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**‘Hoy al Portal ha venido’:  
Nativity scenes and the Galant style in the Christmas villancicos  
from the Cathedral of Santiago, Chile (c.1770–1820)**

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**Abstract**

Colonial Christmas villancicos preserved at the cathedral of Santiago, Chile, employ a series of musical conventions to signify the nativity scene and the characters that interact on it to adore the Christ Child. The way in which the Chilean villancicos deploy those conventions confirms a link between musical resources rooted in theatrical practices, the didactic function of the vernacular pieces, and scriptural and literary sources. Insofar as these villancicos functionally operate as sonifications of an imagined staging, they provide a coherent context for the appearance of elements alien with respect to the biblical narrative. Furthermore, the villancicos betray patterns of trans-continental colonial cultural mobility related to the dissemination of the Galant style and Hispanic dances from the *teatro breve* tradition that are localized and resignified in Santiago.

**Keywords:** Villancicos, Chile, Santiago, galant style, Christmas, tonadilla, colonial music

**Resumen**

Los villancicos coloniales navideños preservados en la catedral de Santiago de Chile emplean una serie de convenciones musicales para referir a la escena del nacimiento y a los personajes que interactúan en aquella escena para adorar al Niño Jesús. La manera en que los villancicos chilenos despliegan aquellas convenciones confirma un vínculo entre los recursos musicales arraigados en las prácticas teatrales, la función didáctica de las piezas vernáculas y las fuentes escriturales y literarias. En la medida en que estos villancicos funcionan como la sonificación de una puesta en escena imaginada, ellos dan coherencia a la aparición de elementos ajenos a la narración bíblica canónica. Además, los villancicos revelan patrones de movilidad cultural colonial transcontinental relacionados con la difusión del estilo galante y las danzas hispanas de la tradición del teatro breve que se localizan y resignifican en Santiago.

**Palabras clave:** Villancicos, Chile, Santiago, estilo galante, Navidad, tonadilla, música colonial

The cathedral of Santiago, Chile, currently preserves twenty-one Christmas villancicos dating from the colonial era. The villancicos, paraliturgical songs in the vernacular, introduce a wide group of fictional characters from distant corners of the world derived from a mixture of scriptural, literary, and theatrical traditions. The ways in which the villancicos presents those characters position the Christmas villancico in a continuum of colonial cultural mobility within an expanding network of shared musical practices that connected far-flung Santiago to such epicenters of European culture as Naples and Madrid. This article examines the deployment of musical-poetic signs, including theatrical dances and linguistic deformation, among others, used in the Chilean villancicos to

represent the scene of the birth of Christ following conventions consistent with the dissemination of Italianate music during the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

What sets these Christmas villancicos apart from other eighteenth-century musical genres is a keen sense of religiosity that music studies have not sufficiently emphasized. The villancicos present situations that may seem discordant with traditional notions regarding the hegemonic space of the cathedral, such as an Italian peddler who visits Chile or young shepherds who become associated with the lower strata of Hispanic urban society, yet they are always evoked to emphasize communal devotion.

Thanks to the prolific research on the signs and traditions of Christmas throughout the Latin American colonies, the villancicos associated with this religious occasion represent an ideal medium for interrogating the intersection of devotion, musical representation, and performance of identity.<sup>2</sup> This article studies how colonial villancicos are part of sophisticated and complex negotiations between the liturgical requirements of the Santiago cathedral and the consumption of musical entertainments on the one hand, and between the peripheral situation of Chile and the trans-European identity marked by the Galant style on the other. This investigation, then, invites a reflection of the colonial musical repertoire that considers the villancico from a historically located dimension. I propose that the levels of meaning in the colonial villancico combine the theological details emphasized by the texts and a theatricalized situation with the musical positionality that the Galant style represents for a peripheral colonial identity. Presenting a historicized semiotic analysis of the Chilean villancicos as a whole reveals the power of these villancicos to negotiate an appropriate catechetical content with high prestige and representational resources drawn from the world of the stage, thus explaining their permanence over time and their overcoming of multiple prohibitions.<sup>3</sup>

Following Hispanic religious and literary traditions and eighteenth-century Italianate musical conventions, the Santiago cathedral villancicos focus on the nativity scene by creating a theatrical

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Early stages of this essay derive from the author's participation in the FONDECYT Project 1170071, "De la polifonía al canto llano: reconstrucción de prácticas músico-litúrgicas en el obispado de Santiago (1788-1840)," directed by Alejandro Vera, whom the author would like to wholeheartedly thank. The author would also like to thank Cesar D. Favila, Drew E. Davies, Morton Wan, Samantha Jones, and Anna-Lise Santella for their invaluable feedback during the preparation of this article.

<sup>1</sup> Hereafter, I will refer to the Santiago Cathedral Archive as ACS (Archivo de la Catedral de Santiago) and will specify the villancicos by their incipit (e.g., *Un gallego pastorcillo*). A complete list of these villancicos can be found in the appendix at the end of this article.

<sup>2</sup> In particular, see Olaya Sanfuentes, "Agricultura y cultura en el convento de monjas. Una especial devoción al Niño Jesús en el siglo XIX"; Sanfuentes, "Artes y prácticas votivas: la devoción al Niño Jesús entre monjas de conventos en Chile en el siglo XIX"; Sanfuentes "Pesebres en acción. Representation and performance in the analysis of nineteenth-century nativity scenes in Santiago de Chile"; Sanfuentes, "Tensiones navideñas: Cambios y permanencias en la celebración de la Navidad en Santiago durante el siglo XIX."

<sup>3</sup> In this work I have privileged a pragmatic perspective for the analysis of signs based on the works of Charles S. Peirce and applied by Raymond Monelle: Peirce, *Semiotics and Signifys: The Correspondence between Charles S. Peirce and Lady Victoria Welby*; Monelle, *The Sense of Music: Semiotic Essays*; Monelle, *Linguistics and Semiotics in Music*.

scenario. From this perspective, I argue that the villancicos depict characters whose primary function is to be spectators of Christ's birth. Even if the music was not accompanied by acting, the relationships between characters take place in a situation based on theatrical conventions for which the manger functions as an imagined stage. In such a staged situation, the characters emphasize the didactic sense of the villancico by bringing the story into the present world and inviting the listener to take part in it. As will be seen, the deployment of this scene in a Galant language furthermore points to the dissemination of the tonadilla in Santiago. All these elements converge to generate an instance of a duality, or the combining of the multiplicity of media into the singular villancico, that Alejandro Vera describes as a structural element underlying the colonial reality.<sup>4</sup>

Most studies of Spanish-American colonial villancicos have focused on earlier repertoires. This poses a problem in the case of Chile, where the oldest preserved pieces date from the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Building from the revitalization of research on South American villancicos, this study contributes to a nuanced understanding of the understudied Christmas colonial villancicos preserved in Chile.<sup>6</sup>

### **Christmas villancicos and the catechetical function of the spectator characters**

In Christmas villancicos, the manger becomes a proscenium with the figure of the Christ Child at its center. This dramatic design allows the nativity scene to transcend the episode narrated by the gospels to include elements from everyday life, popular imagination, and the interpretation of apocryphal texts. The biblical nativity scene does not incorporate characters such as charlatans,

<sup>4</sup> See Alejandro Vera, *The Sweet Penance of Music: Music Life in Colonial Santiago de Chile*.

