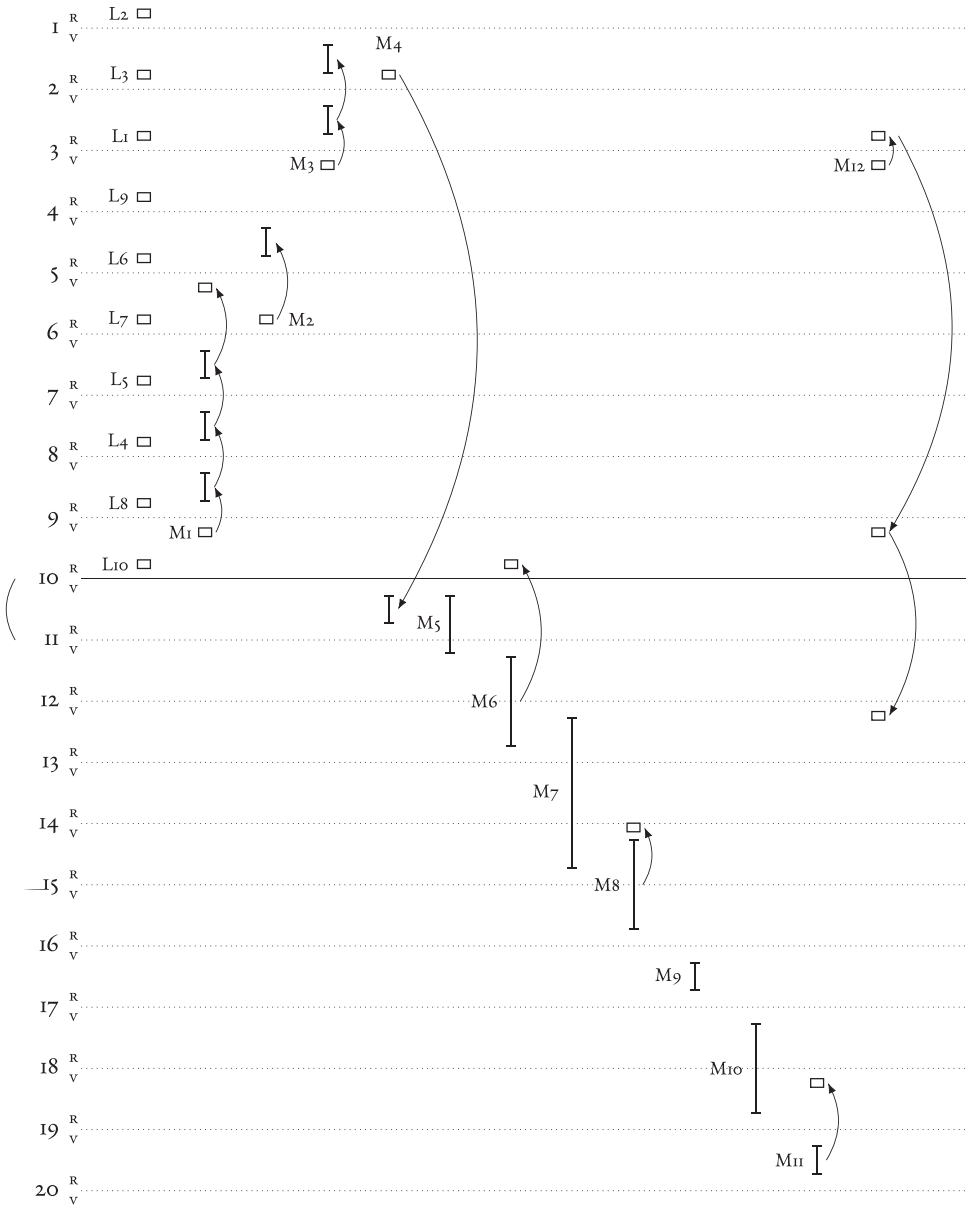


Fig. 1. Locations and order of music writing in notebook 18/36 (R = recto; V = verso, keyed to Tables 2 and 3)

'landscape' (wide) format, rather than the tall 'portrait' format of the letter texts. Above the first system (that is, along the left margin of fo. 9^{v}), he invoked the Holy Family ('Jesus. Maria. Y Joseph. Me ayuden') and titled the set 'fiesta de el Nacimiento de este año de 1678'. With the notebook turned sideways, Irízar then proceeded sequentially to fill up the verso sides of each letter, sometimes spilling onto the recto as well. This means that with respect to folio numbers he actually moved backward through the folios from the middle towards the front, as the arrows indicate in the diagram. When, on fo. 5^{v}, he

completed *Qué música celestial*, he wrote another prayer to Jesus, Mary, and Joseph and began the next villancico (M2) in the margins of fo. 6r, and then continued moving to each next folio. Irízar continued writing the same prayer above almost every piece in the notebook, or across the top of the page where he put multiple pieces on one page.[42] After finishing the third villancico (M3) on fo. 2r, he had filled up nearly all the usable space on the backs of the letters.

For the remainder of the pieces, Irízar turned back to the middle of the notebook (10v) and began to use the completely blank pages in the second half of the bundle. For the following pieces (M4–M11) he turned the notebook back to portrait orientation and filled the pages in a more traditional manner, drawing his staves across the binding seam to use both facing pages. He composed M4 and M5 beginning on the same facing pages (fos. 10v–10r), with M5 spilling over onto fo. 11v. He fit M6 on the rest of fos. 11v–12r and 12v–13r, but ran out of room for the coplas—so he had to go back and use some empty space at the top of fo. 10r (above letter 10). Irízar returned to fo. 12v and continued drafting the compositions across the facing pages in a relatively straightforward manner. Towards the end of M11 (*Parce mihi*), he ran out of pages and so doubled back to some space at the bottom of fo. 18v for the end of the funeral lesson.

The chapelmaster needed to compose one more villancico, *Si imitando al serafín fui clarín*, but he had now completely run out of room. He began with his prayer just after M3 on fo. 3v in landscape format, then found some space one folio to the left (3r). He had left more space than he needed for the first piece in the set (the calenda, M1), so he went back to fo. 9v and squeezed in the conclusion of the M12 estribillo there. He fit the coplas between M6 and M7 on fo. 12v, in portrait orientation. That this villancico is scored for only five voices allowed him to fit the staves in these tight corners, and one wonders if the premium on paper space actually prompted this choice of reduced voicing more than any artistic or religious considerations.

Gathering the Poetic Texts through a Personal Network

Well before composing the music in this notebook, Irízar had carefully assembled the poetic texts he would set. As Rodríguez has shown, all but two of the villancicos in notebook 18/36 may be positively matched with earlier imprints of villancico poems (the exceptions are M4 and M9). The Latin piece M11 is from the liturgy of Matins for the Dead. Table 4 lists the probable sources for poetic texts Irízar set to music in the notebook 18/36. Table 5 provides more information on the imprints cited in Table 4.

I add to the concordances identified by Rodríguez others from both before and after 1678 in order to demonstrate the broader circulation of these texts. Six pieces (M1, M3, and M5–M8) match villancicos sung a year earlier for Christmas 1677 at the cathedral of Toledo. Of those six, two pieces have additional correspondences. The text of M5 had already been performed at Seville Cathedral for the Conception in 1676, before being sung in Toledo in 1677. Twelve days after its 1677 Toledo performance, the text of M3 was sung for Epiphany 1678 at El Pilar in Zaragoza (that is, in the same Christmas–Epiphany season and preceding Irízar's setting for the next season).

Two of Irízar's other villancicos (M2 and M10) match texts performed in 1677 for Christmas by the Royal Chapel in Madrid. One piece (M12) matches three earlier

[42] The prayer precedes M1 (fo. 9v), M2 (above the binding on fo. 5v, just before M2 on fo. 6r), M3 (fo. 3v), M4 and M5 (fo. 10r), M6 (fos. 10v–11r, across the seam), M7 and M8 (fos. 14v–11r, above the end of M7 and the beginning of M8), M10 (fos. 17v–18r), M11 (fos. 19v–20r), and M12 (fo. 3v). Irízar only omitted the prayer on M9, the villancico for the Conception—perhaps a reflection of haste.

