

The soundscape of the ceremonies held for the beatification of St Teresa of Ávila in the Crown of Aragon, 1614

El paisatge sonor de les cerimònies de beatificació de Santa Teresa d'Àvila a la Corona d'Aragó, 1614

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Abstract: The beatification of Saint Teresa of Ávila in October 1614 gave rise to widespread celebrations in many of the cities and towns of the Iberian Peninsula. Printed *relaciones* describing these celebrations, despite their limitations—in terms of political agenda, propaganda, rivalry and literary style—can nevertheless provide information about musical experience and can help to recreate the ephemeral soundscapes of these events. This article will focus on the ceremonies held in the Crown of Aragon, especially Saragossa and Barcelona, taking into consideration the typology of different musics—heraldic, divine and festive—and factors such as the moment in time, function, dynamic, urban spaces and blurring of boundaries, public (listeners), musical resources and performance practice, repertoires and genres, signifiers and associations for listeners, and impact.

Keywords: urban musicology, Teresa of Jesus, beatification festivities, musical experience, Crown of Aragon

Resum: La beatificació de Santa Teresa d'Àvila a l'octubre de 1614 va donar lloc a celebracions generalitzades en moltes de les ciutats i pobles de la Península Ibèrica. Les *relacions* impreses que descriuen aquestes celebracions, malgrat les seues limitacions—en termes d'agenda política, propaganda, rivalitat i estil—literàries, poden, tanmateix, proporcionar informació sobre l'experiència musical i poden ajudar a recrear els paisatges sonors efímers d'aquests esdeveniments. Aquest article se centrarà en les cerimònies celebrades a la Corona d'Aragó, sobretot a Saragossa i a Barcelona, tenint en compte la tipologia de les diferents músiques -heràldiques, divines i festives- i factors com ara el moment en el temps, la funció, els espais dinàmics, urbans i difuminació de fronteres, el públic (els oients), recursos musicals i pràctica interpretativa, repertoris i gèneres, significants i associacions per als oients, i l'impacte.

Paraules clau: musicologia urbana, Teresa de Jesús, festivitats de beatificació, experiència musical, Corona d'Aragó

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The beatification of Teresa of Avila by Pope Paul V in April 1614 was a cause for widespread celebrations in the Iberian world in October of that year. Such ceremonies, which involved many of the ecclesiastic and civic institutions of major urban centres and were attended by huge crowds of citizens as well as people from rural areas who flocked to the towns for the occasion, served both to promote and channel popular devotions and to enhance the prestige of the Catholic Church in the post-Tridentine period (Haliczer 2002: 60; Kamen 1993: 160). The celebrations also resulted in a flurry of publication of printed *relaciones* in which the highlights of the programme of activities for the beatification ceremonies were described and recorded, often by the person involved in their organization. The problematic nature of the *relación* as a proto-type newspaper has been much debated (Ettinghausen *et al.* 1996; Pena Sueiro 2001: 43; Knighton 2011: 27-31); its limitations as evidence for what actually occurred on these occasions are well known, since their authors generally pursued political and social agendas, and tended to use rhetorical and literary devices such as hyperbole and idealization.

Relaciones present a particular challenge for music historians, since descriptions of music performed at urban festivities in the early modern period, such as beatifications, *autos de fe*, canonizations, and royal entries, tend to be brief, conventional and generic. In general, the visual aspects of the ceremonies —from the ephemeral architecture to indumentaria, and the reproduction of written material such as verses or hieroglyphs— are described in much greater detail, and often with much greater authority (Jones 2015).¹ The ephemeral nature of sound, together with the level of musical knowledge required for the writing of meaningful descriptions of the music that was undoubtedly heard at such ceremonies, present specific barriers to the transmission of an accurate sense of ceremonial soundscape. Composers are almost never mentioned, nor are specific compositions, although occasional texts that were intended to be sung are sometimes included in the *relaciones*. Recent studies carried out in the field of archeology of the senses demonstrate that it is possible to recover sensory phenomena of the past, such as the sensory reality of a place (Hamilakis 2013), and it is possible that a more ‘archeological’ approach to the *relación* would prove useful. Close reading of the printed text, and contextualization of the musical traces or ‘footprint’ extracted in terms of its author, readership and intended purpose can result in some telling information about the musical experience of the event, always dependent to some extent on the musical knowledge of the author and his direct or indirect involvement in the organization of the event. *Relaciones* can provide evidence not only for the musical resources used, the repertoires performed, and the

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1 For example, the art historian Pamela M. Jones has analysed the decorative programme of the beatification festivities of Teresa of Jesus in Rome at the church of Santa Maria della Scala based on a written description by Fra Marcello della Madre di Dio published in Rome in 1615. The decorative programme also included a musical element (Jones 2015: 137, n.20).

contexts and spaces in which the resulting musics sounded and were heard and understood, but also for their reception through the established conventions, signifiers and expectations of those listening to or simply present at the event. The extent to which these musics were participatory or not, and some hints as to the impact that they had—or were expected to have—on the public and private ear can also be gleaned from *relaciones*.

The «global» nature of the celebrations held for the beatification of Teresa of Avila also allows for comparison between the ceremonial soundscapes of different cities and towns, which can help to identify local variations as well as indicate what seemed to be most striking or important to the individual author. This article will focus on the ceremonies held in the Crown of Aragon, especially those in Barcelona and Saragossa, but also in other cities and towns in the region, based on three *relaciones* published in 1615: that of Saragossa written by the poet Luis Díez de Aux (1562-*c.*1630); the royal councilor José Dalmau's account of the festivities celebrated in Barcelona and other towns of the Crown of Arago—Tarragona, Lleida, Girona, Tortosa, Perpignan, and Mataró—; and the compilation of reports of ceremonies organized in dozens of Iberian towns by the secretary of the Carmelite Order, fray Diego de San José, which includes, among many others, *relaciones* concerning Barcelona, Saragossa, Perpignan, Girona, Mataró, Tamarit, Tarragona, Reus, Tortosa, Lleida, Calatayud, Tarazona, and Valencia. Further comparison with musical references included in the accounts of other festivities, such as the canonization of Saint Ramon de Penyafort in Barcelona (Rebullosa 1601), and the festivities celebrated at the Jesuit college in Girona for the occasion of the canonization of Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Saint Francisco Javier, and the beatification of Luis Gonzaga (Turbaví 1623), affords some additional details on the role of music as an integral part of urban ceremony.

The *relaciones* of the celebrations on the occasion of the beatification of Teresa of Avila emphasize that crowds of people from a variety of social groups witnessed the festivities, and they also reflect the subtle hierarchies and close networks established between different urban institutions, whether of church or state. The urban ceremonial deployed on such events generally followed the conventions and practices codified by the annual Corpus Christi procession, of which music formed an integral part. Thus, the function of music, including the use of clearly identified musical resources and the introduction of certain types of musical genre, would already have been ingrained in the imaginary of urban ceremony, and thus have been expected by those present so that it inevitably formed part of the evocation of the event by the author of the corresponding *relación*. As with Corpus Christi, the duration of the ceremonies and festivities lasted from the eve of the main feast-day of the beatification, 5 October 1614, through the whole of the following week or Octave. The customary elements in which music formed an integral part—processions, liturgical services, poetry competitions in honour of the saint, masquerades, dancing and chivalric pursuits—are described in all the *relaciones* in varying degrees of detail. Conventional tropes are also commonly used—nuns sing like angels, the noise of heraldic instruments makes birds fall from the sky—but behind these commonplaces lie traces of the mentalities of the time and a shared set of musical practices, experiences, and expectations.

In the collective imaginary, ceremonial music was associated with high status and institutional power—whether the monarchy and nobility, or civic and ecclesiastical hierarchies—since certain typologies of sound formed part of the discourse regarding the projection of an image of power and authority (Peters 2012; Cummings 2012: 9-10). Heraldic musics, most clearly linked to the semiotics of authority and power formed a core part of the beatification ceremonial in the urban context. However, music was not only regarded and heard as a symbol of earthly power, but also as a conduit between earth, with its church music, and heaven, with its celestial choirs of angels (Kreitner 2004: 52; Perpiñà 2013). Divine musics contributed to the sacralization and solemnification of the event through their protagonism in liturgical worship and popular devotions; sacred music in church, convent or processions could on occasion be participatory, but was largely the domain of the professional musician and the preserve of the ears of those in the higher echelons of society. Festive musics, by contrast, involved both professional and amateur musicians, or, indeed, many of those who attended the beatification ceremonies, and provided them with entertainment while still maintaining awareness of social hierarchies. In the following analysis, a variety of factors will be taken into consideration as regards these three broad typologies of music: their semiotic functions; the spaces and dynamics in which they sounded and were heard; the signifiers and associations aroused in the public who listened to or heard them; the musical praxis and resources used; the musical repertoires and genres performed and heard; and the impact of music in the context of the urban soundscape.