<sup>5</sup> For some recent publications, see: Geoffrey Baker, "The 'Ethnic Villancico' and Racial Politics in 17th-Century Mexico;" Andrew A. Cashner, *Hearing Faith: Music as Theology in the Spanish Empire*; "Imitating Africans, Listening for Angels: A Slaveholder's Fantasy of Social Harmony in an 'Ethnic Villancico' from Colonial Puebla (1652)"; Ireri E. Chávez Bárcenas, "Singing in the City of Angels: Race, Identity, and Devotion in Early Modern Puebla de Los Ángeles"; Chávez Bárcenas, "Native Song and Dance Affect in Seventeenth-Century Christian Festivals in New Spain"; Drew E. Davies, "The Italianized Frontier: Music at Durango Cathedral, Español Culture, and the Aesthetics of Devotion in Eighteenth-Century New Spain"; Davies, "To Combat but Not to Arms: Galant Music from Mexico City in Honor of Carlos III"; Davies, "El sacramento galante: ¿'maravilla rara' o 'galán amante?"; Davies and Lucero Enríquez Rubio, *Conformación y retórica de los repertorios musicales catedralicios en la Nueva España*; Cesar Favila, "The Sound of Profession Ceremonies in Novohispanic Convents"; Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente, *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450–1800: The Villancico and Related Genres*; Javier Marín López, "El villancico religioso en la Puebla de entre siglos (XVII-XVIII): algunas consideraciones litúrgico-formales"; Marín López, *Músicas coloniales a debate: Procesos de intercambio euroamericanos*; Marín López and Raúl Zambrano, "¡Ay, qué dolor! (1701) de Antonio de Salazar: contextos para un villancico barroco transcrito por Manuel M. Ponce"; Aurelio Tello, *Humor, pericia y devoción: villancicos en la Nueva España*.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Leonardo J. Waisman, *Neglo celebramo, Pañolo burlamo: La negrilla en España y en América*; Bernardo Illari, "The Popular, the Sacred, the Colonial and the Local: The Performance of Identities in the Villancicos from Sucre (Bolivia)"; Illari, "Polychoral Culture: Cathedral Music in La Plata (Bolivia), 1680-1730."; initial musicological approaches to the Chilean repertoire were carried out by Eugenio Pereira Salas and María Ester Grebe; see Pereira Salas, "Los Villancicos Chilenos"; Pereira Salas, *Los Orígenes del Arte Musical en Chile*; Grebe, "Introducción al estudio del villancico en Latinoamérica"; Alejandro Vera has analyzed part of the corpus considered here in terms of the music's circulation between Santiago and Lima and its assimilation of models chiefly developed in Central Europe, see Vera, "Trazas y Trazos de la Circulación Musical en el Virreinato del Perú: Copistas de la Catedral de Lima en Santiago de Chile"; Vera, "La globalización de la música instrumental a fines del siglo XVIII: Recepción del repertorio galante y clásico en Lima (c. 1770–c. 1800)."

*criollos*, or Galicians, but, as will be seen, the cathedral villancicos do incorporate these types of figures.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the nativity scene allows a culturally localized and practical use of its aesthetic manifestations as a means of participation and transmission of the complex theology of Christ's incarnation.

The tradition of representing the birth of Christ by aesthetic means during Christmas time probably originated in thirteenth-century Italian Franciscan communities.<sup>8</sup> Since then, celebrants have used visual representations and theatrical performances, staging an increasingly malleable account of the foundational event of Christianity. Over time, these representations came to fulfill functions of a didactic nature: first, they allowed for the education of those who were not used to reading or did not know how; second, they highlighted virtues associated with the Christian messiah by underscoring the human and divine nature of Jesus; and, third, by engaging multimodal repetition of the doctrine, they facilitated memorization of the scripture.<sup>9</sup> This representational tradition spread through the rest of Europe, and through religious figures from the beginning of the conquest throughout the Spanish colonies.<sup>10</sup>

In Chile, the celebration of Christmas had a restricted public scope since the authorities did not organize official acts on a regular basis. Nor did the Chilean Church enact the obligation to attend Mass.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Santiago celebrated, for instance, a “Novena del Niño Dios” in the various churches of that city from mid-December until Christmas Eve.<sup>12</sup> The “*Misas de Aguinaldo*,” a series of special votive Masses that preceded Christmas, also crystallized this phenomenon.<sup>13</sup> On the night before the Nativity, prayers would begin just before midnight and, then, the parishioners would depart in a procession accompanied by music that included villancicos. After the procession, the faithful would continue with the adoration, ending with the so-called “*Misa del Gallo*” (Midnight Mass). Generally, during these religious celebrations, and at Christmas Matins, up to eight villancicos were sung.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>7</sup> A *criollo* refers to the colony-born descendants of Spaniards, in contraposition to the “Peninsulares” or Spaniards born in Spain but residing in the colonies. In both cases, the terms imply the lack of mixture with the Indigenous population.

<sup>8</sup> Sanfuentes, “Agricultura y cultura en el convento de monjas. Una especial devoción al Niño Jesús en el siglo XIX,” 55.

<sup>9</sup> Sanfuentes, “Artes y prácticas votivas: la devoción al Niño Jesús entre monjas de conventos en Chile en el siglo XIX,” 2.

<sup>10</sup> Pereira Salas, “Los Villancicos Chilenos,” 37–38.

<sup>11</sup> See Isabel Cruz, *La fiesta: metamorfosis de lo cotidiano*, 138.

<sup>12</sup> A Novena chiefly consisted of a set of prayers that were recited daily starting nine days before Christmas Day. In his book on the musical life of Santiago, Chile, Alejandro Vera lists abundant information about Christmas musical activities in the private sphere. These include the 1688 Synod's prohibition to display nativity scenes due to the use of ‘indecent music,’ which was reinstated almost a century later, in 1762, by Bishop Alday; Vera, *The Sweet Penance of Music: Music Life in Colonial Santiago de Chile*, 40, 232–234.

<sup>13</sup> On the *misas de aguinaldo* in the Spanish Empire, see David R. M. Irving, “Historical and Literary Vestiges of the Villancico in the Early Modern Philippines,” 373–4.

<sup>14</sup> Sanfuentes, “Pesebres en acción. Representación y performance en el análisis de los nacimientos decimonónicos en Santiago de Chile,” 361. This is consistent with peninsular practices; see Torrente, “Function and Liturgical Context of the Villancico in Salamanca Cathedral.”

