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José Lazo Valero's Eight Responsories for Matins of St. John the Baptist

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JOSÉ LAZO VALERO’S EIGHT RESPONSORIES
FOR MATINS OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

By

Vicente Adrian Chavarria

A THESIS

Submitted to the Faculty
of the University of Miami
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the degree of Master of Music

Coral Gables, Florida

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JOSÉ LAZO VALERO’S EIGHT RESPONSORIES
FOR MATINS OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

Vicente Adrian Chavarria

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The musical archive of the Cathedral of Puebla, Mexico, contains an extensive body of work by José Lazo Valero (1713-1778) amid music not only by local chapelmasters but also by European masters, including Guerrero and Palestrina. However, our understanding of Pueblan cathedral music from the eighteenth century on is lacking in detailed research. José Lazo Valero served as chapelmaster at the Cathedral of Puebla from 1749 to 1778. In the archive at Puebla we find his eight Responsories for Matins on the Feast Day of St. John the Baptist, various psalms, hymns, and Masses. The present work focuses on the eight Responsories for Matins of St. John the Baptist.

Through an historical contextualization and musical analysis, I trace Lazo Valero’s stylistic development through the Responsories, which were written over the course of twenty years. I discuss how the Italian style that dominated music in Spain in the eighteenth century found its way into Pueblan musical practice, and how its incorporation into composition mirrored a change in liturgical thought during the same period. The Responsories show a move from the older, Spanish polychoral style to the newer, simpler gallant style of the early Classical period. Thus, Lazo Valero’s music represents an important piece of the mosaic of colonial music, for it distinguishes him as a transitional figure between the Mexican Baroque and Classical periods.
“Come ho! and wake Diana with a hymn!
With sweetest touches pierce your mistress’ ear,
And draw her home with music.”
- Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*

Soli Deo Gloria
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present work is the culmination of many months of study and research involving several trips to Mexico, consultations with several different scholars, and long nights transcribing, writing, and editing. Many helping hands guided me through this process, and I would like to take this space to say, “Thank you” to the following:

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To the researchers and staff at CENIDIM in Mexico City, especially Bárbara Pérez Ruiz, for their aid and support of a young researcher from the US.

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To my professors, colleagues, and friends in the Frost School of Music who have always cheered me on, even when the going was tough.

To my family, who have always been there for me through thick and thin, and especially to my mother and father, without whose unconditional support (not just of this project but of my career as well!) I would not be where I am today.

Please receive my deepest and most heartfelt thanks.
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INTRODUCTION

Puebla de los Ángeles, located halfway between Veracruz and Mexico City, experienced a rapid growth in its early years, which consolidated the importance of the city to New Spain. The Baroque cathedral of Puebla came to occupy a central role in the religious life of the city shortly after it was founded in 1531. The musical chapel (capilla musical) of the Cathedral and its attached school (Colegio de Infantes) became important centers for musical composition, education, and development in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The chapelmaster’s duties included teaching music to the pupils of the Colegio de Infantes. As such, music played a central role in Cathedral life from the mid-sixteenth century onward. Composers such as Gaspar Fernandes (c. 1565-1629) and Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (1590-1664) actively participated in the musical life of the Cathedral and left behind a vast oeuvre of music that scholars have widely studied and performed over the last half century.

Past scholarship provides a general understanding of music at Puebla. Robert M. Stevenson, who pioneered the field of Latin American early music, provided a basic account of the music at Puebla.¹ These are classic studies, among the first realized of this repertoire, although they are limited in scope: they present only pockets of repertoire and dwell predominantly in the seventeenth century. In more recent years, Mariantonia

Palacios, Nelson Hurtado, and Aurelio Tello have documented and produced scholarly editions of much of the music of Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, who was chapelmaster at Puebla from 1629-1664. Tello has also written extensively and in great detail on the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century collections throughout Mexico. His study of the villancicos of Gaspar Fernandes, written during the chapelmaster’s tenure at Puebla, is particularly detailed.

Scholars such as Craig Russell have written on eighteenth-century composers from Mexico City such as Manuel de Sumaya and Ignacio de Jerusalém. However, until the past two years, scholars have shown almost no awareness of composers who worked in the Pueblan cathedral setting after Gutiérrez de Padilla. The contribution of many who served as maestros de capilla there, especially in the eighteenth century, has remained largely invisible.

Among these eighteenth-century Pueblan composers is José Lazo Valero (c. 1715-1778), who spent most of his life under the auspices of the Cathedral. He studied harp and formed part of the orchestra of the Colegio de Infantes, which provided most of the musicians for the musical chapel. He finished his education at the Colegio in 1734 as a harpist after passing his examinations. Lazo Valero himself was one of two harpists, strongly suggesting that the instrument substituted for the harpsichord as a basso continuo instrument. Later, he advanced to the position of first harpist, and ultimately became

2 Mariantonia Palacios, Omar Morales and Nelson Hurtado, Tres cuadernos de Navidad, 1653, 1655 & 1657 (Caracas: Fundación Sojo, 1993).

maestro de capilla at Puebla Cathedral. He applied for this post in 1749 upon the death of Nicolás Ximénez Cisneros and after passing rigorous examinations, served in that capacity until shortly before his death in 1778.

Lazo Valero’s extant body of work in the archives of Puebla Cathedral (MEX-Pc) consists of psalms, Masses, a responsory for Ascension, and eight responsories for the Matins of the Feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24). The Ninth Responsory (presumably a setting of the *Te Deum laudamus*) is lost. Most of the extant works are in a copyist’s script, though some of the remaining instrumental parts are in the composer’s hand; watermark dating indicates that copyists notated some of the manuscripts under Lazo Valero’s supervision. The Mexican musicologist Salomón Sánchez, based at the Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, wrote his Master’s thesis on the composer’s two extant Masses within the past year. ⁴ Otherwise, no one has completed any detailed study of Lazo Valero’s music or shown interest in performing his works.

Most of José Lazo Valero’s extant music survives in manuscript form at MEX-Pc. The eight Responsories for Matins of the Feast of St. John the Baptist are included in this archive. In addition, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia in Mexico City has microfilmed the work of Lazo Valero at MEX-Pc, including the Responsories for St. John the Baptist. While the microfilms sufficed for musical purposes of this study, access to the physical manuscripts was necessary to glean information about dating and handwriting analysis as well as other basic paleographic information. The senior Mexican musicologists Aurelio Tello, Omar Morales, and Bárbara Pérez have digitized

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⁴ Salomón Sánchez, “Las Missas de José Lazo Valero en el archivo de la Catedral de Puebla” (Master’s thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 2010), 28.
and transcribed the documents at MEX-Pc pertaining to Lazo Valero’s musical activities
in the Cathedral, including correspondence between the composer and the cabildo, as part
of the Sánchez Garza collection. Also, I cite the unpublished findings and transcriptions
of Galia Hernández from the Archive of Documents of Employees of the Choir. All of
these sources provide the basis to complete my study of the Responsories.

In this paper, I offer a detailed analysis of the eight Responsories for the Matins of
St. John the Baptist. I also examine the composer’s historical position as a transitional
figure from the Baroque to the Classical periods in Mexico and explore the way that the
musical output of the colonies mirrored stylistic developments in Europe. This new in-
depth study places José Lazo Valero at the center of Pueblan musical culture in the mid-
eighteenth century and provides a glimpse into uncharted terrain in the map of Mexican
colonial music.

The taste for the Italian style in Spain developed in the early eighteenth century
and gradually made its way to the New World. By the mid-1700s, cathedrals and other
religious institutions in the Viceroyalty of New Spain had hired Italian musicians and
composers for positions such as chapelmaster.

From the mid-sixteenth century, Spain asserted its control over the Kingdom of
Naples for the next two hundred years. This Spanish “annexation” of an Italian territory
led to the increased cultural dialogue between Spain and Italy, which was intensified the
marriage of King Philip V of Spain in 1714 to Elisabeth of Parma. Elisabeth, who held
great influence over her husband, initiated a significant importation of Italian tastes to the
Spanish court—including music. Italian musicians began filling positions in all facets of
musical life in Spain. For example, the virtuoso violinist Ignacio de Jerúzalem (originally Ignazio Gerusalemme in Italian) held an active post as a theater musician in Cádiz before leaving for Mexico.

In Latin America, Italian composers found an outlet for composition that allowed musical development in the Western Hemisphere to mirror that of Europe. In the case of sacred music, major religious centers across New Spain (and beyond) began hiring Italian chapelmasters. The cathedrals of Durango and Mexico City both had Italian chapelmasters at different points during the eighteenth century. As the popularity (and, therefore, influence) of these composers heightened, particularly those in Mexico City, the style began to spread even to traditional Spanish strongholds, such as Puebla. Drew Davies’ dissertation on the music at Durango has provided a groundbreaking model for the study of eighteenth-century Mexican music, as well as describing the strength of Italian influences on the music of this period.5

In centers such as Puebla, Oaxaca, and Mérida, the dominant Spanish style began to absorb Italian stylistic traits. As traditional Spanish forms (such as the villancico) gave way to a more centralized liturgy, composers had the opportunity to develop a new musical style. Lazo Valero was the first composer at Puebla to champion the Italian stylistic manner.

The Responsories for St. John the Baptist fill the unusual role of liturgical music for a special occasion outside the Mass and thus reflect the importance not only of music in daily life but also the importance that the Church placed on this particular feast day.

The order in which Lazo Valero composed the Responsories suggests that he highlighted specific pieces during different years. By extension, music formed an integral part of the celebration of such feast days as that of St. John the Baptist.

This thesis provides a more detailed view of the genre of the responsory that contributed actively to the musical life of eighteenth-century New Spain. Chapter One will survey music in Puebla Cathedral up to the time of José Lazo Valero, highlighting the works of the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century chapelmasters. Chapter Two will deal directly with Lazo Valero, providing a brief biography and survey of his works. Chapter Three will provide background about Matins and specifically the responsories analyzed in this paper. Finally, Chapter Four will provide a brief, general musical analysis of the Responsories in order to trace the stylistic development of the composer. Together, these chapters will help contextualize the eighteenth-century Pueblan musical chapel and provide a new resource for researchers in the field of Mexican Baroque music.
CHAPTER 1

THE FOUNDATION OF PUEBLA AND THE CATHEDRAL

According to legend, in 1530, angels came down from heaven and showed Bishop Julián Garcés of Tlaxcala an ideal site for a new city, full of meadows next to a flowing river and freshwater springs. Legend or no legend, Fray Garcés sought a deed from Isabel of Portugal, Queen Consort of Spain and wife of Emperor Charles V. Garcés requested land for a new Spanish settlement exclusively for “Spanish Christians.” He based this request on economic grounds, claiming that the “rents received [by the diocese] from Tlaxcoalteque [Tlaxcala] were affected due to their [status as a primarily] indigenous settlement.” The system of encomiendas, a form of indentured servitude, was abused widely, and the Spanish Crown sought to regain economic control of the region.

Spain granted Garcés his request, and in 1531, a first attempt at settlement was made. It failed, however, due to flooding along the riverbank, so the population moved to a higher location in the Valley of Cuetlaxcoapan. The city was named Puebla de los Ángeles after the angels of Garcés’ vision, and that name (along with its eponym Angelópolis, or “city of angels”), remains today. The rapid economic success of Puebla in the early years after settlement resulted primarily from its position as a major trade link between the port of Veracruz and Mexico City.