1. Heraldic musics

Heraldic musics formed part of the beatification ceremonial in several different contexts: literally to herald the event and announce the presence and confirm the legitimacy of the different civic and ecclesiastical hierarchies to which they belonged, and as an integral part of processions and jousts. Generally they added a festive air, making a strong impact through loud sounds and visual splendour—with their brightly coloured liveries—, all of which served to draw attention to the different categories of events and their various phases. The announcements of the beatification festivities in Tarragona, Lleida, and Girona with drums, trumpets, shawms, and other wind instruments offer characteristic examples of the use of heraldic musics to build expectation and create a festive atmosphere. In Barcelona the main festivities were announced on 2 October 1614 outside the Carmelite church were «a big troop of wind-players, trumpets, and drums mounted on horseback» had gathered to herald the arrival of the knights «each playing the music of their instruments» (Dalmau 1615: 5r-v).² When the knights had collected the banners they were to parade throughout

² Dalmau 1615: 5r: «Estauan aguardando en la plaça antes la puerta de la Iglesia, vna gran tropa de menestres, trompetas y atabales, todos a cauallo: y llegando los caballeros, hizieron fiesta, cada qual con la musica de sus instrumentos». Although Dalmau's description is very generalized, it would seem to suggest a differentiation in repertory between the wind-band and corps of trumpets and drums.

the city from inside the church, the wind-bands and corps of trumpets and drums played again, and the royal crier made the announcement, which he had written down: «Today, Thursday 2 October, 1614, this cry was made and published in the customary places of this city of Barcelona, to the sound of five trumpets» (Dalmau 1615: 5v).³ This brief and quite generic passage nevertheless gives an idea of the audio-visual spectacle with which the festivities were advertised throughout the city, drawing the attention of the public to ensure they listened to the announcement and already establishing the scale and splendour of the event; the town crier was replaced by a member of the viceregal household, and the number of trumpets— five rather than the usual one or two (Kreitner 1995: 161) —would also have conveyed the special nature of the occasion. Dalmau's *relación* of the Tortosa festivities clearly emphasizes the role of music as a means of building up expectation and preparing the mood of the citizens:

But the happiness and delight such joyful news had created in their minds were most clearly seen when the feast-day itself arrived since, not being able to abide such a long delay, from a week before, a pipe and tabor played every day in the mornings and afternoons throughout the city, thus preparing the mood for the celebration of the longer-for celebration.⁴

This musical heralding of the event thus increased anticipation and served as a constant reminder throughout the city. The sounds of minstrels, trumpets and drums, and pipe and tabor were all-pervasive as the musicians moved around the city to the different squares where people customarily gathered to hear the town crier accompanied by instrumental flourishes and fanfares. The sounds were loud, and could be heard over some distance, in the manner of bells that were also often pealed to herald good news. The contribution of bells to the creation of a festive atmosphere is reflected, for instance, in the Saragossa *relación*, in which shawms and bells were said to have celebrated in such a way that «heaven seemed to open» and, at midday, the bells of all the churches and convents in the city rang out, producing a «harmony which filled the city with great rejoicing» (Díez de Aux 1615: 40).

Heraldic musics were heard both at street level accompanying town criers on foot or horseback, but were also often positioned high up on significant buildings. In Barcelona, «much music of clarions, shawms, and other instruments» was heard every night from a tower, with a banner in each corner, situated next to the Carmelite convent, (San José 1615: 65v). In Saragossa, shawms played

3 Dalmau 1615: 5r-bv: «Tornaran y luego fue marchando el estandarte, con el acompañamiento sobredicho de caualleria y música, y assi passearon por todas las calles de la Ciudad, y se hizo voz de un pregonero resal la primera publicación de las fiestas antes su propia Iglesia... *Avny Dijous a dos de Octubre, 1614. fes feta y publicada la present crida per los llocs acostumats de la present Ciutat de Barcelona, ab so de sinc trompetas*».

4 Dalmau 1615: 102v: «Pero donde se vio mas el alegría y gozo que en sus animos auian causado tan dichosas nueuas, fue quando se hizieron las fiestas en su proprio dia: porque no pudiendo sufrir tan larga dilacion, ocho dias antes della, tarde y mañana fue por toda la ciudad, tocando todos los dias vna caxa con su pifano, disponiendo vltimamente los animos para celebrar la fiesta tan desseada».

at the Palace of the Marquis of Ayerbe, near the Basilica of the Pilar, while drums and trumpets sounded from its tower (Díez de Aux 1615: 44). Again, this served both a practical purpose —the sound could carry further and reach a large part of the city— and a semiotic signal, demarcating in sound urban structures and spaces as well as social hierarchies (McGowan 1999). These sound signals, a standard component of celebratory feasts, such as beatifications, are clearly indicated in the *relaciones*, which reflect the sharing of urban space and a blurring of the line between what was official (and symbolic of authority) and what was essentially entertainment provided by those in power —an essential characteristic of the wind-band of shawms and sackbuts. For example, in Barcelona on the eve of the ceremony of beatification, the crowds gathered to listen to the different *coblas* distributed around key parts of the city of particular relevance to the occasion, all placed high up on towers or above gates (see Figure 1):

The whole crowd were entertained by six *coblas* of wind-players, which were spread around [the city]—some on St Joseph’s Church, others on the Church of Our Lady of Carmen, others on the church of the discalced nuns, and others on the tower of the [church of Santa Maria of the] Pine, on the Puerta Ferrissa, and finally on the gate of the Boqueria—all of whom strove with great enthusiasm to play motets, madrigals and battle pieces, each group responding to the other, to admirable musical effect.⁵

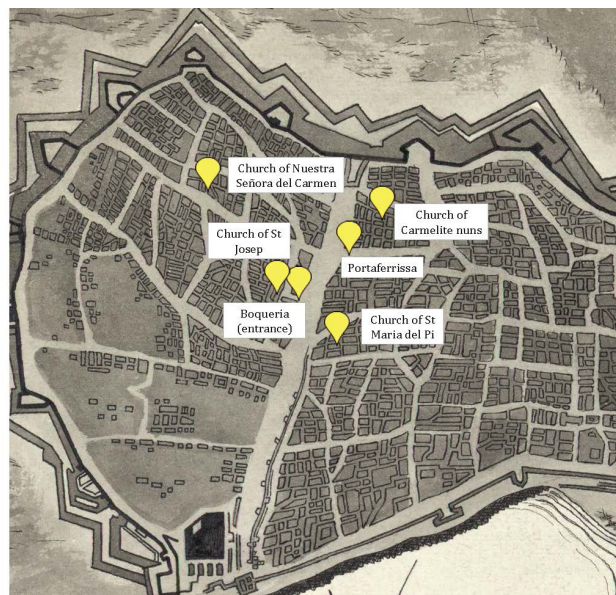


Figure 1. Distribution of the different *coblas* around Barcelona according to Dalmau’s *relación*. Map of 16th-century Barcelona (copy). Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat, 15.3 / 2980

5 Dalmau 1615: 11r-v: «Toda esta multitud estuuio muy entretenida con seys coplas de menestres, que estuuieron repartidos, vnos sobre la Iglesia de san Joseph, otros sobre la de muestra señora del Carmen, otros sobre la Iglesia de las monjas descalças, y otros sobre la torre del Pino: sobre la puerta ferriça otros: y finalmente, sobre la puerta de la boqueria, los quales todos se esmerauan a porfia en tañer motes, madrigals, y batallones, respondiendose vnos a otros, con admirable melodia.»

