

Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800

The Villancico and Related Genres

Edited by

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A literary and typological study of the late 17th-century villancico

Alain Bègue

The first systematic and comprehensive analysis of the structure and form of the villancico was the classic study by Antonio Sánchez Romeralo [1969]. However, this was limited to the poetico-musical genre as it developed in the 15th and 16th centuries. Yet it was undoubtedly in the 17th century that the villancico experienced greatest structural and formal diversity and complexity, as Joseph Vicéns pointed out in the new section dedicated to the villancico's various formal possibilities he added to his 1703 edition of Rengifo's *Arte poética*:

Following the general rules for villancicos, it would seem appropriate to draw attention to some singularities that may advance the subject further; thus it must be assumed that some villancicos consist of an introduction, refrain and verses, others only of refrain and verses, others of introduction, refrain and recitative, others of refrain and recitative, others only of recitative, and others only of verses.¹

The essential variety and flexibility of this popular form as identified by the illustrious Vicéns are still much in evidence during the 17th and 18th centuries [Sánchez Romeralo, 1969: 128]. Moreover, if the villancico of the 15th and 16th centuries is characterized by its brevity [Sánchez Romeralo, 1969: 174], on the contrary the Baroque villancico is marked out by its formal expansion, and this extension only increases the amount of text allowing the author recourse to widely varied stylistic techniques and to exhibit his poetic skills. However, with the exception of a few individual studies, little has been done on the villancico in the 17th century, and still less on that of the end of that century.² In this chapter I will attempt to present

1 'Después de las reglas en común para los villancicos, parece muy del caso advertir algunas singularidades, que puedan abrir camino: para esto se presupone que constan los villancicos, algunos de introducción, estribillo y coplas; otros de solo estribillo y coplas; otros de introducción, estribillo y recitativo; otros de estribillo y recitativo; otros de recitativo solo; y otros de coplas solas'. Juan Díaz Rengifo and Josep Vincens: *Arte poética española, con una fertilissima sylva de consonantes comunes, propios, esdruxulos y reflexos, y vn diuino estímulo del Amor de Dios*, (Barcelona: Joseph Teixidó, 1703), 53.

2 For example, the studies by Álvaro Torrente [1997a] and Martha Lilia Tenorio [1999]. Tenorio, although she focused elsewhere on the villancicos of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, offer a diachronic analysis of the genre in the 17th century. However, according to her, the main characteristic of the Baroque villancico lies in its sequential organization [1999: 23].

a literary and typological analysis of the villancico through the study of the works of the poet and dramaturg José Pérez de Montoro (born Xàtiva, 1627; died Cádiz, 1694).³ Montoro wrote 206 villancicos (that is, almost half his poetic works), making him one of the most prolific writers of the 17th century, together with Manuel de León Marchante (1631-80),⁴ Vicente Sánchez (c. 1643-80)⁵ or Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1641-95).⁶ The polymorphism of the villancico in this period, of which Montoro's works are highly representative, makes any attempt at categorization difficult, and immediately leads me, like Álvaro Torrente [1997a: 1, 53], to propose a double definition: the villancico as *genre*, which embraces all works in the vernacular performed in a religious context; and the villancico as *form*, which includes all those works whose structure is based on the binary division of refrain [*estribillo*] and verses [*coplas*] not performed by a soloist. It would seem equally possible to achieve a classification of the vast majority of the different features of this poetico-musical genre by analysing three aspects: a) the mode of expression (the presence of the poetic *I* or several interlocutors, dialogues, etc.); b) intertextuality (textual or musical); and c) thematic content. This analysis will be based only on works written for the major ceremonies of the liturgical calendar: the Immaculate Conception (38 works, 18.4 per cent of Montoro's output); Pentecost (28, 13.6 per cent); Christmas (87, 42.2 per cent); and Epiphany (22, 10.7 per cent).

A. Mode of expression in villancicos

Before I embark on this subject, I must first summarize the terminology and methodology used.⁷ First, the term 'interlocutor', whether defined or undefined, presides over a statement or pronouncement, rather than that of 'voice' which I prefer to use to indicate the bearer of the musical text in the case where a text accorded to one speaker can be interpreted by different voices in a polyphonic context. I have also established a distinction between a text made up of several pronouncements—which may be called 'responses' or 'dialogues' in theatrical terminology—made by several interlocutors, and that which is the result of a single speaker, a lyric 'I' or narrator. Moreover, the literary text can consist of several pronouncements that may or may not form one or more dialogues. On the other hand, the juxtaposition of the

3 José Pérez de Montoro: *Obras posthumas lyricas*, 2 vols (Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1736). All examples in this chapter are extracted from this edition.

4 León Marchante, Manuel de (1722-33): *Obras poeticas posthumas*, 2 vols (Madrid, Gabriel del Barrio).

5 Vicente Sánchez, *Lyra poetica* (Zaragoza: Manuel Román, 1688).

6 Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Poemas de la única poetisa, musa decima* (Zaragoza: Manuel Román, 1682); *Inundación castálida de la única poetisa, musa decima* (Madrid: Juan García Infanzón, 1689); *Segundo volumen de las obras de soror Juana Inés de la Cruz* (Sevilla: Tomás López de Haro, 1692).

7 References to Montoro's villancicos will observe the following pattern: advocacy (P=Pentecost; IC=Immaculate Conception; C=Christmas; E=Epiphany); date; the villancico's position in the sequence (e.g.: VI for Villancico 1), verse forms, date of publication, if relevant; volume and page reference.

pronouncements can give rise to an interlocution proper, a verbal interaction between several speakers. This will be studied from the point of view of the first statement and its mode of expression: imperative, interrogative and/or assertive. The early Baroque villancico shares in effect certain characteristics with its popular counterpart of the 15th and 16th centuries, such as a concise, dynamic style reminiscent of 'the dramatic sense of popular lyric' with its 'tendency to exclamation, to questioning, to the gallant compliment, to the confidential exchange' [Sánchez Romeralo, 1969: 262]. On the other hand, I will not take into account the distinction made by Sánchez Romeralo between free syntax ('sintaxis suelta', consisting of an unconnected juxtaposition), and connected syntax ('sintaxis trabada') [1969: 181-82], in so far as this relies on the internal binary articulation of a single statement. Similarly, I will distinguish between bipartite villancicos and those that are articulated in three sections. In both these types of works, I will analyse the mode of expression in each of their formal components: introduction, refrains (*cabezas* or *estribillos*) and verses.

Works written for the feast of Pentecost are all bipartite and their internal structure generally observes sequential organization.⁸ Villancicos in which the single speaker is present in both the refrain and the verses are usually placed at the opening of the sequence; works placed in second or third position usually have no sign of multiple interlocutors. All the villancicos for the Immaculate Conception follow a bipartite structure. Furthermore, and as in the case of villancicos for Pentecost, the works in which the speaker is omnipresent are generally placed at the beginning of the series. The closing villancico is generally structured around a single speaker. Half of the Epiphany villancicos are bipartite (eleven out of 22), 36.4 per cent tripartite (eight works), and three pieces display features of the *ensalada* and can be considered extended metaphors. However, the textual corpus, presented numerically, reveals a significant degree of formal variety, although there is a striking tendency to place the villancicos with multiple speakers in at least one of the opening sections of the series or nocturn. Of the Christmas villancicos, 71 out of 87 are bipartite (that is, 82.76 per cent), while only 14 are tripartite (16.09 per cent). Again the order of the sequence would seem to dictate the internal structure of the poems. Works with multiple speakers are given pride of place at the opening and closing of the sequence or nocturn, while texts with a single speaker usually hold an intermediary position within the different nocturns.

With the exception of a few cases, such as that of the stock characters of minor theatre, it is usually impossible precisely to define the identity of the voices in the refrains, voices that are largely differentiated by their function. In addition, some unidentified speakers appear together with the stock figures of minor theatre, which generally have an inferior status given their comical character—whether through the kind of language they use (that of negroes or gypsies, the jargon of doctors and astrologists, etc.) or context. In other cases, there may be a dispute between two opposing groups of interlocutors, as, for example, in the case of heavenly and worldly voices.

8 It should be remembered that Pentecost villancicos usually comprise a sequence of three pieces, those for the Immaculate Conception five, and those for Christmas and Epiphany from seven to 14 works, with eight or nine being by far the most common.

1. *Bipartite villancicos*

There are 147 bipartite villancicos among Montoro's oeuvre. Eighty-three of them (that is, 63.3 per cent) have *cabezas* or refrains with multiple speakers, and 55 of these (59.2 per cent) have multiple speakers in each section, as opposed to 38 (40.8 per cent) in which this multiplicity is found only in the refrain. In three villancicos, the *cabeza* has only one speaker, while the verses have several.

1) *The cabezas or refrains*

Analysis of modes of expression in the initial exchanges of bipartite villancicos reveals certain specific traits as regards the function of the celebratory subject of these works. Thus, there are 26 opening exchanges in the imperative mode (16 for Christmas and Epiphany, that is, 32.7 per cent of refrains), ten for the Immaculate Conception (40 per cent) and one for Pentecost (10 per cent); those beginning with an assertive mode of expression number 30 (22 for Christmas and Epiphany (44.9 per cent), two for the Immaculate Conception (8 per cent) and two for Pentecost (20 per cent)); those in interrogatory mode 25 (eight for Christmas and Epiphany (16.3 per cent), twelve for the Immaculate Conception (44 per cent) and six for Pentecost (60 per cent)); and, finally, there are four that open with an exclamation (one for Christmas, two for the Immaculate Conception (8 per cent) and one for Pentecost (10 per cent)). To the four expressive modes already outlined should be added two introductory exchanges in Christmas villancicos that seem to have a purely musical opening.

This statistical census emphasizes the use of modes of expression according to context. Thus the assertive mode seems to be the attribute of villancicos for Christmas, while the interrogative mode appears to be characteristic of those for the Immaculate Conception and Pentecost. These features conform to specific subject matters. In contrast to villancicos for the Immaculate Conception and Pentecost, those for Christmas or Epiphany emphasize the festive, ludic and dramatic nature of the celebration since in these two cases the church had no other purpose than to commemorate the Redeemer's coming and the Gospel. In contrast, the villancicos written for the Immaculate Conception and Pentecost attempt to explain and present strictly theological doctrines or mysteries that were less concrete in nature for the faithful. Authors thus focused on definitions and explanations, favouring, as will be seen below, the use of an opening question.

The basic structures usually followed by Montoro in his villancicos are discussed below; these structures can offer several variants or be connected to a complex refrain. Two basic types are identified from considering the modes of expression: that in which a single message is developed by several speakers and that in which a dialogue unfolds between various interlocutors.

a) The development of a single message The *cabezas* or refrains of bipartite compositions often afford contexts in which rehearsal or development of the same idea by several speakers ends up, through the merging of their differences and their lack of definition, forming a single message. Communication of this single message can be presented according to three different patterns:

By the juxtaposition, whether symmetrical or not, of exchanges

This is the procedure most used by Montoro for the non-dialogue structure of the interlocution of refrains; it is also the procedure that has the greatest number of variants that can, nevertheless, be confined to two main categories: symmetrical exchanges and explanatory exchanges. The opening exchange can in effect be taken up in a symmetrical fashion by the second interlocutor. The first line of each exchange is generally identical, both in terms of mode of expression and syntax, and thus acquires the nature of a *leitmotiv* that lends rhythm to the refrain and is generally repeated at its conclusion by both interlocutors in unison:

Text 10.1: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1688/5, ll.1-13; *Obras posthumas*: II, 258; CVBN, 29

1.	Diga a quién busca este Niño tierno que al ingrato invierno sus amores fia y hace claro día de una noche oscura.	1.	Tell whoever seeks this tender Infant that his love defies the harsh winter and turns dark night into the clear light of day.
2.	Diga a quién busca este Peregrino, bello Sol divino, que arde enamorado, y por disfrazado nace de la Luna.	2.	Tell whoever seeks this pilgrim, beautiful divine Sun, that blazes with love, and from which disguise the Moon is born.
1 & 2.	Diga a quién busca ...	1 & 2.	Tell whoever seeks ...