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6 “…debido a que las rentas recibidas de Tlaxcoalteque, estaban siendo afectadas por ser un poblado indígena.” Pedro López Villaseñor, *Cartilla Vieja de la nobilísima ciudad de Puebla* (Puebla: Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, 2001 reprint), 36.
A small church, built hastily in the early 1530s, served as the Cathedral during the first years of the city. In 1535, construction began on the Iglesia Mayor, or Greater Temple, which was elevated to Cathedral in 1543 by Charles V. The modest church, however, “did not meet the pretensions of its inhabitants.”7 In 1557, the Viceroy of Mexico designated Francisco Becerra8 as architect of a new Cathedral; construction began in 1575. Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, ordered by Philip III of Spain to finish the Cathedral, arrived as Bishop of Puebla from Spain in 1640. He immediately began a fundraising campaign that involved the entire population of the town; he even contributed large amounts of his own money to the construction efforts. Palafox dedicated the edifice in 1649, though the façade and towers were not fully completed until 1690.9

The Cathedral’s three main naves (north and south, plus the principal nave in front of the Altar of the Kings) surround the spacious coro (choir area, referred to simply as “the choir”), with its three organs. Two organs date from the early eighteenth century; the third is a modern installation. The rectangular shape of the choir, enclosed on three sides (all save the one facing the altar), allowed the musicians, capellanes,10 canónigos (canons), and other Church officials to sit in double rows of seats across from each other.

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7 “La Iglesia Mayor no correspondía a las pretensiones de los habitantes de la ciudad.” José Manzo, La Catedral de Puebla (Puebla: Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, 1995 reprint), 56.

8 Becerra became known in the New World after designing the Cathedral in Lima, Peru.


10 The term “capellanes” refers to those in the employ of the Cathedral assigned to a specific duty, musical or otherwise.
This spatial arrangement encouraged antiphonal effects, including alternation of plainchant and polyphony as well as polychoral singing.\textsuperscript{11}

![Figure 1.1. View of the Choir, Puebla Cathedral. Photograph by the author.](image)

Given the remoteness and small size of most cities, it is thus notable that by the second half of the sixteenth century, Puebla was one of the few cathedral centers in Mexico that was able to employ a trained choir of Spanish singers.\textsuperscript{12} Choir books laden with European Renaissance polyphony, in particular that of Cristóbal de Morales (1500-1553), Francisco Guerrero (1525-1599), Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548-1611), and the Italian Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (c. 1525-1594), found their way to these centers. The inventory of these books at the cathedrals of Puebla and Oaxaca shows a taste for

\textsuperscript{11} Balantyne.

\textsuperscript{12} Robert Stevenson, \textit{Music in Mexico} (New York: Crowell, 1952), 80.
Spanish polyphony from an early date: a 1544 copy of a Morales Mass at MEX-Pc is the oldest surviving polyphonic music in an existing Mexican archive today.\textsuperscript{13} Musical chapels at the main Mexican cathedral centers were established in the late sixteenth century. By this point, the cathedrals had amassed a vast collection of music for their own composers to use as models for study and composition.

The first composer of note to take up residence in Puebla as \textit{maestro de capilla} was Pedro Bermúdez (1558-1605), who arrived from Guatemala in 1603. He had achieved success and a reputation as a fine composer during his tenure at Guatemala Cathedral, so much so that his reputation preceded him at Puebla.\textsuperscript{14} Although his tenure at Puebla was short—he died in 1605 after less than two years in office—and only one work of his, the \textit{Domine ad adjuvandum me festina}, survives there, his influence was reported to have been great. Bermúdez’s prolific body of works at Guatemala cast a shadow on composers that succeeded him, for he composed eighteen large-scale works during his five years in Guatemala—more than any composer in the region at the time.\textsuperscript{15}

Gaspar Fernandes (c. 1565-1629) served as organist at Guatemala Cathedral under Bermúdez. The Pueblan \textit{cabildo} (church council) asked him to take up the position of \textit{maestro de capilla}. Fernandes, attracted by the higher salary and better living conditions at Puebla (just as Bermúdez was before him), left for Puebla in July of 1606, arriving there in September of that year. He accepted the office of \textit{maestro de capilla}, in

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., 84.

\textsuperscript{14} Stevenson, \textit{Latin American Colonial Music Anthology} (New York: OAS, 1975), 22.

\textsuperscript{15} Dieter Lehnhoff, \textit{Espada y pentagrama: la musica polifónica en la Guatemala del Siglo XVI} (Guatemala: Univ. Landivar, 1986), 121.
which he would serve until his death in 1629. Fernandes (who sometimes Hispanized his own name in manuscripts as “Fernández”) was himself Portuguese; he may have been the only Portuguese composer to hold so high a post in Mexico during the colonial period. He first appears on record as a cantor at Évora Cathedral in Portugal in 1590; scholars have since proven that he was the same Gaspar Fernandes who served as organist at Guatemala Cathedral in 1599.

Fernandes and Bermúdez both were versed in polyphonic composition of the late Renaissance, as exemplified by the style of Guerrero, Morales, and Escobar. Fernandes’s early works, including a series of motets and settings of the Magnificat in the different tonos or modes, show a mastery of the harmonic conventions of the time, and of chant, woven subtly into the polyphony itself.17

Musicologist Aurelio Tello labels Fernandes as “the last Renaissance composer of the sixteenth century and the first Baroque composer of the seventeenth century in New Spain.”18 Fernandes’ use of double-choir writing—a trait evident in Spanish and Italian compositions toward the end of the sixteenth- and early seventeenth centuries—demonstrates his familiarity with the music of later masters such as Victoria. This knowledge is apparent in the general homorhythmic style and use of the bass vocal part as a harmonic support, rather than as an independent melodic function (Ex. 1.1). Thus, Tello writes that “a counterpoint of choirs [is created], expressed in a permanent dialogue

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16 Aurelio Tello, Cancionero musical de Gaspar Fernandes (Havana: Casa de las Américas, 1999), 31.

17 Lehnhoff, 124-6.

18 Tello, 34.
that is resolved in a *tutti* with cadential purposes."\(^{19}\) The composer’s use of this compositional style marked its introduction into Pueblan musical practice—a style that continued into the early years of José Lazo Valero.

### Example 1.1 Gaspar Fernandes: "Ah, de abajo," bars 18-24, showing a traditional use of bichorality.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tipt. 1</th>
<th>Dios.</th>
<th>Puman ti</th>
<th>Puman ves.</th>
<th>Puman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alto 1</td>
<td>Dios.</td>
<td>Puman ti</td>
<td>Puman ves.</td>
<td>Puman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>Dios.</td>
<td>Puman ti</td>
<td>Puman ves.</td>
<td>Puman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tipt. 2</td>
<td>¿Pura que, pana que?</td>
<td>¿Para me?</td>
<td>¿Para quien?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tipt. 3</td>
<td>¿Pura que, pana que?</td>
<td>¿Para me?</td>
<td>¿Para quien?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alto 2</td>
<td>¿Pura que, pana que?</td>
<td>¿Para me?</td>
<td>¿Para quien?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenor 2</td>
<td>¿Pura que, pana que?</td>
<td>¿Para me?</td>
<td>¿Para quien?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bajo</td>
<td>¿Pura que, pana que?</td>
<td>¿Para me?</td>
<td>¿Para quien?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vernacular *villancico* and *chanzoneta*\(^{20}\) provided Fernandes with an avenue for a different kind of polyphonic writing that was quasi-madrigalesque and far removed from the stricter, more intricate and elaborate style favored in his sacred works. While these pieces were still largely contrapuntal, Fernandes used sharper rhythms to create dance-like effects. In the case of the double-choir works, he created dialogues between a faster-moving, melody-driven first choir and a more homophonic second choir. These two bodies of sound come together for *tutti* cadences. Fernandes was able to introduce

\(^{19}\) Ibid., 40.

\(^{20}\) These terms are used interchangeably to describe the same genre.
compositional novelty in these numerous vernacular works—over 300, the largest collection of music in the Spanish language from seventeenth-century Latin America. The collection was compiled between 1609 and 1616 and represents the work of a mature composer.

In 1622, the Málaga native Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla was hired primarily as organist, in an adjunct capacity to the chapelmaster with whom he shared duties until Fernandes’ death in 1629. Records show that Gutiérrez de Padilla was also Fernandes’ pupil during this time; the cabildo elected him to fill the post vacated by his master upon the latter’s passing.

Gutiérrez de Padilla was indubitably familiar with vernacular compositional style, such as villancicos and chanzonetas, as well as in the peninsular styles.21 His thirty-five-year tenure as maestro de capilla, from 1629 until his death in 1664, is the longest of any chapelmaster from the colonial period and spans a great part of the seventeenth century; thus, his leadership coincides with the flourishing of the Baroque style in the context of New World liturgical music.

As prolific as he was versatile, much of Gutiérrez de Padilla’s music remains intact in the archives at MEX-Pc. He took the styles laid down by Fernandes to another level. A vast amount of his sacred music in the Renaissance style survives alongside an equally vast number of vernacular villancicos. In his sacred music, Gutiérrez de Padilla makes full use of the polychoral style, even laying out his compositions in antiphonaries (libros de polifonia) for performance. Perhaps his most famous Mass, the Missa Ego flos campi, survives in two copies: one in a foliated cuaderno and the other in Antiphonary

21 Palacios et al., 15.
No. 1 (*Libro de polifonía* 1), both physically intact at MEX-Pc. The sizable antiphonary, meant to rest on the lectern at the center of the choir area, is laid out in true double-choir format: the parts for Choir I are on the verso of one page (on the left), and those for Choir II are on the recto of the next page (on the right).

In his *villancicos*, Gutiérrez de Padilla continued the stylistic choices of his predecessor while favoring greater and faster harmonic motion as well as overall length. He showed a greater predilection for the absorption of many musical styles present in Mexico at the time, including those by the indigenous and African populations. Unlike those of Fernandes, Gutiérrez de Padilla’s *villancicos* were often strophic, and make use of a *responsión* (refrain) sung by all the voices. These refrains were often denoted as *negrilla* or *zarambeque*, the latter referring to the sounds made by the percussion instruments employed by African slaves commonly heard in the streets of Puebla.

Gutiérrez de Padilla’s correspondence with the *cabildo* sheds light on another responsibility of the *magisterio de capilla*: supervision of musical instruction for the pupils of the Cathedral school. Gutiérrez de Padilla’s frequent complaints to the Council regarding the pupils’ slow learning curve when it came to chant echoed those made by his predecessor. 

Chapelmasters as late as José Lazo Valero and even Manuel Arenzana would also perform the same tasks—and lodge the same complaints.

After Gutiérrez de Padilla’s death, the position remained vacant for several years. The organist often fulfilled part of the compositional duties assigned to the *maestro de*

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23 Ibid.
capilla while the position remained unfilled. Although a number of composers did fill the post at intervals for the remainder of the century, none were in office long enough to have an overarching influence into the eighteenth century. In this respect, Gutiérrez de Padilla was the last influential composer of seventeenth-century Puebla.

This perspective also implies that later composers must have maintained the musical traditions established by Fernandes and Gutiérrez de Padilla during most of the seventeenth century, for these traits are still evident in the music of eighteenth-century chapelmasters, including Nicolás Ximénez de Cisneros and José Lazo Valero. A direct link can therefore be traced from the early chapelmasters to Lazo Valero, who was the first maestro de capilla to demonstrate a tangible shift in musical style, coinciding with changing movements in theological approaches at the time.