The role of the wind-players here was essentially one of entertaining the people who had gathered in the city for the events of the following day, but at the same time this was an official entertainment, organized by the city, which heralded and demarcated the key space for the beatification ceremony, with the musicians playing from high up on the churches most closely linked with the Carmelite Order which would form the focus for the celebrations. The proximity of these ecclesiastical and civic buildings would have allowed the musicians to hear each other play, as in a series of sound beacons. This musical display, which happened on other moments during the festivities, was non-participatory in the sense that the crowds appear to have listened to the competing musical forces, and it is perhaps because of this that Dalmau specifies the kinds of repertory they played: instrumental versions of motets, madrigals and *batallons* (which may well have been polyphonic battle-pieces incorporating fanfare-type material, often modeled on Jannequin's celebrated chanson *La guerre*, such as Mateo Flecha's *ensalada La Guerra*, or perhaps an exchange of more straightforward, though presumably quite elaborate fanfares).⁶ This kind of repertory is found in minstrel manuscripts that survive from the period, such as those copied around this time for the Duke of Lerma (Kirk 1995).

In these official musical contests, the wind-bands were static, playing from high positions in order to fill the largest possible acoustic space and impress those present with their skill and, perhaps, to generate a sense of civic pride. A sense of responsorial heraldic music is found in other towns, such as Tortosa where, on the day of the beatification, the sound of many shawms emanating from the cathedral was responded to from the Carmelite convent with very skillful buglers («uvo mucha musica de chirimias en la Catedral; y desde el conuento se les respondia con muy diestros clarines»; Dalmau 1615: 103r). Presumably this would have been largely an exchange of fanfare-like calls, but it is clear that even when the musicians were static, heraldic musics identified different institutional spaces.

However, heraldic musics were often heard at ground level and in motion, sonically tracing the movement of processions and thus demarcating the urban acoustical space in a more fluid, dynamic way. For example, in Saragossa an image of Teresa of Jesus was carried in solemn procession on the main feast-day after Vespers; the chronicler notes a musical exchange between the sounds of drums, fifes and trumpets, the ringing of bells, and gunshots which, he said, took the lower voices of an implied «polyphonic» whole:

⁶ Possibly these *batallones* were similar to the *batalla* which Felip Pedrell described as a piece of music played on «the clavichord, the guitar, and other instruments so little warlike as them», that aimed to imitate «the heat of battle, calls of clarions, drum rolls, galloping horses, and shots of cannons and harquebuses» (Pedrell 1897: 47).

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In this manner they moved around the church [of the Carmelite monks], square and cloisters, playing various instruments, while the bells rang out, sounding with the side-drums, fifes, and trumpets, whose tenors and basses were provided by the gunshot of a great many harquebuses and muskets, which were fired with great harmony.⁷

The combined noise of military instruments, church bells and gunshot was a feature of such celebrations, and must have created a surround-sound effect for the crowds gathered in the streets and squares around the church. Such a combination of loud and joyous or celebratory sounds would have signalled that this was a special occasion, as would the sheer number of instrumentalists throughout the city. In Tortosa, the confraternity of tailors paraded their float through the town, «attracting a large crowd in its wake, with such a loud noise of pipes, drums and gunfire (which they know how to play very well) that it seemed that where they passed would be tumble down».⁸ Thus, the dynamic component of heraldic musics must have created a sense of sound drawing closer and fading away, of music coming from different directions, and of a mix of simultaneous sounds.

Loud wind instruments would have accompanied any part of the festivities that took place in the open air, including dancing (which will be discussed below). On the last day of the octave following the beatification ceremony ring tilting and other chivalric games took place outside the palace of the viceroy in Saragossa, and the knights who participated in the games were heralded by their trumpets and drums (Díez de Aux 1615: 142-143). Listeners would have associated these welcoming sound markers with authority, power and military might, as well as the signaling of an important event. The impact of these loud musics on them would have created a buzz of excitement and awe, as well as a heightening of expectations, and at the same time may well have provided an outlet for emotion. The versatility of the wind-band meant that it was also used as an integral part of the musics performed to create a liturgical and devotional soundfest.

2. Divine musics

Sacred music was an essential component of the beatification ceremonial in the context of divine worship; it both solemnified and sacralized the occasion through its close association with the liturgy celebrated in the principal churches. Just as heraldic musics were associated with earthly power and prestige, church music was held to represent the divine through the celestial choirs of angels that would welcome the saint to heaven (Figure 2). In contrast to heraldic musics, most

7 Díez de Aux, 1615: 51: «Desta suerte rodearon la Iglesia, plaça, y claustro, tocando varios instrumentos, repicando campanas, que con las caxas, pifaros y trompetas correspondian: cuyos tenores y baxos eran tiros de arcabuces y mosquetes, que muchos y con mucho concierto dispararon».

8 Dalmau 1615: 105r: «Passeauanla con todo este acompañamiento por toda la ciudad, lleuandose gran multitud de gente tras sí, con tan gran estruendo de caxas, pifanos, y mosquetería (que la sabian muy bien jugar) que parecia se auía de hundir por donde passauan». This trope almost certainly has its roots in the fall of Jericho.

sacred music, whether liturgical or devotional, was performed inside, in the interiors of churches and monasteries, with the chapel singers, and other professional musicians, generally placed statically before the lectern in the choir, or at a station along the route of procession through or around church and cloister. Some pieces, such as the *Te Deum* and other hymns, were processional in nature and were performed in movement; those onlookers who knew the words and melody would have joined in. Generally, however, divine musics were performed by professional singers (many of them members of the clergy), organists and, on occasion, wind-bands. The numbers and combination of musical forces depended on the institutions involved; it is clear from the *relaciones* that cathedral choirs —usually the finest of the city or town— participated in the festivities as in the case of Saragossa, Tarragona, Tortosa, Lleida, Girona, and Valencia. The *relaciones* also reflect the tradition of bringing together choirs from outside the town to reinforce local musical forces and achieve the greatest impact possible. For example, in Tarragona, in addition to the cathedral choir, that of the nearby Cistercian abbey of Poblet also participated «with great devotion and taste».⁹ Such special events also involved the displacement of one institution's musical forces to another; thus, the music chapel of the Basilica of the Pilar performed Vespers at the convent of Carmelite nuns in Saragossa «displaying its skill», while, at the convent of monks, Vespers were sung by the choir from La Seo (Díez de Aux 1615: 41). The chronicler praised this performance providing significant details not only as to its effectiveness, but also as to its impact on the audience and urban spaces involved:

Here psalms, composed with the most extraordinary harmony, could be heard, and were sung with incredible skill. There was a wide variety of both voices and instruments. The organ variations, the vocal ornamentation, the sweetness of the small cornetts, the melody of the *dulzainas*, the profundity of the bassoons, and the joyful fugue of the shawms charmed and caused admiration. There was a great deal of this [music], and it was all extremely good. There were so many people —whether from the nobility and elite classes or from the middle-class and workers— that the church, the square and even part of the road were so crowded there was no room for even a single person more.¹⁰

9 San José 1615: 159v: «Para la solemnidad de los oficios huuo toda la octaua dos famosas Capillas: vna de la Cathedal, y otra del insigne y Real Conuento, y Abadia e Poblete, del Orden de san Bernardo, que nos acudio con esto, y con quanto se les pidio, con suma deuocion y gusto».

10 Díez de Aux, 1615: 42: «aquí se oyeron los Psalmos, compuestos de mas extraordinaria armonia, y cantados con increyble destreza: y grande variedad, assi de voces como de musica; Suspendian y admirauan las diferencias del Organo, los passos requiebrados de garganta, la dulçura de las Cornetillas, la melodia de las Dulçaynas, la profundidad de los Baxones, y la fuga alegre de las Chirimias, que de todo esto huuo mucho, y en extremo bueno. Y tanta gente, assi noble y principal, como mediana y pleueya: que ni en la Iglesia, ni en la plaça della, ni aun en mucha parte del camino, casi no auia lugar desocupado para vna criatura».