In other cases, the mode of expression of the first pronouncement might be repeated in the refrain or in the exchanges immediately after, but is followed by a response that will attempt to explain the previous statement. This occurs in the following example in which, following two exclamations, a single speaker explains the two previous interlocutors' admiration by means of a rhetorical question:

Text 10.2: Cádiz Cathedral, Immaculate 1693/4, ll.1-8; *Obras posthumas*: II, 167; CVBN, 36

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|--|
| 1. | ¡Poder de Dios, y qué pasmo!
¡Qué asombro! ¡Qué maravilla! | 1. | The power of God and oh what awe!
What amazement! What wonder! |
| 2. | ¡Jesús, María! | 2. | Jesus and Mary! |
| 3. | ¿Quién no se admira
viendo que en el mismo instante
que se concibió una niña,
tiene de la suma Esencia
las tres Personas distintas? | 3. | Who could not be awestruck
given that at the same moment
a baby girl was conceived,
she has the absolute Essence
of the Trinity? |

a) Phrase exchange The first interlocutor begins with a phrase which the subsequent interlocutors develop by expanding clauses in the manner of a telescope. The sequence of responses then converges in the pronouncement of a single shared phrase:

Text 10.3: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1691/6, ll.1-11; *Obras posthumas*: II, 319

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|--|
| 1. | Ya de noche, y por las calles
no hay tonadillas inquietas,
porque hasta los hombres cantan
lo que los muchachos rezan. | 1. | Night has fallen, and in the streets
no restless <i>tonadillas</i> are heard,
because even men are singing
what the young boys are praying. |
| 2. | Y cuanto se les oye, Dios lo reciba,
todo es de <i>Padre nuestros</i>
y <i>Ave Marías</i> . | 2. | And as God hears them, He
receives; everywhere Our Fathers
and Ave Marias are heard. |
| 3. | Pues cantémosle <i>rosarios</i>
al Niño, porque los tenga
recibidos en las pajas,
cuando vuelva a tomar cuentas. | 3. | So let's sing the rosary
to the Child, so he may
receive it among the straw,
when he returns to take account. |

The final conjunction of several phrases The third model is based on the interweaving in the opening section of several phrases, whether spoken by the same speaker or by different interlocutors, which concludes in a shared response generally spoken by all:

Text 10.4: Cádiz Cathedral, Immaculate 1688/3, ll.1-13; *Obras posthumas*: II, 131

- | | | | |
|--------------|--|------------|--|
| 1. | Muera la noche. | 1. | Night is dying. |
| 2. | Huyan las sombras tiranas. | 2. | Tyrannous shadows flee. |
| 3. | Acaben los horrores. | 3. | Terror is ended. |
| 4. | Cesen ya las borrascas. | 4. | Perils now cease. |
| 1. | Pues nuevo día. | 1. | For a new day. |
| 2. | Pues hermosa llama. | 2. | For a beautiful flame. |
| 3. | Pues durable esplendor. | 3. | For eternal splendour. |
| 4. | Pues feliz bonanza. | 4. | For happy prosperity. |
| <i>Todos</i> | Amanece, se anima,
se encienden, se hallan
en las misteriosas luces,
que hoy se conciben
en la mejor alba. | <i>All</i> | Dawn is breaking, waking,
In mysterious lights
they are inspired, are found
for today they are conceived
in the best of all dawns. |

It is worth noting that where a phrase is shared between several speakers, the first among them is responsible for mentioning the addressee, the euphoric or dysphoric space, the time of day, or the theme that is to be developed immediately afterwards, as well as for the form or poetic metre of the verses. Moreover, if not only the individual work but the whole sequence of villancicos is taken into consideration, it is clear that in most cases the opening villancico is constructed according to the method adopted for the single message. The initial response is thus characterized by an interrogative or imperative mode of expression. The presentation of interlocutors drawn together in this way and united in the same discourse tends to inspire solidarity and identification in the audience, and thus their own participation in the theological celebration. Finally, the *cabezas* or refrains that present a single discourse are usually accompanied by a sort of internal rhyming refrain.

*b) Verbal interaction: dialogue villancicos*⁹ Analysis of the refrains in Montoro's bipartite villancicos reveals new structures based on verbal exchange between different interlocutors. Dialogue appears to be realized through three basic structures that can be extracted from the modes of expression of the different exchanges.

An assertive opening pronouncement The use of an assertive opening mode of expression is rare in the repertory studied here. The pronouncement made by the first speaker generally inspires a reaction of solidarity in the interlocutor which is transformed in response into the imperative mode. This interactive structure is often used in the presentation of characters, virtual or actual interlocutors, in refrains that are then structured as two sections: introduction of characters by unidentified

⁹ As for Henri Mitterand, the concept of dialogue is here taken to mean 'direct exchange of pronouncements between two or more than two interlocutors' ('échange de propos au style direct, entre deux ou plus de deux interlocuteurs') [Henri Mitterand, 1985: 146; cited in Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1998: 113].

interlocutors (A), followed by the spoken response or 'appearance on the scene' of the characters (B):

Text 10.5: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1688/3, ll.1-16; *Obras posthumas*: II, 252-53

A ^c	1.	El sacristán de Chipiona y el alcalde de Paterna vienen con sus villancicos a exponerse de poetas.	1.	The sacristan of [Chipiona and the mayor of [Paterna approach with their [villancicos to show off their [poetic skills.
	2.	Vengan muy enhorabuena, vengan, vengan.	2.	Most welcome, draw [near, draw near, draw near.
	3.	Y para que los apruebe la [solfa, dé cada uno al examen su [letra.	3.	And so that their music may be approved each allows his text to be examined.
B ^c	1.	Empiece el alcalde, que sólo dura un año su oficio, y es razón que empiece primero que acabe.	1.	Let the mayor begin, as his post is only held for a year, and he who finishes [first, should begin.
	Alc.	Pues, venme aquí, que escribiendo al Chiquitillo, así dice el estribillo y las coplas así como así.	Mayor:	So here I am, writing verses to the [Christ child, the refrain says thus, and the verses so [on and so forth.

Based on an opening imperative or exclamatory section The use of the exclamatory and imperative modes at the opening of the refrain is, given how often it occurs, one of the essential characteristics of the popular villancico of the 15th and 16th centuries. As Sánchez Romeralo has already pointed out [1969: 262], the emotional charge of these modes intensifies 'the expressive meaning of the phrase', this being even more pronounced given the brevity of these popular songs. This trait is still found in the Baroque villancico, changes in form notwithstanding.

The first type of interaction is that in which the first character addresses their interlocutors with an imperative or exclamatory passage with the sole aim of involving them in the celebratory context. In most of the examples in Montoro's oeuvre, the first speaker fails to give them enough information to allow their participation in the dialogue. Thus, what distinguishes that character from the other speakers is their superiority in possession of information, the withholding of which can generate several kinds of situation. In some refrains, this withholding of information provokes an interrogatory response from the first character's addressees, the reply to which may or may not provide them with sufficient information to understand the situation:

Text 10.6: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1683/4, ll.1-8; *Obras posthumas*: II, 179

1.	Albricias, mortales, mortales, albricias.	1.	Good news, mortals, Mortals, good news!
2.	¿De qué alegres nuevas? ¿De qué extrañas dichas?	2.	Good news about what? Strange tidings of what?
1.	De que ya del Imperio Sagrado las armas invictas, rendida dejaron la furia enemiga: albricias, albricias.	1.	That now the Sacred [Empire's invincible armies, forced the enemy fury to surrender: good news, good news.

In the case where there is no response, the informative elements are presented and developed in the *coplas*:

Text 10.7: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1683/3, ll.1-25; *Obras posthumas*: II, 176

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Lleven todos los curiosos
una gaceta nueva
que hoy ha salido. | 1. All those who want to know
carry a new gazette
published today. |
| 2. ¿Qué cosa? | 2. What's up? |
| 1. Prodigios contiene,
milagros encierra. | 1. Wonders it contains,
miracles it holds. |
| 2. Diga de lo que trata. | 2. Tell us what it's about. |
| 1. De lo que está pasando
en Cielo y tierra. | 1. About what is happening
in heaven and on earth. |
| 2. Dénosla luego. | 2. Show us then. |
| 1. Lévenla y crean
que es toda un prodigio,
por ser verdadera. | 1. Take it and believe
that it's a miracle
since it's true. |
| 2. Vayan cantando:
Díganla, lean. | 2. They sing as they go:
'Tell it, read it.' |
| 1. Todos la escuchen. | 1. Everyone listens. |
| 2. Digan que es fuerza
que sea un milagro,
siendo verdadera. | 2. They say that it
must be a miracle,
since it's true. |
| 1. Todos la escuchen. | 1. Everyone listens. |
| 2. Díganla, lean. | 2. 'Tell it, read it.' |
| 1. Todos la escuchen,
porque con ella,
si buena noche no tienen,
tendrán Noche Buena. | 1. Everyone listens,
because with it,
if they don't have a good night,
they will have <i>Nochebuena</i>
[Christmas Eve]. |

In this example, given the first speaker's implicit refusal to provide satisfactory information, the second interlocutor's questioning takes place in the imperative vein that gives shape to the refrain.

Based on an opening interrogatory phrase According to Sánchez Romeralo, questioning is also one of the characteristic elements of the popular villancico [1969: 267]. The use of the interrogatory mode in the openings of Baroque villancicos, although it is often found, does not generally aim to extend 'spiritually the line of verse, after this has physically ended in the listener's or reader's mind' [1969: 268], but, rather, to provoke an interaction.

In Montoro's works, granting the first speaker an interrogative mode usually appears in the context of two main interactional structures. The first of these is based on the use of an initial speaker who has less information than his interlocutors, that information being revealed through questioning of the other interlocutors and

eliciting an answer from them. In the following refrain, the first speaker shares his lack of understanding with the third. Each has their own respondent, the text taking the form of a game of questions and answers which ends with all the interlocutors coming together:

Text 10.8: Cádiz Cathedral, Immaculate 1688/1, ll.1-18; *Obras posthumas*: II, 128

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. ¿Cómo será que las sombras
celebren hoy que se encienda
una luz nunca apagada
de la universal tiniebla? | 1. Why do the shadows celebrate
today the lighting of
a never to be extinguished light
in universal darkness? |
| 2. La gracia es ésa,
que el concurso brillante
de sol y estrellas
es en fiesta de luces
naturaleza. | 2. The reason is this,
that the brilliant display
of sun and stars
is in essence
a celebration of light. |
| 3. Si la sombra es enemiga
de la luz, ¿quiénes son éstas
obscuridades o sombras
que hoy como luces se alegran? | 3. If shadow is the enemy
of light, who are these
dark beings or shadows
that today sparkle like lights? |
| 4. La gracia es ésa,
que fueron sombras antes
que esa luz fuera,
y de haber sido sombras
están contentas. | 4. The reason is this,
that they were shadows before
that light existed,
and they are happy
no longer to be shadows. |

In other cases, the interrogation of the first speaker, lacking in information, can give rise to a new 'exchange structure',¹⁰ by inciting a confrontation between two other interlocutors who disagree as to what answer to give:

¹⁰ 'structure en débat': I observe Kerbrat-Orecchioni's definition of 'débat' as the 'confrontation of opinions regarding a particular object' ('confrontation d'opinions à propos d'un objet particulier'), assuming 'a minimum of disagreement between the participants' ('un minimum de désaccord entre les participants') [1998: 118]. However, in the specific context of the villancico, the number of participants, as well as the theme of the exchange, are uniquely determined—in this case, by the author. Moreover, the public alone experiences the performance of the songs, and so of the debate, the implicit moderator being the author who organizes the structure and the dialogue between the interlocutors.

Text 10.9: Cádiz Cathedral, Immaculate 1691/2, II.1-7; *Obras posthumas*: II, 146

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Quién hizo en un instante
sin tiniebla a la Aurora? | 1. Who made in a moment
a Dawn without darkness? |
| 2. Digo que fue la Gracia. | 2. I say it was Grace. |
| 3. Yo, que la Gloria,
porque quien hizo un día
sin noche, y con mañana;
digo que fue la Gloria. | 3. I say it was Eternal Glory,
because the one who made day
without night, and with morning,
I say it was Eternal Glory. |

These two forms based on an interrogatory mode at the start of the piece, through creating a game of questions and explanatory answers or of a debate in which the justificatory argumentation of each party is put forward, enable the definition and clearer explanation of the doctrines of the Catholic Church. It should be emphasized here that among the 25 cases of interrogatory exchanges, eleven occur in villancicos dedicated to the Immaculate Conception and six to Pentecost. This is explained by the essentially doctrinal and didactic nature of these works whose ludic character, in contrast to those for Christmas and Epiphany, is greatly diminished.

The creation of complex or mixed refrains through the medium of combining basic structures enables Montoro to emphasize the dynamism and expressivity of his works.

2) The coplas or verses

The verses develop the theme introduced in the refrain. Thus each verse in turn presents a sacred concept, whatever the interlocutory organization of the verses. Of the 147 bipartite works in Montoro's *oeuvre*, 58 include verses in which several speakers intervene: 14 for the Immaculate Conception (36.84 per cent), nine for Pentecost (33.33 per cent), 31 for Christmas (43.66 per cent) and four for Epiphany (50 per cent). In most cases, the verses are preceded by a refrain that shares this feature. These works are usually placed at the beginning of the sequence (18 cases), and in the case of those composed for Christmas at the beginning (three cases) or end (eight cases) of the nocturn. Only three villancicos offer examples of verses involving several interlocutors following a refrain presented by only one speaker, one among the works dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, and two among those for Epiphany. In these last examples, the villancico is the first in the sequence.

The distribution of speakers in the verses ranges from simple alternation or succession of interlocutors to the elaboration of dialogues or pseudo-dialogues.

a) Alternation or succession of interlocutors Villancicos in which the verses present the alternation or succession of speakers are by far the most frequently found. The number of speakers in the verses usually corresponds to that of those introduced in the refrain. These speakers, who generally follow one another without distinction and who each develop a concept relating to the subject-matter, can nevertheless present individual features. This is indeed the case when the author deliberately selects alternating speakers. In the first villancico in the sequence written for

Pentecost in 1688, only two of the three speakers (interlocutors 1 and 3) take part in alternating. This choice appears to rest on what would seem to be the only possible manner of distinguishing between the two, which is the correspondence between the textual structure and the musical performance. Speakers 1 and 3 will have a clearer exchange according to the musical setting chosen by the author or chapelmaster.

b) Dialogue form Verses written in dialogue form are rare. Four of the five known examples take the form of a debate; three extend this procedure to the refrain. Thus it can take the form of a straightforward alternation between two interlocutors:

Text 10.10: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1689/3, II.1-8; *Obras posthumas*: II, 277

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Toquen a incendio divino,
pues arde tierno en el orbe
el fuego de los alhagos,
que apaga el de los rigores. | 1. They touch divine fire,
for the fire of delights
burns tenderly in the orb,
which extinguishes that of
[severity]. |
| 2. No toquen, que amor tiritá,
aunque es fuego, pues se acoge
al vil calor de los brutos,
contra el hielo de los hombres. | 2. Don't touch, for love shivers,
even though it burns, for it takes
refuge in the brutish heat of beasts,
against the ice of men. |

Or it can take on a more elaborate form in which, after recalling the subject of the debate following the first intervention, several interlocutors make their opposing points:

Text 10.11: Cádiz Cathedral, Immaculate 1691/2, ll.22-39; *Obras posthumas*: II, 147

1.	Quién dispuso que a María las Tres Divinas Personas	1.	Who ordained that Mary should comprise Three Divine [Persons, without being more than one, as Daughter, Mother and Wife?
	elijan, sin ser más que una, para Hija, Madre y Esposa?		
2.	Digo que fue la Gracia.	2.	I say it was Grace.
3.	Yo, que la Gloria: pues si Hoy la Divina Esencia vio, porque lo deseaba, en la recién concebida su bondad comunicada.	3.	I, that it was Eternal Glory, as if today the Divine Being saw, because He desired to do so, in the recently conceived her goodness communicated.
1.	Digo que fue la Gloria.	1.	I say it was Eternal Glory.
2.	Yo, que la Gracia, pues quien la humana materia reservó de peligrosa, dando forma exenta y pura para que tomase forma.	2.	I, that it was Grace, as who the human guise saved from being dangerous, granting a free and pure form so that she might be formed.
1.	Digo que fue la Gracia.	1.	I say it was Grace.
3.	Yo, que la Gloria:	3.	I, that it was Eternal Glory.