Comic villancicos were used in Santiago during the religious services of this liturgical time as an effective means to attract the population.<sup>15</sup> Cathedral pieces like *Hoy al portal ha venido* (ACS 217) poked fun at foreigners, in this case an Italian charlatan who travels to Chile to sell medicine of dubious provenance, through the Italianate style and intertextual references to Hispanic theatrical dances. Such a situation seems to have displeased the ecclesiastical authorities, since the 1744 Synod of Concepción required moderation of a “supreme jocularity” in humorous villancicos for Christmas Matins and prohibited “profane music, even if their lyrics may be sacred.”<sup>16</sup> Likewise, in the Synod of 1763, the Bishop of Santiago, Manuel de Alday, decided to reiterate a prohibition of singing villancicos “mocking some guilds or persons” in the Chilean cathedral on Christmas night.<sup>17</sup> The authorities recognized the need for music in the church but wanted to highlight the need to move believers to a devotional attitude. As the quotation shows, the problem that Alday saw was that these villancicos would rather move the parishioners to laughter.

Despite the bishop’s efforts, the comic presence of an array of archetypical characters in the villancicos of the cathedral that ranged from Galician young shepherds to low-class city dwellers from the Iberian Peninsula remained recognizable. The persistence of jocular characters in Christmas villancicos can be explained by the very same stress placed on the epiphanic meaning of Christ’s birth, that is, on the act of making himself known.<sup>18</sup> One can understand the Christmas villancico, then, as the sonification of the nativity scene since, in the words of Javier Moreno Abad, “the villancicos create an imaginary stage, overseen by the newborn Christ Child.”<sup>19</sup>

Iconographic studies of nativity scenes consider that, beyond the Holy Family and the Magi, there is a category of characters called “spectators.”<sup>20</sup> The spectators comprise all the characters who go to the stable in Bethlehem to adore Christ. The chief example of the spectators is the figure of the shepherds. This means that Spaniards and Italians found within the Santiago cathedral villancicos function as spectators insofar as they are invoked to visit the newborn infant. From a doctrinal perspective, these characters both represent the call to proclaim the gospel. Moreover, the appearance of spectator characters in Luke’s Gospel has been interpreted as an invitation extended to believers to participate in the Christmas scene and become, vicariously, a character in this story.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Omar Morales Abril, “Villancicos de remedio en la Nueva España,” 38.

<sup>16</sup> “Músicas profanas, aunque sean las letras a lo divino;” *Sínodo de Concepción (Chile), 1744*, capítulo 1, constitución XIX.

<sup>17</sup> “Burlescos contra algunos gremios o personas;” Manuel de Alday, *Synodo diocesana del obispado de Santiago de Chile*, título XV, constitución IV.

<sup>18</sup> R. Javier Moreno Abad, “Villancicos políglotas en la colección de la Catedral de Toledo; personajes y tipos.”

<sup>19</sup> Moreno Abad, “Imágenes de Toledo en los Villancicos de la Catedral.”

<sup>20</sup> Sanfuentes, “Artes y prácticas votivas: la devoción al Niño Jesús entre monjas de conventos en Chile en el siglo XIX,” 111.



The sonification of the spectators in the villancicos requires a space that gives them coherence in terms of an imagined staged situation. As mentioned above, that stage corresponds to the nativity scene, in which characters, intertextual references, and all sorts of colonial experiences are displayed. According to historian Olaya Sanfuentes, the flexibility of the colonial nativity scene implies that one way to suggest the story of Jesus's birth in music was through the identification of the spectators "with the society of the time, with each of the parishioners who worship him [...] who are able to accommodate themselves to their respective contexts and remain effective."<sup>21</sup> In this respect, it can be said that representations of the nativity scene were associated with the sphere of popular religiosity, since they allowed for the integration of customary elements from their local surroundings and allow for the development of emotional ties with their devotees.<sup>22</sup>

Given its capacity to be localized, each aesthetic representation of the nativity scene implies a reinterpretation and revitalization of the narrative of Christ's birth. This is because the scene includes elements that are anachronistic with respect to the biblical account. The distinct, if not deliberate, ahistoricism of such elements, in turn, implies that the foundational event of Christianity is understood as occurring in the present time and space, as a reality that affects human existence in a synchronic mode. This perspective explains why a distinctive feature of many villancicos is the mention of traditional practices, trades associated with different cultural groups, and other customary elements, such as musical instruments, as discussed below.<sup>23</sup> The parishioners who attended the Christmas services, then, witnessed in the villancicos a mirror of their own environment that connected them with what was a complex religious doctrine.

The comic aspect of the villancicos was a way of poking fun at others, at one's neighbor, and, therefore, at oneself. As a result, the universalist ideal of the Catholic Church was reinforced. In other words, although solemn feasts such as Christmas could function as spaces for social recreation, it is the devotional and symbolic performativity of the comic villancicos that primarily underlies their permanence in the repertoire, despite the resistance of authorities such as Bishop Alday.

### **The Italianization of the nativity scene**

The villancicos studied here were composed in the Italianate or Galant style, especially that associated with the Neapolitan school of the mid-eighteenth century. Some of the characteristic features of the Galant style in the villancicos include the emphasis on independent string accompaniment, distinct vocal solos, instrumental doubling of melodic profiles, formal regularity,

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<sup>21</sup> Sanfuentes, "Pesebres en acción. Representación y performance en el análisis de los nacimientos decimonónicos en Santiago de Chile," 367.

<sup>22</sup> "Popular religiosity" here refers to spontaneous spheres of religious representations and practices, which may deviate from official doctrine and tend to be specific to groups outside institutional framework; see Sanfuentes, "Artes y prácticas votivas: la devoción al Niño Jesús entre monjas de conventos en Chile en el siglo XIX," 111.

<sup>23</sup> See also Morales Abril, "Villancicos de remedo en la Nueva España," 31.

periodic phrasing, and use of rhythmic-melodic cells.<sup>24</sup> In the case of the villancico, the introduction of the Galant style stood in contrast, for instance, to earlier choral practices that hinged on polyphonic and homophonic part writing, *colla parte* accompaniment, and occasional presence of basso continuo.

The Italianate style arrived in Chile by way of Lima, the capital of the Viceroyalty, and its cultural links to Italy through Spain. In the first half of the century, the Galant style had rapidly established itself in European sacred music as Naples was under Spanish control.<sup>25</sup> Hispanic-Italian music of theatrical origin was already predominant in the Lima cathedral by 1750.<sup>26</sup> A key figure is the chapel master, José de Campderrós (1742–c.1800), who arrived in Santiago after an extensive stay in Lima and played an essential role in the establishment of the Italianate style in Chile.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, Vera's paleographic study and certain villancicos attributed to Campderrós establish a direct link between this repertoire and the capital of the Viceroyalty.<sup>28</sup> From a hierarchical perspective, the service of the Santiago cathedral was institutionally dependent on the archbishopric and cathedral of Lima until 1840, meaning that the Viceregal cathedral became a reference point for the repertoire and musical style used in Chile.<sup>29</sup>

The instrumentation of the Chilean villancicos directly betrays Galant influence, incorporating violins, oboes, flutes, and basso continuo.<sup>30</sup> This observation is coherent with institutional documentation from the cathedral archives. Account books of the cathedral of Santiago reveal that, towards the end of 1776, a position for a violinist was created for the first time.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, it was not until the ecclesiastic council agreed to increase the budget for the

<sup>24</sup> Some of the fundamental publications that inform this article's understanding of the Galant style's development, circulation, and characteristics include Giorgio Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento: History, Theory, and Practice*; Robert O. Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*; Daniel Hertz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style 1720–1780*.