Figure 2. Anonymous, [Santa Teresa de Jesús], 17th century. Ink and pencil on paper, 184 x 136 mm. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, DIB/15/3/3

The Seo music chapel, led by the chapel master Francisco de Silos, and the organist Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia, dominated the music-making in Saragossa on 5 October 1614. On the main feast-day, the Divine Office and a High Mass were celebrated «with much solemnity and music» at the convent of the Carmelite monks (Díez de Aux 1615: 47). Following Vespers, an image of Teresa of Jesus was moved from her «precious throne» in the church to the sound of «divine motets» and placed on a portable platform that was carried in solemn procession accompanied by «diverse instruments» and «celestial voices». The retinue processed through the church, the square next to the convent and the cloister, followed by many citizens «of both noble and plebeian classes», and lit by torches, fireworks, and the sparkle of the jewels on the image of the saint. During the breaks in the procession, the La Seo music chapel performed three «ingeniosos villancicos», the first of which evoked the idea of the bells that called everyone to attend the ceremonies (here referred to as Teresa’s saintly nuptials with Christ):

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Vistete Gil, date priessa, las campanas te prouocan, que repican y tañen y tocan a las bodas de Teresa. Dan, din, don...	Hurry now, Gil, and get dressed, the bells are calling you, ringing and pealing and resounding for Teresa's wedding. Ding, dang, dong... (Díez de Aux 1615: 51)
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The third villancico, «Teresa si en vos se vee», was performed at the high altar.¹¹ The performance of sacred music during the beatification ceremonies often involved nuns and children (boys), undoubtedly because of the association of their voices with chasteness, innocence, purity, and angels (Martínez Gil 2000: 105). According to the Saragossa *relación*, at the convent of nuns «tender and celestial Matins» were sung; Díez de Aux develops an established trope when he indicates that celestial choirs helped the earthly ones to sing in a heavenly manner (1615: 45-46). The nuns of the convents of Jerusalem and Santa Catalina in Saragossa were also singled out for the quality of their music-making as an integral part of their celebrations. The nuns spent the night in the upper part of their convents singing «motets and *villancicos* with celestial voices in concerted choirs»; according to Díez de Aux, their singing could be heard from some distance away, suggesting that a large number of nuns were involved. Their position high in their convents must also have helped to project their voices across the still night. In particular, Díez de Aux praises the voice (which he describes in eulogistic terms as one of the most outstanding in Spain) of a nun at the Clarissan convent who sang the antiphon *Veni sponsa Christi*:

These angels [nuns of all the convents in Saragossa], and, above all others, the exemplary nuns of [the convents of] Jerusalem and Santa Catalina, celebrated their rejoicing in an extraordinary way. For most of that night —which seemed as bright as a day because of the illuminations— they remained high up in their celebrated convents, singing motets and *villancicos* with celestial voices and concerted choirs that conveyed both their and our sense of rejoicing. They sang in such a way, and heaven intervened to make the night so calm, that their music could be heard from some distance away. In particular, one of the most outstanding voices, perhaps the best known in Spain today, sang at Santa Catalina as a solo *Veni sponsa Christi* in such a celestial way that it seemed impossible that her voice did not belong to an angel.¹²

11 The music for these villancicos is not known to have survived.

12 Díez de Aux, 1615: 44: «Estos Angeles dieron increybles muestras de gozosa alegria: Y extraordinariamente aquellas exemplares Religiosas de Ierusalem, y santa Catalina; pues la mayor parte de aquella noche, que a fuerça de luzes era dia claro, la passaron en las mas altas vistas de sus famosos Alcaçares: cantando con celestiales vozes, en concertados Coros, motetes, y Villancicos proporcionados con su alegria y nuestra: De manera cantauan, que con el sosiego que el cielo puso en aquella noche, se oya de muy lexos su melodia. Señaladamente vna voz de las mejores, o quiza la mejor que oy se sabe en España, cantò en santa Catalina a solas, vn *Vn* [sic] *beni sponsa Christi*, tan celestialmente, que parecia imposible no ser de Angel aquella voz».

The prior of the Carmelite convent also wrote an account of the Saragossa festivities in which he describes how the convents of Santa Catalina and Jerusalem entered into rivalry with each other, and that more than eighty nuns played and sang (San José 1615: 36v-44v). Likewise, children, traditionally associated with purity and innocence (Martínez Gil 2000: 195), took an important part in the soundscape of the beatification ceremonial through their singing and dancing. In Mataró, for instance, six boys dressed as angels danced before the altar, a dance that was interrupted several times for them to recite some *coplillas* to St Teresa which they had learnt by heart. The success of their performance was such that it had to be repeated on all the days of the octave so that the whole town and the surrounding region could enjoy it.¹³ On the main feast-day, the boys again danced before the image of St Teresa, then repeating their performance at «the most public places of the town, the music of their bells, their poise, and their graceful dancing bringing a sense of joyful celebration everywhere».¹⁴ In Tarragona, one of the floats in the procession featured a group of children, dressed as nymphs, and described as skilful singers who sang some *letrillas* in honour of the Saint in front of the church (Dalmau 1615: 93r). The same float carried an ensemble of musicians playing «many string instruments, harp, cithara, lute, rebec, guitar, and harpsichord», and accompanying a beautiful boy who was an excellent and graceful dancer.¹⁵ The relationship between children and «honest singing» is reflected in the numerous collections of devotional verse published in Counter-Reformation Spain that were addressed to children and intended to be sung using familiar melodies transmitted orally.¹⁶ In the *relación* of the earlier festivities celebrated in Barcelona on the occasion of the canonization of Ramon de Penyafort (Rebullosa 1601), the last section, *De las fiestas que las mugeres y los niños, han hecho à nuestro Santo*, describes the involvement of women and children. The women took flowers and candles to the sepulchre of the Saint,

13 Dalmau 1615: 124v: «Despues de dicha la Salue salieron al presbyterio de la capilla mayor seys niños como vnos *Angelitos* vestidos con vaqueros de diferentes colores, dos de blanco, dos azules, y dos de colorado, los quales auiedo saludado a la bendita Santa con muy graciosa mesura, y cortesia, trauaron entre si vna muy graciosa dança, y parando en algunos tercios della, yuan de dos en dos diziendo a la Santa vnas coplitas, que trayan muy bien estudiadas con muy buena accion, y gracia: tanto que corrio la voz, y fama, de suerte que *para que toda la villa, y comarca gozasse de su vista* vuo de repertirse la dança todos los dias de la octaua» [authors' emphasis].

14 Dalmau 1615: 126v: «(...) se entrò por la Iglesia vna muy acordada dança de cascaueles, y despues de auer baylado en presencia de la bienauenturada Santa, y hecha la deuida cortesia, se salieron dançando: y assi fueron por todos los lugares mas publicos de la villa, regozijando todo con la musica de sus cascaueles, y buen ayre, y gracia de su dança».

15 Dalmau 1615: 93r: «En el mesmo carro venian muchos musicos de instrumentos de cuerda, de arpa, cithara, laud, rabel, guitarra, y clauycimbalo; a cuyo son que era muy suaue, vn niño muy hermoso y diestro en el arte del dançar, lo hazia con muy linda gracia y donayre».

16 See, for instance, Soto 1621. On these devotional lyrics and their relationship to religious propaganda, see Vicente Delgado 2007.

with «music of several instruments», where they founded a Mass in the saint's honour,¹⁷ while the children—even very young children—were taught polyphonic *goigs* to replace the secular and «lascivious» songs they usually sang in the streets; they sang the newly-devised devotional texts every evening before the shrine.¹⁸ This passage is of particular interest in that it describes the involvement of women and children who were not nuns or choirboys, but who could nevertheless contribute to the divine musics of the ceremonial developed for the canonization.

The divine musics performed during the beatification ceremonial included plainchant, *fabordón*, and polyphony, and involved singers, organ and wind bands. The demands of the liturgy, the spaces in which the musicians were positioned, and the musical forces available, determined the repertory performed at specific moments of the celebrations. Dalmau makes reference to both the long established *alternatim* performance used in the singing of hymns and psalms, and, strikingly, the use of the more recently developed polychoral idiom. He describes how in Barcelona, throughout the octave, the music for the liturgy was performed in three choirs that involved the best singers in the city; at Compline at the Carmelite convent on the eve of the main feast-day, and at the Mass celebrated at the Carmelite church of Sant Josep «the best singers of Barcelona sang [the Mass] in three choirs» («Cantòla toda la major cantoria de Barcelona a tres coros») (Dalmau 1615: 17r). It would seem likely that the chapel master of Barcelona Cathedral, Joan Pau Pujol (1570-1626), composed some of the triple-choir works for the ceremonies.¹⁹ In Tarragona, the Divine Office was also performed in three choirs, including organ and wind-players (Dalmau 1615: 91v). *Alternatim* performances are described for the liturgical ceremonies held in Girona, with the different verses of the *Te Deum* being sung in turn by the bishop (the intonation), the clergy, the cathedral music chapel, the organ, and an ensemble of shawms.²⁰ This long hymn, which would have been familiar to everyone present, was thus transformed into a kaleidoscope of different sounds that heightened

17 Rebullosa 1601: 472: «Han sido pocas las calles desta Ciudad, cuyas mugeres no se ayan ayuntado para venir con flores, ramos verdes, velas encendidas, y musica de varios instrumentos al Sepulchro de nuestro Santo, hecho le cantar vna Missa con su Sermon, y ofrecidole vn buen cirio, en prendas de sus desseos».