The dialogue form of the verse might also occur when the villancico introduces stock characters. The sixth piece in the 1688 Christmas sequence offers a good example of this. Three characters take their turn in presenting their solutions to save the world from Original Sin. Each is snubbed by an interlocutor who does not fail to emphasize the uselessness of his remedy given that Christ is the only one able to redeem Man's sins:

Text 10.12: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1688/6, ll.52-70; *Obras posthumas*: II, 260-61

Doct[or]	Yo digo, yerre o no yerre, que el mundo ha menester [cura, porque le baldó la untura <i>de oleum serpentorum terrae</i> ; y está de rigor en rigor, no discurrió a troche y [moche, supuesto que a media noche le dan a nuestro Señor.	Doctor	I say, sin or no sin, the world needs to be [cured, because it is damaged by the smear of the oil of earthly serpents; and it is growing stronger, it does not spread pellmell, given that at midnight they give it to our Lord.
Letr[ado]	Señor doctor, para que el mundo esté [bueno, arredro vaya Galeno, pues ya contra todo mal, el Médico celestial, que nos trae el bien de Dios, viene al mundo <i>propter nos et propter nostram salutem</i> .	Lawyer	My good doctor, so that the world may be [healed, I send back Galen, for against every ill, the heavenly Doctor, who brings us God's [goodness, comes to the world for us and for our health.
Doct[or]	¿Luego sobran mis récipes?	Doctor	So my prescriptions [are not needed?
Letr[ado]	Como mis Bartulos.	Lawyer	Nor my papers.
Astr[ólogo]	Como mi cuspide.	Astrologer	Nor my apex.

In this case the structure of the verses is still symmetrical and does not deviate, unlike the dialogues found in refrains.

2. Tripartite villancicos

Only 22 of Montoro's many villancicos are tripartite in form. Twelve of these were composed for Christmas for the royal convents of the Descalzas Reales (two works), the Encarnación (six) as well as for the royal chapel (four) in Madrid. Eight were written for Epiphany for these two royal convents (three in 1683, two in 1684 and three in 1688). In contrast, only two villancicos were written for Cádiz Cathedral, for the celebration of Christmas in 1692 and 1693. The restriction of tripartite villancicos to Christmas and Epiphany sequences as well as the imbalance, both as regards the preponderance of bipartite over tripartite settings and of Madrid works over those for Cádiz, can be explained in part by the festive rather than theological nature of these feasts, and in part by the fact that this would seem to imply more complex settings, as regards both content and musical material. This type of work aimed to 'bring entertainment on the night' ('divertir la noche'), as the third villancico of the Epiphany sequence for 1684 put it.

As has already been established, tripartite villancicos comprised an introduction (*introducción*), refrain or *estribillo* (the term used here in the context of the tripartite villancico as opposed to the *cabeza* of the bipartite villancicos), and the verses or *coplas*. As in the binary works, these three sections offer a variety of structures through the use of multiple interlocutors. The most commonly found combinations in Montoro's works are, on the one hand, those in which the introduction is presented by a single speaker, and, on the other, those in which the first two sections have one interlocutor and the verses have several.

1) Introductions

The opening section of tripartite villancicos, which usually consists of eight to twelve lines, contextualizes the work by introducing the dramatic setting, the theme subsequently to be developed and, in many cases (13 out of 22 works) the characters-speakers who will later participate. The introduction of the characters is generally accompanied by a *captatio benevolentiae* in which the speaker explains their appearance. In 90.9 per cent of cases, the introduction is presented by a single speaker. However, this interlocutor can appear, as in the following example, as a character and his words as prefiguring the dialogue in the refrain:

Text 10.13: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1683/14, ll.1-18; *Obras posthumas*: II, 208-09

Introducción	Introduction
1. Monarcas del Oriente, que sabios y discretos, las letras os admiran de este divino celestial cuaderno, en luces viene a hablaros la luz de un astro bello, que con brillantes voces, hasta el alma penetran sus acentos; seguidlas y atendedlas, pues dicen sus reflejos: 'Venid, que un nuevo astro os lleva a ver las luces de un Sol nuevo.'	1. Monarchs of the East, wise and prudent, the letters of this divine, celestial book pay you homage in lights, the light of a beautiful star comes to enlighten you, with bright voices its sounds penetrate the soul; follow them, observe them, for their reflections say: 'Draw near, for a new star will take you to see the light of a new Sun.'

Estribillo	Refrain
2. ¿Quién da voces? ¿Quién da voces?	2. Who's calling? Who's calling?
3. ¿Quién interrumpe [los ecos?	3. Who is interrupting [the echoes?
1. Venid, llegad apriesa.	1. Come, draw near quickly.
2. Llegad, venid corriendo.	2. Draw near, come quickly.
2. & 3. ¿Quién nos llama? ¿Quién da [voces?	2. & 3. Who's calling us? Who's [calling?
¿Qué nos mandáis, astro bello?	What have you sent [us, bright star?

2) Estribillos or refrains

The chronological order affecting the different constituent sections of the villancico inevitably imply a semantic and/or interpretative hierarchical structure. The *estribillo* thus displays a degree of dependence on the introduction: their mutual relationship can perhaps be compared to that of a verbal exchange. In Montoro's tripartite works, this relationship is usually signalled by the transition from a first section characterized by an assertive text to a second, whose imperative or exclamatory text reinforces the first. The various contextualizing elements presented in the introduction by one or more interlocutors lead to the dynamic integration of the one or more interlocutors in the refrain. Thus, in the following villancico, the moving description of the meeting between the Christ Child and the shepherd girl results in a lyrical reaction on the part of the interlocutor in the second section:

Text 10.14: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1686_E/7, ll.1-21; *Obras posthumas*: II, 226-27

Introducción

Cándido viste el pellico
el Zagalito de perlas,
por quien perdida de amores
va una simple zagaleja.

Un corderito en los brazos

que dar a su amado lleva,
y por ser su semejante,
dulcemente le requiebra.

Ya en el Portal se introduce,
donde con cláusulas tiernas,
ángeles y pastorcillos,
gloria, paz y amor alternan.

Estribillo

¡Oh, qué bien se suspenden los
[Cielos!

¡Oh, qué bien de ver niño al amor!
¡Cómo cantan los pastorcillos,
cuando llora mi Niño,
llora mi Dios!

¡Qué rigores! ¡Qué finezas!

¡Qué favores! ¡Qué desvelos!
¡Válgame Dios! que se hiela
con mi desdén todo el Cielo.

Introduction

The little shepherd boy adorns
the sheepskin in pearls;
the simple shepherd girl
has fallen deeply in love with him.

A little lamb she carries in her arms
to take to the one she loves,
and as her counterpart
sweetly she courts him.

Now she reaches the stable
door, where, to gentle strains,
angels and shepherds alternate
glory, peace and love.

Refrain

Oh, how the heavens astound!

Oh, how good to see the love child!
How the good shepherds sing,
when my Child cries,
my God cries!

What meticulousness! What
[refinement!

What grace! What vigilance!
Heaven help me! Heaven freezes
over through my disdain.

In the same way, the integration of the interlocutor of the *estribillo* can be effected through an exhortation that reinforces the preceding text. In the following example, a single speaker exhorts the characters already announced by the introductory interlocutor to appear, as they will do in the verses, in the textual space of the work:

Text 10.15: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1686_{CR}/5, ll.1-18; *Obras posthumas*: II, 243

Introducción

Los Alcaldes de Belén,
viendo un milagro tan grande,
como que un recién nacido
pueda enmendar tantos males,
para festejar al Niño,
hoy su ayuntamiento hacen,
que unos vienen a ser votos,
y otros a ser botarates.

Estribillo

Haced ayuntamiento,
alcaldes de Belén,
venid a ayuntamiento,
que hoy nace nuestro rey;
venid a prevenir
festejos que le hacer;
venid, tocad, cantad,
bailad, saltad, tañed,
y todo sea contento,
y todo sea placer.

Introduction

The mayors of Bethlehem,
witnessing a miracle so great,
as a new-born infant
putting right so many wrongs,
to honour the Child,
today hold a meeting
so that some come to be sensible
and others to be idiots.

Refrain

Hold your meeting,
mayors of Bethlehem,
come to the town hall,
for today our king is born;
come to make ready
the festivities for him;
come, play, sing,
dance, leap, pluck your strings,
let happiness abound,
let joy resound.

The dynamism of the refrains, as is clear from these two examples, stems from using repetitive and parallel structures, in the binary or ternary rhythm of the verses, or, as in the second example, in the use of the imperative and the vocative.

There are twelve tripartite works in which several interlocutors are introduced in the refrain. In the great majority of cases (ten out of twelve), the interlocutors are characters presented immediately after an introduction that may have a truly theatrical didactic role:

Text 10.16: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1686_{CR}/4, II.1-19; *Obras posthumas*: II, 219-20

Introducción

Apártense, que a Belén
vienen dos ciegos cantando,
y tanto temer se deben
sus coplas, como sus palos.
Por novedad de esta pascua,
a tienta vienen pintando
la salida que hizo a Atocha
el Rey desde su palacio.

Introduction

Draw back, for two blind men
approach Bethlehem singing,
and their songs should be feared
as much as their sticks.
As a novelty this Christmastide,
by feel they come to portray
the procession the king made
from his palace to Atocha.

Estribillo

1. Relación, villancico y gaceta
para cantar en la Noche Buena,
¿quién me la compra? ¿quién me
[la lleva?
2. La salida que el rey hizo a Atocha
para cantar esta pascua dichosa,
¿quién me la lleva?
¿quién me la compra?
1. ¿Ah, Domingo?
2. Amigo Sancho.
1. Clara la voz, que la
gente se emboba.
2. No puedo más, que no veo gota.
1. ¿Quién me la lleva?
¿Quién me la compra?
3. Deme el papel.
1. Daca y toma.

Refrain

1. Leaflet, villancico and pamphlet
to sing on Christmas Eve,
who'll buy one? who'll take one?
2. The procession of the king to Atocha
to sing on this happy day,
Who'll take one?
Who'll buy one?
1. Hey, Domingo?
2. Sancho, my friend.
1. Louder, the people are bemused.
2. I can't do any more, I'm parched.
1. Who'll take one?
Who'll buy one?
3. Give me a copy.
1. Here take it!

3) Verses or coplas

The verses of tripartite villancicos offer little originality in comparison with their bipartite counterparts. Apart from a few exceptional cases, each verse follows another in developing the religious concept related to the theme presented in the introduction. As regards the presentation of the text, 19 out of the 22 tripartite works

have several speakers in the verses. In most cases, the various speakers follow or alternate with each other. On the other hand, the mode of presentation is completely different in seven villancicos, which are characterized by the use of dialogue in their verses. These are songs in which stock characters appear, whose role is essentially comic—stammerers (C, 1683, V5), Duenna and ladies' squire (C, 1683, V13), Turks (C, 1686_{CR}, V3), rural mayors (C, 1686_{CR}, V4), two villagers (E, 1688, V3)—or allegorical: sale by auction (C, 1686_{CR}, V2) and royal audience (C, 1686_{CR}, V4).

Detailed analysis of Montoro's villancicos thus reveals several basic modes of presentation, the structure of which observes, in the majority of cases, the aim and objective of the religious ceremony. Multiple presentation usually serves two purposes that are at once both complementary and distinct: theological explanation of the doctrine or mystery that is being celebrated and the entertainment of the public, often with recourse to theatrical devices. Within these two extremes, the author can, thanks to the choice of single or multiple speakers, offer the public a panoply of formal variants, from the lyricism of some works to the open theatricality of others. All this could not fail to fulfil and satisfy the desire for novelty on the part of an audience who year after year attended the same liturgical ceremonies.

B. Lyrical villancicos

Among Montoro's many works some are characterized by the presentation of a single speaker that takes the first person singular in a personal vein, whether a state of mind or an expression of emotion. This mode of expression can range from a simple axiological adjectival approach to the force of an imperative or exclamatory tone. The lyric *I* mode of expression, addressed to an interlocutor whose identity varies according to ceremonial function is found in 41 villancicos (13 for Pentecost, eleven for the Immaculate Conception and 16 for Christmas). For the purposes of this study, those works that have verses with a single speaker, but which remain essentially narrative or explanatory and the internal rhythm of which is usually marked by a refrain lending them merely the illusion of lyric verse, are not included.

The lyric *I* is usually found in bipartite works, and, apart from a few instances, is used throughout the whole piece. These villancicos use shorter verse forms than the others. The lack of dynamic potential in these works, and the fact that they are usually placed in the middle of the sequence, are features that do not on the whole lend themselves to formal extension. Being placed in an intermediary position, they usually serve as a contrast in pacing to the extended or more formally elaborate but always dynamic opening pieces, or the ludic works. This type of villancico, not found among Montoro's works composed for Epiphany, are placed second in sequences for Pentecost, second and/or third in those for the Immaculate Conception and second, fifth and/or eighth in those for Christmas.