Table 4. *Poetic concordances with the villancicos in notebook 18/36*

Pre-1677 print or source	1677 print, position within villancico set	Segovia 1678 music (probable order)	Post-1678 print
	Toledo, no. 1	*Qué música celestial* (M1)	
	Madrid, no. 1	*Quién de prodigios tan altos* (M2)	
	Toledo, no. 2	*Porque el valle es hoy la cuna del sol* (M3)	Zaragoza 1678
Irízar, *Pasitico airecillos*[a]		*Airecillos, quedito* (M4)	
Seville 1676	Toledo, no. 5	*Qué voces el aire rompe* (M5)	
	Toledo, no. 4	*El alcalde de Belén* (M6)	Puebla 1689
	Toledo, no. 8; Valladolid, no. 10	*Escuchen dos sacristanes* (M7)	Seville 1680, Puebla 1689
	Toledo, no. 6	*Pedro Grullo está en el portal* (M8)	Seville 1680
		Quién es ésta, cielos (M9)	Seville 1701
	Madrid, no. 5	*Pues que todas las naciones* (M10)	Cádiz 1685
Madrid 1676	Calatayud, no. 2; Córdoba, no. 5	*Si imitando al serafín* (M12)	

[a]Music: Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, 3/6; cf. Córdoba 1665 print.

imprints, all for Christmas: first, from the Convento de la Encarnación in Madrid in 1676; then from Calatayud and Córdoba in 1677.[43] The remaining villancico (M4) was adapted by Irízar himself from one of his earlier compositions, and that model piece has its own concordance with an earlier imprint.

These concordances are far from coincidental. Rather, they reflect a specific network of exchange among interrelated musicians across Spain, in which villancico poems were traded along with notated music and accounts of performances. From the letters of 1677–8 we can infer that Irízar was eager to stay current with the most prestigious musical institutions. A principal way to do this was to obtain the commemorative poetry imprints from their performances, both for information about the trends and as sources for new musical settings. The letters he received from Domingo Ortiz de Zárate in Madrid and from Pedro de Ardanaz, chapelmaster of Toledo Cathedral, document an ongoing exchange of villancico poems for Christmas and Corpus Christi. Ortiz was Irízar's student, and Ardanaz called Irízar his 'amigo y condiscípulo' (friend and fellow-pupil), as both had studied with Tomás Miciezes the elder.[44] These interchanges are evident in the first letter of the 1678 Christmas notebook (18/36), which documents the process of transmitting villancico poetry and gives a glimpse of transatlantic music circulation as well. Ortiz is continuing a conversation in which Irízar is seeking to acquire

[43] Rodríguez documents that the 1676 imprint from the Encarnación arrived in Segovia by means of the organist Joaquín Falqués, Irízar's contact in that monastery: '"Sólo Madrid es corte"', 245.

[44] Rodríguez, '"Sólo Madrid es corte"'; *Grove Music Online*, s.v. *Ardanaz, Pedro; Irízar y Domenzain, Miguel; Miciezes, Sr., Tomás; Ortiz de Zárate, Domingo*, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic.

Table 5. *Poetry imprints cited in* Table 4

City	Year	Celebration	Institution	Composer	Poet (later edition)
Cádiz	1685	Christmas	Cathedral		
Calatayud	1677	Christmas	Collegiate church	Muñoz	
Córdoba	1665	Christmas	Cathedral		
Córdoba	1677	Christmas	Cathedral		
Madrid	1676	Christmas	Convento de la Encarnación	Ruíz	
Madrid	1677	Christmas	Royal Chapel	F. de Escalada?	
Puebla	1689	Christmas	Cathedral	Dallo y Lana	Sor Juana (1692)
Seville	1676	Conception of Mary	Cathedral	Xuárez	
Seville	1680	Epiphany	Cathedral	Xuárez	
Seville	1701	Conception of Mary	Cathedral	D. J. de Salazar	
Toledo	1677	Christmas	Cathedral	Ardanaz	León Marchante (1733)
Valladolid	1677	Christmas	Cathedral	Gómez Camargo	León Marchante (1733)
Zaragoza	1678	Epiphany	El Pilar	J. de Cáseda	Sánchez (1688)

villancico texts performed at Las Descalzas and Ortiz is requesting music for overseas export on behalf of Juan Romero, chapelmaster at the Convent of Nuestra Señora de la Merced in Madrid:

> My dear teacher:
>
> I received your letter … . The villancicos have still not arrived, for if they had arrived I am not so crude as to have not written you to tell you I had received them… . The lyrics for Corpus Christi [*letras del Santísimo*] from Las Descalzas are not being printed, but I have charged a friend with copying a dozen or so of the best ones that I will find, and I will pass them on to you the instant that they bring them to me. The reverend master who is going to take the villancicos with him is not leaving until January, because the galleons have been delayed, and so it would greatly appreciated if you could send me some that you would not miss; and even if there might be something in Latin, because over there, as there are few teachers [*maestros*], there is a lack of everything….
>
> Madrid, November 24, 1677.
>
> The least of your disciples, who kisses your hands many times,
> *fray Domingo.*[45]

Rodríguez has already documented Irízar's insistent attempts to obtain Corpus Christi villancicos from Madrid, since those were rarely printed and had to be copied

[45] 18/36, fo. 14^{r} (address on fo. 20^{v}); Olarte Martínez C204/T261.

from manuscripts. No works ascribed to Irízar have yet been found in America, but numerous pieces by other composers in his network such as Diego de Cáseda (see below) are preserved in archives from New Spain, Guatemala, and Peru.[46] Irízar also exchanged Christmas and Corpus Christi texts with Ardanaz in Toledo, some sent by an assistant of Ardanaz, Juan de Chávarri. A month before Christmas 1678, Ardanaz sent Irízar the villancico texts for that feast in Toledo, confessing 'They are not as good as I would like. I hope the ones you will send me for Corpus [Christi] will be better, for I do not have them, and I assure that that you would be doing me a great kindness in sending them to me, and if you have not made a copy of the notebook, you could have them copied, and keep the copy, or if not, the reverse.'[47]

By comparison with surviving imprints, Rodríguez identified precisely one of the imprints that Ardanaz sent to Irízar in 1677, showing that it served as the primary source for Irízar's 1678 Christmas cycle.[48] In a letter from 27 November 1677, Ardanaz had his agent Chávarri send Irízar 'las letras de los villancicos que se han de cantar' (the words of the villancicos that are to be sung) for Christmas that year in Toledo, using the exact title phrasing of the corresponding imprint, preserved in two copies in Madrid (see Pl. 4).[49] As Table 4 shows, Irízar used this and five other villancico poems from this imprint in his 1678 Christmas cycle.

The intertextual connections reveal a larger network as well. A third fellow-pupil of Miciezes was Alonso Xuárez (or Suárez), chapelmaster of Seville Cathedral from 1675 to 1684.[50] A year before Ardanaz set *Qué voces el aire rompe* in Toledo in 1677, and Irízar set it in Segovia in 1678, Xuárez had set the same text in Seville for the feast of the Conception of Mary in 1676. Xuárez later set two other texts from Toledo 1677 and Segovia 1678 (Irízar's M6 and M8) for Epiphany at Seville Cathedral. Only twelve days after Ardanaz performed his setting of the poem *Porque el valle es hoy la cuna del sol* (Irízar's M3) at Toledo Cathedral in 1677, it was performed at Epiphany 1678 in Zaragoza, probably in a setting by the chapelmaster, Diego de Cáseda. Whereas Irízar received Ardanaz's print in the letter from Chávarri on 27 December 1677, Cáseda must have obtained the text earlier, perhaps directly from Ardanaz, in order to set it to music and perform it on 6 January 1678. On another occasion Cáseda and Irízar exchanged lyrics directly, when in 1674 Cáseda sent *letras* to his colleague in Segovia with the endorsement 'They have served me honourably in the feast'.[51] Cáseda's church had performed *Nave que a Belén caminas* as the calenda for Christmas 1674, and Irízar set a text with the same incipit for Christmas the following year, drafting the score in a notebook that includes this very letter from Cáseda.[52] Another member of the network was Miguel Gómez Camargo

[46] E. Thomas Stanford, *Catálogo de los acervos musicales de las catedrales metropolitanas de México y Puebla y de la Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia y otras colecciones menores* (Mexico City, 2002); Aurelio Tello et al. (eds.), *Colección Sánchez Garza: Estudio documental y catálogo de un acervo musical novohispano* (Mexico City, 2018); Robert Murrell Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington, DC, 1970).