18 Rebullosa 1601: 473-474: «Es esto tanta verdad, que sin tener otro impulso que a Dios, la Canonizacion de nuestro Santo a desterrado de la lengua de los niños las canciones profanas y lasciuas, que aprendidas del mal exemplo de los mayores, les oyamos cantar por las calles las noches y dias; y en su lugar, los à aficionado de suerte à las que tratan de sus alabanças, que la niña en la labor y el niño por las calles y donde quiera, ya no sabe sino cantar sus Gozos: y auiendoles sido solo Dios y su afficion maestros (cosa estraña) acuden todas las tardes al anochescer, niños y niñas que apenas saben hablar, delante el sepulcro del Santo, y en capilla formada le cantan variedad de Gozos à concierto y canto de organo, que es cosa del Cielo» [authors' emphasis].

19 Pujol had been appointed cathedral chapel master in January 1612. A number of his polychoral works survive for two choirs, but, as far as is known, none for three.

20 Dalmau 1615: 100r: «A las cinco de la tarde acudio el señor Obispo con muchos Canonigos, y dignidades de su Cathedral, y vestido de Pontifical con dos de los Señores dichos por asistentes, saliendo con todos los Religiosos al cuerpo de la Iglesia, entonando su Señoria el Hymno Te Deum laudamus, le prosiguieron con mucha solenidad a choros cantando vn verso los Religiosos, otro la capilla de la Catedral, otro vn organo, y otro las chirimias (...)».

the solemnity of the occasion through variety. In Mataró, the municipal shawms —considered by Dalmau the best in Catalonia— accompanied the singing of Vespers while, after Compline, the verses of the *Salve regina* were sung, with according to Dalmau, great devotion, by the Carmelite monks in *alternatim* with these wind-players.²¹ This combination of large-scale musical forces deliberately marked the importance of the occasion and showcased the musical prowess of the different ecclesiastical institutions in the performance of Latin-texted liturgical works that included polyphonic and polychoral settings of hymns, psalms, Masses and motets. Many of these works, including the antiphons dedicated to St Teresa performed in Barcelona and Tarazona (San José 1615: 67v, 12r), would have been composed expressly for the occasion.

Villancicos in the vernacular were also written to mark the beatification of St Teresa, and formed part of the divine musics heard during the ceremonies in the different towns. In Lleida, following Vespers sung by the cathedral choir, four pageboys of the bishop entered the main chapel and sang some «very refined» *letrillas* in honour of the Saint, and then performed a dialogue, before ending with some more *letrillas*, with concluding responses from the cathedral singers.²² These *villancicos* were also surely composed specifically for the occasion, as is explicitly indicated for some cities; although the composers of such works are never mentioned,²³ the *villancico* texts are sometimes included in the *relaciones*. Dalmau's *relación* includes the lyrics of eight *villancicos* sung in Barcelona, and specifies that most of them were written by Lope de Vega (1615: 38),²⁴ while Díez de Aux includes the anonymous lyrics of three *villancicos* performed by the La Seo music chapel in Saragossa in the breaks made during the procession on the main feast-day (1615: 51-52). It is possible that Díez de Aux was himself the author of these lyrics, since he also published a *relación* of the festivities celebrated in the city on the occasion of the appointment of Alonso Aliaga as general inquisitor in 1619, in which he included the lyrics of both a *romance* and a *villancico* he had written at the request

21 Dalmau 1615: 124r: «A la hora acostumbada se cantaron las Visperas con mucha solemnidad con las *chirimias de la villa, que son de los mejores oficiales, que ay en Catbaluña*. (...) A las cinco de la tarde, se cantaron las Completas con la mesma solemnidad, y musica, y al fin dellas salieron los Religiosos al cuerpo de la Iglesia a cantar la Salve que se dixo con mucha deuocion, y pausa, *cantando vn verso los Religiosos, y otro los musicos de menestres*, que alli estauan» [authors' emphasis].

22 Dalmau 1615: 97v: «Cantaronse las Visperas, con mucha solemnidad, con toda la musica y cantoria de la Cathedral, la qual mandaron acudir los señores del Cabildo con todo cumplimiento a todos los Oficios. Acabadas las Visperas salieron vnos pages de monseñor Reuerendissimo a la Capilla mayor, y auiedo primero cantado quatro dellos vnas muy graciosas letrillas en lohor de la santa Virgen, hizieron vn dialogo, con muy buena gracia, y gusto de todo el auditorio, y remataron con otras letrillas; respondiendoles en sus remates toda la capilla».

23 Presumably the chapel master of Lleida Cathedral would have been involved, as would appear to be the case with at least some of the Barcelona *villancicos*, see note 24 below. The Lleida chapel master at the time was Juan Aranyés (1614-1640), who served the cathedral between 1614 and 1620 before he left for Rome where, in 1624, he published a second volume of *tonos* and *villancicos*. (he first volume is presumed to be lost).

24 The catalogue of Pujol's works includes a six-voice *villancico* with the incipit recorded in Dalmau's *relación* («Vistiose una vez Teresa») for which no music survives (Lambea 1989: 36-37).

of the choir boys of the Basilica of the Pilar (Díez de Aux 1619: 19). This reference undoubtedly reflects the close connections between the author of the *relación* and the musical life of Saragossa, an aspect that needs further research.²⁵

The impact of these divine musics on those present during the celebration of the liturgy inside the churches as well as during processions is difficult to gauge, and is rarely described beyond generic terms of an emotional response such as joy, tears, tenderness and devotion. An example from Dalmau's account describes the singing of the *Te Deum* when the Carmelites took an image of the Virgin in the procession held on 30 May 1615, a musical moment that caused a mixed emotional response on the participants: «some dissolved in tears, others so full of joy, resulted in their voices being somewhat broken and ragged, their souls being so affected by the happiness they felt».²⁶ The direct participation of those present in the singing of well-known hymns and canticles, such as the *Te Deum*, surely aroused such emotions, and would also have been a channel or outlet for them; the *relación* of events at Calatayud, describes how not only the monks of the different orders joined in the singing of the *Te Deum*, but also «an infinite number of people attending the festivity» who processed in this musically participatory way to the church.²⁷

Divine musics performed on earth were associated with celestial choirs, often mentioned by religious writers of the period such as the widely read Fray Luis de Granada (1504-1588), who in his *Compendio y explicación de la vida cristiana* (1559) described the «angels divided in three hierarchies and distributed in nine choirs» («divididos en tres hierarquías, que se reparten en nueve coros») (cited in Martínez Gil 2000: 491) in his vision of heaven. The insistence on three choirs of earthly singers found in the *relaciones* may thus relate not only to the actual musical resources of the liturgical ceremonies but also have had symbolic meaning for those attending, as well as those reading the printed accounts. Other well established tropes related to non-verbal divine musics that formed an important part of the ceremonial. The intervention of musical instruments in the proceedings—as well as other sounds such as bells and fireworks, together with illuminations—to solemnify proceedings was considered by Diego de San José, in his 1615 compilation of reports on the feasts of beatification of Teresa of Ávila celebrated throughout the Iberian Peninsula, as both justified and required by Biblical and religious texts. He cites as just one possible example, the psalms of David, especially the penultimate and final psalms in which «no bell, nor any kind of instrument

25 For biographical information of Luís Díez de Aux, see Serrano Martín 2014.

26 Dalmau 1615: 2r: «(...) saliendo todos los religiosos con capas y velas encendidas al cuerpo de la Iglesia, y el padre Prior con capa pluuiial de brocado, cantaron el hymno Te Deum laudamus, con mucha *denocion y ternura*: de suerte, que algunos *resueltos en lagrymas*, otros a fuerça de jubilos, sacauan las *vozes algo quebradas y rompidas*, por la parte que sus almas tomauan de aquel contento. En el conuento de las Monjas descalças de la mesma orden, se hizo esta noche la mes demonstracion de regozijo, y hazimiento de gracias (...)» [authors' emphasis].