The lyric *I* expresses both the joy felt at the display of divine love or the knowledge of the Immaculate Conception and the sense of guilt and repentance at Christ's death. The Pentecost villancicos, which are relatively important in numerical terms, basically draw on the theme of love. The Holy Spirit's outpouring of love for the apostles is, according to the exegesis, clear proof of God's love for man. And given

man's limitations in being able to express divine mysteries in words, the secular language of human love was in effect required to convey the feelings experienced by the lyric *I*. Thus the Holy Spirit is taken to represent the messenger of love and dons the guise of the secular god of love so as to enter the human heart:

Text 10.17: Cádiz Cathedral, Pentecost 1689/2, ll.1-6, 16-24

[Estribillo]

A la tierra se ha venido
el Dios de amor, ¡ay, qué dicha!
flechas, rayos y llamas me tira,

¡ay, ay, ay, qué dicha!
No son flechas, ni rayos, ni llamas
de muerte, sino de vida.

[Refrain]

The God of love has come down to
earth, oh, what joy!
arrows, thunderbolts and flames draw
[me,
oh, oh, oh, what happiness!
They are not arrows, thunderbolts
or flames of death, but of life.

Coplas

...
Venid, divino Cupido,
y entre copias de delicias
robad todos mis afectos
dándome vuestras carismas.
¡Oh, qué gustoso me
[inflama!
¡Qué galante me acaricia!
¡Qué ganancioso me postra!
¡Qué luciente me conquista!
¡Ay, ay, qué dicha!

Verses

...
Come, divine Cupid,
and in an abundance of delights
steal away my heart
with your charisma.
Oh, how pleurably he inspires
[me!
how gently he caresses me!
how winningly he overcomes me!
how brilliantly he conquers me!
Oh, oh, oh, what happiness!

In villancicos for the Immaculate Conception, those clear lyric indicators such as imperative or exclamatory modes of expression are less apparent, largely because of the explanatory purpose and apologetic subject matter underlying the ceremony. The presence of the poetic *I* usually appears in the axiological characterization forming part of the Immaculate Conception and the use of exclamation in a refrain, as in the following example which emphasizes the Virgin's uniqueness:

Text 10.18: Cádiz Cathedral, Immaculate 1692/2, ll.23-36; Obras posthumas: II, 156

La rosa peregrina,
la única, la sola,
que en ser como ninguna
restaura el ser de todas;
la que es en Cielo y tierra,
al tiempo que se forma,
de las estrellas, gracia,
y de las flores, gloria;
en la divina mano
se estuvo, hasta que asoma
por la eterna palabra
el tiempo de la obra.

¡Oh qué bien, &c. [*sabe la*
[rosa
en que mano posa!]

The rambling rose,
the one and only,
who in being as no other
revives the being of everyone;
she who is in heaven and on earth,
at the moment of formation,
most favoured among stars,
most beautiful among flowers;
in the divine bosom
she was, until appears
through the eternal word
the moment of the work.

Oh, how well, etc. [*knows the*
[rose
in whose bosom she rests!]

In two instances, the lyricism of pieces for the Immaculate Conception is 'imported': in the second and fifth villancicos of the 1689 sequence, a speaker introduces from the start of the refrain a discourse in a direct style that is then developed in the verses. The lyricism in the first of these is largely because it draws on the Biblical hypotext of the *Song of Songs*:

Text 10.19: Cádiz Cathedral, Immaculate 1689/2, II.1-25; *Obras posthumas*: II, 120-21

Estribillo

Escuchad, atended,
oíd y sabréis
que hoy la llama a nuestra Reina
el Supremo Rey,
y, esperando, la dice
una y otra vez:
'Ven, ven, ven,
Esposa mía, ven,
ven al mundo a ser alba
de mi amanecer;
hermosa mía, ven;
paloma mía, ven,
ven a vestir mi Imagen
de la candidez
que manchó el envidioso
borrón de Luzbel,
ven, ven, ven'.

Coplas

'Ven del Líbano a ser vara
de la raíz de Jesé,
para que mi descansar
se deba a tu florecer.

Ven a la vida sin muerte,
pues no hay tristeza en ciprés
de Sión que hoy pende para
alegría de Israel;

ven, amada mía, ven. [...]

On the other hand, the emotional bond linking the lyric *I* to God in Christmas pices is often justified by the sense of guilt he feels on realizing that his sins will inevitably take the newborn Child towards death on the Cross. Penitence is thus the main theme of these villancicos:

Refrain

Listen, take heed,
hear and you will know
that today, the Supreme King
calls our Queen,
and, waiting, says to her
again and again:
'Come, come, come,
my Wife, come,
come to the world as dawn
to my daybreak;
my beautiful one, come;
my dove, come,
come to dress my image
in honesty, the image
tarnished by Lucifer's
envidious stain,
come, come, come'.

Verses

'Come from the Lebanon to be the
rod of the root of Jesse,
so that my tranquillity
may flow from your flowering.

Come to life without death,
for there is no sadness in the cypress
of Sion from which stems
Israel's joy;

come, my beloved, come [...]

Text 10.20: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1688/8, II.1-6; *Obras posthumas*: II, 263

Estribillo

No, mi bien, no, mi Dueño,
mi Dios, mi Niño,
no lloréis el estado
a que os han traído
misericordias vuestras
y pecados míos.

Refrain

No, my support, no, my Keeper,
my God, my Child,
don't weep for the state
to which your mercy
and my sins
have brought you.

Man's sins have brought the Messiah to the world, in the cold and in total penury, and his tears, occasioned by his discomfort, are often interpreted as a premonition of his sacrifice for the redemption of mankind. Lyricism is justified by the pastoral setting traditionally associated at the crib with the adoration of the shepherds. The poetic *I* is thus strongly reminiscent of Garcilaso de la Vega's eclogues, but his tears, far from being the result of amorous torment, reflect the penury of the God-made-man:

Text 10.21: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1689/8, II.1-13; *Obras posthumas*: II, 304

No me tengáis, pastores,
caiga o no caiga,
dejad llegar mis ojos
donde mis ansias.
Dejadme ver un Niño
que es la palabra
del Señor poderoso
de las Batallas;
y aunque llora, se irrita y padece,

reclinado en un duro pesebre,
su amor descansa
sólo porque mi culpa
le hizo la cama ...

Don't hold me, shepherds,
whether I fall or not,
let my eyes follow
my longing.
Let me see a Child
who is the word
of the almighty Lord
of the Battles;

and though he cries, is angry and
{suffers,

lying in a hard manger,
his love rests
only because my blame
made his bed ...

Here the apologetic nature of those works celebrating the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is seen again. In seeking to unite the faithful, the author draws on several stylistic techniques to move the audience's real world closer to the fictional one of the song. The use of the first person singular seems to enhance this voluntary rapprochement.

C. Villancicos in which the musical setting is paramount

Montoro's poetic oeuvre also includes works characterized primarily by the importance he grants their musical setting. The interest of these works lies not in their theological elements, which are clearly always present, but in their musicality, both through textual reference and in terms of performance.

1) *Tonadillas*

Having defined the *tonada* as a 'metrical composition to be sung',¹¹ the *Diccionario de Autoridades* assigns the *tonadilla* a joyful, festive character.¹² Thus it can be defined as a sung metrical work with a celebratory purpose. Early in the 20th century, the musicologist José Subirá, being more specific about its context and religious purpose, defines the *tonadilla* as the 'collection of songs consisting musically of several heterogeneous sections, dominated by certain units in the hierarchy, forming villancicos sung in church before spreading to the dramatic *tonadilla*'.¹³ This last was differentiated 'either by its purpose, its character, or its length'.¹⁴ Although Martha Lilia Tenorio refers to Subirá's definition, she seems to restrict it when, without clarification and following exactly Carmen Bravo-Villasante's suggestion [1978: 12], she proposes a purely metrical character for the *tonadilla*. Indeed, referring to the Baroque villancico of the second half of the 17th century, she asserts that 'metrical variety became more and more marked, the refrains more complex, *seguidillas* appeared alongside *romances*, the *jácara* and the *glosa* alternated with the *tonadilla*'.¹⁵

The *tonadilla* was thus a formally ill-defined villancico with a consistently celebratory purpose. This last trait, which is not always signalled explicitly in the villancico, could be further refined. Indeed, the celebratory nature of the *tonadilla* would seem to be inextricably linked with a greater emphasis on the musical aspect of the work. From a strictly textual viewpoint, this emphasis has specific stylistic repercussions, from an increase in refrains to the composition of works based on traditional tunes, by way of the elaboration of works that play on the musicality of the words.

This type of villancico, which was very popular in the second half of the 17th century [Torrente, 1997a: I, 85], is exclusively found in Montoro's poetic works for

Christmas and Epiphany and constitutes a relatively high proportion of his oeuvre. This reflects the purely ludic purpose of this series. These villancicos are for the most part placed late in the nocturn: three appear in third place, four in sixth place, and six close the sequence. In four other cases, the celebratory musical villancico is positioned at the start of the third nocturn, thus bringing out its essentially ludic quality.

As Martha Lilia Tenorio has pointed out, the form or poetic genre to which the piece belongs is often referred to in the Baroque villancico. Nevertheless, it should be made clear here that metapoetic references are not found in Montoro's oeuvre except in villancicos with an essentially ludic function such as *tonadillas*, *jácaras*, *mojigangas*, echo or proparoxytone villancicos, works dedicated to the profession of a nun or hagiographical poems. The following example is taken from the sixth villancico in the Christmas sequence for 1689:

Text 10.22: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1689/6, II.1-13; *Obras posthumas*: II, 278

Niño mío, ¿qué pecados
ha cometido la letra
de este pobre villancico,
que es tarasca de la fiesta,
pues le dicen cuantos
oírle desean,
'En poder de muchachos te veas'?
Pero ya que es preciso
que ellos le canten,
vaya su tonadilla
nueva flamante,
en que son los mandados
los pasacalles.

My child, what sins
has the text of this poor
villancico committed,
that it is monster of the feast,
for all those who wish
to hear it say:
'Are you in boys' hands?'
But now that it's time
for them to sing it,
there goes their new and
first-class *tonadilla*
in which the *pasacalles*
dominate.

It can be seen that the author is completely free as regards the placing of the refrains. He can thus also alternate lines ending with a refrain with lines without, not add a refrain to certain lines, alternate different refrains at the end of lines or even apply this procedure in another villancico type, such as that of the stock character.

11 'Composición métrica, a propósito para cantarse' [Real Academia; 1726-39: VI, 296].

12 'Tonada alegre y festiva' [Real Academia; 1726-39: VI, 296].

13 'Fue "tonadilla" la colección de canciones constituidas musicalmente por varios números heterogéneos, a los que presidían ciertas unidades de orden superior, formando "villancicos" que se cantaban en el templo, antes de que llegase a florecer en "tonadilla escénica"' [Subirá, 1928-30: I, 14].

14 'Las había desde antiguo, pero con otra significación, ya por su finalidad, ya por su carácter, ya por su longitud' [Subirá, 1928-30: I, 13].

15 'la variedad métrica se hizo cada vez más notable, los estribillos se complicaron, aparecieron las seguidillas junto a los romances, la *jácara* y la *glosa* alternaban con la *tonadilla*, el verso de arte menor convivía sin complejo alguno con el de arte mayor' [Tenorio, 1999: 29].

2) Villancicos with multiple refrains

In addition to the *tonadillas* are those works whose musical function is emphasized not by the expansion of the refrain after each verse, but rather by the almost systematic appearance of short refrains at the end of some lines or each line of each verse:

Text 10.23: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1688/7, ll.15-22; *Obras posthumas*: II, 262

Oh, cómo Cielos y tierra	fineza	Oh, how Heaven and earth	love excelling
se asombran de ver al Niño		wonder at seeing the Child,	
pues sabiendo que es tremendo	fineza	for knowing his greatness	love excelling
le ven nacer tamañito	lalila liló	they see him born so small	falala lilo
que así le ha puesto la fina	fineza	that in this way excels	love excelling
y así le quiere el amor.	lalila liló	and so love loves him.	falala lilo
Que no nos va en su venida	fineza	In his coming he does not	love excelling
		[leave us	
menos que la salvación	lalila liló	excerpt for salvation	

3) Villancicos with traditional refrains

Villancicos with traditional refrains (sometimes called *tonadillas*) characteristically base each verse or *copla* on a popular song. Among Montoro's works, this type of piece is only found in Christmas sequences.

The fact that it is a villancico with traditional refrains is generally signalled in the initial refrain. Montoro builds his verses on several (usually two) lines taken from a popular song, alternating these with the two other new lines in the quatrains comprising the verses.¹⁶ The traditional lines can be introduced by being juxtaposed and inserted in the author's text, or as in the following example:

¹⁶ On the occasion of the publication of her *Nuevo corpus de la antigua lírica popular hispánica* on 13 March 2003, Margit Frenk, the illustrious professor and specialist in popular Hispanic lyric, emphasized the need for a systematic reading of 17th-century villancicos and minor theatre (especially those of the second half of the century) for their wealth of popular or popularizing songs, and regretted not having been able to undertake such a study.

Text 10.24: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1691/6, ll.54-61; *Obras posthumas*: II, 320

Y como aquel bocado	And as that poison
la mató luego,	then killed her.
por la calle abajito, mi vida,	down the street, my dear,
va el Sacramento. ¹⁷	goes the sacrament.
¡Ay, Jesús! ¡Ay, sí!	Ah, Jesus! Ah, yes!
Polvo tienen mis ojos, mi vida,	There's dust in my eyes, my dear;
pero ya te vi.	but I already saw you.