Composers after Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (c. 1590-1664) did not remain in office for a long time, and thus were unable to leave much of an influence on future generations. The two composers who immediately followed Gutiérrez de Padilla each left behind a significant quantity of works at MEX-Pc. Juan García de Zéspedes was in office from 1670-1678, and his successor, Antonio de Salazar, occupied the post from 1679-1688. The output of these two figures, however, remains small in comparison to that of Gutiérrez de Padilla and his predecessor Gaspar Fernandes. Furthermore, while both individuals composed in the sacred Latin setting, they were known primarily for their villancicos in the vernacular.24

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While García de Zépedes excelled at writing in the predominantly Spanish polychoral style, his *villancico* “Convidando está la noche” reveals his skill and mastery in the genre and his continuation in the line of Gutiérrez de Padilla and Fernandes. Salazar, like García de Zépedes before him, was Pueblan-born and received his training at the Colegio de Infantes. He succeeded García de Zépedes as chapelmaster in 1679 and left behind a significant amount of sacred music in the Spanish polyphonic style. He is best remembered for his *villancico* “Tarará qui yo soy Antón,” which he wrote during his subsequent tenure at Mexico City Cathedral. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, Miguel Dallo y Lana, *maestro de capilla* from 1688-1705 and Salazar’s successor, became known for his settings of poetry by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz.

The eighteenth century marked the beginning of new musical developments at the Cathedral of Puebla. The first organ was completed in 1719, when Francisco de Atienza was *maestro de capilla*. The second, larger Maldonado organ was built in the 1730s, overseen by Atienza’s successor, Nicolás Ximénez de Cisneros, who won the post in 1726. Ximénez de Cisneros’ tenure coincided with the earliest notable stylistic changes in musical composition in peninsular Spanish music. A notable shift away from the vernacular *villancico* first appears in Ximénez de Cisneros’ works. In addition, his compositions mark the flourishing of the responsory as a genre. His settings of the Responsories for Matins of St. Joseph are the first set of musical compositions written specifically for the genre found at Puebla Cathedral. While the texts to these works had

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25 This organ is known as the “Izaguirre organ,” after its maker Félix de Izaguirre.
been previously set as motets, Ximénez de Cisneros’ responsories are the first fully to be denoted as such. In addition to the pieces he composed for the Matins of St. Joseph, two Responsories for the Feast of the Holy Spirit also survive. This new emphasis on the responsory would have direct influence on the output of Ximénez de Cisneros’ pupil, José Lazo Valero, whose contribution will be examined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THE PUEBLAN MUSIC CHAPEL
IN THE LATE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

José Joaquín Lazo Valero: A Brief Biography

In recent years, scholars have slowly begun to unearth details about Lazo Valero’s own life. His baptismal certificate states that he was born on March 3, 1713.27 His father was Juan Lazo de la Vega, and his mother was Manuela Valero del Castillo, “both Spaniards.”28 Any question about Lazo Valero’s lineage would have prevented his admission into the Colegio de Infantes. School officials undertook rigorous examinations of a pupil’s lineage, and since Puebla was founded as a city “exclusively for Christians,”29 any hint of indigenous bloodlines would have been enough to deny a child admission.

The maestro de capilla Francisco de Atienza first oversaw José Lazo Valero’s musical education, replaced later by Ximénez de Cisneros and the Cathedral organist Miguel Tadeo de Ochoa. In a 1729 document submitted to the cabildo in which Lazo Valero requested additional financial aid to support his new vocation as a priest, he states that he has been a chorister at the Cathedral since about 1723. As he recalled, after

27 “José Joaquín Lazo Valero was born on March 3, 1713, legitimate son of Juan Lazo de la Vega and Manuela Valero del Castillo, both Spaniards.” (“José Joaquín Lazo Valero nació el 3 de marzo de 1713, Hijo legítimo de Juan Lazo de la Vega y Manuela Valero del Castillo, españoles.”) Hernández, quoting Archivo del Sagrario Metropolitano, Book of Baptisms No. 30, fol. 16-16v. Ironically, the date of Lazo Valero’s baptism remains undocumented.

28 Ibid.

29 López Villaseñor, 36.
“having completed the accustomed time of seven years minus a month and a half … I was also employed in the service of this Holy Church.”\(^{30}\) He graduated from the Colegio de Infantes in 1734 and applied for a place in the Choir as a harpist and singer. As the cabildo later testified,

\[
\text{[José Lazo Valero] demonstrated himself apt and capable on the harp as well as in music [voice], in order to obtain a place as musician, and he asked and supplicated that we name him as such. We thereby ordered him to take the examination, which he executed before those subjects that we have designated … which we celebrate with recognition this morning. … In view of the memorandum of his sufficiency in the position, we elect and name him as second harpist and tenor musician of this Holy Church and we order his title drawn in accordance.}\(^{31}\)
\]

Lazo Valero subsequently requested several pay raises and compensations for extra services rendered. The cabildo granted these requests—a sign of the composer’s good standing with the church authorities. In 1736, after serving for one year as second harpist and citing “a poor mother and unmarried sisters (hermanas doncellas) who depended on his aid,” Lazo Valero passed an examination and qualified for a pay raise, increasing his existing salary of two hundred pesos by an additional fifty.\(^{32}\)

\(^{30}\) “Habiendo cumplido el acostumbrado tiempo de los siete años menos mes y medio que también empleara en el servicio de esta Santa Iglesia…” Aurelio Tello, Nelson Hurtado, Ómar Morales Abril & Bábara Pérez Ruiz, \textit{La Colección Sánchez Garza, catálogo y estudio documental}, Mexico City, in press, quoting MEX-Pc, Documents and decrees on the Employees of the Choir, 1648-1853.

\(^{31}\) “[Lazo Valero] nos hizo representación de hallarse apto y capaz así en el instrumento de arpa como en la música, para poder obtener plaza de músico, y nos pidió y suplicó fuésemos servidos de nombrarle por tal, en cuya conformidad mandamos comparecerle a examen, el que se ejecutó por los sujetos que para ello señalamos…en el que celebramos con citación ante diem hoy…en vista del informe de su suficiencia, le elegimos y nombramos por segundo arpista y músico tenor de esta Santa Iglesia y le mandamos despachar título en forma.” Tello et al., quoting MEX-Pc.

\(^{32}\) “Hallándome con una madre pobre y hermanas doncellas que únicamente penden de mis socorros…” Tello et al., quoting MEX-Pc.
This particular examination, administered by Ximénez de Cisneros, gives us a unique (and rather comical) insight into Lazo Valero’s own musical abilities. Ximénez de Cisneros tells us:

Obeying the decree, with the attentions I must, and attending to its content, which is that your Excellency has deigned to have me examine the pretendent in this memorandum, that is don José Lazo Valero, I say that I have examined him and recognize that he is much improved in terms of the harp, and that he plays with much gentleness and style, and with more freedom and selflessness, and that the course [of time in the office] will make this much more. His voice is that of the tenor, though not the sweetest, though it can be used in the union of voices and for the second choirs, for there are also voices for that effect. And upon viewing his attendance, until now he has done [his work] with much precision and love, for which I deign him worthy of the attention of your Excellency, unless you deem otherwise, which is always best.33

We therefore know that while Lazo Valero had a less-than-ideal singing voice, his strength as a harpist was obvious to those who worked with him.

In December of 1737, Lazo Valero applied for, and received, the capellanía de coro that José de Escalante had left vacant; we can infer from his application that Escalante was first harpist at the time. Subsequently, another harpist named Lucas de Guadalajara applied for a pay raise upon the condition that he and Lazo Valero would share in the duties of harp instruction to the pupils of the Colegio de Infantes. The capellanía de coro that Lazo Valero left vacant when he accepted the new position was requested by, and granted to, José Tamayo in 1738.

33 “Obedeciendo el decreto, con las atenciones que debo, y atendiendo a su contenido, que es el haberse Vuestra Señoría dignado de mandarme examinar al pretendiente en este memorial, que lo es don José Lazo Valero, digo que lo tengo examinado y tengo reconocido se halla adelantado en los términos del arpa, y tañe con mucha suavidad y modo, y con más soltura y desembarazo, y el curso lo hará mucho más. La voz es de tenor, aunque no la más dulce, pero puede servir en el congreso de capillas y para los segundos coros, que también hay voces para dicho efecto. Y en lo que mira su asistencia, hasta aquí lo ha hecho con punto y amor, por lo que me parece digno de la atención de Vuestra Señoría, salvo su parecer, que siempre es el mejor.” Tello et al., quoting MEX-Pc.
The musicologist Mark Brill has provided an in-depth look at the *examen de oposición*, the examination in which candidates for the post of chapelmaster would “oppose” each other, that was administered in Oaxaca. According to Brill, the musical hierarchy in most New World cathedrals was modeled upon that of Seville. Thus, from his perspective, a look at the *examenes* for the post at Oaxaca Cathedral would provide a close approximation to the musical skills expected of *maestros de capilla* in any other cathedral center, including Puebla. The main components of the *examen* involved composition, including the ability to write florid counterpoint against given *canti firmi* in multiple meters and modes, and vice versa.\(^3\) Thus, it is not surprising that, in 1747, upon the death of Nicolás Ximénez de Cisneros, José Lazo Valero made a petition before the *cabildo* requesting that the council grant him a term of one year in order to prepare himself for “opposing” (i.e., taking of the *examen*) for the vacant position of *maestro de capilla* of the Cathedral.\(^3\) The *cabildo* granted Lazo Valero the year, in addition to placing him under the tutelage of the organist Miguel Thadeo de Ochoa, who later sought compensation for these extra hours of instructional duties.\(^3\)

Lazo Valero passed the examinations and was named *maestro de capilla* of Puebla Cathedral on February 14, 1749. In addition to composing music for the different services there, Lazo Valero was charged with the musical education of the young boys of


\(^{35}\) “Concediéndosele un año de término para componerse en lo que pertenece a composición de la facultad de música, un año de término, para lo cual necesitaba de dicho término, hacia oposición a la plaza que se halla vaca de maestro de capilla en esta Santa Iglesia.” Tello et al., quoting MEX-Pc.

\(^{36}\) Hernández.
the Colegio de Infantes, as well as instructing the musicians in chant and counterpoint. Throughout his tenure at the Cathedral, Lazo Valero proved a conscientious administrator. In 1751, he interceded before the cabildo on behalf of the musicians who had played a series of Masses over a year earlier and who had not yet been paid, and he succeeded in securing their compensation. He was also recognized as a tough taskmaster. In 1768, two applicants took the examen de oposición for the post of organist. Lazo Valero failed both of them, going so far as to say that the one year they took to prepare was not enough, and that “they should take another year in the same distribution, so that with the continued exercise and labor of emulation, they might improve and perfect in all those areas that in the same examination [about which] I warned them.”

Lazo Valero held the post of chapelmaster until June 2, 1778, when he resigned due to failing health, stating that he was unable to carry out his obligations as he had done previously for almost twenty-seven years. He held great respect for Joaquín Ugarte, the maestro de capilla of the nearby Pueblan parish of La Habana, and he asked that Ugarte be named chapelmaster in the interim. Lazo Valero died two months later at the age of

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37 “Necesitan de correr otro año en la misma distribución que hasta aquí, para que con el continuado ejercicio y empeño de emulación, se adelanten y perfeccionen en todas las cosas que en el mismo examen les advertí y es conveniente.” Tello et al., quoting MEX-Pc.