27 San José 1615: 124v: «Para cantar el, Te Deum laudamus, vinieron nuestros padres los caçados, y otros muchos Religiosos de otras Ordenes, y *infinita gente* que se auia juntado a la fiesta, disparandose a este tiempo muchos tiros, y despidiendose gran cantidad de cohetes» [authors' emphasis].

failed to consecrate God's word, to exalt Him and praise Him through his Saints». ²⁸ Dalmau draws on this trope in his description of the celebrations held in Girona, where the crowds that thronged into the church used different groups of musicians —singing motets and playing shawms and others string instruments, such as harps, vihuelas, and zithers, as well as the organ— through which to praise God. ²⁹

Divine musics must have had a strong emotional and didactic impact on the public, adding solemnity and significance to the occasion, as well as spiritual and devotional transcendence. How many people were able to hear these musics must have depended on the size of the churches and streets where they were performed, but it is clear from the *relaciones* that not only the clergy and members of the higher echelons of society were present, even if they dominated the prime positions in interior and exterior performance spaces and would have been able to hear text and music more clearly. It is also notable that the rejoicing that formed the *raison d'être* for the beatification ceremonies meant that the line between the sacred and the festive was often quite blurred, as in the case of purely instrumental music played inside church to mark the occasion with sounds that would not necessarily have been heard as part of the liturgy.

3. Festive musics

What might be considered to be festive musics inevitably overlap with those heraldic and divine musics already described: the singing of the *Te Deum* features as a festive means of celebrating the news of the beatification of Teresa of Jesus in most towns and cities. When the news of the beatification of Teresa of Jesus reached Saragossa on 27 May 1614, it was celebrated at the two convents of Discalced Carmelites, as well as at other urban religious institutions with the ringing of bells, the launching of fireworks, «singing hymns», and «playing organs and several

28 San José, 1615: 2r: «Y porque mucha parte de su solenidad se reduce a frequentes tañidos de campanas, e instrumentos musicos, a fuegos, y luminarias, ha de aduertir el Lector menos curioso (para que ni este ruydo le quiebre la cabeça, ni le deslumbren tantas luzes) que estos modos de solenizar fiestas, y alabar a Dios en sus Santos: no solo son frequentes en las Diuinas letras, pero aun se mandan en muchos lugares dellas. Para lo primero, dexando otros testimonios, basten los del Psalmo vltimo, y penultimo de Dauid, donde ni quedan campanas, ni genero alguno de instrumentos, que no se consagren por la boca de Dios, para engrandecerle, y alabarle en sus Santos (...) y assi anduuieron muy acertados los que en las bodas de la Esposa de Christo (nuestra santa Madire) repicaron campanas, tañeron varios instrumentos, y manifestaron su alegria, encendiendo fuegos en sus casas, en las calles, torres, y plaças publicas, sin que pueda parecer superflue a nadie el repetirse aquello algunas vezes, pues como dixo Seneca a Lucillo, Optimo factum dictum ve, nec pluries propallare te pudeat».

29 Dalmau 1615: 100v: «En la Iglesia perseuerando la luminaria de 60 velas, estauan muchos juegos de musicas diferentes: vnos tatos se gastauan en cantar muy curiosos motetes, y los que estos descansauan tocauan las chirimias, y otros instrumentos de cuerda, como harpas, citharas, vihuelas, &c. y otros el organo; con que se regalaua y alabaua mucho a Dios la mucha gente que de continuo entraba y salia».

musical instruments».³⁰ Several *relaciones* suggest that the alternation between the sound of military ensembles and other, more melodious musics generated rejoicing and festive atmospheres; for instance, according to Díez de Aux, at the convent of Carmelite nuns in Saragossa «harps, violones and other instruments were played» and «*villancicos* and divine motets were sung», while the sounds of «concerted shawms» alternated with the military bands of fifes and drums, and, at night, clarions alternated with trumpets and drums on the rooftop of the convent (1615: 45). The festive atmosphere was established through these different musics in processions, banquets, dancing in the streets, and various other kinds of musical entertainment in both interior and exterior ceremonial spaces.

In the open air, the wind bands had a key role to play in processions and dancing and at other festive occasions such as tournaments, their loud instruments filling large, open spaces and their sound being heard over the hubbub of the crowd. The municipal wind-players usually contributed to these events, but others were often brought in from surrounding towns and villages to boost the numbers and spread of these instrumentalists, who were also hired to play by wealthy individuals in their own houses.³¹ Members of the nobility were quite often responsible for the patronage of at least part of the ceremonial soundscape, at both a private and a communal level. For example, in Tortosa, the cost of the music was covered by Gaspar Jofre, a knight of the Order of Saint John, who also maintained «open house», providing refreshments to all-comers, and who himself participated in the festivities by dancing before the image of the saint at her altar with, according to Dalmau, «simplicity and humanity», although this nobleman clearly wished to draw attention to his patronage.³² In Calatayud, the bishop assumed the cost of the music and the candles (San José 1615: 125v). In Barcelona, throughout the feast-day of 5 October 1614, ensembles of wind-players, together with the trumpets and drums of the city council, were placed on a high platform opposite the Carmelite church to provide a musical alert and greeting for the arrival of high-ranking individuals:

30 Díez de Aux 1615: 6: «El gozo desta nueua fue increyble, y se solemnizó no solo en sus conuentos de san Iosef, sino en otros muchos de la dicha ciudad; cantando himnos, tañendo organos y varios instrumentos, repicando campanas, y haziendo con innumerables luces y muchos cohetes y tronadores, de aquella noche oscura claro y resplandeciente dia».

31 Ensembles of wind-players were in such great demand in Seville that they had to limit their performances to half an hour in order to be able to play in all the private houses where they had been requested. San José, 1615: 145v: «Las casas particulares de los señores titulados estauan muy de ver, y en vez de otras luzes muy llenos los balcones, rejas, ventanas, y terrado de buenas hachas y cirios, y en muchas casas auia sus juegos de chirimias, que siendo buscados de tantas partes, no fue poco su interesse esta noche, concertandose por horas y medias horas, para poder acudir a todas partes».

32 Dalmau 1615: 110v: «Quien puso mas calor a esta fiesta, fue don Gaspar Iofre, cauallero de san Iuan, y Comendador de la Azenia, y Canar, que con mucha liberalidad y largueza, todos estos dias tuuo en su casa mesa franca, para que los que se cansauan de aquel exercicio, no tuuiessen ocasión de desistir del, y no parase vn punto la fiesta, tomando el refresco que auian menester, para proseguir con ella. Toda la musica destes dias fue a su costa, y el mismo en persona dançò y baylò delante el altar de la Santa, con mucha llaneza y humanidad». Outside the Crown of Aragon, the festivities in Cogolludo were financed by the Duchess of Medinaceli who also provided with the services of the ducal music chapel (San José 1615: 83v-84r).

Opposite the church, on a high platform, were placed another ensemble of wind-players, together with the municipal band of trumpets and drums, to welcome and announce the arrival of the lords of the tribunals and other notable people of the city.³³

Two further instrumental ensembles were placed above the city gates of the Portaferissa and Boqueria to welcome the crowds of people from other towns who arrived at the crossroads there and formed a procession, while yet another group of minstrels, positioned on the tower of Santa Maria del Pi, «caused rejoicing» and «invited all the city to the festivity».³⁴ In Tarragona, three groups of wind-players, located at three different spaces of the city from which they were able to see each other, also played *batallones* for an hour.³⁵ As has already been suggested, the placing of several groups of musicians high up at strategic points to welcome and announce those attending the festivities must have contributed to a surround-sound effect that, as with the polychoral works performed in church, would have signalled the special nature of the occasion.