Popular refrains can also be introduced through direct speech:

Text 10.25: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1686_{CR}/3, ll.50-54; *Obras posthumas*: II, 239

Como tiembla de frío,	As he shivers with cold,
dije mil veces, para bien,	I told him a thousand times, for
	[good,
quítese de la esquina,	come away from the corner, my
	[boy,
galán, que llueve: Para bien,	as it's raining: For good,
para bien, y contento.	for good, and happiness.

The frequent justification for the use of this type of work at the heart of the sequence used as entertainment for the Christ Child betrays a certain anxiety in the face of those opponents of villancicos in a liturgical context and thus poses the problem of their validity.

4) Villancicos closely related to minor theatre

Included among the corpus of *tonadillas* are some pieces that are closely related to theatrical works, whether through the inclusion of characters belonging to minor theatre (another villancico type, that of the stock figures) or through a structure modelled on minor theatre, such as the *mojiganga*.

Some works here defined as *tonadillas* are, to pick up on Martha Lilia Tenorio's terminology [1999: 28], *negrillas* or, preferably, Guinean villancicos. This type of piece often appears in a metaliterary reference as a *sonecillo*, the definition of this term bringing it close to that of the *tonadilla*.¹⁸

¹⁷ Luis de Briceño (1626), *Metodo muy facilissimo para aprender a tañer la guitarra a lo español* (Paris), f. 16r [Frenk, 2003: no. 2285].

¹⁸ 'El son leve o que se percibe poco. Tómase más frecuentemente por el son alegre, vivo y ligero.' [Real Academia; 1726-39: VI, 151].

All these Guinean villancicos, included in the Christmas sequence, are variants of works with multiple refrains. Some works present a popular song as a refrain after each verse:

Text 10.26: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1692/9, ll.49-55; *Obras posthumas*: II, 348-49

Lo angele Luzbele,
qui pagó a ruz,
lejó a turo mundo
yeno de avelú.

*Vaya le cuzcuz
de la Vela Cruz,
válame Sesúz.*¹⁹

The angel Lucifer,
who switched off the
light left everyone
full of fear

*Go with the cuzcuz
of the True Cross
take care of me, Jesus*

In addition to the actual music of these techniques of repetition, and these refrains, is that suggested by reference to popular or fashionable dances. Reference is made in turn to the passacaglia, galliard, *gran duque*, *villano*, *folia*, *canario*, *zarambeque* or to dances originating in New Spain:

Text 10.27: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1688/9, ll.14-35; *Obras posthumas*: II, 265

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Pus aplisa, aplisita,
vamo ra ensayá,
con muranza de foría. | 1. So hurry up, hurry up
let's rehearse
with <i>folia</i> steps. |
| 2. No, que é sone de Balbelia. | 2. No, since it is a tune from Barbería |
| 1. Pus vaya canalio. | 1. Then the canario. |
| 3. No, que rompe mucho zapato. | 3. No, because it breaks many shoes. |
| 1. Pue sea maliona. | 1. So let it be the <i>mariona</i> . |
| 4. No, que é ranza de glande siola. | 4. No, because it's a dance for a grand lady. |
| 1. Pue toca viyano. | 1. So play the <i>vizcaino</i> |
| 2. No que é bayre di gente di campo. | 2. No, because it's a rustic dance. |
| 1. Pue lo zalambeque. | 1. So the <i>zarambeque</i> . |
| 3. Ese é cosa de neglo buleque. | 3. This one is of the black people |
| 1. Pue, siolos plimos, ¿qué
queren que vaya? | 1. So, dear cousins, what do
you want to do? |
| 4. Vaya é soneciyo
de una rinda ranza
que ha venido en frota
de la Nueva España,
y en Chapurtepeque
la señaron a mí. | 4. That's the little tune
of a beautiful dance
which arrived with the fleet
from New Spain
which was taught to me
in Chapurtepeque. |
| 1. Y ¿cómo se yama,
pala lo seguí? | 1. And what is its name
to follow it? |
| 3. El tocotín, tocotín, tocotín. | 3. The tocotín, tocotín, tocotín. |

As with the Guinean villancicos, those fictionally performed by gypsies include overt references to music. Like Cervantes's character Preciosa,²⁰ Montoro's gypsies specialize in dancing and singing:

¹⁹ This popular song is a variant of other songs. See 1525 A and 1525 B as catalogued by Margit Frenk in her *Corpus* [2003].

²⁰ 'Salió la tal Preciosa la más única bailadora que se hallaba en todo el gitanismo, y la más hermosa y discreta que pudiera hallarse, no entre los gitanos, sino entre cuantas hermosas y discretas pudiera pregonar la fama.' [Cervantes, 2001: 28-29]; 'Salió Preciosa rica de villancicos, de coplas, seguidillas y zarabandas, y de otros versos, especialmente romances, que los cantaba con especial donaire.' [Cervantes, 2001: 29-30]; 'Pero cuando la oyeron cantar, por ser la danza cantada [...]' [Cervantes, 2001: 31].

Text 10.28: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1692/3, ll.1-24; *Obras posthumas*: II, 334-35

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. ¿Dónde van laz gitanillaz? | 1. Where are the gypsy girls going? |
| 2. ¿Dónde van? | 2. Where are they going? |
| 1. Haciendo rajaz y haztillaz. | 1. They are making splits and kindling. |
| 2. ¿Dónde van? | 2. Where are they going? |
| 1. ¿Caztañetaz y zonajaz? | 1. Castanets and maracas? |
| 2. ¿Dónde van? | 2. Where are they going? |
| 1. ¿Panderoz y cazcabelez? | 1. Tambourines and bells? |
| 2. ¿Dónde van? | 2. Where are they going? |
| 3. Ya ze lo dirán. | 3. Now they'll tell you. |
| 4. A ver el Niño en laz pajaz,
porque fuera zer infielez,
cuando con zu linda faz
va a la guerra y trae la paz,
etzarnos en loz quartelez. | 4. To see the Child in the stable,
because they are unfaithful outside,
when his beautiful face
goes to war and brings peace,
we remain indoors. |
| 1. ¿Dónde van las gitanillaz? | 1. Where are the gypsy girls going? |
| 2. ¿Dónde van? | 2. Where are they going? |
| 3. Ya ze lo dirán en copillaz
tiernecillaz, con tonadillaz,
bailadillaz,
que al Niño divertirán,
no zin ton ni zon, porque
zomoz laz gitanillaz celebradaz
ladroncillaz, y al Niño
vendrá ocasión en que guzte
mucho de un buen ladrón. | 3. Now they'll tell us
in gentle songs,
with <i>tonadillas</i> and dances,
which entertain the Child,
not without melody or tune,
because we are the gypsy girls
renowned as thieves,
and the Child will have
occasion to favour a good burglar. |

The author's numerous references to musical instruments, his use of anaphora and hypozeuxis, the alternation of lines of eight and four feet at the beginning of the refrain, as well as the ubiquitous verb of movement *ir* lend this work extra dynamism. The gypsies' participation in the celebration of the Nativity is doubly justified. Their main function is to entertain the Christ Child, whose tears foreshadow the Passion. In addition, gypsies have a widespread reputation for their thieving activities, as Cervantes suggests in the lapidary introductory phrase of *La Gitanilla*;²¹ and, at Christmas, this hardly Christian trait becomes, by metonymical assimilation to the good thief, a happy prefiguration of the Redemption through Christ's sacrifice.

5) Echo villancicos

Although there are relatively few villancicos that use echo techniques, they share the musical allusions of works performed at Christmas. The well-established echo technique is to place a word at the end of a line which can be progressively stripped of

²¹ Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*: 'Parece que los gitanos y gitanas solamente nacieron en el mundo para ser ladrones', p.27.

a syllable or letter group. The following example features the ingenious combination of echo and anadiplose. The word resulting from the echo in the second line is thus repeated at the beginning of the next line:

Text 10.29: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1686_{CR}/7, ll.17-24; *Obras posthumas*: II, 248

- | | |
|--|---|
| Hoy mi niño en la nueva
gala, que adquiere, quiere,
[hiere, | Today my child in the new
finery, that he acquires, desires,
[fires |
| hiere el aire a suspiro
su amor ardiente: | fires the air with sighs
through his burning love; |
| De lo humano la esencia
para consuelo, suelo, velo,
velo es con que se cubre
de Dios el ceño. | The essence of all that is human
to prevail, avail, veil,
veil that covers
God's brow. |

The musicality created by the repetition of the new words enhances that of the quatrains in alternating seven- and five-syllable lines in the manner of a *seguidillas*. As can be seen, the result is a hybrid work falling somewhere between the lyric and echo villancico.

6) Proparoxytone villancicos

To the ingenious game of the echo villancico can be added the type of text in which its musicality is intensified by the abundant use of proparoxytones. Contrary to the villancico-types discussed so far, these works are not exclusively dedicated to the feast of the Immaculate Conception. In the following villancico, after using several proparoxytones in the refrain, the author makes systematic use of this technique at the beginning of each line as well as in the last word after the first and third line of the verse:

Text 10.30: Cádiz Cathedral, Immaculate 1689/4, ll.10-13; *Obras posthumas*: II, 123-24

- | | |
|---|--|
| Cándida la Azucena
[odorífera,
nitida Perla, recibe hoy | The scented, open orange blossom,
pearl so clean and pure, today
[receives |
| único Sacro Oriente en
[el físico | unique Holy Orient in the physical |
| término de su animación. | sphere of its awakening. |

Generally found in the antepenultimate or final position in the sequence, this type of villancico forms part of the development or progressive drift of the serious and expansive opening tone towards a purely ludic end to the sequence dedicated to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

7) *Villancicos with a strong metainterpretative link to the musical setting*

Extrapoetic or metainterpretative references to the instruments accompanying the voices in the musical setting are quite commonly encountered. Bugles, drums, trumpets, shawms and cymbals are often mentioned as accompanying instruments, usually in the opening villancico of the sequence in which there is often a warlike theme or, as has already been seen, in some dramatic villancicos.

It is worth singling out a villancico, unique in Montoro's oeuvre, in which the paratext, in the form of particular scenic references, specifies the instruments that should accompany the text, the 'villancico of the organ' for Christmas:

Text 10.31: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1683/7, ll.1-28; *Obras posthumas*: II, 187

	Si en la noche más [triste, lóbrega y parda, nace el Sol en los bellos		If on the saddest, [gloomiest and drabbest night. the Sun is born in the [beautiful
	brazos del alba, ¡flores, al arma! ¡aves, al arma!, ¡que las sombras usurpan luces y llamas!		arms of the dawn, flowers on guard! birds on guard! for shadows swallow up lights and flames!
Tromp[eta]	A rebato por trompetas las más roncadas [llaman, y otras más dulces [imitan ...	Trumpet	To the alarm of [trumpets the loudest birds call, and others, sweeter, [imitate ...
Flaut[a]	... las címbalas y las [flautas, por dulzainas y cornetas.	Recorder	The cymbals and [recorders, By shawms and [cornetts.
Dulz[aina]	Las fuentes tocan la [marcha, y el monte en ecos repite	Shawm	The fountains play [the march, and the mountain [echoes back ...
Eco.	Cuanto escucha [en consonancias.	Echo	Listening to [harmonious sounds.
Pájar[o]	Ya los pájaros [despiertos sacuden picos y alas,	Bird	The birds now awoken shake beaks and wings,
Clar[ín]	Y el clarín de un [ruiseñor les presenta la batalla.	Bugle	And the nightingale's [bugle heralds the battle.
Atab[ales]	Los arroyos en las [peñas son atabales de plata ...	Drums	The streams in the [rocks are silver drums ...
Cascab[ales]	Y del sol en los caballos son cascabeles la escarcha.	Bells	And of the sun on the [horses the frost forms bells.
Lleno.	Y todos unidos dicen: '¡Arma! ¡Arma!, ¡que las sombras usurpan luces y llamas!'	Tutti	And all together they say: 'To the fight! for shadows swallow up lights and flames!'

Thus the various musical instruments are responsible for imitating the sounds evoked to suggest the bucolic and warlike setting of the refrain.

D. The paratheatricity of the villancico

A typological study of the villancico would be incomplete without an analysis of the close relationship between this poetico-musical genre and the theatre. The close ties between the two genres are due to three essential factors: the inclusion of villancicos in early religious plays and their gradual substitution by the villancico; the presence in the poetico-musical genre of processes particular to dramatic works; and the influence of secular theatre. Only the last, that is, the relationship between the villancico and minor theatre will be studied here.

Manuel Alvar [1973: 16-17], Carmen Bravo-Villasante [1978: 15-19], María Cruz García de Enterría [1989: 149-50], Robert Jammes [1983: 93] and more recently Álvaro Torrente [1997a: 1, 58] have each insisted on the paratheatrical nature of the villancico. Their reasons for granting the villancico a paratheatrical character and establishing an almost exclusive relationship between it and minor theatre include the presence of stock characters, affinity with various sub-genres of minor theatre such as the *baile*, *jácara* or *mojiganga*, as well as the development of an analagous function at the heart of a macrostructural context. It should be pointed out in passing that most authors of villancicos also wrote a substantial number of works for the theatre. This was the case, for example, with Manuel de León Marchante, who wrote about 16 *entremeses*, three *bailes* and five *mojigangas*, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, author of 32 *loas* (eight sacred and 24 secular), one *sainete* and a *sarao*, and José Pérez de Montoro, who wrote four *loas* (three for the court and one sacramental), a *baile* and an *entremés*.

1) Villancicos with stock characters

Villancicos with stock characters, proportionally the largest group, can be divided, according to the typology recently advanced by Josep Maria Gregori [1997: 375-76], into three main categories: those in which the characters are defined by a 'pseudolinguistic re-invention' (for example, villancicos of Guineans, Asturians or Galicians); those who have a 'specific role in society'—shepherds and villagers, sacristans, mayors, etc.; and, lastly, those which include a 'naturalistic or elevated tone', for example, the dialogue between the donkey and the ox at the crib, or between Democritus and Heraclitus, etc.

a. Characters defined by a 'pseudolinguistic re-invention' These can again be divided into three subcategories that group the characters according to: the linguistic specificity that is found in speech and language anomalies; characters from different regions of the peninsula; and, lastly, those of foreign origin.