38 “And having arranged…that Joaquín de Ugarte, maestro de capilla of the parish church of La Habana, should come to this city, and being this subject of sufficient ability and skill in music which I have known through many experiences by way of which I have discovered his qualities, I have determined, upon approval of the council, to name him as my substitute.” (“Y habiéndose proporcionado en la presente el que venga a esta ciudad don Joaquín de Ugarte, maestro de capilla de la Iglesia Parroquial de La Habana, y siendo este sujeto de suficiente habilidad y gran manejo en la música, lo que he conocido por las muchas experiencias que para ello he hecho a fin de descubrir su destreza, he determinado, siendo de la aprobación de Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima, nombrarlo por mi sustituto...”) Tello et al., quoting MEX-Pc.
sixty-five, and was buried on August 24, 1778. The position was not officially filled until 1791, with the arrival of Manuel Arenzana, Ugarte’s permanent replacement.

A Survey of Lazo Valero’s Works at MEX-Pc

The archive at MEX-Pc houses most of Lazo Valero’s extant works. Of the remaining pieces, the Sánchez Garza collection, originally part of the Convent of the Holy Trinity now housed at CENIDIM, contains three works by Lazo Valero. One of these pieces, a villancico for the Immaculate Conception, is the composer’s only complete work in the vernacular. The existence of this work proves that despite the decline of the villancico, it did not disappear altogether. The sole accompaniment to an eight-voice Magnificat survives in the archive of Mexico City Cathedral, as well as the title page to a second villancico. Table 2.1 shows the distribution of Lazo Valero’s works at MEX-Pc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre of Work</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responsories for St. Anne</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsories for Transfiguration</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsories for Matins of Ascension</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsories for Matins of St. John the Baptist</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hymns</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>3 (1 incomplete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invitatories</td>
<td>4 (2 incomplete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motets</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masses</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villancicos</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

His compositions for Matins of the Feast of St. John the Baptist represent the most coherent collection of completed works composed for a single occasion. The responsories, invitatory, and hymn for this Office survive; however, the collection is not

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39 Stanford, Catálogo, 263-264, 446-447.
complete, since the *Te Deum laudamus* that would have taken the place of the Ninth Responsory is lost. Despite this missing piece, the Responsories comprise a representative sample of Lazo Valero’s compositional output, since they were written over a period of almost twenty years.

Lazo Valero’s Masses reflect his later style, dating from 1764 to 1775. Salomón Sánchez’s findings on Lazo Valero’s Masses corroborate the hypothesis that the composer wrote for the forces he had available to him at the time. The 1764 *Misa a 5 con violines* and the 1775 *Misa a 5 voces* both use only high voices (típles), with an untexted bass part that, like those of the responsories, form a second basso continuo part.⁴⁰ (This use of a separate continuo part will be explained in greater detail in Chapter 4 of the present work.)

Although not all of Lazo Valero’s works survive, the evidence available points to a prolific individual whose works had a significant performance life. They lasted well beyond the lifetime of the composer, which was uncommon for the period. Cathedrals were, in large part, great patrons of new music, since part of the charge of the *magisterio de capilla* was the constant composition of new works for specific occasions. A copy of a Lazo Valero Mass dating as late as 1866 survives—a testament to the high regard in which the composer’s successors and the Cathedral council held him after his death.

The remaining chapters will focus on the eight Responsories for Matins of St. John the Baptist, including both a manuscript study and a stylistic analysis. These Responsories span nearly all of Lazo Valero’s tenure as chapelmaster. Thus, the stylistic

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⁴⁰ Salomón Sánchez, “Las Misas de José Lazo Valero en el archivo de la Catedral de Puebla” (Master’s thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 2010), 28.
development of the composer over these twenty years is most pronounced in this collection.
CHAPTER 3
LAZO VALERO’S MATINS OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST:
STRUCTURE AND PALEOGRAPHY

Matins has formed an important part of the Catholic liturgy since the establishment of the Rule of St. Benedict. It is the lengthiest of the Canonical Hours, originally taking place in the dead of night (around three o’clock in the morning). In the New World, Matins retained its central role in liturgical practices. Feasts such as St. John the Baptist, Ascension, the Immaculate Conception, and especially Christmas received as much attention from the cabildo as they did from the maestro de capilla. Bishops commissioned theatrical works and poetry from local writers, as well as elaborate choral interpolations that took place before, during, and after the service.41 For example, Mexico City Cathedral chapelmasters Manuel de Zumaya and Ignacio de Jerúsalem both wrote settings of Matins for various occasions, including the Feast Days of St. Peter and Our Lady of the Conception.42

The Feast Day of St. John the Baptist has long held a special place in Spanish Catholicism. It is celebrated on June 24, which coincides with the summer solstice. Particularly in northern Spain, where the peoples were once Celtic, the tradition of celebrating the summer solstice on El Día de San Juan (St. John’s Day) remains quite strong. Vestiges of ancient pagan celebrations are commonplace among modern


42 Stanford, Catálogo, 313; Russell, “Jerúsalem, Ignacio.”
traditions, which include lighting bonfires and gathering medicinal plants. Catholicism profited from these strong traditions: John the Baptist was, according the Scriptures, six months older than Jesus. Thus, John’s birthday coincided with the summer solstice, six months ahead of Christmas, which in turn was set to coincide with the winter solstice. The Church may have set this date as early as the fourth century C.E.\textsuperscript{43}

Whether or not the Church meant to associate the two holidays with the solstices remains unclear, but what is certain is that this date selection insured that both feast days would remain memorable and important. In Spain, this parallelism proved true in the case of the Feast of St. John the Baptist. The Church generally favored the common people’s celebratory rituals; in many cases, the bonfires were lit in the courtyard of the parish church (or, in the case of larger towns such as Oviedo, in the main square in front of the Cathedral). This staunchly Hispanic tradition continued uninterrupted in the New World.

In Mexico, aside from Lazo Valero’s Responsories, a series of hymns, chants, and motets survived for multiple offices of the Feast of St. John the Baptist, including Matins, Lauds, and Vespers, dating from the early seventeenth century onward.\textsuperscript{44}

\textbf{Matins of St. John the Baptist}

The structure of the Office itself allows for certain elements to be set to music. At the heart of Matins are the lessons, usually nine of them, divided into sets of related

\textsuperscript{43} Steven E. Hijmans, “Sol, the Sun in the Art and Religions of Rome” (PhD diss., Reijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2009), 587–588.

\textsuperscript{44} These pieces survive primarily in the form of Tomás Luis de Victoria choirbooks.
lessons called *nocturns*. In the case of Matins of St. John the Baptist, each nocturn contains three lessons, each of which is followed by a responsory. The exception is the third nocturn, which closes with the *Te Deum laudamus*. Figure 3.1 shows the basic structure of the Matins service for the Feast Day of St. John the Baptist.

**Matins for St. John the Baptist**

Invitatory: “Regem praecursoris Domini”
Psalm 94: “Veniexultemus Domino”
Hymn: “Antra deserti”

**First Nocturn**
- Psalms and Antiphons
- Lesson I
  - Responsory I “Fuit homo”
- Lesson II
  - Responsory II “Elisabeth Zachariae”
- Lesson III
  - Responsory III “Priusquam te formarem”

**Second Nocturn**
- Psalms and antiphons
- Lesson IV
  - Responsory IV “Descendit Angelus Domini”
- Lesson V
  - Responsory V “Hic est praecursor”
- Lesson VI
  - Responsory VI “Innuebant patri”

**Third Nocturn**
- Psalms and antiphons
- Lesson VII
  - Responsory VII “Praecursor Domini venit”
- Lesson VIII
  - Responsory VIII “Gabriel Angelus”
- Lesson IX
  - Te Deum Laudamus

**Figure 3.1 Basic structure of Matins for St. John the Baptist**

Paleographic Study

A study of the physical manuscript materials provides details about the music that help place it into an historical context and enlighten its performance history. Such a study also emphasizes the relationships between the composer, the music, and the copyist.

José Lazo Valero’s extant work in the Musical Archive of Puebla Cathedral is situated in *Legajos* ("Sets" or "Stacks") 15 and 16, which are devoted exclusively to his music; the manuscripts of the Responsories are found in *Legajo* 15. All surviving copies of the music are in *papel verjurado* (laid paper), so named for the thin ridges visible on the paper formed during the manufacturing process. The folios are folded into quartos, each measuring approximately 22 x 16 cm; the quartos are then stacked together to form a booklet containing all the parts for each piece.

In the title page of each responsory, the copyist has listed the composer’s name, although a total of five different variants of it appear throughout the manuscripts (Table 3.1):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Responsory No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dn. Joseph Lazo</td>
<td>First</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dn. Jph. Lazo</td>
<td>Fourth, Seventh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dn. Joseph Lasso Valero</td>
<td>Second, Fifth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dn. Jph. Lasso Valero</td>
<td>Third</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dn. Jph. Lasso Vallero</td>
<td>Sixth, Eighth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The now standard spellings of “Lazo” and “Valero” are never utilized together in any of the copies of the Responsories. These spellings (used by Lazo Valero only in official documents before the *cabildo*) represent the “re-Hispanization,” as it were, of the
Italianate forms of his name that use double consonants, such as “Lasso” and “Vallero.” These spellings appear only on the musical manuscripts.

Every folio has a visible and distinct watermark. Using a flashlight to illuminate the recti of the unfolded folios, I traced the watermarks onto a sheet of tracing paper, and subsequently cross-referenced them with María Cristina Sánchez de Bonfil’s catalog El papel del papel en la Nueva España (INAH, 1993) in an attempt to date the paper.

Unfortunately, Sánchez de Bonfil’s catalog is not comprehensive and only provides basic dating information based on the General Archive of the Nation (Archivo General de la Nación). However, by using the dates she provides as guideposts and by studying the slight changes in the watermarks between them, it is possible to approximate dates for specific folios. Figure 1 depicts a backlit portion of a folio, showing a fleur-de-lis from maker Giovanni Battista, dating from 1748.45 Table 3.2 includes a list of the watermarks encountered in the manuscript study.

![Figure 3.2 Backlit portion of recto, showing fleur-de-lis watermark and laid paper.](image)


46 Ibid.
Table 3.2  List of paper manufacturers identified among the Lazo Valero manuscripts at MEX-Pc, with watermark illustrations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manufacturer</th>
<th>Approximate Date</th>
<th>Illustrations</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beinette, Bainetti</td>
<td>1753, 1778</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="BEINETTE" /></td>
<td>A Lazo Valero arrangement of a Salazar hymn appears on this paper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernardo Polleri</td>
<td>1771, 1778-80, 1789-90</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="BERNARDO" /></td>
<td>An example of a complementary watermark. The vocal parts to the Second and Fifth Responsories are found on this paper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernardo Polleri</td>
<td>1771, 1778-80, 1789-90</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="POLLERI" /></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3.2 continued.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Picardo (“El Verdadero”)</strong></td>
<td>1785</td>
<td>Complementary watermark. The variant found in the MS has an additional branding, “El Verdadero,” and lacks the star on the bull’s body. The parts to the Third, Sixth, and Eighth Repsonsories exist on this paper.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fabiani Giobattista</strong></td>
<td>1778</td>
<td>Complementary watermark. The variant found in the MS simply includes the initials “GBF.”</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.2 continued.

| Giovanni Battista | 1748, 1771, 1778, 1782 | Variants include the letters “GB,” and “GBF.” Lazo Valero’s *Laudate Dominum* is copied on paper bearing the first watermark. Some parts to the early Responsories (First, Fourth, Seventh) are found on paper bearing the fleur-de-lis watermark. |

Giovanni Battista
The majority of the paper manufacturers bear Italian names; only one, Picardo, may be of Spanish origin. Watermarking began in thirteenth-century Italy, and was subsequently dispersed among European manufacturers. Spanish society from the sixteenth century onward showed a taste for Italian paper with religious-themed watermark designs; the reason for this preference remains a mystery. One aspect that proves problematic for watermark dating is that manufacturers very often used alternate spellings of their names. Although Sánchez de Bonfil theorizes that the reproductions cited in Table 3.2 corresponded to the same maker based on their watermark designs, she cannot definitively confirm this hypothesis.  