However, festive musics were also heard inside the churches, not as part of the liturgy, but as a kind of celestial accompaniment throughout the days of festivities, again invoking the sense of a special occasion through the tropes of King David's praise-through-music and the celestial music of paradise. In Barcelona, the «best wind-players of the city» played in the choir of the Carmelite church, by performing motets (*motes*) in alternation with music played by shawms, sackbuts, *bajones*, cornetts, and *dulzainas* until it was time for the celebration of the Office. While the wind-players rested, other musicians played bowed vihuelas, which, in Dalmau's words, evoked paradise («parecia vn rato de parayso»)³⁶ The distinction between the motets and other musics of the wind-players is curious here —perhaps an oblique reference to the *batallons* already mentioned above. At another point in his *relación*, Dalmau refers to «a *batallon* played by cornetts», which he considered was «without doubt, among the sweetest music ever heard», although in this instance

33 Dalmau 1615: 14r-v: «Frontero de la Iglesia, en vn tablado alto, estauan otro juego de menestres, con las trompetas y atabales de la ciudad, para recibir y auisar con su musica, quando llegauan los señores de los tribunals, y personas de mas calidad (...)».

34 Dalmau 1615: 14r-v: «y sobre las puertas ferriça, y de la boqueria, estuuieron todo este dia otros dos juegos de menestres, que saladauan a la muchedumbre de pueblo que venia por las quatro calles que alli embocan hech procession: y en los mas alto de la torre del Pino, estauan otros menestres, que respondiendose con los de abaxo, rezozijauan y combidauan toda la ciudad a la fiesta.»

35 Dalmau 1615: 91r: «(...) tres juegos de menestres, que estauan repartidos por diferentes puestos eminentes, vnos en vista de otros, reuezendose a porfia en muy graciosos batallones, por espacio de vna hora».

36 Dalmau 1615: 14r: «Y los mejores menestres de la ciudad, estuuieron hasta la hora del officio en el coro, mesclando sus motes con musica de chirimias, sacabuches, baxones, cornetas, y dulcaynas, y el rato que descañavan estos instrumentos, tocavan vn as de vihuela de arco, con que parecia vn rato de parayso».

the music was played outside.³⁷ The reiteration of concepts such as «softness» and «sweetness» in many *relaciones* when describing the sensory experience of music were conventional tropes almost certainly intended to recreate in the reader a sense of synesthesia that went beyond words (De Boer & Góttler 2013: 1-6).³⁸ The introduction of consorts of viols within a sacred space is of particular interest, even though their repertory is not specified in this *relación*. On 31 May 1614, to mark the announcement of the beatification, «different musics of singers, bowed vihuelas, zithers, harps and lutes» were also played in the Carmelite church following Vespers and throughout the evening until Matins were heard.³⁹ Neither the instrumentalists nor the genres they played are mentioned here, and clearly the emphasis is on the trope of diversity of musicians found in the psalms. However, Dalmau gives a more detailed description of these diverse musical sounds in his account of the *son-et-lumière* effect created in Girona Cathedral following the celebration of Vespers: «In the cathedral, still with the illumination of sixty candles, were many different musical ensembles: at times some very interesting motets were sung, and while the [singers] rested, shawms played, as well as stringed instruments, such as harps, zithers, vihuelas, etc., and at other times the organ; by which means the many people who continually passed through celebrated and praised God». ⁴⁰ The few hints as to repertory —specifically motets— would suggest that in this context the varying combinations of instruments and voices performed devotional music that filled the church with sound and attracted large numbers of people, possibly to maintain their interest between the celebration of Vespers and Matins so that the clergy could thus count on a substantial presence for these solemn liturgical celebrations. These were, in effect, an early form of concertising inside the church space, in that the music does not seem to have accompanied the liturgy, although there would seem to have been constant movement among the public throughout. Certainly, this evocation of paradise would have been intended to signal the particular nature of the beatification festivities.

37 Dalmau 1615: 4r: «Començaron luego a tañer los menestres sobre la Iglesia muchos y diferentes motes, madrigales, y batallones por espacio de vna hora, la qual solian rematar con vn batallon tañido con unas cornetas, que sin duda era de lo mas suaue que en materia de musica se ha oydo».

38 The jurist Gratoso Uberti pointed out in 1630 that «sweetness in song does not consist of presenting words and letting them be understood, but in the beauty of the voice, in the variety of sound, now low, now high, now slow, now ornamented» (Uberti da Cesena 1630: 85; cited in Dell'Antonio 2011: 114). This is a subject area that needs more study in the Iberian context.

39 Dalmau 1615: 2v: «Dixeronse las visperas con mucha solemnidad y musica y toda la tarde vuo en la Iglesia musicas diferentes de menestres de voces, de vihuelas de arco, citharas, harpas, y laudes y a la hora acostumbada, se dixeron los maytines del santissimo Sacramento».

40 Dalmau 1615: 100r: «En la Iglesia perseuerando la luminaria de 60 velas, estauan muchos juegos de musicas diferentes: vnos ratos se gastauan en cantar muy curiosos motets, y los [ratos] que estos descansauan tocauan las chirimias, y otros instrumentos de cuerda, como harpas, citharas, vihuelas, &c. y otros el organo; con que se regalaua y alabaua mucho a Dios la mucha gente que de continuo entraba y salia».

Music also provided accompaniment to dancing outside the church environment. In his account of the Lleida celebrations, Dalmau specifically describes the dances as an integral part of the demonstration of rejoicing («Lo restante de aquel santo día se gastò en muchas danças, y otras demostraciones de regozijo por toda la ciudad»; 1615: 99r). In Tarragona, again according to Dalmau, the dancing included a dance dating back to Roman times, which, was customarily performed to celebrate the entries of kings and new archbishops; this dance took the form of a masquerade that left from the Carmelite church and made its way through the city.⁴¹ In Tortosa, dances and songs in honour of St Teresa were performed in the streets throughout the night on the main feast-day, accompanied by shawms and illuminations.⁴²

Festive musics were also associated with ephemeral architecture and devices, such as wooden platforms and triumphal floats. For instance, according to Dalmau, more than fifty wooden platforms were built in Barcelona, among them three being set aside for the Viceroy, the deputies of the principality, and the city councillors, respectively. At the convent of Carmelite nuns in Barcelona a kind of mountain imitating nature was built, on which played an ensemble of wind-players which «livened up this festivity» (Dalmau 1615: 13v). This ephemeral architecture created outdoor theatres or performance spaces that showcased visual activities accompanied by music, and was often closely integrated with permanent urban spaces. On 4 October 1614, after Vespers, the dancing outside the church of the Carmelite convent of Saragossa involved some boys who climbed down from a triumphal float and, accompanied by six savages, danced to the accompaniment (literally, the rhythm or, perhaps, even strumming) of harps and other instruments into the church and continued to dance at the high altar.⁴³ A fancy dress competition and other «inventions» were also convened to the sound of a wind band. The triumphal floats were usually occupied by musicians, as on a float on which a group of men and women wearing «Indian» costumes sang and played skilfully and danced gracefully (Díez de Aux 1615: 146). In Barcelona, a triumphal float «carried much music of voices and instruments» (San José 1615: 66v). Not only

41 Dalmau 1615: 95v: «Este mesmo día por la tarde se remataron los regozijos desta fiestas con vna dança o bayle, de los que duran en aquella ciudad de las antigüedades de los Romanos, con que suelen festejar las entradas de los Reyes, y Arçobispos nuevos; de vna mascarda de ciertos viejos con vnas damas muy gentiles, haciendo muchas continencias, y visages con que començando desde la Iglesia de la gloriosa Santa anduuieron todas las plaças y calles de la ciudad (...)».

42 Dalmau 1615: 104r-v: «(...) vuo aquella noche grande musica de chirimias en esta calle. La fiesta y alegria y las luminarias que en casas particulares se hizieron, es imposible referirlo: porque era todo con gran exceso. Y todas las noches se continuaron por casi todas las calles, con muchas danças, cantando canciones en honra de la Santa».

43 Díez de Aux 1615: 42: «Estos pues con esta velleza y compostura, en seguimiento de los Musicos que lleuauan delante a los saluajes; de dos en dos, con gran denuendo, y al compas que las Arpas y los demas instrumentos señalauan, entraron en la Iglesia, a donde delante del Altar mayor, y en presencia de lo mejor deste Reyno que alli estaua: sin hablar palabra, ni atender otra cosa mas de a la musica que les hazian, dançaron y baylaron, con gran destreza, y con muchas diferencias de sones y mudanças».

floats, but also boats, formed spaces for musical performance. In Tortosa the guild of espadrille-makers created an «invention» on the Ebro which consisted of several boats, each carrying a clarion player, who caused an «admirable» effect as these musicians played while crossing the river; the head of the guild was on one of the boats with «much music of wind-players» (Dalmau 1615: 109r).