<sup>25</sup> See Vera, "Trazas y Trazos de la Circulación Musical en el Virreinato del Perú: Copistas de la Catedral de Lima en Santiago de Chile," pp. 141–154; in the first chapter of *The Sweet Penance of Music: Music Life in Colonial Santiago de Chile*, Vera considers the cathedral as a node that directly connected the religious life of Santiago with the rest of the Empire. Jesús Ramos-Kittrell shows that the Cathedral of Mexico had already experienced a stylistic Italianization prior to the arrival of Ignacio Jerusalem as a chapelmaster, suggesting that the boundaries between the theater and the church had become less rigid at least since the 1720s; see *Playing in the Cathedral: Music, Race, and Status in New Spain*, 96–127.

<sup>26</sup> Andrés Sas, *La música en la Catedral de Lima durante el virreinato. Primera parte: Historia General*, 53.

<sup>27</sup> See the fifth chapter in Vera, *The Sweet Penance of Music: Music Life in Colonial Santiago de Chile*.

<sup>28</sup> Guillermo Marchant, "La música en la Catedral de Santiago de Chile," 141–166.

<sup>29</sup> Marchant, "La música en la Catedral de Santiago de Chile," 150.

<sup>30</sup> See Marín López, "Música y músicos entre dos mundos: la catedral de México y sus libros de polifonía," 171; Drew Davies provides further details regarding the colonial Italianization of musical aesthetics, see Davies, "The Italianized Frontier: Music at Durango Cathedral, Español Culture, and the Aesthetics of Devotion in Eighteenth-Century New Spain;" and Davies, "To Combat but Not to Arms: Galant Music from Mexico City in Honor of Carlos III."

<sup>31</sup> ACS, Libro de Cuentas de 1743–1778 fol 89v; in Vera, *The Sweet Penance of Music: Music Life in Colonial Santiago de Chile*, 49.



chapel's musicians in 1786 that the process of musical modernization began to occur systematically.<sup>32</sup> By 1788, the council ultimately enabled the creation of permanent positions for a second violin and two oboists. Those musicians could also play the transverse flute, which made it possible for the chapel to perform a wide range of modern, fashionable music.<sup>33</sup>

In the case of the cathedral of Santiago, the Italianate style acts as a double referent: its presence became associated with upper-class culture and, perhaps paradoxically, it was directly related to the music of the Spanish public theaters.<sup>34</sup> This assertion suggests that music brought to the cathedral functioned as an act of identity performance in itself. The geographic origin of each composition matters less than its deployment for an audience in a peripheral, colonial context. This is because the Galant style that characterizes the Chilean villancicos had become a fashionable ideal of devotional expression. For promoters of the Enlightenment in Spain, such as Antonio Eximeno the Galant style reflected a pleasant coherence between art and nature.<sup>35</sup> Just as the notion that associated this style with an idealized cosmopolitan culture afforded European monarchs a means of self-legitimization through the display of sophistication, the presence of Galant villancicos in colonial Santiago indicates their cross-cultural employment as a sign of refinement. That is, the conventions derived from Italian opera functioned as a form of cultural capital that homogenized “high culture” in the eighteenth century.<sup>36</sup>

The most obvious reference that cathedral villancicos make to theatrical music is perhaps their quotations of dances for the stage. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the villancico began to be characterized by the incorporation of borrowings from other musical genres that expanded its intertextual repertoire.<sup>37</sup> In Santiago, one can find villancicos that quote dances, such as the seguidillas and the gaita, associated with the tonadilla, a short theatrical genre characterized by its musical numbers that is not well documented in Chile.<sup>38</sup> For example, the manuscripts of *Que es esto pastorcillos* (ACS 109) and *Un músico, que cegando el punto* (ACS 215), among others, indicate that their *coplas* (stanzas) correspond to boleras, another dance directly linked to the tonadilla. Santiago, however, did not have a coliseum or *corral* (courtyard theater) for comedies during the eighteenth century, which partially explains the lack of documentation of the tonadilla.<sup>39</sup> Although the texts of the villancicos may come from places that indeed possessed a

<sup>32</sup> ACS, Acuerdos del Consejo, Vol. 3, fol. 111v; in Vera, *The Sweet Penance of Music: Music Life in Colonial Santiago de Chile*, 52.

<sup>33</sup> ACS, Acuerdos del Consejo, Vol. 3, fols. 158r-v.

<sup>34</sup> See Martha Feldman: Feldman, “Magic Mirrors and the Seria Stage: Thoughts toward a Ritual View”; *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy*.

<sup>35</sup> Antonio Eximeno, *Del origen y reglas de la música, con la historia de su progreso, decadencia y restauración*.

<sup>36</sup> Davies, “The Italianized Frontier: Music at Durango Cathedral, Español Culture, and the Aesthetics of Devotion in Eighteenth-Century New Spain,” 46-8.

<sup>37</sup> See Torrente, “El villancico religioso,” 435–530.

<sup>38</sup> Refer to the appendix for a complete list of dance quotations.

<sup>39</sup> Vera, *The Sweet Penance of Music: Music Life in Colonial Santiago de Chile*, 322.

theater, these pieces are nonetheless exceptional witnesses of the reception of such eighteenth-century entertainments in the Chilean colony.