\footnote{Ibid.}
The most common watermark designs were those of horsemen—presumably matadors, facing charging bulls, according to Sánchez de Bonfil. Each figure appeared on the opposite corner of the folio (bottom left and bottom right). Such a design is known as a complementary watermark. There is an even distribution of these figures between the makers Picardo “El Veradadero,” Giovanni Battista, Fabiani Giobattista, and Bernardo Polleri. The majority of the vocal parts to the Responsories were copied on paper bearing these watermarks. A less common watermark was one bearing a crown (symbolizing the monarchy) sitting atop a fleur-de-lis—a possible symbol for the purity of the Virgin Mary and thus a symbol of the Church.48

Based on the results from Table 3.2, we can theorize that the majority of the copies existing at MEX-Pc date from much later than their composition date, and in many cases were created posthumously. The instrumental parts for the early Responsories—namely, the First, Fourth, and Seventh—are on early paper, such as the Boneu dating from 1748 and the Beinette dating from 1753.

Even more singular is the fact that several copies of the Responsories date from approximately 1778—the year of Lazo Valero’s death. I thereby hypothesize that Lazo Valero himself ordered these pieces copied out as he was ailing; however, without a more complete study of watermarks in New Spain, this hypothesis is impossible to confirm. Nevertheless, the great quantity of posthumous copies confirms that the works had a performance life beyond their dates of composition, for copies dating from as late as the

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48 Ibid.
1790s remain. (In the case of some of Lazo Valero’s other works, copies as late as 1810 exist.)
CHAPTER 4

THE RESPONSORIES: MUSICAL ANALYSIS

By the mid-eighteenth century, the vernacular *villancico* began to fall out of favor and was replaced with the Latin responsories originally designed as part of the Divine Office. The Italian Baroque style, dominant already in Spain by 1725, had found its way into the New World via the emigration of Italian composers, such as Ignacio de Jerusalén. *Villancicos* and *cantadas* (cantatas) began showing signs of Italian influences such as the quasi-operatic, cantata-style distribution of movements into scenes; the juxtaposition of movements such as recitatives, arias, and choruses; the prevalence of florid writing; and the emphasis on high polyphony in the mid-Baroque style. Critics of this new trend included music theorists such as Girolamo Feijoo and Pedro Cerone, local bishops, and even Pope Benedict XIV, as noted in his 1749 encyclical *Annus qui*. As a result of this consistent criticism, composers responded by simplifying their textures to allow for the clarity of the text. Choruses grew more homophonic, and instrumental accompaniments were allowed if they “aided the singers in the clear expression of the sacred texts.” Thus, responsories in this new, simpler style—a forerunner of the Classical period—became a significant part of composers’ creative production during the second half of the eighteenth century. Although Puebla Cathedral itself did not officially prohibit the vernacular *villancico* until 1786 (eight years after José Lazo Valero’s death),

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49 Bárbara Pérez Ruiz, “El villancico y el responsorio,” 1.

50 Ibid., 2.
composers had already begun to follow the developing trends in Mexico City for several decades. Lazo Valero’s own years in office at Puebla Cathedral as *maestro de capilla* (1749 through 1778) coincided directly with this transition.

Lazo Valero composed the Eight Responsories for the Matins of St. John the Baptist over a period of approximately twenty-five years, at intervals of around nine years between sets. The First, Fourth, and Seventh Responsories date from 1749, the composer’s first year in office; the Second and Fifth, from 1758, and the Third, Sixth, and Eighth from roughly 1767-77. Lazo Valero composed the Responsories in this order to highlight a responsory in each Nocturn. For example, the 1749 compositions included the First, Fourth, and Seventh Responsories—the first of each nocturn. Thus, a careful analysis of the Responsories in chronological order of composition (rather than in a liturgical sequence) will aid in accounting for the stylistic changes that developed over time in these works. The following analysis will explore these transformations by focusing on the stylistic elements of texture, orchestration, harmony, melody, and counterpoint.

Despite the fact that the Eight Responsories for the Matins of St. John the Baptist differ considerably, they do share common compositional features. The only Responsories to use a bass (vocal) part, denoted “Baxo,” are the early polychoral pieces—namely, the First, Fourth, and Seventh Responsories. The bass parts to these pieces, however, are untexted, with the incipit of each verse or refrain used only as a place marker. These bass parts also feature their own figured bass markings, from which we can infer that one or more instrumentalists would have performed the part, with at
least one of them capable of realizing the basso continuo on a harmonic instrument such as a harp or organ. Thus, the bass parts comprise a second, separate continuo part that corresponds to the polychoral style, in which each “choir” had its own continuo. Also, judging from the relatively wide range required of the tenor (particularly in the low register, with the part often acting as the bass line), it is possible that bass singers were not available to Lazo Valero at the time, although this hypothesis cannot be confirmed due to the lack of detailed records.

All the Responsories follow the ritornello structure common to the late Baroque period. When the piece lacks any accompanying instruments aside from the basso continuo, the ritornello is often very short, and it is provided by the voices themselves or the continuo alone.

I chose to employ a generalized and less detailed musical analysis in this chapter. My goal is to show stylistic evolution over time; for this purpose, a general discussion of the salient features of each piece proved more useful than an in-depth theoretical analysis.

First Responsory
Title: 1º Responsorio a 8 para los Maytines de Sn. Juan Baptista
Author: Por el Maestro Dn. Joseph Lazo, año del 749
Key: C major
Meter: Duple (common time)
Voicing/Orchestration: SSAT+SATB, basso continuo

Text:\textsuperscript{51}

\begin{tabular}{lll}
\textbf{R.} & Fuit homo missu a Deo, cui nomen & \textbf{R.} & There was a man sent from God, whose \\
\end{tabular}

erat Joánnes: * Hic venit in testimónium, ut testimónium perhibéret de lúmine, et paráret Dómino plebem perféctam.
V. Erat Joánnes in desérto prædicans baptismum peñitêntiæ.
R. Hic venit in testimónium, ut testimónium perhibéret de lúmine, et paráret Dómino plebem perféctam.
name was John; * The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the Light, to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.
V. John was in the wilderness, preaching the baptism of repentance.
R. The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the Light, to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.

The First Responsory immediately follows the First Lesson, which contains a reading from the opening of the Book of Jeremiah, in which God justifies the role of the prophet: “Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations” (Jeremiah 1:4-5). Thus, the juxtaposition of the text of the Responsory with the “divine ordination” of Jeremiah provides a strong parallel aiding the notion of the same divine intercession in the case of John the Baptist, as the one who “prepared the way.”

Music:

The First Responsory, written in 1749, is the largest of the eight in terms of voicing, for it is polychoral. Music set in the polychoral style is abundant among the oeuvre of seventeenth-century composers in Puebla and throughout the New World. However, with the decline of the grandiosity of the service, and the push for the return of linear, melodic clarity by church authorities in the mid-eighteenth century, the technique began to fall out of favor. The First Responsory is one of the three polychoral settings by Lazo Valero, all in the same year, none of which feature any accompanying instruments aside from the basso continuo. All the parts are in the hand of a copyist. Unlike other Responsories, the First does not feature an introduction, but begins directly with the
Choir I. Choir II enters briefly in bar 8 for two-and-a-half bars, in responsorial fashion utilizing the last part of the first phrase of text (Ex. 4.1).

Example 4.1 First Responsory, bars 6-10.

This polychoral setting is naturally suited to both the responsorial style and the physical space of the choir (known as “el coro” in Spanish), featuring a horseshoe shape with two organs, each located opposite each other. Throughout the piece, Lazo Valero utilizes
Choir II to reinforce certain parts of the text phrase by phrase, such as “misus [sic] a Deo” (“sent from God”), “erat Joannes” (“John was”), and “hic venit” (“he came”).

This work demonstrates Lazo Valero’s earlier Baroque style, more fixated on the natural rhetorical devices facilitated by the polychoral setting and less focused on voice leading. Thus, the linear movement is often awkward, and the voices are treated more like filler notes in the vertical harmony than individual lines. Bar 5 of the Tiple I part shows two leaps of a P4 in the same direction, both unprepared. The long melismatic line in the Alto I part is unlike the usual near-syllabic setting in most of Lazo Valero’s music (see Ex. 4.2). The composer employed contrapuntal devices such as imitation only at the opening of sections, such as Example 4.2, which gave way to a much more homophonic texture later in the work.

Example 4.2 First Responsory, bars 1-6.

In the verse “Erat Joannes in deserto” (“John was in the desert”), Lazo Valero uses the same homophonic style of text setting over a steady, scalar bass line in eighth notes; bars 47-49 (Ex. 4.3) show an example of the polychoral emphasis on “Erat
Joannes” over this moving bass line, with the textless “Baxo” of Choir II doubling the basso continuo. The two choirs are always independent of each other except for the final cadences of the structural parts (refrain and verse).

Example 4.3 First Responsory, bars 47-49.
Example 4.4 shows the relatively fast harmonic motion that occurs in bars 51-53, as the chords fluctuate around the tonic (I), but use the (viiº) chord as a pivot to introduce the secondary dominant (Vⅵ/ⅴ) of the relative minor (vi). A modulation to vi occurs for another brief three bars before the verse reaches its final cadence. This is the point of fastest harmonic motion in the piece; most bars only feature two chord changes (usually every two beats), with an occasional third change at a cadence (such as V-IV-Vⅷ-I). At the end of each verse, a segno indicates the repetition of the refrain.

Harmonically, Lazo Valero works against expectation. His earlier works show signs of harmonic simplicity, while his later Responsories show a greater affinity for chromatic exploration. This First Responsory is a product of his first year in office, and thus an example of his earlier, less sophisticated tendencies favoring slower harmonic motion and polychoral effects.
Fourth Responsorium
Title: 4º Responsorio A 6, Para los Maytines de Sn. Juan Baptista
Author: Por el Maestro Dn. Jph. Lazo, Año del 49.
Key: F major, notated with one flat, doubled at the octave
Meter: Duple (common time)
Voicing/Orchestration: AT+SATB, basso continuo

Text:


V. Iste puer magnus coram Dómino: nam et manus ejus cum ipso est.
R. Et habébit nomen Joánnes Baptísta.

R. The Angel of the Lord was sent down unto Zacharias, saying: Thou shalt beget a son in thine old age, * And his name shall be called John the Baptist.