Characters with speech and language anomalies The fifth villancico of the 1683 Christmas sequence for the convent of the Descalzas Reales, which is referred to as a 'tonillo' (1.35), presents two stammerers. It is thus a humorous work based on both

the musicality of the stammer of the characters and the comedy provoked by their speech and language anomalies and their argument, which is apparent from their first verbal exchange stemming from a mistaking of the sense of the word 'Portal' (crib), through a pun:

Text 10.32: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1683/5, ll.12-15; *Obras posthumas*: II, 182

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| 1. | Co compadre, ¿el po portal
es éste de Be Belén? | 1. | Br-brother, the cr-crib
is here in Be-Bethlehem? |
| 2. | Po por tal o por por cual,
¿quién le mete en esto a él? | 2. | For this or for that,
who is cribbing for him? |

Their dispute, which lasts throughout the refrain and into the verses, is based on their different ideas over Christ's birth.

Characters from the different regions of the peninsula The Asturian appears in only two villancicos: the eighth in the Epiphany sequence performed in 1684 in the convent of the Encarnación, and the eighth of the 1686 Christmas sequence for the same convent. Both are final villancicos which, as will be seen, results in pieces that are above all ludic in character.

Apart from their linguistic characterization, the characters are disguised only by ridiculous names pointing to their rustic origin and their inordinate liking for wine (Turibión del Parral/ Trevor Vine (1684) and Martin Vine (1686)); this characteristic is taken up in the proverbial repertory of the period, as is shown in the proverb collected by Gonzalo de Correas 'The Asturian: good wine and lance in hand'. Asturians are also characterized in the work as being ignorant—'The Asturian is as thick as two short planks', also cited by Correas—and their stinginess.

Galician characters are introduced as interlocutors, for example in the eighth villancico of the 1683 Christmas sequence and the last in the Madrid 1688 Epiphany sequence. As in the case of characters from Asturias, Montoro usually gives the Galicians a primarily musical function: the pejorative and degrading characteristics traditionally associated with the Galician character in Golden Age literature are not found in his works. The kingdom of Aragon is also represented by the appearance of a Catalan in the *ensalada* performed at the Descalzas Reales as the eighth villancico in the 1683 sequence. As with the other regional characters, his function is basically musical: the lines given him by Montoro are in effect taken from popular, or at least popularizing, songs.

In addition to the characters from Asturias, Galicia and Catalonia, subjects of the Spanish monarchy, are those of Portugal, who, although belonging to another realm, had long been adopted, for historical and linguistic reasons, in Spanish literature. Among the characteristics generally attributed the Portuguese by Golden Age writers—their arrogance, courage, politeness, ingenuity, quickness to fall in love²²—Montoro makes reference only to the first, in a variant described by Miguel

²² See Miguel Herrero García [1966, chapter IV], dedicated to the Portuguese.

²³ Herrero García [1966: 157 (genealogical vanity); and 167-73 (amorous nature)].

Herrero García as a 'genealogical vanity ... and an exaggerated nobility',²³ as well as the propensity to fall in love easily.

Foreign characters Among the characters originating from outside the Iberian Peninsula, the black African appears most frequently and consistently in Montoro's villancicos for Christmas. The villancico guineo [Guinean] or negrilla [black] is always placed, in the Christmas sequence, as the closing ensemble. The relationship between the villancico and the figure of the negro character is first expressed at an extratextual level. Indeed, in Diego Sánchez de Badajoz's *Farsa teologal*, a black woman enters on stage singing—to the pleasure of a theologian also on stage and who notes that God is made manifest equally through the lowest members of Creation—a villancico in honour of the Incarnation. The rapprochement between the black singer is subsequently affirmed little by little until the creation of black villancicos, as, for example, in the Christmas sequence written by Luis de Góngora and performed in 1609. The success of this type of work was such that, in the second half of the 17th century, the Guinean villancico became de rigueur, as in the following refrain:

Text 10.33: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1691/9, ll.1-4; *Obras posthumas*: II, 328

1.	Ya que falta, porque acabe de vestirse la función, un villancico de negro,	1.	Now a black villancico is what's needed, although there are so many [coloured ones, because of the celebratory [nature of the event.
	aunque hay tantos de color.		

This requirement is a response to a precise order in the villancico sequences. Black villancicos being placed at the end of the last nocturn meant that they had to be the most celebratory of all. As has already been pointed out, Montoro makes the essentially comic nature of his Guinean villancicos clear by emphasizing the musical features of the text and/or the instruments or dances accompanying them. Dancing is the indispensable accompaniment to black songs and comprises one of the main characteristics of the black character in both secular and religious Spanish literature.²⁴

The black character is basically comic. The simplicity and childishness traditionally associated with this character 'in the theatre and in popular Spanish song of the Golden Age' [Fra Molinero, 1995: 21] are occasionally for Montoro a source of inspiration for the situation comedy based, as in the case of the Asturian, on the alienation provoked by his manner of speaking and the function pinpointed for him.

The characteristic traits intrinsic to black characters found in their particular language and their main physical (skin colour) and social (slave status) characteristics

24. Fra Molinero [1995: 37]. Black slave dances enjoyed such a welcome by the public that they ended up as part of some liturgical ceremonies—for example, the Corpus Christi processions preceded by *zarabandas* [Fra Molinero, 1995: 37, n. 29]. These dances were supposed to represent the confused world dominated by the devil who had just lit up Christ. Black dances thus contrasted with the whiteness of the Host [1995: 50].

are consistently taken as value as well as aesthetic and theological judgements. On the one hand, the contrast of black and white afforded a whole series of simple antithetical puns. On the other, and in metaphorical or theological terms, black symbolized the task left incomplete by Original Sin, the slavery of man chained to that sin, hence the omnipresence of the theme of Redemption. The following villancico, for example, is constructed as a double analogy between the historical—the trade in black slaves and slave status—and theological: the redemption of humankind and the slave status of those who bear the yoke of Original Sin. Christ's coming into the world thus becomes a source of joy for black people who will be redeemed metaphorically and theologically by the Son of God, despite his swaddled state and penury in the crib, and who will then see the oppression of the social hierarchy bearing down on them disappear:

Text 10.34: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1690/9, ll.5-8; *Obras posthumas*: II, 305-06

Alegres como mil pascuas de que viene, aunque [desnudo, el Niño a comprar esclavos, y que todos somos unos.	As joyful as a thousand feasts that the Christ-Child, though [bare, comes to redeem slaves, and make us all one.
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Gypsy characters are found only twice in Montoro's oeuvre: in the fifth villancico of the 1688 Epiphany sequence and the third of the 1692 Christmas sequence. These are female characters whose function is primarily musical. It is important to take into consideration the versification of these works, variants of the *romance as seguidillado*—7-5-7-5-5 and 7-5-7-5 in the work from 1688, and 7-5-7-5 and 7-5-6 in that of 1692—as well as reference to the type of villancico according to the musical allusions in the 1692 piece ('tonadillaz', l.18), and to the accompanying instruments ('caztañetaz y zonajaz', l.5, and 'panderoz y cazcabelez,' l.7) and in that of 1688 to 'pandero' (l.19) and 'caztañuelaz' (l.20), as well as to the dance that should accompany the singing:

Text 10.35: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1692/3, ll.15-24; *Obras posthumas*: II, 335

1.	¿Dónde van las gitanillaz?	1.	Where are the gypsy [girls going?
2.	¿Dónde van?	2.	Where are they going?
3.	Ya ze lo dirán en coplillaz tiernecillaz, con tonadillaz, bailadillaz, que al Niño divertirán, no zin ton ni zon, porque zomoz laz gitanillaz celebradaz ladroncillaz, y al Niño vendrá ocazién en que guzte mucho de un Buen Ladrón.	3.	Now you'll know in gentle lullabies, tonadillas, dances, to entertain the Child, not without melody or sound, because we are the gypsy girls, famous thieves, and there will be a time when the Child is pleased to have a Good Thief.

Montoro here seems to feel the need to justify the inclusion of the gypsy villancico at the heart of the sequence by bringing in the Biblical good thief in association with the gypsies, traditionally seen as thieves.

As for the character of the Turk, he is accorded a fundamentally apologetic role. The contemporary Hungarian wars with Christian troops pitched against the Turks and the recent victories of the Christian alliance at Vienna in 1683 and Buda in 1686 inevitably find resonance in Montoro's works. One of these for the Immaculate Conception is based on two symbols: an apocalyptic woman dressed as a sun and standing on a crescent moon [Apocalypse, 12, 1]—symbolically associated with the Islamic religion—and the figure of a woman crushing the head of the serpent, the begetter of Original Sin [Genesis 3:15]—and indicated in Montoro's text by the inclusion of the word 'chapín', a type of shoe worn by women at that time. Thus, in the following villancico, by means of a comparison, both warring realities, the Biblical (the Archangel Michael and the Immaculate Conception) and the historical, fuse in order to represent the inevitable victory of Imperial forces over the Ottomans:

Text 10.36: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1683/11, ll.45-54; *Obras posthumas*: II, 201

Alem[anes].	Germans
Turquillos a embestir, que lo alemán vuestros lunos pondrán del sol con lo broquel, como san Micael al diablo por chapín: ¡A embestir, a embestir! ¡Arma, arma, a la batalla, [batalla! ¡Resuene la caja, repita el clarín, a embestir!	Turks on the attack, for the German forces will place your crescent moons with the sun on their shields, just as St Michael will make the devil his footwear: Attack, attack! To arms! To arms! To battle! Let the drum roll, let the trumpet sound, attack!

Montoro then alternates the two groups of antagonistic interlocutors in the verses. The Turks' responses, written by a Catholic and indirectly addressed to a public that is also Catholic, serve to denigrate the image of Islam through the bias of analogous parallels with negative connotations, whether through comparison, for example, of the Turkish vizier with Lucifer who is pejoratively described as arrogant (*soberbio*), or through metaphor, as in the following extract in which the vizier is likened to the cruel and bloodthirsty Herod:

Text 10.37: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1683/11, ll.55-60; *Obras posthumas*: II, 201

Ture[os].	Turks
Del turco el visir ser gran general, y querer rendir la plaza real, Herodes sangriento con fiero cuchil.	The Turkish vizier [wishes] to be a great general, and make the <i>plaza real</i> surrender, bloody Herod with cruel blade.

The function of this villancico is both celebratory and apologetic. Its source of tension is false, given that the outcome of the battle—Christian victory—is already known to the whole audience. Montoro, together with the chapelmaster Matías de Veana, recreate both textually and musically (with the instrumental accompaniment of drums, trumpets and cymbals) the battles in Austria and celebrate the triumphant defence of Vienna against the Ottoman forces. In this case, therefore, the ludic element would be out of place and the pseudo-linguistic characterization is subject to the desire to reflect reality.

In a different way the following example of a 'villancico de morisco' has a primarily ludic and humorous intent, as is clear from the introduction. Also based on a victorious historical context—the siege and taking of Buda—Montoro depicts the festive and noisy arrival at Bethlehem of a Turk and his family who have recently converted to Christianity and fled from Buda:

Text 10.38: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1686_E/3, ll.1-4; *Obras posthumas*: II, 217

Cantando llega a Belén un turco con su familia, que viene huyendo de Buda, harto de oír perrerías.	A Turk and his family reach Bethlehem singing, fleeing from Buda. sick of hearing harsh words.
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The presence of these characters is justified in the second quatrain by the birth of Christ, source of all joy:

Text 10.39: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1686_E/3, ll.5-8; *Obras posthumas*: II, 217

Metiendo grande algazara entran; no se les impida, que el haber zambra es muy [propia una noche tan festiva.	Raising a merry din they enter; they are not stopped, for a <i>zambra</i> ²⁵ is fitting for a night of such celebration.
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The ludic nature of the villancico is clear from the following quatrain in which Montoro, far from presenting the shepherds as the model for adoration of the Saviour, gives them a pronounced liking for wine, as Juan del Encina had done before him, a trait characteristic of village-types in minor theatre. The shepherds, discovering that the Turks have been baptized, and are therefore their equals as Christians, flee from their arrival for fear of seeing them drink from their wineskins. The ludic nature

²⁵ 'Feast used by the morisques with noise, rejoicing and dance' [Real Academia, 1726-39: VI, 553].

of this transferral of a defining characteristic is emphasized by the almost perfect antithetical parallel in the last two lines of the verse:

Text 10.40: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1686_e/3, ll.9-12; *Obras posthumas*: II, 217

Como vienen bautizados,	As they [the Turks] have been
	[baptized,
los pastores se retiran	the shepherds withdraw
de que allá el agua les dieron	since there they received water
y aquí la bota les pidan.	and here they might ask for the
	[wineskin.

The presence of the figure of the Turk in Montoro's works responds therefore to a conjectural occurrence and has not only a humorous intent but is also apologetic in its defence of Catholic supremacy. Moreover, who better than a character who has renounced the enemy's faith to take refuge in its bosom to defend the Church of Rome?