[47] 18, loose letter; Olarte Martínez C243/T333.

[48] Rodríguez, "'Sólo Madrid es corte'".

[49] *Letras de los villancicos que se han de cantar en los Maytines del Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Iesu Christo, en la Santa Iglesia de Toleto, Primada de las Españas, Año de 1677. Siendo en ella Racionero y Maestro de Capilla Don Pedro de Ardanaz;* Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/34982/3, VE 88/4. The letter is transcribed by Olarte Martínez, C212/T350, p. 480; Rodríguez corrects her erroneous cataloguing of this letter in "'Sólo Madrid es corte'", n. 22; its actual location is in Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral: 52/6.

[50] *DMEH*, s.v. Xuárez, Alonso.

[51] 18/30, Olarte Martínez C120/T233 (month and day not specified).

[52] Cáseda letter and Irízar score in 18/30; parts in Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral: 1/30.

R/34982 m.3 180-5-

LETRAS DE LOS
VILLANCICOS
que se han de cantar en los Maytines del Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Iesu Christo, en la Santa Iglesia de Toledo, Primada de las Españas, Año de 1677.

Siendo en ella Racionero y Maestro de Capilla Don Pedro de Ardanaz.

Primer Nocturno.
VILLANCICO I.
Estribillo.

1. Coro. QVE musica celestial es la q̃ oy el aire altera?
2. Coro. Que soberana armonia es la q̃ e el oido cetra?
3. Coro. Que luz es esta que en dia transforma la noche densa?
4. Coro. Que claro fulgor el cielo esta noche da à la tierra?
Todos. Lo admirable de este Enigma grande novedad encierra.
1. Coro. Gloria repiten las vozes.
2. Coro. Paz dan sus luzes cadencias.
3. Coro. Toda la tierra es ya Cielo.
4. Coro. Y todo el Cielo dà en tierra.
Todos. Que serà que en nuestra duda no cabe saber que encierra ser el cielo vozes todo, ser glorias toda la tierra?
Angel. La causa es, Pastores, que de vna Donzella toma el Verbo carne, por pagar la deuda, que del primer Padre tomò por su cuenta: y el cielo embidioso de ver que oy la tierra à Dios goza humano? con vozes celebra la dicha que el Orbe posee en su esfera.
1. Coro. Pues si viene a darnos gloria, en vez de pena.
Todos. Venga en hora buena.
Angel. Y de vuestras dudas profeguid el tema, pues en la sustancia yo dirè que encierran.
Todos. Son admiraciones de ver que en la tierra se siembren luzeros, se cojan estrellas.

A An-

Pl. 4. Poetry imprint from Toledo Cathedral, Christmas 1677, detail (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España: R/34982/3). Reproduction from microfilm, courtesy Biblioteca Nacional de España

at the cathedral of Valladolid, who sent two letters to Irízar in 1677. Gómez Camargo set *Escuchen dos sacristanes* for Christmas in 1677, simultaneous with Ardanaz's setting of the same text in Toledo. It would appear that Gómez Camargo and Cáseda were more

closely connected either to Ardanaz or to Ardanaz's poet (possibly León Marchante) than Irízar was, since both had access to the same texts as Ardanaz before Ardanaz set them. By contrast, Irízar had to get them from Ardanaz second-hand and after the fact.

This complex network of villancico exchange was highly efficient in enabling the spread of poems around Iberia and across the Atlantic within just a few years, or even within months. We have seen that pieces performed by Irízar in Segovia in 1678 were also set to music within a few years by interrelated colleagues and associates in Toledo, Valladolid, Madrid, Calatayud, Zaragoza, Córdoba, Seville, and Puebla. Many of these same names and institutions recur in the genealogies of villancico composition I identified in my monograph, like the *Ha de los coros del cielo/Suspended, cielos, vuestro dulce canto* textual family, set by Ardanaz, Xuárez, Diego de Cáseda, Miguel Mateo de Dallo y Lana, and Joan Cererols among others.[53] It seems to have been a point of pride to reuse lyrics performed at the royal institutions in Madrid or at the most prestigious cathedrals like Toledo. But even when reusing texts Irízar did not simply copy them: he selected, rearranged, and edited them as he saw fit before putting them to original music. In so doing he took sources of global importance and shaped them into music for a ritual event according to local needs.

Adapting Sources to Create the 1678 Segovia Cycle

With the knowledge of how Irízar obtained his poetic texts, we may now turn to consider how he adapted those sources to produce the music for Christmas 1678 and how the pieces he composed may have been used liturgically. Irízar's notebook contains ten Christmas-themed villancicos, plus the funeral piece (M11) and a villancico for the Conception of Mary (M9).

Two of the Christmas pieces are scored for only four voices (M4 and M12) in a single chorus plus an accompaniment, in contrast to the other polychoral pieces for eight, ten, and twelve voices with accompaniment. According to the performing parts, M12 is actually a solo vocal piece, with the other four voice-parts played on *bajoncillos* (dulcians of various sizes). These two pieces also stand out because they are not taken from the same poetic sources as the rest of the set, and Irízar lists M4 separately in his table of contents (18/36, fo. 1^{r}). It is possible that he composed M4 and M12 for performance at Mass or some other occasion rather than as part of the Matins cycle. Without these two pieces, the eight Christmas villancicos that remain form a plausible Matins cycle (one for each Responsory), largely based on Ardanaz's 1677 cycle, but with two substitutions made from the 1677 Royal Chapel cycle. On the other hand, the number of villancicos performed at Matins did vary, and it was also common practice to intersperse polychoral villancicos with works scored for smaller ensembles (as, for example, at Puebla Cathedral under Gutiérrez de Padilla).

Even with some uncertainty about the exact contents of the cycle performed on Christmas Eve 1678, though, the first three contiguous pieces in the manuscript make poetic and theological sense as a coherent set, and I propose that Irízar intentionally selected and arranged these texts to serve as the villancicos for the first Nocturn of Matins. Though he borrowed so much of Ardanaz's 1677 cycle, he omitted Ardanaz's third piece. Between the pieces that Ardanaz had set in first and second position, Irízar inserted the

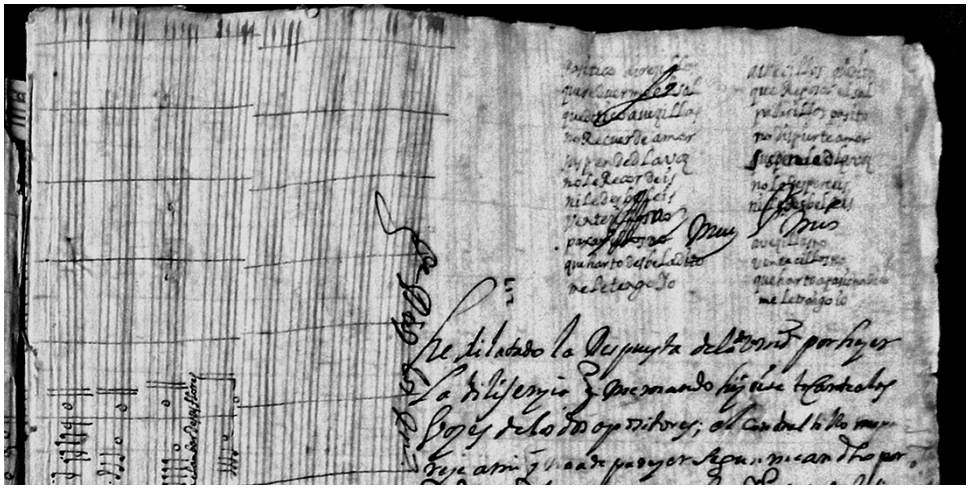
[53] Cashner, *Hearing Faith*, 165–72.

calenda from the 1677 Madrid imprint. The villancicos of the first Nocturn in Ardanaz's cycle are *Qué música divina* (Irízar's M1), *Porque el valle es hoy la cuna del sol* (Irízar's M3), and *Gilguero de la selva* (not set by Irízar). The text he omitted focused on a birdsong conceit and used elaborate poetic devices. Irízar opted instead for the opening piece from the 1677 Royal Chapel set, pushing Ardanaz's second piece into the third position to conclude the first Nocturn.