V. This child shall be great in the sight of the Lord, for the hand of the Lord is with him.
R. And his name shall be called John the Baptist.

While the lessons of the First Nocturn utilize Scriptural passages and metaphors to frame God’s calling of John the Baptist as prophet and forerunner of Christ, the Second Nocturn focuses on Church teaching specifically on John and his Nativity. In particular, the Second Nocturn uses tracts from a sermon of St. Augustine in which the bishop discusses John’s role in the Messianic prophecies. In the Fourth Lesson, St. Augustine discusses how, in the case of most saints, their feast day is traditionally celebrated on the date of their death, but in the case of John the Baptist, it falls on the date of his birth, since (as was already discussed in the First Nocturn) he was already denoted a prophet from the time he was in the womb. “But in John is honoured the first day, for in him the very beginning is found hallowed. And the reason that the Nativity of John is so much made of in Scripture is, without doubt, that the Lord wished John to be an attestation to his own first coming” (Sermon of St. Augustine, Bishop).
Music:

Written in the same year as the First Responsory, the Fourth Responsory shows vestiges of the same earlier writing style, though to a lesser degree. It features very vertical text setting with frequent cross-voicing, particularly between the tenor and bass (see Ex. 4.5). However, the Fourth Responsory makes greater use of imitation and even includes a small bit of word painting in the opening line “Decendit [sic] angelus” (Ex. 4.6), where the opening figure does in fact descend.

Example 4.5 Fourth Responsory, bars 22-26.
Example 4.6 Fourth Responsory, bars 1-5, Alto I & Tenor I.

The verse once again features a smooth, slow-moving line over an eighth-note moving bass line.

Although the piece is polychoral, Lazo Valero uses an Alto-Tenor combination for Choir I that sometimes hinders their projection in tutti sections. Oddly enough, the “Baxo” part is often independent of the bass line (unlike the First Responsory). However, the lack of text, great range, and presence of figured bass once again suggests instrumental doubling rather than a sung line—a polychoral second continuo.

Seventh Responsory
Author: Por el Maestro Dn. Jph. Lazo. Año del 749.
Key: D minor (no key notated)
Meter: Duple (common time)
Voicing/Orchestrations: SATTB, basso continuo.

Text:

R. Praecursor Domini venit, de quo ipse testatur: * Nullus major inter natos mulierum Joanne Baptista.

V. Hic est enim propheta, et plus quam propheta, de quo Salvator ait.

R. The Forerunner of the Lord cometh, to whom that Lord himself bare witness, saying: * Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist.

V. For this is a Prophet, yea, and much more than a Prophet, for this is he of whom

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52 Middle C, or C⁴, down to a D²—low even by today’s standards.
The Third Nocturn acknowledges the strong Augustinian connection by citing the writings of St. Augustine’s own Baptist, St. Ambrose. The Seventh Lesson opens with the excerpt from the Gospel of St. Luke detailing the birth of John the Baptist as a time of great rejoicing, especially by Elisabeth and all those who knew her. This reference is followed by a homily of St. Ambrose, who is quick to remember John for his righteousness. The rejoicing of Elisabeth’s neighbors is of particular interest to Ambrose, who sees this jubilation as “prophetic,” heralding the future great life of one born in righteousness. Ambrose also mentions Mary (for the first time in the lessons): “It is fitting therefore that we should be told of the Prophet, when he was yet in the womb; and the more so because, otherwise, the presence of Mary might not have been remembered.” The text of the refrain of the Responsory takes this idea further: “Among those born of women there are none greater than John the Baptist.” The verse makes clear the distinction between the Forerunner and the Savior: “This is he of whom the Savior saith.” (In other words, the Savior was not among those born of women.)

Music:

The Seventh Responsory continues the polychoral tradition of the First and Fourth Responsories, with the Tenor I taking the role of the soloist and the other four voices (Tiple, Alto, Tenor II, and Baxo) serving as the ripieno. The writing in this Responsory is more awkward than usual. In bars 17-21, Lazo Valero takes the Tiple line into the higher
octave (which it never visits again—see Ex. 4.7), leaving it exposed against the much more compact writing in the other four voices. The solo voice often crosses with the bass line, as in bars 23 and 25. This problem is easily solved by utilizing a double bass or a 16’ organ stop with the bass line. Example 4.7 also shows two unprepared leaps of a P4, as seen previously in the First Responsory.

Example 4.7 Seventh Responsory, bars 16-21.

The unnotated D minor leads to a series of unnotated fictas that are necessary to prevent unnecessary cross-relations, which were not in common usage by the mid-eighteenth century. The melodic style is much like that of the First and Fourth Responsories: broken lines, with disjunct voice leading. At other times, the melody lingers around a general pitch while waiting for the underlying harmony to resolve. Bars
57-62 employ a sequence, which allows Lazo Valero to employ a slight chromatic
descent in the bass line to complete a i – $V^{4/2}/iv$ – IV$^6$ – iv$^6$ – $V^7$ – i progression. Aside
from these singularities, the piece remains in the fields of harmonic expectation of key
areas around the tonic and dominant, and in this case, the relative major.

The First, Fourth, and Seventh Responsories, taken together, exemplify the focus on thicker, vocal-dominated textural models that composers emulated in the early eighteenth century. They also support the hypothesis that Lazo Valero had fewer instruments at his disposal at this time; he compensated by writing shorter ritornelli for the basso continuo. He would later refine the ritornelli as he used different instruments to punctuate the vocal writing.

Second Responsory
Title: 2° Responsorio a Duo Con Oboes, para los Maytines de Sr. Sn. Ju. Baptista
Author: Por el Mtro. Dn. Joseph Lasso Valero, año de 1758
Key: A minor
Meter: Duple (common time)
Voicing/Orchestration: SS, 2 ob., basso continuo

Text:

R. Elisabeth Zacharías magnum virum génuit, Joánne Baptístam, præcursórem Dómini: * Qui viam Dómino præparávit in erémo.

V. Fuit homo missus a Deo, cui nomen erat Joánnes.

R. Qui viam Dómino præparávit in erémo.

R. Elisabeth, wife of Zacharias, she hath brought forth a mighty son, even John Baptist, the Lord’s Forerunner,* Who made straight in the desert a way for the Lord.

V. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John.

R. Who made straight in the desert a way for the Lord.
The Second Responsory follows the Second Lesson, a continuation of the first chapter of Jeremiah. The focus of this passage is the power of words (symbolized by God touching Jeremiah’s mouth) bestowed by God unto his prophets and the spiritually elevated status thus achieved: “Then the Lord put forth his hand, and touched my mouth. And the Lord said unto me, Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth. See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant” (Jeremiah 1:8-10). This is reflected in the Responsory text: “Elisabeth…magnum virum génuit” (“Elisabeth brought forth a mighty son”), furthered in the notion of John the Baptist as “præcursórem Domini” (“precursor of the Lord”). The verse recapitulates the text of the First Responsory (“Fuit homo…”), serving to connect the first two lessons: John was a man sent from God, who prepared a way for the Lord.

Music:

The Second Responsory shows a marked, visible evolution in Lazo Valero’s compositional style. This is the first time the composer uses accompanying instruments in these Responsories (oboes in this case), which allows him to write true ritornelli of 5-6 bars long. Indeed, the oboes provide a key unifying element for the piece, giving it a clear-cut form that is instantly intelligible. Lazo Valero uses the minor key in ways that allow him to explore a greater harmonic palette, using borrowed chords (such as the major IV), raised thirds (as raised sixths in the dominant major scale) in cadences, and chain suspensions. Example 4.8 shows one such chain suspension, first heard in the vocal line, and then echoed immediately in the oboes. Also, the use of first inversion
dominant chords ($V^6$ and $V^{6/5}$) allow for greater, sharper dissonances between passing tones in the melodic lines and the bass notes, often creating suspensions in the inner voices.

**Example 4.8 Second Responsory, bars 32-36.**

Melodically, this Responsory is perhaps the most balanced of the eight. Lazo Valero explored the world of sequences with longer, lyrical lines punctuated by an occasional motive in the oboes. The writing is smooth, and leaps are prepared. Example 4.9 demonstrates one such sequence over a circle-of-fifths harmonic progression. The oboe lines are themselves often just as lyrical as the vocal lines, adding to this sense of balance. Cadences are always prepared so that arrival points are clearly marked. Lazo Valero also used brief moments of canonic imitation within the oboes and the two soprano parts to add a greater sense of polyphony. The opening four bars show the line
in the first oboe echoed in canon in the second oboe; likewise the first four bars of the sopranos show the same movement, using the melodic raised sixth and oboe motives (see Figs. 4.10 and 4.11). Example 4.12 shows the use of a borrowed chord: the major IV arrives unexpectedly (in the place of a iv in bar 44). The F-sharp in the Tiple II thus forms a cross relation with the F-natural in the bass in the beat prior.

**Example 4.9 Second Responsory, bars 14-17, Tiple I & II, basso continuo.**

**Example 4.10 Second Responsory, bars 1-4 (db.), Oboe I & II.**
The Second Responsory exemplifies Lazo Valero’s stylistic evolution by embodying a greater sense of structure as well as harmonic and melodic fluidity not present in the earlier Responsories. While his harmonies are somewhat more adventurous than in the past, they find a new role in the function of the form and not just as filler chords, as in his earlier polychoral writing.
Fifth Responsory

Author: Por el Maestro Dn. Joseph Lasso Valero, Año de 1758.
Key: C major
Meter: Duple (common time)
Voicing/Orchestration: S solo, 2 “bajos” (bassoons), basso continuo

Text:

R. Hic est præcúrsor diléctus, et lucérna lucens ante Dóminum: * Ipse est enim Joánnes, qui viam Dómino præparávit in erémo; sed et Agnum Dei demonstrávit, et illuminávit mentes hóminum.

V. Ipse præíbit ante illum in spíritu et virtúte Elíæ.

R. Ipse est enim Joánnes, qui viam Dómino præparávit in erémo; sed et Agnum Dei demonstrávit, et illuminávit mentes hóminum.

R. This is the well-beloved Forerunner, a burning and a shining light before the Lord, * Even that John who made straight in the desert a highway for our God; yea, for he pointed Christ out as the Lamb of God, and gave light to the minds of men.

V. He went before him in the spirit and power of Elias.

R. Even that John who made straight in the desert a highway for our God; yea, for he pointed Christ out as the Lamb of God, and gave light to the minds of men.

The Fifth Lesson emphasizes John’s humanity: “that he prophesied while yet in the hidden depths of his mother's womb, and while himself lightless bore testimony to the truth.” It also introduces the metaphor of light, long associated with Jesus’ Messianic status: “therefore John came for a witness, to bear witness of the Light, that all men through him might believe.” However, in the Responsory text, John acquires a light of his own by being the Forerunner: “a burning and a shining light before the Lord.”

Music:

The Fifth Responsory utilizes an odd combination of timbres: a solo tiple (soprano) with two bassoons. The disparity between these two sounds sets the lines apart easily. The bassoons parts are of particular interest because they are employed in their
lower register, where their reedy sounds are at their brightest (as was the case with Baroque bassoons). Since they often move in parallel thirds, the texture is always quite clear—an emerging Classical trait (Ex. 4.13).

Example 4.13 Fifth Responsory, bars 6-9: Bassoons in low register.