Foreign characters abound in Montoro's oeuvre. European figures (Polish, German, Irish and French) are included in the 1683 *ensalada* set in the historical context of the defence of Vienna by the Christian alliance and the adoration of the nations traditionally represented by the three Wise Men. These characters have no characteristic traits other than that of a pseudolinguistic identity and have a strictly musical function. Other characters reflect the cosmopolitan and merchant reality of the port town of Cádiz, for example, the Armenians (C, 1690, V6) whose presence there is charted from the end of the 17th century [Bustos Rodríguez, 1990: 59a-b]. They appear as peddlars, each accompanied by his pack ('arca de Noé', 14). The function of this villancico, with its Armenian characters, is basically conceptual and thus ludic, which explains its position at the end of the second nocturn.

b. Characters defined by their position in society

Rustic characters Among the stock characters of minor theatre, the mayors (alcaldes) undoubtedly enjoyed great success in the 17th century, largely thanks to Luis Quiñones de Benavente's genius and to the particular gifts of the actor Juan Rana. Montoro draws on certain aspects of minor theatre. Thus the fifth villancico of the 1686 Christmas sequence performed at the royal chapel in Madrid draws on the traditional dispute between two rural mayors, one of noble extraction, the other a peasant. This pair is characterized by a mutual lack of understanding stemming mainly from the *alcaldadas*, or the 'Lycurgus's comic phrases of the plough and the plough handle'.²⁶ The wild decisions of the peasant mayor, who stresses his ignorance and lack of ability to direct a town council, are the reason for the many disputes—defined as debating structures by Javier Huerta Calvo [1985: 29-30]—which abound in 17th-century *entremeses* and which Luis Quiñones de Benavente

made into his speciality in the series *Alcaldes encontrados* [Cotarelo y Mori, 1911: I, 659b-81b (nos. 282-87)].

In Montoro's villancico, the dispute between the two mayors stems from their inability to agree on what type of festivities should be held in their village, Bethlehem, to celebrate the birth of Christ. The work's ludic purpose is clear from the introduction through the intermediary of an antagonistic characterization of the two figures based on a paronomasia on the term 'votos' [votes] (l.7) and 'botarates' [idiots] (l.8):

Text 10.41: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1686_{cr}/5, ll.1-8; *Obras posthumas*: II, 243

Los alcaldes de Belén,	The mayors of Bethlehem,
viendo un milagro tan grande,	seeing a miracle as wondrous
como que un recién nacido	as a new-born's capacity
pueda enmendar tantos males,	to put all wrongs right,
para festejar al Niño,	to celebrate the Child,
hoy su ayuntamiento hacen,	today their town hall prepare
que unos vienen a ser votos,	so that some come to vote,
y otros a ser botarates.	and others come to be idiots.

The humour lies in the stock traits given the characters by Montoro, who thus seems to draw on a characterization of mayors previously known to a public which has already witnessed their development on stage. The social hierarchy of the mayors, the peasant's anti-Semitic references—which might well have been found in religious poetry—disappear from the text in favour of focusing on the stupidity and hopelessness of the peasant mayor.

The sacristan is also a stock figure from minor theatre used by Montoro. His figure appears the most often in *entremeses* [Cotarelo y Mori, 1911: cliii] and 'can be taken to symbolise and personify the genre best' [Huerta Calvo, 1985: 29-30]. The figure of the sacristan had, with his *pullas* or obscenities, his unorthodox, macaronic Latin and his villancicos, become one of the basic characters not only of Corpus Christi *entremeses*, as suggested by Eugenio Asensio [1965: 149], but also of villancicos written in the 17th and 18th centuries, and he is not missing from Montoro's works.

One of Montoro's works (C, 1688, V3) is based entirely on a verbal disagreement between a sacristan and a mayor, both singers of villancicos, and a scene fairly often found in secular minor theatre. After they have been introduced by three unspecified speakers who reveal their geographical origin ('The sacristan from Chipiona, / the mayor from Paterna' (ll.1-2)), the reason for their presence in a metareferential allusion (thus establishing a contract with the audience by making reference to a traditional characterization drawn from the stereotypes of minor theatre: 'they come with their villancicos / to demonstrate their poetic skills' (ll.3-4)), as well as their order of appearance ('let the mayor begin / as his post is only held for a year' (ll.9-10)), the two characters offer in turn the refrain of their respective Christmas songs.

As in many minor theatre pieces, the main reason in this work for disagreement is found in the intellectual superiority of the sacristan over the mayor. Indeed, the comic function of the character lies (even though the mayor twice in the verses

²⁶ 'sentencias graciosas de los Licurgos del arado y la manquera' [Asensio, 1965: 154].

describes himself as rustic ('being mayor and from this place' (l.6), and 'Although I may be a country person' (l.73)) not in linguistic characterization, but rather in the simplicity and the unrefined nature of his villancico as well as in his unaccustomed, and so comic, use of Latin. This does not fail to earn the censure of a sacristan who, by contrast, is characterized by his Latin skills and his in-depth knowledge of the Holy Scripture, as proved by his many Latin Biblical citations from both the Old and New Testaments.

Similarly, Montoro builds the third villancico for Christmas 1694 on a debating structure common to the 16th- and 17th-century *entremés* consisting of a comic dispute between a rustic husband and his wife [Huerta Calvo, 1985: 29-30]. As in the anonymous *El melonar y respondona* (The idiot [turnip-head] and his other half), the disagreement between the characters has its roots in their unhappiness with their married state. The reason for their disagreement, the inadmissibility of their petition to the Church but, above all, the displacement between the specific and prosaic situation of the two characters and the universal role of the Saviour lends this villancico a decidedly humorous and ludic effect. This double aspect is further emphasized by the adoption, in the characterization of the figure of the husband, of the conventional and theatrical *sayagués* language and of dance as an accompaniment to the instrumental and vocal performance of the piece as required by the undefined interlocutors who set up the scene. The choice of the *zarambeque* to accompany the singing, the presence of a refrain of popular origin after each verse, and the use of the *copla de romance as seguidillo* 7-5-7-5 with a variable rhyme scheme in the verses all emphasize the essentially ludic character of the villancico and explain its inclusion at the end of the nocturn.

Characters from town or court Characters from the town and the court are also included in Montoro's oeuvre. Thus, for example, in the 13th villancico for the 1683 Christmas sequence the figures of the duenna and the ladies' squire (rodrigón) make their appearance. The work, essentially ludic in character, draws on the traditional dispute between the two characters.²⁷ The justification for the inclusion of these characters relies on the euphoric context of the moment and the comic purpose of the work. The dispute, almost completely one-sided, is largely fed by the ladies' squire, Don Jimeno, who takes pleasure in mocking Doña Ana's loquaciousness (ll.39-40, 65-68) and her ugliness (ll.49-52, 81-84, 89-92). Each response on the part of the duenna, with her tendency to flights of lyricism, provokes another bout of mockery from her acolyte.

In addition to these stock figures from minor theatre, there is also that of the blind man, who appears in the fourth villancico of the 1686 Christmas sequence. This character, frequently found in villancicos, generally introduces a metapoetical discourse, referring for example, to his job as an itinerant seller of *pliegos*. In Montoro's work, two blind men alternate conversation and street cries, thus emphasizing the paratheatrical nature of the villancico. But, above all, the author uses the characteristic traits of these figures (sellers, itinerants, story-tellers) in order

²⁷ Antonio Zamora's *entremés* entitled *El pleito de la dueña y el rodrigón* is a very good example.

to introduce narrative verses retelling the taking of Buda and the religious procession led by Carlos II to the basilica of the Virgin of Atocha, and the popular acclamation and representation of Charles and Mariana of Austria, likened respectively to Christ and the Virgin Mary. The villancico thus adopts a similar appearance to that of one of Montoro's many encomiastic poems addressed to the royal house. The serious tone and choice of the hendecasyllabic *pareado* confirm the work's essentially panegyric purpose.

Likewise, the sixth villancico of the 1688 Christmas sequence posits a dialogue between three characters frequently found in minor theatre: the doctor, lawyer and astrologer. It is well known that the first of these was the object of constant satire in Golden Age literature. Presented as ignorant, indiscrete and miserly, they often prove themselves to be cruel and indifferent towards their patients. Their profession and their language are ridiculed [Cotarelo y Mori, 1911: I, clii a]. The figure of the lawyer, easy to trick with tales with no beginning or end, is generally taken to represent a degree of credulity [Cotarelo y Mori, 1911: I, clii a]. As for the astrologer, he is the victim of mockery since his science is considered false, a view already found in the 16th century in the minor theatre piece *El astrólogo borracho* [Cotarelo y Mori, 1911: I, cxlviii b]. The common denominator of these stock characters is their use of a technical language that is often incomprehensible and their belief in the precision of their science.

In the third villancico of the 1690 Christmas sequence, Montoro presents a teacher and his pupils. The severe characterization of the main figure in the opening lines suggests the essentially comical purpose of the work. Justification for the inclusion of this character rests on the dilogy or double-meaning of the noun 'verbo', which represents both the grammatical category of the verb, and God, the Word. The structure of the verses is built entirely from the game of questions and answers between the teacher and his pupils and gives this closing piece both a ludic and a pedagogical function. Indeed, the Latin used by the characters allows the author to quote a Biblical passage in each verse, generally included in the last two lines:

Text 10.42: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1690/3, ll.56-73; *Obras posthumas*: II, 293

1.	Digan, pues, cómo el Señor buscando una oveja viene, si noventa y nueve tiene.	1.	They tell, then, of how the Lord will seek the one missing sheep if he has only 99.
3.	Porque es pastor, y quiere ser por ésta que se le huye Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi.	3.	Because he is a shepherd and remains so for the one who flees from him. Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi.

The figures of the carpenter and the mason are also found in Montoro's villancicos (C, 1693, V4). He justifies their inclusion by drawing at the same time on the traditional depiction of the Nativity and on a reference to Original Sin. The Child's impoverished birth, the inadequacy of the place in which he finds himself and the ruined state of the world are also evoked. Moreover, the characters justify

their presence themselves by analysing the saying 'idle hands make light work for the Devil' ('A Dios rogando y con el mazo dando') (ll.22-23, 29-30, 47):

Text 10.43: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1693/4, ll.21-25; *Obras posthumas*: II, 358

2.	Los carpinteros qué dicen?	2.	What do the carpenters say?
4.	Que a Dios rogando, y con el mazo dando, hemos hoy conseguido ver por nuestros pecados al Niño en el pesebre.	4.	'That idle hands make light work for the Devil', today we have managed to see through our sins to the Child in the manger.

In the verses, the figures of the masons and carpenters develop alternately, through reference to their respective trades and to the building of the divine palace, metaphorical representations of Original Sin, Christ's Passion and the theme of Redemption: the new building's shaft represents the new era (ll.48-51), the measuring string the sin that ties man's hands (ll.52-55), the door of the new palace that must be sufficiently wide to allow for Christ's triumphal entry on his donkey (ll.60-63), the room that will hold the twelve apostles (ll.68-71), the oratory that must be built in the garden (ll.72-75) or the stone that they will have to buy for certainly more than three pieces of silver (ll.76-79).

c. Characters drawn from erudite sources Montoro also draws on characters representing erudition, such as the Greek philosophers Democritus and Heraclitus (C, 1689, V3). In Golden Age Spanish literature these two figures are presented as antithetical, the first always laughing, the second ceaselessly crying. These characteristics are also found in Montoro's depiction of the characters, whose presence is justified by the tears of joy and tenderness they shed. Its basically ludic nature explains its position at the end of the nocturn.

The donkey and the ox traditionally associated with the crib are also found (C, 1691, V3). These animals, which seem to watch over the Christ Child, are used by Montoro for thoroughly ludic ends. Far from contributing to the harmonious image of the crib, the donkey and the ox are here characterized by their constant disputation. The interlocutors in the refrain justify their appearance in terms of the euphoria of Christmas night, since the birth of Christ, in effect, must be a reason for reconciliation.

Thus, the introduction of stock figures, the great majority of which are taken from minor theatre, is frequently found in Montoro's oeuvre. Usually introduced into those pieces placed at the end of a nocturn, their function is essentially ludic, and their inclusion links them closely to the poetico-musical pieces of the dramatic genres of minor theatre, lending them a paratheatrical character. Moreover, the close relationship between the villancico and minor theatre may rest on the adoption of particular structures and genres, as can be seen notably in the use of the structure of the parade or the genre of the *jácara*.

2) The structure of the parade

According to Javier Huerta Calvo [1985: 27], the structure based on the parade of characters is one of the most important elements of minor theatre. As a rule, the incompetence of the character, such as the doctor in *El hospital de los podridos* or the mayor in Jerónimo Cáncer y Velasco's *Entremés de la visita de la cárcel*, in which the notorious Juan Rana releases his prisoners one after the other, is emphasized.

Without wishing to indicate the direct influence of minor theatre, I would nevertheless suggest that the principle of a succession of characters was also adopted in the 17th-century villancico. Indeed, the adoration of the shepherds provides an example of a parade that is referred to by authors in order to introduce the structural process. Thus, for example, in the eighth villancico of the 1683 Christmas sequence Montoro includes the arrival by sea of the representatives of the different nations who have come to rejoice in the birth of Christ.

Montoro, who adopts the structure of the parade in four villancicos, develops it alongside another frequently found technique, that of the extended metaphor. The fourth villancico of the Christmas sequence written for the royal chapel in 1686 is presented metaphorically as a royal audience. Through the incarnation, God has come to earth to grant his audience to different characters of the Old Testament (Adam, ll.26-37; Moses, ll.38-49; Solomon, ll.50-61) and the New Testament (Joseph, ll.74-85) as well as the Church Fathers (ll.62-73). The characters, or groups of characters, are led respectively by five different interlocutors (11, 13, 14, 15 and 16) to another (12) who proceeds to the pronouncement of the decree in response to grievances that have been presented.

3) Jácara and mojigangas

In the case of some characters and structures Montoro draws on particular genres with their roots in minor theatre, such as the *jácara* and the *mojiganga*.

a. The jácara The poetic genre of the *jácara* is strongly represented in Montoro's villancicos. The origins of the *jácara*, first developed at the beginning of the 17th century, are found in the tono humano sung to entertain the public while a theatrical scene is set up. Performed by two or three voices drawn from among the acting troupe's musicians, it usually takes the form of a pastoral, love, chivalresque or comic romance that had nothing to do with the play that followed. Sometimes, the subject of the romance concerned the life and misdeeds of the people of the hampesca or underworld, which gave birth to the *jácara* [Cotarelo y Mori, 1911: I, cclxxix a]. Although it was often placed in a predominant position at the beginning of a play, it was equally often positioned at the end of an entremés or inserted between an entremés and a baile. The *jácara* was an indispensable part of the villancico sequence; Montoro wrote 16, included in the sequences for the Immaculate Conception and Christmas.