This arrangement of texts produces a coherent flow of concepts. M1 presents hearers with a series of enigmas, posed as questions from the Christmas shepherds to the angel. The estribillo of M1 concludes with the angel promising the shepherds: 'Proseguid las dudas, y…descifraré el tema' (Present your doubts, and I will decipher the theme). The coplas, then, are a series of explanations of the mysteries and paradoxes of Christmas. After this piece, Irízar inserted M2, the first line of which should make clear why he included it in this position: 'Quién de prodigios tan altos descifrar lo grande puede' (Who can decipher the great thing among such lofty wonders). After these two thematically linked pieces, M3, *Porque el valle es hoy la cuna del sol*, is a dialogue between the mountain and the valley, focused on the symbolism of Christ as the sun (*sol*). That same symbol was prominent in M1 and M2. Moreover, M2 (Irízar's added piece) also speaks of *volcanes*, connecting to the mountain theme of M3. Thus Irízar combined texts from Christmas performances at two more prestigious institutions of the previous year in order to produce a first Nocturn that was more tightly integrated than in either of those two sources.

The remaining villancicos in the notebook would constitute the rest of the cycle, unless M4 or M12 had another function, as already mentioned (M9 is the Conception piece and M11 the funeral motet). M5–M8 are all taken from Ardanaz's 1677 set, though Irízar's order of composition is different from the order of these pieces in the 1677 Toledo imprint. It may be that Irízar rearranged them intentionally, or their order may be the result of technical considerations in Irízar's compositional process—such as fitting the pieces onto the available blank space in the notebook. He may also have wanted to compose the 'comic' villancicos M6–M8 (of the type that Irízar calls in his letters *de chanza*) all in a series, even if they were not performed in that order. M10, an 'ethnic' villancico parodying Galicians (that is, a *gallego*), comes from the same Madrid 1677 imprint as M2, and could have provided Irízar with an amusing and festive conclusion to the set.

The source and function of the remaining piece, *Airecillos, quedito* (M4), seems more difficult to establish because this piece is the only one with no correspondences to extant poetry imprints, either before or after 1678. Rodríguez was not able to find a source, and my analysis of the composer's draft in notebook 18/36 explains why: Irízar created this text himself by modifying a pre-existing villancico poem. After filling the first half of his notebook with the music for M1–M3, Irízar turned back to fo. 10^{v} to compose M4 and the following villancicos. But before doing that, he used the last remaining space on fo. 2^{r}, on which he had just finished writing down M3, to draft the poetic text that he would use in villancico M4. Above letter 3 on fo. 2^{r}, he wrote two parallel columns of verses, as shown in Pl. 5:



Pl. 5. Irízar adapting *Pasitico airezillos* to produce *Airecillos, quedito,* in the margin of the 1678 letter-notebook (18/36, fo. 2[r]). Photo: author, courtesy Segovia Cathedral Archive

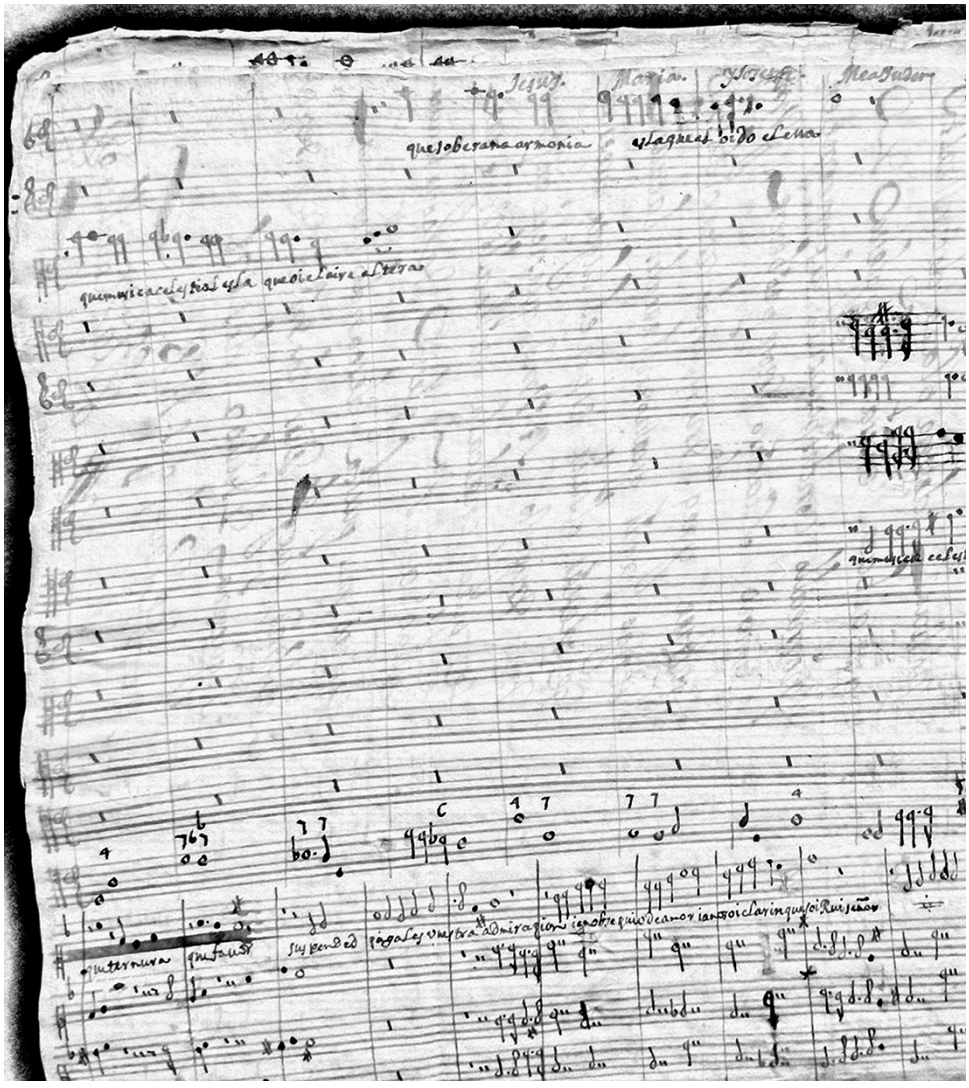
Pasitico airezillos	airecillos quedito
que se duerme el sol	que reposa el sol
queditico auezillas	pajarillos pasito
no recuerde amor	no dispierte amor
suspended la voz	suspended la voz
no le recordeis	no le desperteis
ni le desbeleis	ni le desbeleis
ventezillos	avezillos no
paxarillos no	ventecillos
que harto desbeladito	que harto apasionadico
me le tengo Yo	me le traigo io

The text in the right-hand column corresponds exactly to the estribillo of Irízar's M4, fos. 10[v]–11[r].