Tonadillas were particularly popular in Madrid in the mid-eighteenth century, while the Galant style became the prevailing musical taste across Europe.<sup>40</sup> The tonadillas seem to have arrived as a spectacle in Santiago de Chile thanks to the efforts of individuals such as José Rubio. This impresario managed to obtain a permit for his troupe to perform twenty functions of *comedias*, *entremeses*, and *sainetes*, between 1777 and 1778. The acts of those shows would feature intermissions with tonadillas. If we are to believe Bishop Alday's response to this request, who did not approve of the establishment of a *casa de comedias* in the city, before Rubio's arrival there was no theatrical tradition of this nature.<sup>41</sup>

After Rubio's operations, there is a documentary lacuna that lasts until the arrival of the Spanish musician Antonio Aranaz in Santiago.<sup>42</sup> The most important source of information about Aranaz was provided by the Chilean historian Eugenio Pereira Salas, who claimed to have possessed some of the musician's manuscripts that had previously belonged to the nineteenth-century chapel master José Zapiola.<sup>43</sup> According to Pereira, Aranaz would have traveled first to Buenos Aires, where he worked for a company of *cómicos*, after which he arrived in Santiago hoping to compete for the vacant position of *maestro de capilla*. In Chile, to Aranaz's dismay, the *oidor* Francisco Tadeo Diez de Medina informed the Spaniard that the position had already been filled by a musician from Lima, that is, by José de Campderrós. Diez de Medina, however, allowed Aranaz to stage "some *sainetes*, tonadillas, and decent dances" in 1793. These performances seem to have taken place in the courtyard of a house in Santiago until Aranaz left the city in 1796.<sup>44</sup> According to writer Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, Juan Rodríguez Ballesteros, *oidor* of the Real Audiencia, was present several evenings at these musical gatherings and testified that Aranaz would have respected for the most part the condition of not presenting "indecent" tonadillas.<sup>45</sup> Subsequently, we know that, between 1806 and 1807, the impresario Josef de Herrera Ramírez performed tonadillas, with *seguidillas* and *boleras*, in the new Coliseo de Santiago.<sup>46</sup> This scarce information, in reality, perfectly coincides with the most likely time frame for the performance of the extant colonial Christmas villancicos from the Santiago cathedral. Thus, the dissemination of the tonadilla would explain the ubiquity of its acts in the cathedral, for the parishioners now shared the same repertoire of references.

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<sup>40</sup> See Elisabeth Le Guin, *The Tonadilla in Performance: Lyric Comedy in Enlightenment Spain*.

<sup>41</sup> Pereira Salas, *Historia del teatro en Chile desde sus orígenes a la muerte de Juan Casacuberta*, 44–46.

<sup>42</sup> Pereira Salas, *Historia del teatro en Chile desde sus orígenes a la muerte de Juan Casacuberta*, 52–54.

<sup>43</sup> The music corresponds to the *boleras* of a 1793 tonadilla; Pereira Salas, *Los Orígenes del Arte Musical en Chile*, 308, 372.

<sup>44</sup> "... algunos *sainetes*, tonadillas y bailes decentes;" in Pereira Salas, *Los Orígenes del Arte Musical en Chile*, 45–46.

<sup>45</sup> "poco decentes;" see Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna, *Historia De Santiago, 1541-1868*, Apéndice II. An *oidor* served as a high judge within the Spanish Empire.

<sup>46</sup> Pereira Salas, *Los Orígenes del Arte Musical en Chile*, 47.

### The characters of Galant mangers in the villancicos of the Cathedral of Santiago

In the Chilean cathedral repertoire, as in other places of the Spanish Empire, the most characteristic theatrical resource to evoke the spectators of the nativity scene is the use of dramatic typologies built on stock characters. These are models of representation that gather prefixed features, such as their personality and way of speaking, and are recognizable by people who share the relevant cultural competence. The traits of these characters are encoded in music through intertextual signs identifiable by an audience instructed in these references through the consumption of cultural artifacts; this is why it is significant that we can trace the circulation of the tonadilla and the Galant style in Santiago during this period.<sup>47</sup> As will be seen, the use of theatrical dances and processes of linguistic reinvention in the villancicos occupy the function of being signs that accumulate to describe, stage, and sonify this stereotyped cast.

It is common for colonial villancicos to feature stereotypical characters that are identified with specific ethnicities, races, and countries. These usually correspond to Portuguese, Italian, Black, and sometimes Indigenous characters. Although cases such as the *negrillas*, villancicos that portrayed colonial Black characters, date from at least the seventeenth century, Elisabeth Le Guin has postulated that the presence of characters from different geographic areas of Spain follows a process of establishing “internal foreigners.” The Iberian regions would have become foreign to Madrid’s urban culture, a process rooted in a growing insularity of the peninsular capital during the eighteenth century.<sup>48</sup> In this sense, the presence of Iberian characters in Santiago emphasizes the paradox of representing a cosmopolitan genre and characters in a situation of double insularity. In the case of the Spanish characters, a typical representation mechanism is the use of imagined linguistic features, associated with such human groups, mediated by the tradition of *teatro breve* (brief theater); a resource called linguistic reinvention.<sup>49</sup> The character that is being described by means of linguistic reinvention generally sonifies themselves as a stereotype by vocalizing in a tongue that pretends to resemble the language of reference. The vocalization is but a caricature of the language of reference, as in the case of Macaronic Latin and Portuñol.<sup>50</sup> It is important to remember that this caricaturing is not an immediate representation of society, but, as Le Guin notices for the tonadillas in Spain, it is the distortions given by a “rarely trustworthy” Baroque mirror.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Moreno Abad, “Villancicos políglotas en la colección de la Catedral de Toledo; personajes y tipos,” [2].

<sup>48</sup> The representation of these regional types in the Tonadillas is probably one of the sources informing the villancico’s representational mechanisms in Santiago; see Le Guin, *The Tonadilla in Performance: Lyric Comedy in Enlightenment Spain*, pp. 135–156; for the case of the *negrillas*, see Waisman, *Neglo celebramo, Pañolo burlamo: La negrilla en España y en América*.

<sup>49</sup> Moreno Abad, “Villancicos políglotas en la colección de la Catedral de Toledo; personajes y tipos.”

<sup>50</sup> For an extensive and enlightening discussion of textual deformation of Castilian and Portuguese to portray Black characters, see Nicholas R. Jones, *Staging Habla de Negros: Radical Performances of the African Diaspora in Early Modern Spain*, Iberian Encounter and Exchange, 475–1755 3 (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019).

<sup>51</sup> Le Guin, *The Tonadilla in Performance: Lyric Comedy in Enlightenment Spain*, 145.

The anonymous *Un gallego pastorcillo* (ACS 111) serves as a paradigm of the characterization processes typical of the villancico. The piece presents the typified character of the “pastor” (shepherd) along with a process of linguistic reinvention that depicts him as a stereotyped Galician Spaniard.<sup>52</sup> In the introduction to the villancico, the alto voice proposes a dramatic framing when conveying the action from a narrator’s perspective: “a Galician shepherd boy gets ready to play his bagpipe for the first time because, at last, everything that is good came into being tonight [...]”<sup>53</sup> The preamble of the villancico expressly introduces us to the character of the Galician shepherd, then it defines his function of summoning other shepherds from Galicia: “he says that he is preparing a dance and, inviting [other] shepherds, he dances most excellently in the Galician style.”<sup>54</sup>

Once the villancico sets the scene for the listener, a brief instrumental bridge and fermata signal a change in musical scene, now incorporating compound duple meter. An instrumental introduction repositions us in a pastoral world, as discussed below. Here, the treble voice comes to embody the main spectator character. The narrative switches to a diegetic vantage point, putting the character under the spotlight, as an aria would do within an opera. The shepherd boy quickly vocalizes his aural distinctiveness with a soliloquy in pseudo-Galician language:

Teiñu de alegrar a meu chicote  
con a gaitiñanova aquesta noite;  
llegabus Galeg[u]iños, llegabus a bailar<sup>55</sup>

Tonight, I have to amuse my child  
With a new *gaita* dance;  
Come, Galicians, come and dance!