In the sequences for the Immaculate Conception, *jácara*s are usually concluding pieces, placed in fifth position (1690, 1691, 1693, 1694), but in two instances they appear placed third (1689, 1692). These works are all invectives uttered against the Devil. Each Christmas sequence also includes a *jácara* which commonly appeared at the opening of the second nocturn (1688, 1690, 1691, 1692), though it is also found

at the end of this same nocturn (1686_E, 1686_{CR}, 1694), at the beginning of the third nocturn (1689, 1693) or in ninth place (1683).

The refrain or *cabeza* of villancicos with a *jácara* consistently makes a metapoetic reference to its inclusion, mostly by means of an imperative that usually starts off the refrain:

Text 10.44: Cádiz Cathedral, Immaculate 1690/5, ll.1-4; *Obras posthumas*: II, 142-43

<i>Vaya de jácara, vaya,</i>	Go with the <i>jácara</i> , go,
y lleve la antigua sierpe,	and take the old serpent,
no a lo del diablo sea sordo,	not that it's deaf to the devil's
	[wishes,
porque importa que	because it's important that
oiga y lleve. ...	he hears and takes. ...

The joyous context of Christmas is the main argument used to justify these works. According to the 1694 Christmas piece, the inclusion of the *jácara* even appears as an indispensable ingredient for the good order of the sequence.

Text 10.45: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1694/6, ll.1-2; *Obras posthumas*: II, 384

Si es que ha de haber jacarilla,	If there is to be a <i>jacarilla</i> ,
caiga, compañeros, caiga.	let's have it, friends,
	[let's have it.

In Montoro's oeuvre, the *jácara* is usually a *romance* formed by a succession of syntactically independent quatrains and corresponding most frequently to bipartite villancicos. By drawing on the vocabulary of the lowest in society, on popular set phrases, proverbs and oaths, the language of the *jácaras* evokes the popular idiom. The *jácaras* written in Madrid are synchronic narratives, being limited to the burlesque description of the Nativity and/or the Adoration, while those composed in Cádiz are diachronic narratives that trace, in an equally burlesque manner, the history of mankind from the Creation to the birth of Christ.

b. The *mojiganga* The *mojiganga*, which is found among the dramatic genres of minor theatre, is also included in 17th-century villancicos. As Catalina Buezo Canalejo has emphasized, while those *mojigangas* performed during carnival or Corpus Christi became the intermezzi in secular plays or autos sacramentales, those for the winter were absorbed into the Christmas villancico repertory. Buezo Canalejo, who analysed the Christmas villancicos written for Toledo Cathedral between 1637 and 1656, confirms that, from the viewpoint of their morphology, characteristic traits and dramaturgy, they are identical to the secular *mojiganga* performed at other times of the year [1991: 175-87; 353-97]. Moreover, the end of the 17th century witnessed a decline in the entremés and the baile and, in contrast, an increase in the *mojiganga* [Cotarelo y Mori, 1911: I, cxvii b-cxviii a].

The genre of the *mojiganga* is characterized by its burlesque quality, the inclusion of loud instruments typical of popular music and dance, but also grotesque and symbolic disguisings and the adoption of the parade [Buezo Canalejo, 1993: 93]. These characteristics appear to a greater or lesser extent in Montoro's villancicos: three of his works are influenced by the *mojiganga*, the second and eighth villancicos of the Christmas sequence performed at the Encarnación in 1686, and the sixth of the Epiphany sequence for 1688. Each includes a costumed parade.

The use of the *mojiganga* is usually justified by the joyous nature of the moment as well as the human disguise donned by God at His birth. Thus, in the tripartite villancico written for Epiphany 1688, which is, according to the introduction, a '*mojiganga de animales*' (l.5), the justification rests on the traditional presentation of the crib with the ox and ass. The importance accorded dance (l.11) and musical instruments (l.12) should also be noted:

Text 10.46: Cádiz Cathedral, Epiphany 1688/6, ll.1-14; *Obras posthumas*: II, 435

Para divertir los Reyes,	To entertain the Wise Men,
los pastores han dispuesto,	the shepherds, disguised as
disfrazados de animales,	animals, have organized
hacerles un gran festejo.	great festivities for them.
Mojiganga de animales	They want to put on
quieren hacer, que en efecto	a <i>mojiganga</i> of animals, since
si Dios nació entre dos bestias,	God was born between two
	[beasts,
será idea del cuento.	that's the idea behind it.

Estribillo

Pues Amor se disfraza,
[zagales,
festejémosle con disfraces.
Pues yo alegraré la danza
con el tamborilillo y la flauta,
zumbé que tumbé,
y hagámonos rajas,

Refrain

Since Love comes in disguise,
[friends,
let's celebrate with disguisings.
I'll liven up the dancing
with the pipe and tabor,
playing to fall over
and split our sides laughing.

Five speakers take part, respectively disguised as a lion (ll.28-35), camel (ll.36-43), ermine and tiger (ll.44-51), hound (ll.52-59), horse (ll.60-65), unicorn (ll.68-75), ewe (ll.84-91), monkey (ll.92-99), and marten (ll.100-08). Some of these animal disguisings, which can easily be understood in terms of religious metaphor, are characterized by their grotesque appearance, as in the case of the first among them, the lion:

Text 10.47: Cádiz Cathedral, Epiphany 1688/6, ll.36-43; *Obras posthumas*: II, 436

1.	Para de león vestirme, que es rey de los animales, pedí la melena a un calvo, y sus uñas me dio un sastre.	1.	So as to dress up as a lion, the king of the animals, I begged the hair from a bald man, and a tailor gave me his finger [nails].
	No se ponga en presencia de aquel Cordero, pues viene haciendo gala de los defectos.		Don't go before that Lamb, who comes to celebrate the imperfect.

These villancicos are closely related to the dramatic *mojiganga* in the sense that they present verbally the same characteristics of the costumed parade, the grotesque and symbolic disguisings and the importance given to instruments and dancing.

Thus, in this respect, the villancico in many ways clearly adopts a paratheatrical character. On the other hand, the villancico can be immediately differentiated through its function and celebratory purpose: paratheatricality seems to be found especially in works written for Christmas or Epiphany.

E. The *ensalada*

The *ensalada*, according to Martha Lilia Tenorio [1999: 149], is 'a long work consisting of a narration in which other texts are progressively interspersed: lines from popular songs, *romances*, nursery rhymes, proverbs, riddles, Biblical or liturgical Latin phrases, passages in other languages (Portuguese, Galician, "the language of the Blacks", etc.)'. The different texts may or may not form part of the verses. At the same time, there may be a narrative thread that weaves the work into a continuous story or it can be a free sequence of textual elements.

Only the eighth villancico of the 1683 Christmas sequence adopts the characteristics of the *ensalada* according to this definition. This work, which has already been discussed, presents a succession of characters from different countries (Catalans, French, Polish, German, Irish, Galicians, Guineans, Portuguese). After the introduction by an unspecified speaker, each character sings, in a refrain, a verse of traditional origin that is usually repeated in full in a *copla*. For example, the first character takes an *estribillo* found in the popular song repertory catalogued by Margit Frenk [2003: no. 1485a].

Text 10.48: Cádiz Cathedral, Christmas 1683/8, ll.31-44; *Obras posthumas*: II, 190

Texto	Text
Entre las demás naciones, la primera que al Portal llegó a rendir la obediencia fue un músico catalán.	Among the other nations, the first to pay homage at the crib was a Catalan musician.
Estribillo	Refrain
Veniu les miñones, si voleu balar estes carnestoltes, perque ya es nadal: la faralá, falela, la faralá, laylá.	Come, girls, if you want to dance these carnival dances, because it's Christmas: La falala, falela, la falala, lela.
Copla	Verse
Yo de Barcelona li volguí portar molts grans que dexi, perque es millor Gra. la faralá, falela, la faralá, laylá.	I'm from Barcelona I wanted to bring him much corn that I left behind, because he is the Kernel. La falala, falela, la falala, lela.

This *ensalada*, built from a sequence of tripartite sections, is thus close to the parade of characters.

Contrary to the consistent practice in the New World of introducing an *ensalada* at the end of a sequence, the inclusion of this type of villancico seems to have been more uneven and sporadic in Spain: Manuel de León Marchante used it only once, Vicente Sánchez never, and José Pérez de Montoro in only this one work. This fact has led Kathryn Kruger-Hickman to suggest that the *ensalada*, originally dating from the mid-15th century, did not last beyond the first half of the 17th century.²⁸ This brief presence contrasts strongly with the abundance of works written in extended metaphorical form.

F. Villancicos 'as a metaphor of'

Villancicos 'as a metaphor of' consist of 'the invention of an allegory that is extended throughout the work to tell the same stories in the most expressive or concrete way' [Tenorio, 1999: 29]. In other words, in this type of villancico the author creates a metaphorical texture that takes in the whole work and which is based on the superimposition of two realities—one metaphorical, the other Biblical—that are normally unrelated.

This extended metaphor, this extended witticism or *agudeza* by means of a simile, undoubtedly flourished from the time of Alonso de Ledesma's *Conceptos espirituales y morales* published in 1602 and 1614, and José de Valdivielso's

28 Kruger-Hickman [1984: 2]. Cited by Martha Lilia Tenorio [1999: 149].

Romancero espiritual which went through four editions between 1612 and 1614. This villancico-type is well represented among Montoro's contemporaries: the second volume of León Marchante's works includes no fewer than 20 of these metaphorical villancicos. Montoro adopts the ludic vein in 13 instances, four in the context of the celebration of the Immaculate Conception (1692, V2 and V3; 1693, V2; 1695, V5), three for Epiphany (1684, V2, V4 and V6) and six for Christmas (1686_{CR}, V2 and V4; 1690, V2 and V3; 1693, V2; 1694, V8). It has already been noted that two of the villancicos for the Immaculate Conception and three for Christmas were placed second in their respective sequences. The exclusively ludic nature of these works undoubtedly explains their placing after an opening poem usually written in an elevated style. Moreover, they generally have a single speaker, but one who, as in the case of the royal audience, introduces a parade of characters. On the other hand, the Epiphany villancicos, written as a metaphor of games, and the three others as an extended metaphor, suggest a clear line of development, a 'Baroquization' of metaphorical writing to the extent that the ludic approach also covered a cluster of works.

This chapter has aimed, in its analysis of the main structural and stylistic aspects of the villancico, to offer a typology of a protean or infinitely variable poetico-musical genre little studied up till now from the literary viewpoint. However, the approach adopted here applies only to a specific period in the history of the villancico—the second half of the 17th century—which could be taken to be a turning-point in the genre or even its Golden Age. It would indeed be presumptuous to assume that this represented the complete picture of a genre whose main characteristic lies in its constant formal and aesthetic evolution and its immense capacity for adaptation, a characteristic that certainly forced the Church into showing a degree of permissiveness towards a poetico-musical genre that enjoyed widespread acceptance on the part of the majority of the faithful and which, despite its ludic elements, could also serve as a theological and apologetic tool. Nevertheless, the villancico's detractors, who had often raised the question of the genre's propriety since its appearance at the beginning of the 16th century, depended on these very elements and would manage, aided by the reason and ethics of the Enlightenment, to play down its importance until it was finally prohibited at the end of the 18th century.

Chapter 11

Pastorelas and the pastoral tradition in 18th-century Spanish villancicos

Pilar Ramos López

The villancico *de pastorela* is not a villancico-type very commonly found in the 18th century: the proportion of villancicos with distinct sections—such as *recitados* (recitatives) and arias, or *seguidillas* or *tonadillas*—is considerably larger. The limited number of pastoral villancicos has possibly resulted in these pieces being overlooked in the general literature on the genre. However, the number of villancicos *de pastorela* may be more extensive than the different catalogues would suggest: this villancico-type has not always been identified as such by scholars, and has sometimes been included with the villancicos *de tonadilla*. Furthermore, at present it is difficult for the researcher to locate villancicos *de pastorela*, because some titles make no mention of the *pastorela* section since many modern catalogues do not include every section of each villancico, and there may well be other circumstances that increase the neglect of *pastorelas*. One such would be the current Spanish tendency to study local repertoires independently or in isolation: for example, if the two surviving villancicos *de pastorela* known to have been composed by Antonio Soler are not studied in a comparative way it would be impossible to ascertain their distinctive identifiable traits (if, indeed, there are any). And it would be even more difficult with a 'corpus' of only two pieces to speculate as to what a *pastorela* actually is. The result is that very few scholars discuss the *pastorela* at all. This chapter attempts to show that the study of the *pastorela* involves not only making connections and relationships between Spanish repertoires, but also with other European genres. I will focus first on the definition of the term *pastorela*, then on its liturgical function, its gender implications, and, finally, on the relationship of these villancicos to the European pastoral tradition.

The main obstacle to the present study is the lack of modern musical editions of villancicos *de pastorela*.¹ As is already known, villancicos usually survive in a unique manuscript source as *particelle*, or separate parts. Therefore, the corpus of villancicos studied here comprises the few available modern editions, together with some unpublished pieces. However, the information provided by music catalogues

1 Villancicos *de pastorela* in modern editions: *A Belén caminad pastorcillos* by Juan Francés de Iribarren [Sánchez, 1988]; *El Angel* by Antonio Soler [Rubio, 1979b]; *Hacia el Portal se encaminan* by Jaime Torrens [Martín Quiñones, 1997]. I am grateful to José Luis Palacios Garoz who sent me the manuscript edition by Josep Lluís Valldecabres of *Les dotze van a tocar* by Juan de Pradas.

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