The text in the left-hand column corresponds to a villancico set previously by Irízar. The performing parts for *Pasitico airezillos* are dated 1670, the year before Irízar moved from Vitoria to become chapelmaster at Segovia.[54] Evidently he took the words of this villancico, which he had composed for his previous employer, and made trivial alterations to the text to produce a new piece. The poetic and theological meaning of these two versions is nearly identical. The unique origin of this villancico probably explains why Irízar lists it independently in his contents list. This example is a snapshot of what must have been a widespread compositional practice of adapting older texts.[55] It suggests that even beyond the great number of literal concordances of villancico poems such as those we have been tracing, there may be an untold number of examples of modelling and adaptation.

[54] Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral: 3/6.

[55] With limited time in the archive, I was not able to compare the music of *Pasitico airezillos* with the 1678 reworking, but the syllable counts of the texts are so similar that they could potentially be set to the same notes.



Pl. 6. Irízar, draft score of *Qué música celestial,* detail (notebook 18/36, f. 9^{v}). Photo: author, courtesy Segovia Cathedral Archive

QUÉ MÚSICA CELESTIAL: HEAVENLY AND MUNDANE INTERSECTIONS

Irízar's letter-notebook enables us to see not only how he assembled his sources and when, but even how he went about composing the music, and the changes he had to make before the performance. If we focus on the opening villancico, *Qué música celestial*, the manuscript score looks as though Irízar composed the piece quickly, even in one or two sittings. The composer must have had a clear plan for dividing the text among soloists and the full ensemble, for the proportions of these different sections, and for the harmonic structure that articulated them through cadences on various bass notes. The colours and thickness of the ink suggest that Irízar first wrote his prayer and then set up the score with staff lines, bar-lines, and clefs (see Pl. 6). Just as the theorist Cerone recommended,

he generally placed two *compases* (metrical units) between each set of bar-lines.[56] Where a note is syncopated across a *compás* division, Irízar simply centres the blackened note on the bar-line. He appears to have composed from the top down, starting with melodic ideas like the opening vocal solo lines, then sketching in the harmonic support in the rest of the chorus. The accompaniment line is in a different layer of ink, perhaps written after all the other voices.

An additional layer of ink, darker and thicker than the rest, comes from a subsequent revision of the manuscript, in which Irízar filled in lyrics and other details and corrected errors. He mostly had to adjust the counterpoint of the lower voices and the Chorus III parts, as it would have been easy when quickly drafting a twelve-voice composition to create accidental harmonic clashes between the top and bottom of the score page.

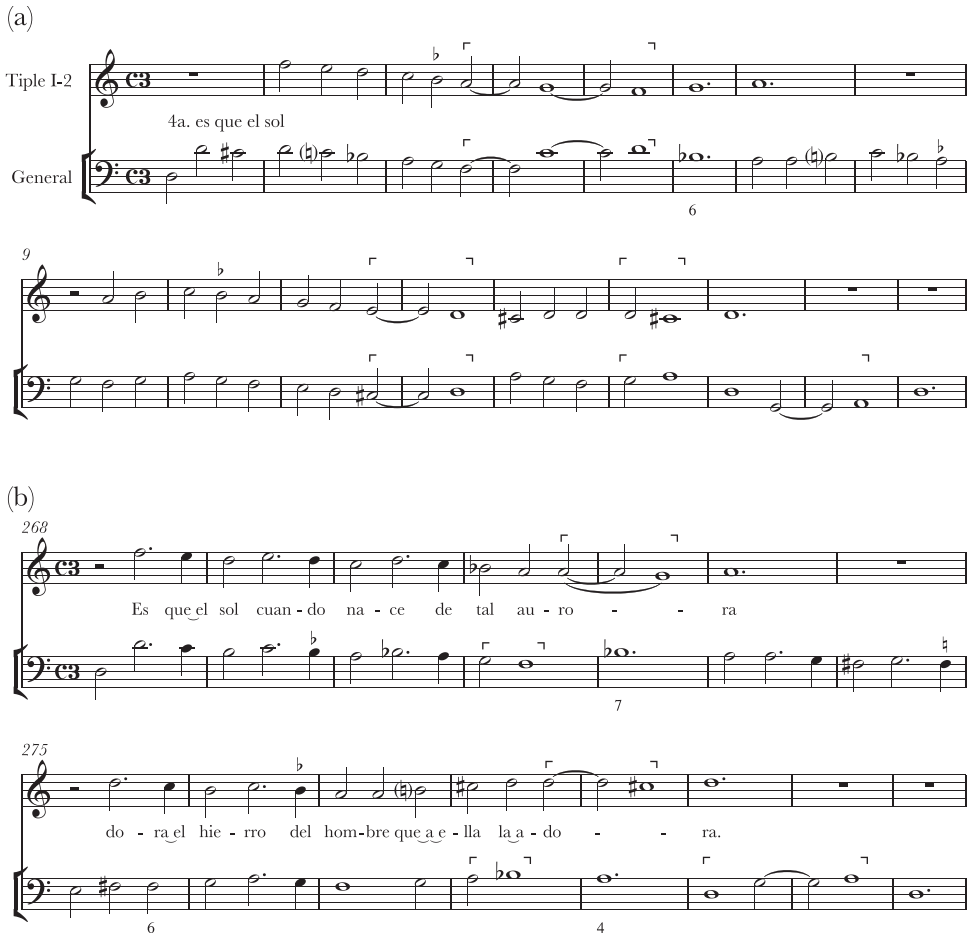
A comparison between the manuscript score and the performing parts shows that Irízar had to change his original conception of the coplas after his first draft in order to suit the particular abilities of his ensemble. The score includes two settings for copla 4, both of them solos for the Tiple 2 of Chorus I (see Ex. 1). The first follows the rest of the score in order, at the bottom of the page under the conclusion of the estribillo with the other coplas. The second is written in a different layer of ink but the same hand at the top right corner of the page, and it was only this alternate setting that was copied into the performing part. What motivated the chapelmaster to revise this copla? One explanation is that the original version was simply too hard for that particular boy treble to sing. The first setting featured several syncopated rhythms and required an ambitus of an octave and a fourth ($c^{\sharp\prime}$–$f^{\prime\prime}$), while the new version is more rhythmically regular and stays within the range of an intermediate school chorister, $g^{\prime}$–$f^{\prime\prime}$. In the estribillo, Irízar had written two brief solos for this same singer, and both of those passages have the same modest ambitus and tessitura as his revised copla 4. Of the four solo voices Irízar uses, this one has the shortest and least demanding part. Thus we might imagine that in the heat of rapid composition Irízar briefly forgot to accommodate the limitations of his second treble singer, who like most boy sopranos would have found it difficult to sing in the low register of the original version.

We can infer more about how Irízar accommodated his ensemble by comparing the difficulty level of the various vocal parts. Compared to the Tiple 2, the Chorus I Alto part seems virtuosic, and Irízar entrusted this singer with a long and theologically important solo. One of the letters in this composition notebook mentions a *capón* or castrato that the chapelmaster's brother Simón intended to present for Irízar's consideration in the Segovia cathedral chapel.[57] Perhaps Irízar hired this castrato and made him the featured soloist in the calenda for Christmas that year. Whoever this singer was, Irízar tailored his music to suit his voice just as surely as Mozart would later do, or just as any other musician writing regularly for the same ensemble from Haydn to Billy Strayhorn. The imprint of individual voices—and especially in the case of boy singers, of their bodies at a particular age—is preserved in this music. Irízar may have been setting words he received through correspondence from Toledo, words that were also set across the peninsula using many of the same musical conventions by other composers, just as hurried to get parts in front of their ensembles as Irízar was. But his setting for Christmas 1678 was written for one ensemble only, a unique gathering of men and boys with distinct capabilities, and their

[56] Pedro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples, 1613), 745–7.

[57] Letter from Simón de Irízar, June 1678, Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, 18/36, fo. 74; Olarte Martínez C230/T267.

Ex. 1. Irízar, *Qué música celestial*, copla 4: (a) first draft in manuscript score; (b) final version in score and performing parts



director had to know how to make them sound their best in the least possible rehearsal time.