The excuse the shepherd boy gives for going to the manger is his duty to amuse the Christ Child with music, yet his monologue betrays his function of invoking other characters. Thus, listeners are vicariously invited to imagine themselves dancing along with the shepherds to the sound of the bagpipes in this bucolic comedy or, rather, actively participating in the celebration of the nativity.

The manuscript of *Un gallego pastorcillo* labels the refrain as “gaita” (bagpipe), a term that the *teatro breve* associates with a Galician dance (Figure 1).<sup>56</sup> In this section, the violin is the first to attempt to recreate the bagpipe, an instrument associated with the dance (music examples 1 and 2). Pedal points abound in the tonic of the bass parts, suggesting an analogy with the drone sound of a bagpipe. Likewise, the upper voice of the violin would correspond to the melody usually produced by the chanter. The oboes double the chanter sounds in the violins, supplementing the timbral resemblance to the sound of their reeds. The bagpipe effect in the instruments thus is a

<sup>52</sup> It should be noted that, in ACS 111, the oboes seem to have been written by a later hand, and may be the earliest work among those in the corpus.

<sup>53</sup> “un gallego pastorcillo su gaita a estrenar dispone porque al fin todo lo bueno se hizo para esta noche [...]” Archivo de la Catedral Metropolitana de Santiago de Chile, Archivo de Música, ACS 111, “Alto. Gallego à 4.”

<sup>54</sup> “un baile di[ce] que dispone, y convidando pastores, a la usanza de Galicia, danza con dos mil primores.”

<sup>55</sup> Archivo de la Catedral Metropolitana de Santiago de Chile, Archivo de Música, ACS 111, “Tiple 10. Gallego à 4.”

<sup>56</sup> Le Guin, *The Tonadilla in Performance: Lyric Comedy in Enlightenment Spain*, 45–46.

signifier that uses an analogy to portray the idea of the musical instrument. The instrument, in turn, becomes a pastoral resource that trans-European Galant repertoires conventionally associated with the nativity scene. It is only the specificity of *Un gallego pastorcillo* and its Hispanic context that transform the Galant imaginary into a bucolic-Galician musical topos.

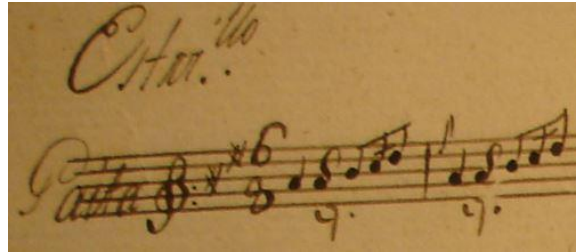


Fig. 1: *Un gallego pastorcillo* (ACS 111), Violin I.

The Galician “gaita” is a double reference since, as already mentioned, that regional dance also appeared in tonadillas, usually followed by seguidillas. Like the boleras, the seguidillas, which also appear in the villancico repertoire of Santiago, in turn, came to function as a sign of Spanishness outside of the Iberian Peninsula and as emblems of the Spanish lower social classes.<sup>57</sup> The seguidillas of Santiago, then, demonstrate another stylistic paradox of the villancicos that enhances their colonial duality: while their association with lower strata of society and a pure *Hispanidad*, the essence of Hispanic culture, resists foreignization and “buen gusto” (good taste), their aural Italianization inscribes them in the currents of trans-European refinement.<sup>58</sup>

Music Example 1: *Un gallego pastorcillo* (ACS 111),  
“Gaita–Estribillo,” mm. 6–8.

<sup>57</sup> Le Guin, *The Tonadilla in Performance: Lyric Comedy in Enlightenment Spain*, 53.

<sup>58</sup> For a thorough discussion of “buen gusto,” a quality of grace and refinement promoted by the Hispanic Enlightenment, in an eighteenth century colonial context, see Jesus A. Ramos-Kittrell, “Music and Literature in New Spain: The Politics of Buen Gusto in 18th-Century Mexico City,” in *A Companion to Viceregal Mexico City, 1519-1821*, ed. John F. López (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2021), 424–39.



**Music Example 2:** *Un gallego pastorcillo* (ACS 111), “Gaita–Estribillo,” mm. 27–29.

Santiago’s Christmas villancicos also feature situations that directly transpose the nativity scene to the contemporary urban landscape, as in the case of *Hoy al portal ha venido*, composed by the Spanish chapelmaster Antonio Ripa (1721-1795). This villancico narrates the arrival of a charlatan physician in Chile while implying that Santiago becomes a real-time Bethlehem.<sup>59</sup> As in *Un gallego pastorcillo*, a narrator tells us that the “curandero” (healer) is visiting the land to sell “a thousand creations of balsams and medications,” perhaps expecting a large turnout of potential buyers for the birth of Christ.<sup>60</sup> In *Hoy al portal*, the narrator directly addresses the shepherds and calls upon them to listen to the words of the *curandero* speaking to the Christ Child. The narration indicates that the infant laughs whenever he hears the charlatan healer. That is, just as the Galicians entertain Jesus with their music and dance, the doctor amuses him with his insipid attempts to sell medicines of dubious provenance.

The bass voice then takes on the role of the “químico curandero,” (chemist healer) once again sonifying his otherness through linguistic reinvention. Here we are presented with a Spanish tongue tinged with Italianisms:

oli pastorcillos, oli zagalejos,  
venite al Portalo a donde videremo  
qui yo so magistro di tuti remedio [...]<sup>61</sup>

Hello shepherds, hello young shepherds,  
Come to the manger, where we shall see  
That I am a master of all sorts of medicine [...]

If in *Un gallego pastorcillo* the high-pitched voice of a falsetto singer frames a harmless rustic humor, the bass of *Hoy al portal* would seem to refer to the role of the basso buffo that works like Giovanni Battista Pergolesi’s *La serva padrona* fashioned in Naples. Moreover, its instrumentation, standardized structure of periodic blocks, and typified cadences point to a marked Galant style that involves both a need for predictability and elevated taste. In this sense, we are faced with a situation in which *Hoy al Portal* displays an Italian charlatan stereotype within an Italianized musical style. This situation emphasizes the comic framing of the villancico, with its

<sup>59</sup> Above the word “Chile,” the manuscript indicates “Lima,” suggesting that this villancico was brought from the Viceroyal capital and adapted for the context of Santiago.

<sup>60</sup> “... mil invenciones de bálsamos y remedios.” Archivo de la Catedral Metropolitana de Santiago de Chile, Archivo de Música, ACS 217, “tiple 10. a 5 y 9.”