The public for these festive musics included a broad range of society although, to some extent, it was characterized by the nature of the particular festivity. Banquets and jousts primarily involved members of the upper echelons of society, while dancing in the streets was generally open to the populace as a whole. On occasion, such musics had a participatory component. The students of the University of Saragossa celebrated the beatification of St Teresa on 6 October 1614 with a procession involving fancy dress, inventions and music which wound around the city and featured the eponymous figures of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, including a cage containing the demons they had captured in honour of the saint (Díez de Aux 1615: 52-57). Students also contributed to the soundscape of the beatification festivities in Tortosa, where, mounted on horseback and carrying torches, they sang songs to guitar accompaniment.⁴⁴ Other social groups held their own processions. These groups were not exclusively urban; for instance, on 7 October a procession of farm-workers headed by bugles and trumpets took place in Saragossa (Díez de Aux 1615: 58). Also in Saragossa, on the last day of the octave, a bugler representing the figure of Fame played «extremely well» while distributing papers containing lyrics to encourage all those attending to participate in praise of the saint: «I will give eyes, ears and mouths to all those present who praise Teresa with me» («Ojos, orejas, y bocas, / Darè yo al que en esta empresa, / Conmigo alabe a Teresa») (Díez de Aux 1615: 140). This is a particularly interesting reference to written material being used to enable those present to join in the festivities.

Music also formed part of plays performed in honour of St Teresa; for instance, in Saragossa a play was performed with «gentle music» («apacible musica»), «subtle lyrics» («discretas letras»), and dancing (Díez de Aux 1615: 147). Similarly, music had a prominent role in the poetry competitions held in honour of Teresa of Jesus in several towns and cities. The poetry readings were interspersed with music, which also accompanied the prize-giving. In Saragossa, the poems entered into the competition were recited over three days at the church of the Discalced Carmelite monks, and the awards ceremony took place to the sound of shawms (Díez de Aux, 1615: 108-109). Music was an effective way of attracting the public, adding solemnity to the event, entertaining and creating atmosphere, as this report on the poetry competition at the feasts of beatification of St Teresa in Calatayud suggests:

44 Dalmau 1615: 115v: «Los estudiantes del Collegio, hizieron tambien su salida, y no fue menos de ver. Hizieron su encamisada, puestos todos en cauillos, con muy vistosas libreas, y con hachas de cera en las manos, trayan vna buena musica de guitarras, cantando a trechos algunas letrillas, con mucha destreza y primor».

(...) A very high and well-proportioned theatre had been built in the main chapel [of the Carmelite convent] (...). The best seats were occupied by the bishop, the bailiff, town councillors, and the judges of the poetry competition. (...) His Lordship and the monks of the convent ordered the verses to be read aloud in public every evening. Thus, after Vespers, two clergymen went up into two pulpits, while the rest of the citizens sat in silence. Poems were read aloud alternatively from the two pulpits. Musical instruments were played when the reading of each poem finished. This [music] and some elegant verses made for a very pleasant and joyful evening.⁴⁵

Music was present at poetry competitions not only as sound, but also as concept, since musical references can be found in the poems themselves. The most detailed description is perhaps that found for another beatification ceremonial: the poetry competition held in 1622 at the Jesuit College in Girona for the canonization of saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier, together with the beatification of Luis Gonzaga. The seventh contest of the event involved writing *liras* on the «angelical» and «celestial» music that was heard at the sepulchre of Saint Ignatius (Turbaví 1623: 114r-121v). The first prize of the competition was a small golden cornet.

Festive musics involved different social groups, sometimes with «unofficial» musicians, such as students or guild-members, as well as providing the general public with entertainment while nevertheless maintaining awareness of social hierarchies. The festivities on the occasion of Saint Teresa's beatification celebrated in the Crown of Aragon involved general rejoicing among the whole of society through a variety of entertainments that involved music, sometimes as protagonist, at others in an accompanying role to activities such as dancing, plays, and poetry competitions. Festive musics were inextricably linked with special, occasional events that involved the whole community and were heard in a variety of urban spaces and in a wide range of entertainments funded by the city and/or by wealthy individuals; inevitably, these musics were associated with celebration and fun (and probably drunkenness), and must also have involved popular songs and guitar music belonging to local oral traditions that were rarely mentioned by the authors of the *relaciones*. Their primary concern was to signal the devout nature of the festivities and the contribution of the different religious institutions of the city with, in this case, due emphasis on the Carmelite churches and monasteries. Such events undoubtedly served in a broader sense to raise spirits, enhance a sense of community, and to provide lasting memories that would inform subsequent events.

45 San José 1615: 125v: «Estaua en el cuerpo de la Capilla mayor leuantado vno como teatro muy alto y bien proporcionado, cubierto de muchas y buenas alhombbras, y repartidos en el lugares muy graues para el señor Obispo, justicia, jurados, y juezes del Certamen Poetico: y auiendo los Poetas presentado muchos y muy buenos versos, de diferentes poesias, fue gusto de su Señoria, y de los deuotos de casa que se fuessen leyendo cada tarde publicamente, y assi acabadas las visperas, se ponian dos personas Ecclesiasticas, en dos pulpitos, y estando toda la demas gente del pueblo sentados en sus lugares, todos con mucho silencio, se leia vna poesia en el vn pulpito, y otra en el otro, tañendose en acabando cada vno algunos instrumentos, que con esto y algunos versos graciosos tuuieron vn rato de harto gusto y alegría».

Relaciones, for all their limited discourse on the aesthetics of the beatification festivities, and their thinly disguised political and religious agenda, afford a glimpse of the various roles granted urban music-making on these occasions. Music was not merely an ornamental device, but was also used for didactic, and even moral purposes: children and women were taught devotional songs, and the texts of motets and *villancicos* (where they could be heard or pamphlets containing the texts were printed and distributed) promulgated and conveyed the theological and spiritual messages surrounding the beatification of Teresa of Jesus. More generally, music quite often provided a means of blurring boundaries between sacred and civic spaces and was held to evoke an echo of the celestial music that the saint would be hearing in heaven. Sound was only one element of the beatification festivities, and was often closely linked with other sensory experiences to produce a kind of synesthesia. Some *relaciones* emphasized the importance of the sense of smell in conjunction with the sense of hearing as integral to the visual component of the ceremonies. For example, in Girona, when Vespers were performed on the eve of the main feast-day, the church was very «fragrant» and highly illuminated (San José 2015: 175v). Flowers and aromatic branches filled the churches and were laid along processional routes. The following excerpt from the *relación* of the beatification of Saint Teresa in Alba de Tormes (Salamanca) describes in more detail this aim of creating the experience of synaesthesia:

The air was softened by a thousand pleasant echoes of musical instruments and voices, which often performed motets, accompanied by musical melodies, flourishes and harmonies, as well as the ornaments [*queibros y pasos*] of brilliant voices. Thus, with various and subtle fragrances and with concerted singing, both the senses of smell and hearing were satisfied beyond complaint, and thus in no way envied the sense of sight.⁴⁶

The experience of the beatification ceremonial may even have produced a kind of cenesthesia, as not only the five senses but also a heightened awareness of the body was involved, through, for example, the impact of loud sounds on the heart and pulse. In the context of contemporary culture, writers such as Nina Eidsheim have recently considered how music offers not only an aural experience, but also material, physical, tactile, spatial, and vibrational sensations (Eidsheim 2015). Musics of different kinds (as well as other sounds such as bells, gunfire and fireworks) would have had strong emotional and physical effects on the audience and participants in the festivities on the occasion of the beatification of Teresa of Jesus in 1614. As suggested by the authors of the *relaciones* in their brief and generalized musical descriptions, however limited the discourse, music served at the beatification festivities as a way of inspiring devotion through sensorial experiences and emotions.

46 San José 1615: 14r: «Ablandauan el ayre mil agradables ecos de instrumentos, y vozes que a menudo repetian motetes, acompañados de melodía, primores y armonia de musica, queibros y pasos de clarissimas gargantas. Quedando assi con los varios y sutiles perfumes, como con los acordados cantos, satisfechos el olfato, y oydo, (sentidos que juzgan destos objectos)], sin materia de quexa, y en nada embidiando por entonces a los ojos».

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