Harmony Transposed from Heaven to Earth

Irízar's music for the opening of the Christmas 1678 festivities, *Qué música celestial*, demonstrates his creative and economical adaptation of common tropes to depict a moment of heavenly music coming down to earth. The 1678 calenda dramatizes the moment in the infancy narrative of Christ (Luke 2) after the angelic chorus sings the *Gloria in excelsis*. In the liturgical time of Matins, the heavenly hymn was echoed in the Responsory versicle sung just before this villancico.[58] The estribillo presents a dialogue between the angel and the shepherds:

[58] *Breviarium Romanum ex decretum Sacros. Conc. Trid. Restitutum Pii V. Pont. Max. iussu editum, & Clementis VIII Primum, nunc denuo Vrbani Pp. VIII auctoritate recognitum* ([Rome?], 1631), 171–2, Christmas Eve Matins: '*Respond.* Hodie nobis cælorum Rex de Virgine nasci dignatus est, vt hominem pérditum ad cęlestia regna reuocâret. Gaudet exercitus Angelorum: quia salus æterna humano generi apparuit. *Versicle.* Gloria in excelsis Deo, & in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis'.

AI	1. Coro.	Qué música celestial	What heavenly music
		es la que hoy el aire altera?	is that which alters the air today?
Ti. I-1/all	2. Coro.	Qué soberana armonía	What sovereign harmony
		es la que el oído eleva?	is that which elevates hearing?
TI	3. Coro.	Qué luz es esta que en día	What light is this that transforms
		transforma la noche densa?	the dense night into day?
Ti. I-2/all	4. Coro.	Qué claro fulgor el cielo	What clear splendour does the sky
		esta noche da a la tierra?	this night give to the earth?
All	Todos.	Lo admirable de este Enigma	What can be seen of this riddle
		grande novedad encierra.	encloses a great new thing.
AI	1. Coro.	Gloria repiten las vozes.	Gloria—let the voices repeat it.
Ti. I-1	2. Coro.	Paz dan sus luces cadencias.	Peace—their lights give cadences.
Ti. I-2	3. Coro.	Toda la tierra es ya Cielo	All the earth has become heaven
TI	4. Coro.	Y todo el Cielo da en tierra.	and all heaven appears on earth.
All	Todos.	Qué será que en nuestra duda	What should it mean that in our doubt
		no cabe saber qué encierra	there is no room to know what it encloses,
		ser el cielo voces todo,	since the sky is all voices,
		ser glorias toda la tierra?	since Glorias are in all the earth.
AI	Ángel.	La causa es, Pastores,	The cause, shepherds, is
		que de una Doncella	that from a maid
		forma el Verbo carne,	the Word takes form in flesh,
		por pagar la deuda,	to pay the debt
		que del primer Padre	that from the first Father
		tomó por su cuenta:	He took upon his account:
		y el cielo envidioso	and the sky, seeing with envy
		de ver que hoy la tierra	that today the earth
		a Dios goza humano,	knows God as a human,
		con vozes celebra	with loud voices celebrates
		la dicha que el Orbe	the saying that the Orb
		posee en su esfera.	holds in its sphere.
All		Venga en hora buena.	Let him be welcomed.[59]

The piece begins with questions and exclamations of wonder from soloists representing the shepherds: what is this music? what is this harmony? what kind of light is this? what sort of splendour? Other soloists, labelled as Angels in the Toledo imprint, respond with explanations, though some of the 'deciphered' answers only increase the mystery. In Ardanaz's settings (according to the imprint), each sentence is sung by a separate choir, but Irízar assigns each line to a different soloist, dramatizing the scene as a dialogue between four characters. The villancico represents the angels' song of *gloria* and *paz* and portrays the shepherds' amazed response to this heavenly music. The chorus by turns plays the roles of the shepherds and of the angel choir. Irízar makes ample use of echo effects to dramatize their interactions. The closing exclamations 'Let him be welcome!' are shouted out almost as a surprise and left to resonate in the cathedral.

In the central section of the estribillo the angel explains the mystery of the Christian gospel to the shepherds: the Word has become flesh through a virgin in order to

[59] This is an excerpt from the estribillo of the poem as set by Ardanaz and Irízar. Indications of speakers like *Ángel* come from Ardanaz's 1677 Toledo imprint, voice indications like *Ti. I-1* from Irízar's 1678 Segovia setting.

pay the debt humankind owes to God. This, the angel says, is why the heavens are rejoicing. Thus it becomes clear, just as in numerous other villancicos on the subject of music, that there are actually three different types of music here: (1) the historic music of the angelic chorus heard by the Bethlehem shepherds, (2) the music of the Segovia chorus, and (3) a higher, theological kind of music, the harmonization of divine and human in the body of Jesus. In a theology of music descending from Neoplatonic-Augustinian thought and the widely taught conception of Boethius, Christ forms the ultimate *musica humana*.[60] The piece invites hearers to listen to the human choir in their church as an echo of the higher heavenly chorus and ultimately of the divine harmony of Christ and the Holy Trinity.[61] In its musical conceit, this villancico manifests the same family of tropes as the metamusical villancicos for San Blas and the larger repertory of such pieces for Christmas. As was the case with devotion to Blas, later villancicos by Irízar's successor demonstrate the continuity of these religious concepts and their musical realization, as in Carrión's similarly large-scale calenda *Qué destemplada armonía* for eleven voices, which approaches the sectional dimensions of a *cantada*.[62]

The primary theme of *Qué música celestial* is the transposition of heavenly harmony to earth, and Irízar has his ensemble embody this concept through simple but effective musical gestures. Irízar was as economical with musical motifs as he was with paper, but his parsimonious use of musical material has theological meaning as well. He begins with two solo phrases, one descending stepwise from d'' to f' and then back up the scale to a', and a second that repeats the same figure transposed to start on a'' (see Ex. 2). On a simple level of text painting, the solo melody forms a melodic *catabasis* (a rhetorical term for the descent), depicting the music coming down to the shepherds from heaven.[63] Meanwhile Irízar represents *altera* with the rhythmic alteration of coloration and the pitch alteration of added B flats in the accompaniment.

On a more abstract level, this opening melodic figure is an epitome of music itself. The descending gesture encompasses an entire Guidonian hexachord, starting from the highest pitch of the soft hexachord. The B flat in the third bar would have cued the singer to read the passage according to the solmization for the Guidonian soft hexachord (on F); thus the Alto sings down through the whole hexachord, from *la* to *ut* and then back up, *ut–re–mi*.[64] This simple figure, which is like a textbook example for solmization, begins at the very top of the Guidonian gamut—d'', the second highest note on the hand. The second soloist, the Tiple I-1, then picks up the scale where the first singer left off (though up an octave), and continues the descent. To thus imitate the opening melody at the fifth above, the Tiple has to solmize the passage in the natural hexachord. Between the two singers, they outline the plagal ambitus of the second mode (from A to A, with a final on D). These solos, then, present hearers with a paradigm of perfect music, according to the most ancient and timeless of rules known to a late seventeenth-century Spanish chapelmaster.

[60] Luis Robledo Estaire, 'Pensamiento musical y teoría de música', in Torrente, *La música en el siglo XVII*, 531–618.