<sup>61</sup> Archivo de la Catedral Metropolitana de Santiago de Chile, Archivo de Música, ACS 217, “Baxo 10. Choro a 5 y 9.”



depiction of people of low status, and its balance of the lighthearted with the more serious aspects of the bucolic world.<sup>62</sup>

Apart from the Gaita dance in *Un gallego pastorcillo*, the prevalence of *pastorela* dances characterize the Christmas villancicos of colonial Santiago. The *pastorela* is part of a trans-European tradition that is also manifested in the *siciliana* and *musette*; genres that share formal rhythmic, harmonic, and textural features. For example, a *pastorela* section will generally feature harmonic pedals that may exceed the bass part and seep into the violins and winds. Compound meters are most frequently used, including 6/8, 3/8, and 12/8, with moderate tempi, especially variants of “Andante” indications.<sup>63</sup> The most frequent rhythmic patterns in a *pastorela* comprise interspersed series of trochaic patterns (long-short) ending with a figure that follows a dotted-long-short-long pattern.

Indeed, in the *pastorela* villancicos from Santiago, these musical characteristics can be found in a simultaneous way. For example, *Amados pastores* (ACS 1), written by José de Campderrós, and the anonymous villancico *Pastores de Judea* (ACS 216) match precisely the description of rhythmic characteristics typical of a Galant *pastorela*. Both villancicos use a duple rhythmic grouping consisting of six eighth notes and sequences of trochaic rhythms (long-brief) prevail throughout both pieces (music examples 3 and 4). In fact, *Pastores de Judea* indicates the presence of this dance expressly in the manuscript (Figure 2).

The image shows a musical score for the villancico 'Pastores de Judea' (ACS 216), measures 6-10. The score is in 6/8 time and marked 'Andante'. It features three vocal parts (Voz 1, Voz 2, and Bajo) and instrumental accompaniment (Violin 1, Violin 2, and Acompañamiento). The lyrics are: 'Pas - to - res de Ju - de - a que es - -tais en e - sos pra - dos,'. The instrumental parts include a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the bass and more complex rhythmic patterns in the violins.

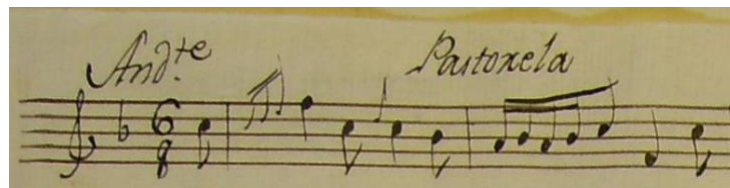
**Music Example 3:** *Pastores de Judea* (ACS 216), mm.6–10.

<sup>62</sup> For this Aristotelian derived definition of comedy, see particularly the work of Paul Schleuse regarding the musical comedies of Orazio Vecchi and the *commedia dell'arte* tradition; Schleuse, *Singing Games in Early Modern Italy: The Music Books of Orazio Vecchi*.

<sup>63</sup> Not to be confused with late medieval *pastourelle*; Pilar Ramos López, “Pastorelas and the Pastoral Tradition in 18th-Century Spanish Villancicos,” 300–302.

**Music Example 4:** *Divina lección* (ACS 249), mm.1-5.

As in the cases mentioned above, *Pastores de Judea* is typical of the Christmas villancico in that it begins with a summons to the shepherds to visit the Christ Child born in a barn, indicating that they come from the land south of Israel. On the other hand, the villancico *Divina lección* (ACS 249) does not allude to the shepherds until the arrival of its coplas, which may suggest that explicit mention of these characters is not necessary when musical characterization suffices. In contrast to these two villancicos, *Amados pastores*, does not expressly indicate the title of a pastorela in the manuscript, but it does incorporate a constant rhythmic grouping of a compound duple character, a variation of the Andante tempo, and a primacy of its distinctive rhythms. Specifically, in metrical terms, we can describe these rhythms again as sequences of trochaic patterns with a long-short-long ending. The most obvious example can be seen in the rhythm of the first voice of *Pastores de Judea* (music example 3, above). Since Campderrós's work also demonstrates these characteristics, it can be said that *Amados pastores* is indeed a pastorela villancico.



**Figure 2:** *Pastores de Judea* (ACS 216), “pastorela,” Violin I.

The presence of the pastorela functions in the cathedral villancicos as a sign that refers to bucolic landscapes. As in *Un gallego pastorcillo* and *Hoy al portal*, Italianized musical resources combine with theatrical devices to generate stereotyped characters and imagined staged situations. In short, we are repeatedly presented with a narrator who presents a staged framework that takes place in a contemporary version of the manger and introduces a series of spectators. The latter are sometimes described in their otherness by linguistic reinvention, which is, in itself, a sign that relates to the resources of brief theater traditions. At the same time, these characters are linked to the appropriate theology of Christmas by calling the audience to participate in the event. The catechetical function of the characters is evident in the case of *Amados pastores*, where the appeals of the treble singer to his “dear young shepherds” demarcate his role as an evangelizer.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Archivo de la Catedral Metropolitana de Santiago de Chile, Archivo de Música, ACS 1, “Primera voz.”

This same villancico by the Santiago cathedral chapelmaster is irrefutable proof of the impact of theatrical dances in Chile since the voice representing the shepherds relates that their way of worshipping Christ will be by singing “tonadillas.”

### Conclusion

I have explored how a repertoire of cathedral villancicos deploys poetic-musical signs that are linked to the scene of Christ’s birth through different performance formulas derived from the Hispanic brief secular theater and the Galant style. The pieces introduce elements that evoke characters either through the depiction of aural characteristics or through the reference to an abstract stereotyped character. Moreover, the villancicos call forth an imagined staging through narration and monologue, sometimes shifting from showing to telling and from singing to sounding. That is, they propose a scene to the listener that is none other than a manger open to contemporary imagined experiences.

None of these examples of musical representation can be said to be unique to the case of Santiago de Chile but are rather part of an assortment of cultural resources available throughout the colonies that become localized as they take root in different regions. What connects a peripheral composer with a chapelmaster like Ignacio Jerusalem in a colonial cultural center like Mexico City is the handling of similar stylistic and semiotic codes. What is important here is the fact of transplanting these practices to Chile and making them meaningful for the late colonial population, which we can witness in the arrival of tonadillas to Santiago and the presence of their dances in the villancicos. As stated above, there is a performative act associated with the deployment of the Italianate style as it would have functioned primarily as a sign of refinement. To paraphrase Robert Gjerdingen, the performance of Galant villancicos would have effectively linked cathedral practices with “traits, attitudes, and manners associated with the cultured nobility.” Yet, as Roger Mathew Grant has recently argued, the standard Galant patterns also acquire a distinctively imperialistic character within the Spanish colonial enterprise.<sup>65</sup> This article, then, has placed the musical practices of colonial Santiago in dialogue with transcontinental cultural currents of its time.<sup>66</sup>

This essay has also sought to highlight a level of catechetical functionality of the villancico that much of the musicological literature has tended to ignore, thus neglecting its deep connection to the sacred bedrock of colonial society. Indeed, only once the emphasis has been placed on the Catholic teaching tradition embodied in the villancico, we can understand that the use of compositional resources associated with the *teatro breve* is coherent with the celebration of Christmas in late colonial Santiago. In this sense, the appearance of “foreign” characters, who after all, represent different forms of otherness, refer to the foundational moment of the Church, as well as to the hope of salvation implied by the veneration of the Nativity scene. Through their effective negotiation of multiple substrata of meaning, then, the cathedral villancicos perfectly crystallize the colonial Baroque duality that can contain a multiplicity of sounds, sights, and people in singularly timeless a cyclical event like Christmas.