Lazo Valero employs the Italian convention of using broken chords repeatedly in the melody, sometimes for up to two complete bars at a time. The music also shows a greater willingness to employ chords in inversions (for example: $V - V^{4/2} - I^6 - V^{6/5} - I$), whereas most of his past writing used primarily root-position triads. Nevertheless, root positions normally prevail in simpler harmonic passages.

Most of the melismatic writing is found on the word “dilectus” (“beloved”) and “præebit” (“went before”), adding stress to that part of the text (Ex. 4.14). Since Lazo Valero only wrote for “tiples” in the Second and Fifth Responsories, he was unable to resort to thickness of texture as a means of textual representation. He did, however, have the benefit of accompanying instruments to provide rhetorical accentuation and punctuation. This resource allowed him greater freedom to explore melodic possibilities
in the vocal lines, since the singer could now pause for extended periods of time and
begin a new section to develop ideas in a new manner.

Example 4.14 Fifth Responsory, bars 10-14: Soprano melisma.

Third Responsory
Title: III. Responsorio a 4, Para los Maytines de Sn. Ju. Baptista
Author: Por el Mtro. Dn. Jph. Lasso Valero
Key: G minor, notated with one flat, doubled at the octave
Meter: Duple (common time)
Voicing/Orchestration: SSAT, 2 vlns., basso continuo

Text:

R. Priúsquam te formárem in útero, novi
te: et ántequam exíres de ventre,
sanctificávi te, *Et prophétam in Géntibus
dedi te.
V. Vir diléctus a Deo, et homínibus
honórátus est.
R. Et prophétam in Géntibus dedi te.
V. Glória Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.
R. Et prophétam in Géntibus dedi te.

R. Before I formed thee in the belly I
knew thee; and before thou camest forth
out of the womb I sanctified thee; *And I
ordained thee a Prophet unto the nations.
V. This is a man beloved of God and men,
whose memorial is blessed.
R. And I ordained thee a Prophet unto the
nations.
V. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son,
and to the Holy Ghost.
R. And I ordained thee a Prophet unto the
nations.
The Third Responsory dates from 1767-1777, placing it in approximately the final decade of Lazo Valero’s lifetime. Thus, musically, the Third Responsory fully embodies the Italian style that began to dominate the music of the latter half of the eighteenth century. The two violin parts are largely independent from the vocal lines, only occasionally doubling when needed. These parts use a greater degree of counterpoint in relation to one other and to the instrumental accompaniment than previously. When the texture becomes too thick, or the harmonic motion grows faster, the violins recede into the background and resort to fast repeated notes—a hallmark of this new style. Again, the minor key allows Lazo Valero to explore chromatic harmony to a greater degree than in most earlier works, venturing occasionally into keys such as F minor and C minor. Cross relations occur three times during the piece; the first in the third beat of the opening bar, between the first violin and the bass line (see Ex. 4.15). This greater use of cross relations suggests that Lazo Valero (who would have been versed in the theory and thus fully aware of these devices) wanted to explore timbral and contrapuntal contrasts—a trend he began in the Second Responsory.

**Example 4.15 Third Responsory, bars 1-2.**
The vocal parts retain their imitative nature, creating a polyphonic sound in distinct opposition to the more homophonic accompaniment. However, in contrast to his earlier writing style, Lazo Valero maintains a more melodic quality to the vocal lines. He ensures that each part has a distinct shape rather than using it as harmonic filler, as is the case with the First Responsory. This is also the first time that Lazo Valero uses short instrumental codas at the end of each strophe (Ex. 4.16). The voices come together without imitation in the Gloria Patri, regally creating a larger sound for the final Doxology. Ordinarily, responsories do not utilize a Doxology; however, the Third Responsory falls at the end of the First Nocturn, and thus includes a pronounced closing element.

**Example 4.16 Third Responsory, bars 24-27: Instrumental coda at the end of the refrain.**

These points aside, the Third Responsory follows the same stylistic and structural model of the Second and Fifth Responsories. This piece shows Lazo Valero in a comfortable position to explore further harmonic possibilities while maintaining the same structural integrity achieved earlier.
**Sixth Responsory**

Author: Por el Maestro Dn. Jph. Lasso Vallero.
Key: E minor
Meter: Duple (common time)
Voicing/Orchestration: SAT, 2 vlns., basso continuo

**Text:**

R. Innuébant patri ejus quem vellet vocári eum : et póstulans pugillárem, scripsit dicens: * Joánnes est nomen ejus.
V. Apértum est os Zacharíæ, et prophetávit dicens.
R. Joánnes est nomen ejus.
V. Glória Patri, et Fílio, et Spirítui Sancto.
R. Joánnes est nomen ejus.

R. They made signs to his father, how he would have him called: and he asked for a writing-table and wrote, * John is his name.
V. The mouth of Zacharias was opened and he prophesied, saying.
R. John is his name.
V. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.
R. John is his name.

The Sixth Lesson, which closes the second Nocturn, furthers the idea sowed in the Fifth Lesson about John being a man of the Law: because he preceded Christ, he was still bound by the constraints of the rest of his humanity. However, the Gospels describe him as being “a burning and shining light,” for the fire of the Holy Spirit burned within him, which the use of the Doxology at this point all the more appropriate. St. Augustine is careful to establish John’s radiance as that of a “morning star,” compared to the radiance of the “bright sun” that was to come (Jesus himself). The text of the Responsory tells the tale of John’s father Zacharias, whose mouth was opened when he named his son the way the angel had told him (having been shut upon his disbelief that he would have a son).

**Music:**

The Sixth Responsory combines the balance of the Second Responsory with the fuller texture of the Third. The parts for the voices and continuo were copied before
those of the violins, for on several occasions, the copyist returned to correct some (but not all) of the vocal and accompaniment parts to make room for the faster-moving violins. For example, the voices, at the end of each verse, featured a whole note on the final chord; however, the accompaniment employs a i-V motion every beat, which would clash immediately with the voices (see Ex 4.17). Thus, the alto part was modified \textit{a posteriori} to a half note to accommodate the harmonic motion underneath. (It is a common practice in choral performance to shorten final notes to accommodate harmonic contrast in the accompaniment. Thus, while reducing the final note value to a half note would still clash once with the accompaniment, a conductor may choose to place the final release even earlier.) A second copyist may have corrected the note values, for he chose to use upward-pointing stems for the modifications rather then the downward stems used in the rest of the piece.

The range of the vocal parts once again seem to validate the hypothesis that bass singers were not available to Lazo Valero. The Tiple part is in a comfortable register, never higher than $E^5$, where as the alto and tenor are made to sink down to an $E^3$ and $B^2$, respectively—somewhat beyond the usual ranges of these voices (Examples 4.17 and 4.18).
Harmonically, the piece uses typical chord progressions in the key of E minor, utilizing secondary dominants to establish short key areas in III and iv, while only straying from the tonic for a maximum of four bars. This piece marks Lazo Valero’s first
use of a ii°6/5 chord in a final cadence (i-ii°6/5-V7-i°6/4-V7-i), providing more color than he normally uses at the ends of his works.

This Responsory provides evidence of the performance life of these works beyond their composition. The later corrections demonstrate that these pieces were still performed well after their date of creation and that the composer was flexible enough to allow for such changes to occur.

**Eighth Responsory**

Title: VIII Responsorio Para los Maytines de Sn. Ju. Baptista
Author: Por el Mtro. Dn. Jph. Lasso Vallero
Key: G major
Meter: Duple (common time)
Voicing/Orchestration: SSAT, 2 vlns., basso continuo

**Text:**

V. Erit enim magnus coram Dómino vinum et sícera non bibet.

R. Et multi in nativitáte ejus gaudébunt.
V. Glória Patri, et Fílio, et Spirítui Sancto.

R. The Angel Gabriel appeared unto Zacharias, and said: Thou shalt have a son, and thou shalt call his name John: * And many shall rejoice at his birth.
V. For he shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and shall drink neither wine nor strong drink.

R. And many shall rejoice at his birth.
V. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

R. And many shall rejoice at his birth.

St. Ambrose’s sermon continues into the Eighth Lesson, in enjambment from the seventh, detailing the nature of John the Baptist’s birth in terms of his parents. Zacharias, rendered mute by the angel upon his disbelief, would have been unable to tell his wife what Gabriel had dictated the child should be named, yet Elisabeth, by revelation (according to Ambrose), knew that the child was not to be named after anyone in his
family. No one in the family had the name John—so St. Luke makes clear. In a chronological sense, the text of the Eighth Responsory predates that of the Sixth, when Zacharias’ mouth is opened; however, the placement of this text at the end of the responsories serves to reinforce the general goal of the lessons: that God had an active role in the choice and the formation of the person He chose as His Forerunner on Earth.

Music:

The Eighth Responsory follows the same model as the Sixth of the same year. In both pieces, Lazo Valero uses the violins to highlight salient voices by doubling them in eighth notes (Ex. 4.18). He uses notational conventions to tell the players when a line is salient and when it is just background. The use of the tremolo notation is reserved for when that specific line should give way to the salient voice, notated in regular eighth notes. Lazo Valero retains the use of quasi-responsorial style by bringing the voices together to sing important parts of the text. For example, in the opening, the ascending-descending figure referent to the Angel Gabriel appears among the voices in imitation. Subsequently, as shown in bar 6 of Example 4.19, the voices sing homophonically “apparuit Zachariae, dicens” (“appeared to Zacharias, saying”). The same conjuncture occurs for “nomen ejus Joannes vocabitur” (“you shall call his name John”). These passages are both the final phrases before the next section in the text: thus Lazo Valero uses the form of the piece to mirror that the text.

The same voice-crossing issues between the tenor and bass, prominent in other Responsories, are also present (Ex. 4.20). This Responsory, like the Sixth, features an
*posteriori* manipulation of final cadences to allow for harmonic motion in the accompaniment.

**Example 4.19 Eighth Responsory, bars 4-9.**

**Example 4.20 Eighth Responsory, bars 11-14.**
Harmonically, the late Responsories display a larger venture into chromaticism, as well as a willingness to consider individual voice leading as a means of expression. The instruments fulfill their purpose well, serving, in the words of Benedict XIV in *Annum qui*, “only to accentuate and prolong the primarily lines of the voices.”

The diversity in style and instrumentation suggest that Lazo Valero wrote for the performing forces he had available to him at the time. It also confirms that he was quite familiar with the instrumental and timbral combinations he had at his disposal: while a tiple and two bassoons may contain extreme timbral differences, they are also colors that will never be confused, nor will they affect the clarity of the delivery. The timbral difference between the voice and the violin is much less pronounced. To solve this problem, the composer has the violin double the salient line simply to add emphasis instead of standing in opposition to it. The development of his harmonic choices from one set of responsories to the next demonstrates a composer growing into his own personal style, complementing a shift in theological and liturgical thought that occurred in his immediate environment.

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53 Pérez Ruiz, 2.
CONCLUSIONS

José Lazo Valero’s music and particularly his Responsories provides tangible confirmation that composers working at Puebla Cathedral kept abreast of musical trends at home and abroad. This repertoire also demonstrates that Pueblan composers remained conscious of the works and influences of their predecessors in the *magisterio de capilla*. Yet, they still produced material that reflected the changes in the social fabric into which their music was so crucially woven.