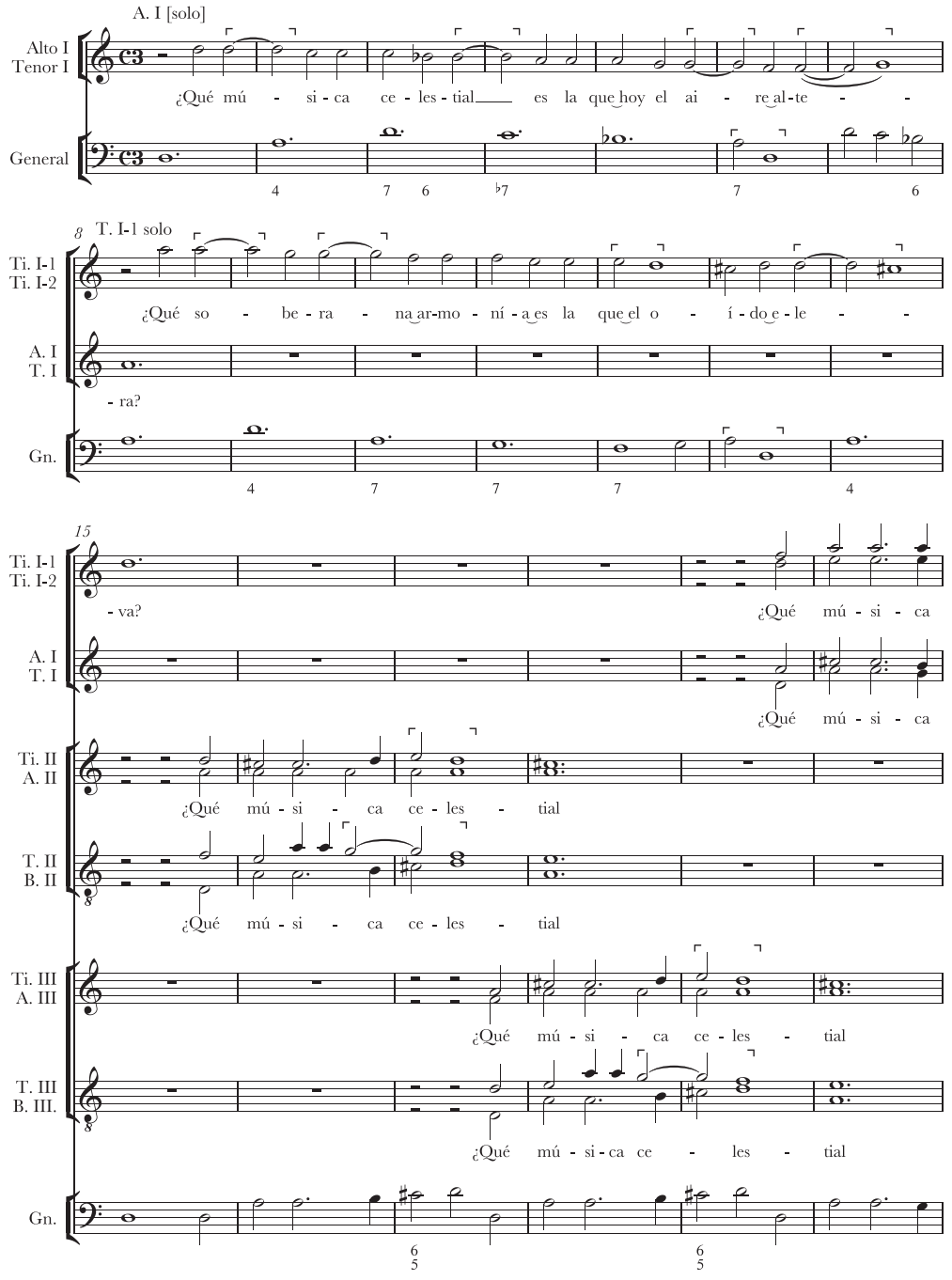
[61] Cashner, *Hearing Faith*, 44–52.

[62] Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral: 20/5.

[63] On text painting in Spanish music, see José Vicente González Valle, 'Relación música/texto en la composición musical en castellano del s. XVII: Nueva estructura rítmica de la música española', *Anuario musical*, 47 (1992), 103–32.

[64] Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro*, 338–49; Andrés Lorente, *El porqué de la música, en que se contiene los quatro artes de ella, canto llano, canto de organo, contrapunto, y composicion* (Alcalá de Henares, 1672), 9–56.

Ex. 2. Irízar, *Qué música celestial*, opening



The shift of hexachords could represent the transposition from heaven to earth. By writing in the B flat in bar 3, Irízar puts the opening phrase in *cantus mollis*. He begins his piece in *cantus mollis*, we might imagine, to make this opening exclamation of wonder

sound otherworldly and surprising. The second singer, then, transposes the melody back to the natural hexachord and cadences on the modal final, bringing the angelic music down to earth. I have traced the same symbolic use of solmization, including shifting hexachords to represent contrasts between heaven and earth, in villancicos by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla in Puebla, Miguel Ambiela in Zaragoza, and Joan Cererols at Montserrat.[65]

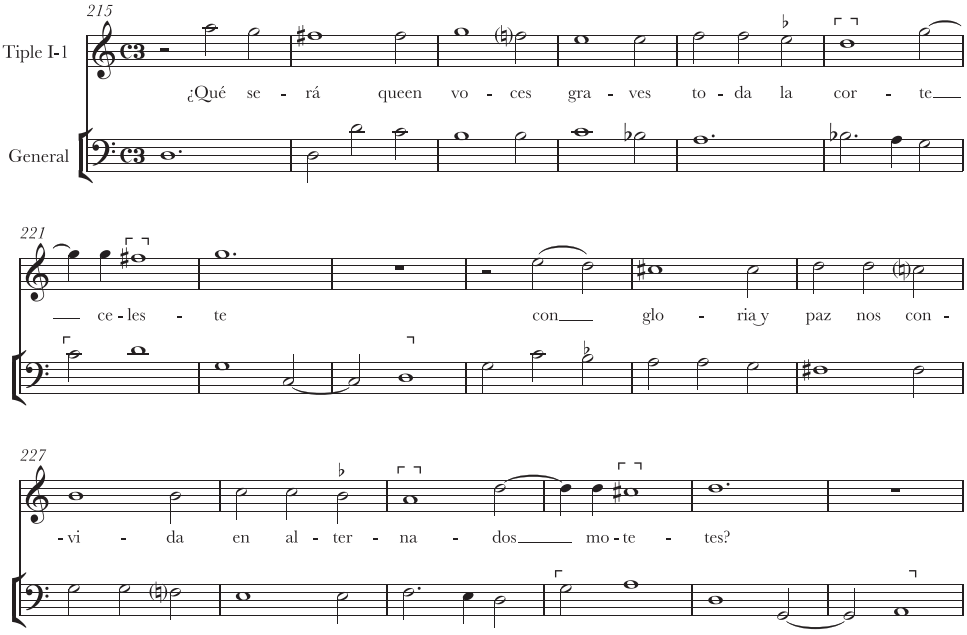
Irízar creates a further heaven–earth distinction through the interaction of soloists and accompaniment in this opening passage. The accompaniment line is in canon with the singer. It repeats the hexachordal descent starting in bar 2, but the canon is rhythmically displaced so that the two voices form a chain of 7–6 suspensions. In Irízar's scoring for only solo voice and continuo, the dissonances would stand out starkly. Even more than the added B flat and the Phrygian cadence, the suspension chain contributes to an affect of wonder, pointing to a higher form of music. The way the bass voice moves at a delay from the solo voice suggests the way earthly music imitates or echoes heavenly music. That its imitations create dissonances could emphasize the imperfection of this earthly music. On the other hand, the contrapuntal pattern is also a by-the-book example of fourth-species counterpoint, thus forming another paradigm of music itself. This kind of heavenly music defies human expectations but is at the same time governed by its own laws. A listener untrained in counterpoint could still have perceived a mysterious, haunting affect, a 'sovereign harmony' that 'lifts up the ear.'

Irízar uses counterpoint symbolically by constructing 'combinatorial' patterns that suggest the union of heaven and earth, divine and human. In the opening phrase, as mentioned, the accompaniment is in canon with the Alto solo, with the voice rhythmically offset by one minim to create a suspension chain. After the accompaniment plays the canon once (bb. 3–6, D–C–B♭–A), it then repeats the same notes, this time in minims instead of perfect semibreves. As the continuo players sound the first four notes of the Alto's motif (*la-sol-fa-mi*), the Alto goes on to sing the remaining notes in the hexachord (*ut-re-mi*). Thus the two voices here are combinatorial: together they form (for lack of a better historic term) the complete pitch-class set of the soft hexachord. This contrapuntal combination adds to the symbolic possibilities of this passage, suggesting that the higher and lower forms of music, and therefore the divine and human, are being combined. This combination is the theological Music of the Incarnate Christ about which the soloist is singing.