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<sup>65</sup> Roger Mathew Grant, “Colonial Galant: Three Analytical Perspectives from the Chiquitano Missions,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 75, no. 1 (2022): 129–62.

<sup>66</sup> Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 5.

## Appendix. Christmas villancicos, Archivo de la Catedral de Santiago (ACS) c.1800.

| Number and title                                | Title page information   | Instrumentation and observations   |
|---|--|--|
| ACS 01, <i>Amados pastores</i>                  | Villansico á 3.   Con Violines, Baxo y Organo.   para Navidad   por D <sup>n</sup> Jose Campderros Mro de capilla   de s <sup>ta</sup> Yglesia.   Amados Pastores  | 3 voices, 2 oboes, 2 violins, basso continuo and organ; Indicates José de Campderrós as composer and includes "Bolera a duo"         |
| ACS 76, <i>Ya que desnudo al raso</i>           | Villansico a 4   con VV <sup>s</sup> y Baxo   de Navidad   | 6 voices, 2 oboes, 2 violins, basso continuo and organ   |
| ACS 85, <i>Sacros celestes coros</i>            | Villancico de a 4   Con Viol <sup>s</sup> Tromp <sup>s</sup> y Baxo   de Navidad   | 4 voices, 2 horns, 2 violins, basso continuo and organ   |
| ACS 109, <i>Que es esto, pastorcillos</i>       | [No title page, Baxo ms. indicates] Para Noche buena   para la Natividad   | 3 voices, 2 violins, basso continuo and organ; indicates "Bolera"  |
| ACS 110, <i>Mi padre me manda</i>               | motete por   natividad   villancico para la natividad   del niño Dios, a solo y a quatro voces   | 4 voices, 2 oboes, 1 horn, 2 violins, basso continuo and organ   |
| ACS 111, <i>Un gallego pastorcillo</i>          | gallego a 4   con viol <sup>s</sup> tromp <sup>s</sup>   y baxo   navidad"   | 4 voices, 2 oboes, 1 horn, 2 violins, basso continuo and organ; indicates "gaita"  |
| ACS 186 y 299, <i>Hermoso imán mío</i>          | Villan <sup>co</sup> al Sagrado   Nacim.to de N. Sr. Jesu Cristo   á Duo.   con violin <sup>s</sup> y flautas   Hermoso Yman mio   | 2 voices, 2 flutes, 2 violins and basso continuo; missing parts, see ACS 299   |
| ACS 211, <i>Que hará Perote pasmado?</i>        | Villancico a 5.   Con Vio[lines], Ob[oes] y Tromp[as]  | 4 voices, 2 oboes, 2 violins, basso continuo and organ; indicates "Tonadilla"  |
| ACS 213, <i>Vamos a Belén</i>                   | Villansico a 4.   Con v[iolines] y Baxo   Navidad  | 5 voices, 2 oboes, 2 violins, basso continuo and organ   |
| ACS 214, <i>El patán</i>                        | [No title page]  | 4 voices, 2 oboes, 2 horns, 2 violins and organ  |
| ACS 215, <i>Un músico, que cegando el punto</i> | Villan[cico] a quatro voces   a la natividad con su instrumental   | 4 voices, 2 horns, 2 violins and basso continuo; includes "Boleras"  |
| ACS 216, <i>Pastores de Judea</i>               | Villan <sup>o</sup> a la noche buena   con amor pastores todos   | 3 voices, 2 violins and basso continuo; indicates "pastorela"  |
| ACS 217, <i>Hoy al portal ha venido</i>         | Villansico à 5 y [9] al   Nacim <sup>to</sup> de nro. Señor Xsto.   con violines Organo y   Baxo   Oy al Portal ha venido el quimico curandero   | 5 voices, 2 violins, basso continuo; parts possibly missing; composed by Antonio Ripa  |
| ACS 245, <i>No ves que del día</i>              | Villancico   a 5   Con violines Baxo continuo, y Org[ano]   Por D[on] Josef Campderros M[astro] de Cap[illa]   de esta S[anta] Yglesia   Año 1794   No ves que del día   | 5 voices, 2 oboes, 2 violins, basso continuo and organ; indicates José de Campderrós as composer                                     |
| ACS 248, <i>A caza de almas</i>                 | Villancico à 4.   para Noche buena   obligado de Clarinete y acompañam <sup>to</sup> de   violines, oboe, Baxo continuo y   organo.   Por dn. José Campderros mro.   de capilla de esta santa   Ygla. Catedral | 3 voices, 1 oboe, 1 clarinet, 2 violins, basso continuo and organ; indicates José de Campderrós as composer and includes "Tonadilla" |

|  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| ACS 249, <i>Divina lección</i>         | [No title page]  | 4 voices, 2 oboes, 2 violins, basso continuo and organ; indicates "pastorella"                                     |
| ACS 250 y 301, <i>Festivos zagales</i> | Villancico a 4.   con v[iolines] tromp[as]   y Baxo.   de Navidad  | 4 voices, 2 horns, 2 violins and basso continuo; indicates José Antonio González as composer and includes "Tonada" |
| ACS 307, <i>Enamorados caminan</i>     | Villancico a 4.   con clarinetes clarín   y baxo.   Navidad  | 4 voices, 2 clarinets, basso continuo and organ  |
| ACS 309, <i>El orbe entero</i>         | Villancico a 4   con violines clarinetes   trompa y Baxo y org <sup>no</sup>   al Nacim <sup>to</sup> de N.S.J.C. El orbe el orbe entero | 4 voices, 2 clarinets, 1 horn, 2 violins, basso continuo and organ; indicates "Boleras"                            |
| ACS 449, <i>Embeleso de mi alma</i>    | Coplas a solo, y coro de tres voces   con violines, obueses, baxo continuo,   y organo   para noche buena                                | 3 voices, 2 oboes, 2 violins, basso continuo and organ   |
| ACS 451, <i>Con amor pastores</i>      | [No title page]  | 3 voices, 2 violins, basso continuo and organ; indicates "pastorela"   |

Feller-Simmons, Paul G. "‘Hoy al Portal ha venido’: Nativity scenes and the Galant style in the Christmas villancicos from the Cathedral of Santiago, Chile (c.1770-1820)." *Diagonal: An Ibero-American Music Review* 9, no. 1 (2024): 16–33.