Irízar uses a combinatorial technique again in the coplas. In copla 1 (see Ex. 3), the Tiple I-1 soloist's melody is built from sequential imitations: the descending stepwise third that recalls the opening motif of the estribillo is repeated on descending steps of the scale and thus traces the same descending stepwise fifth from the estribillo opening. Just as the second soloist in the estribillo opening continued the first singer's scalar descent, so here in copla 1 the second melodic phrase is a repetition of the first phrase down a perfect fourth, and therefore continues the descent outlined in the first phrase (making a full descent from a'' to a'). The accompaniment is in canon with the voice at the rhythmic interval of a semibreve and the melodic interval of a perfect fifth. Thus the accompaniment of the first phrase is at the same transposition as the melody of the second phrase, and vice versa. Just as Irízar created multiple levels of imitation in the opening of the estribillo, here he makes the voice and accompaniment mirror and complement each other as they continue a pattern of *catabasis*. These musical conceits of imitation, exchange, and descent embody the theology of the Incarnation as expressed throughout the poetic

[65] Cashner, *Hearing Faith*, 33–6, 114–19, 147–58, 183–9.

Ex. 3. Irízar, *Qué música celestial*, copla 1: 'combinatorial' canons



texts of Irízar's 1678 cycle, in which Christ descends from heaven to earth and becomes a man in order to bring humanity back into harmony with God.

CONCLUSIONS: GLOBAL CONVENTIONS, LOCAL MEANINGS

A reader might object at this point: aren't these all just common conventions? How could we know that a descending scale had so much symbolic meaning? To this I would respond, first, by noting that the study of early modern Spanish *music*—as opposed to cataloguing sources and gathering documentation about musicians and institutions—is only beginning. Far too little music has been edited, published, and performed, but even with the available sources (and more primary sources are becoming available online all the time) there have been too few attempts to trace conventions through a corpus. So at one level it is not really possible to know whether a particular musical detail is significant or not, just as we could not have understood cantatas or sonatas to the extent we do without many systematic studies of a large body of sources. In this case, though, my research does confirm a consistent pattern of solmization symbolism in other 'villancicos about music' in connection with a widespread theological conception of music along Neoplatonic lines. In other words, the use of Guidonian paradigms to represent music was a global convention, and we can understand its meaning in part through tracing its repeated use in different local contexts.

By the same token, it is always the local context, I contend, that gives the convention its particular meaning. The villancico poem *Qué música celestial* took on a different set of intertextual associations when it was paired with one set of texts in 1677 Toledo than when Irízar rearranged the cycle to put a text from Madrid in the second position. The same metamusical conceits were used in the Segovia villancicos for San Blas as in this Christmas villancico, but the distinct dedications and ritual functions of the pieces,

including different performance locations and groups of hearers, gave these global conventions particular meanings. There is no single meaning built into the music; plural meanings are constructed by readers and hearers through their encounters with the text, which makes it possible for them to imagine the world in a new way. The meaning is not completely controlled by the author, the text, or the reader alone, but emerges from the interaction between them.[66] Moreover, the meaning of a text is constructed socially, when a group of people share a set of common conventions.[67] Musical performance thus connects communication, community, and conventions. The more we learn about the local community, down to individual composers, musicians, and hearers, the more confidence we can have in reconstructing what the conventions might have meant to that community. At the same time we also need to have a full sense of the conventions, which we will only gain by recovering and studying more music. What I am proposing, therefore, is a localized reading of global conventions.

In an environment of scarcity, Irízar was thrifty in his use of resources available to him—not only paper but also poems, voices, and motifs. Just as *Qué música celestial* embodies the theological exchange of divine and human in the Incarnation through transpositions and combinations of hexachords, Irízar's work as chapelmaster also embodied exchange at several levels. He built a network of musical associates and used this network to the benefit of his local congregation, drawing on texts and text types that were common across the empire, and manipulating equally widespread musical conventions and tropes to craft music that suited his ensemble, his space, and the devotional needs of his congregation throughout the year.

It is hard to imagine something more local than a piece of music composed not only for a specific liturgy in a specific place, but even for the voices and capabilities of a specific group of men and boys working within a specific rehearsal schedule—all written down on the back of a letter still bearing the physical address of the composer. Irízar's prayers written at the start of every piece, and his descriptive contents lists on the overleaf title page of each notebook, make these objects mementos of one man's labour at a particular point in time. I felt the localized character of this musical labour keenly in my own work in November 2012, when I was copying Irízar's music by hand in the room outside the Segovia Cathedral archive, a room Irízar himself might have composed in, sitting in a stiff leather-upholstered chair at a high table that looked to date from his time.

If this study has emphasized the earthly side of Irízar's 'celestial music', it does not suggest that he or his community saw any contradiction between the heavenly goals of the Church and the mundane realities of musical labour to meet local needs. Whether bringing together a coherent set of pieces for Christmas, or arranging a special devotional service for the chapel of San Blas, Irízar combined economic production and religious devotion. Musical devotion such as villancicos contributed to community life not only in purely religious aspects; it also forged social bonds, as in the confraternities that sponsored the Corpus Christi processions and other ceremonial events, and it formed part of the local economy.

Irízar's labour in the service of localized devotion bears comparison to other efforts in early modern Spain to elevate local sites to become destinations for regional pilgrimage. The anthropologist William Christian has shown that religious devotion in early

[66] Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth, Tex., 1976).

[67] Nancey Murphy, *Anglo-American Postmodernity: Philosophical Perspectives on Science, Religion, and Ethics* (Boulder, Col., 1997).

modern Spain was strongly tied to local community interests.[68] Apparitions of weeping and bleeding statues peaked in the years in which there were the most wars, plagues, and economic hardships. The local element was clearest in the case of those miracles that Inquisition trials determined to have been faked. The perpetrators of the frauds commonly testified that their goal was not to deceive anyone but to boost local morale in a hard time and to attract tourist income from pilgrims who would come to the shrine.

Villancicos could also serve this kind of dual purpose, as offerings of religious devotion and as a means to put the local community on the map. To accomplish those goals, someone needed to connect their specific community to a focus of broader interest in the region or kingdom. Generalized devotion to the Virgin had to be harnessed to bring people to seek Mary's favour through a particular local shrine, based on the report of an apparition through a specific statue, for instance. Irízar's recycling of texts from more prestigious institutions may have attracted members of the local community who wished to feel some connection to those remote places. At the same time his adaptation and setting of the texts demonstrated that Segovia, too, could mount the same calibre of performances as the other churches. Irízar enabled the Segovia community to offer to God the very best their community could give. Like the Samaritan woman in the gospel of John (4:20), who tells Jesus 'our ancestors worshipped on this mountain'—that is, Mount Gerizim instead of Mount Zion in Jerusalem—the Segovian community wanted a way to worship God 'here', on their own mountain.

ABSTRACT

A few months before Christmas in 1678, Miguel de Irízar, the thrifty chapelmaster of Segovia Cathedral, made a notebook out of a pile of his received letters, drafting music on the margins of letters from other musicians about the exchange of music and poetry. This article examines Irízar's output of villancicos for Segovia, including works written for specific local devotional practices, and, through a codicological analysis and sketch study of his letter-notebook of 1678, reconstructs the chapelmaster's compositional process. Irízar adapted and rearranged the texts he received in correspondence to tailor a coherent cycle for his own community. Based on a new edition of the first villancico in the 1678 cycle, the article analyses Irízar's use of musical conventions and practical craftsmanship in producing music that suited his ensemble and congregation. Villancicos served as a point of intersection for local and global aspects of both music and devotion.

[68] William A. Christian, Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton, 1981); Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*.