The dominant repertoire of Mexican Baroque music has long consisted of works accessible to listeners and performers alike, with salient features such as folk-oriented dance rhythms and texts reflecting the cultures that inhabited the region. The collections set forth by scholars such as Robert Stevenson present a rather exoticized glimpse at Mexican Baroque music. They contained primarily *villancicos* by composers such as Fernandes, Gutiérrez de Padilla, and Salazar—specifically, works that contained a distinct ethnic element, be it African or Native American. Perhaps inadvertently, the *villancico* thus acquired a dominant position within this repertoire as a genre that seventeenth-century New World composers came to master. These innovators created a kaleidoscope of musical variety within this fairly specific genre, but its dominance masked a great deal of other significant output.

The dominant repertoire unfortunately omits the chain of influence to which composers of this period were susceptible. This new study of the Responsories of José Lazo Valero sheds light on three significant influences: 1) The line of musical influence
within the *magisterio de capilla*, from Pedro Bermúdez and Gaspar Fernandes to Lazo Valero himself, 2) the international influence of the prominent Italian style in the mid-eighteenth century, and 3) the influence of liturgical change that was happening simultaneously, especially the move toward a more central, Latin liturgy. These together help musically to contextualize Puebla in the mid-eighteenth century. The popularity of the *villancico*, prized by composers through Lazo Valero’s predecessor Ximénez de Cisneros, combined with pressure from a changing liturgy led to the subtle but swift rise of the responsory as the *villancico*’s replacement.

Scholars such as Drew Davies and Craig Russell have demonstrated the “Italianization” of other centers, including Mexico City and Durango. Their findings emphasize the centralization of style, in both music and liturgy, that said centers underwent in the mid-eighteenth century. The present study demonstrates that Puebla was also undergoing the same changes under similar circumstances and similar influences. The stylistic evolution evident in Lazo Valero’s music shows that Mexican composers in Puebla (versus the Italian-born composers at Mexico City and Durango) were also capable of absorbing rising trends and incorporating this new style into their own compositions. The Responsories, as a collection that spans this very period of change, thus contextualizes this shift in musical thought as more pervasive than originally demonstrated.

The present work does not seek to break the current dominant trends in Mexican Baroque repertoire; rather, it adds another piece to the puzzle and gives scholars a more complete and detailed view of musical traditions in eighteenth-century Puebla by
providing a tangible, visible, and audible example of the changes that occurred during a less-explored time period. It also traces a more concrete line of influence through the repertoire from the seventeenth through the eighteenth centuries, focusing on the role of the maestro de capilla as an agent of musical change.

Moreover, this more detailed understanding of Lazo Valero’s music helps to further scholars’ understanding of musical life at Puebla beyond the time period that is most studied and analyzed. It helps to pave the way for scholars to complete further studies at the Archive of Puebla Cathedral of the music that followed Lazo Valero, thus forming a bridge between the existing body of scholarship and what remains to be discovered.
APPENDIX A:
THE TRANSCRIPCIONS

The main purpose of the following transcriptions is to provide a comprehensive look at the music in score format without losing any of the subtleties of the surviving parts, which offer insights into the creative process. These transcriptions are based on the extant manuscripts of the Responsories at MEX-Pc. They represent exactly what is notated in the parts themselves, and, aside from the copyist's changes in the manuscripts in the Sixth Responsory, they have not been altered for performance in any way. Any editorial corrections or annotations, including missing fictae, are indicated in brackets. All note values, time signatures, and key signatures have been conserved as in the manuscripts. The exceptions are the use of modern treble clefs in the vocal parts of the tiple (soprano), alto, and tenor, where C-clefs were originally used. In certain cases, Lazo Valero combined two bars into a single long bar, in which case I have employed standard barring conventions.
1º Responsorio A 8
para los Maytines de Sn. Ju. Baptista

Por el Maestro
Dn. Joseph LAZO
Año del [1]749
Tip. I

I

Tip. II

II

A.

A.

Ten.

Ten.

Tip.

Tip.

A.

A.

Ten.

Ten.

B.

B.

Ac.

Ac.

cu i no men e rat Jo a -
Tip. I

.hic ve-nit in tes-ti-mo-ni-um

per hi-

Tip. II

.hic ve-nit in tes-ti-mo-ni-um

per hi-

A.

.hic ve-nit in tes-ti-mo-ni-um, ut tes-ti-mo-ni-um per hi-

Ten.

.hic ve-nit in tes-ti-mo-ni-um, per hi-

Tip.

nit,

A.

nit,

Ten.

nit,

B.

Ac.
Tip. I

Tip. II

A.

Ten.

Tip.

A.

Ten.

B.

Ac.

be-ret de lu-mi-ne,

be-ret de lu-mi-ne

be-ret de lu-mi-ne

be-ret de lu-mi-ne

be-ret de lu-mi-ne

be-ret de lu-mi-ne

be-ret de lu-mi-ne

be-ret de lu-mi-ne, et pa-ra-ret Do-mi-no

be-ret de lu-mi-ne, et pa-ra-ret Do-mi-no

be-ret de lu-mi-ne, et pa-ra-ret Do-mi-no

be-ret de lu-mi-ne, et pa-ra-ret Do-mi-no

be-ret de lu-mi-ne, et pa-ra-ret Do-mi-no

be-ret de lu-mi-ne, et pa-ra-ret Do-mi-no

be-ret de lu-mi-ne, et pa-ra-ret Do-mi-no

be-ret de lu-mi-ne, et pa-ra-ret Do-mi-no
Tip. I

bem per-fec-tam,
ple-bem per-fec-tam,
ple-

Tip. II

bem per-fec-tam,
ple-bem per-fec-tam,
ple-

A.

bem per-fec-tam,
ple-bem per-fec-tam,
ple-

Ten.

bem per-fec-tam,
ple-bem per-fec-tam,

Tip.

et pa-ra-ret Do-mi-no

A.

et pa-ra-ret Do-mi-no

Ten.

et pa-ra-ret Do-mi-no

B.

et pa-ra-ret Do-mi-no

Ac.

6 6 5 4 3
6
6 5 4 3
Tip. I
nès, Jo - a - nes, in de - ser - 

Tip. II

A.
E - rat Jo - a - nes in de - ser - 

Ten.

B.
Erat Joanes in deserto.

Ac.

74
Tip. I

A.

Ten.

Tip. II

A.

Ten.

B.

P. Bap.tis.mum pen. ni-

Tip. II

A.

Ten.

B.

P. Bap.tis.mum pen. ni-

Ac.

4 3 6 7 6 7 6 7 6 7 6
2° Responsorio a Duo Con Oboes.
para los Maytines de Sr. Sn. Ju. Baptista

Por el Mtro.
Dn. Joseph Lasso Valero
Año de 1758

Oboe 1º

Oboe 2º

Tiple 1º

Tiple 2º

Acompt.º

Ob. 1

Ob. 2

Ac.
Ob. 1

Tip. 1
- rat Jo - a - nes,

Tip. 2
- rat Jo - a - nes,

Ac.

Ob. 2

Tip. 1

Tip. 2

Ac.

D.S.

61

63
III. Responsorio a 4
Para los Maytines de Sn. Ju. Baptista

Por el Mtro.
quam ex i- res, et ante quam ex i-
et ante quam ex i-
et ante quam ex i-
et ante quam ex i-
et ante quam ex i-
res, ex i- res, et ante quam ex i-
res, ex i- res, et ante quam ex i-

Tip. 1
Tip. 2
A.
T.
Vln. 1
Vln. 2
Ac.
Tip. 1

Tip. 2

A.

T.

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Ac.

res, ex i - res de ven - tre sanc ti fi - 
res, ex i - res de ven - tre, sanc ti fi - 
quam ex i - res de ven - tre sanc ti fi - 
res, ex i - res de ven - tre sanc ti fi -
Et Prophetam in Gentibus,
Tip. 1

Tip. 2

A.

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Ac.
Tip. 1

Tip. 2

A.

T.

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Ac.

o, et homini bus, hono ratus est, et ho-
o, et homini bus, hono ratus est, et ho-
o, et homini bus, hono ratus est, et ho-
o, et homini bus, hono ratus est, et ho-
mi-ni-bus ho-no-ra-tus est.

mi-ni-bus ho-no-ra-tus est.

mi-ni-bus ho-no-ra-tus est.

mi-ni-bus ho-no-ra-tus est.

mi-ni-bus ho-no-ra-tus est.
Gloria et Filii -

Gloria et Filii -

Gloria Patri, et Filii -

Gloria et Filii -

Tip. 1
Tip. 2
A.
T.
Vln. 1
Vln. 2
Ac.
Tip. 1

Tip. 2

A.

T.

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Ac.

o, et SPIRITU SAGTO, et SPIRITU

59
A la señal [D.S.]
Et prophetam
4º Responsorio A 6
Para los Maytines Sn. Juan Baptista

Por el Maestro
Dn. Jph. LAZO
Año del 49
A. I

Ten. I

Tip.

A. II

Ten. II

B.

Ac.

ad Zachariam, Zachariam, di cens.

ad Zachariam, Zachariam, di cens.

ad Zachariam, Zachariam, di cens.

ad Zachariam, Zachariam, di cens.
A. I

Ac - ci-pe pu - e-rum,

A. II

Ac - ci-pe pue - e-rum,

Ten. I

Ac - ci-pe pue - e-rum,

Tip.

ri - am, di - cens.

Ten. II

ri - am, di - cens.

B.

Ac.
A. I

Ten. I

Tip.

A. II

Ten. II

B.

Ac.

\textit{Ac-\textit{ci-pe pu-\textit{e-rum}}}

\textit{Ac-\textit{ci-pe pu-\textit{e-rum}}}

\textit{\textit{in se-nec-tu-te tu-a, in se-nec}}

\textit{\textit{in se-nec-tu-te tu-a, in se-nec}}

\textit{\textit{in se-nec-tu-te tu-a, in se-nec}}

\textit{\textit{in se-nec-tu-te tu-a, in se-nec}}
et havebit

et havebit non men, non men

et havebit non men, non men
Iste puer magnus

A. I

Ten. I

Tip.

A. II

Ten. II

B.

Ac.
Tip.

A. II

Ten. II

B.

Ac.
A. I

Ten. I

Tip.

A. II

Ten. II

B.

Ac.
A. I

Ten. I

Tip.

nam et manus eius cum ipso

A. II

Ten. II

nam et manus eius cum ipso

B.

Ac.
5. Responsorio a Solo.
Para los Maytines de S S Ju. Baptista
Hic est Precursor Dilectus.
Con dos Bajones

Por el Maestro
Dn. Joseph Lasso Valero
Año de 1758
Tip. Solo

vit et illu minavit mentes hominum.

B. 1

B. 2

Ac.

Tip. Solo

Ip se predict

B. 1

B. 2

Ac.

Tip. Solo

Ip se predict

B. 1

B. 2

Ac.
Tip. Solo
ante illum

B. 1
B. 2
Ac.
in Spiritu et virtute,

B. 2
Ac.
et virtute Eliæae.

D.S.
VI. Responsorio A 3.
Para los Maytines de Sn. Ju. Baptista

Por el Mtro.
Dn. Jph. Lasso Vallero
S. & A. & T.

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Ac.

\[ \text{jus, quem vellet vocari et um: vocari}\]

\[ \text{et postulans pugierra}\]
S. A. T. Vln. 1 Vln. 2 Ac.

28

S. A. T. Vln. 1 Vln. 2 Ac.

32

S. A. T. Vln. 1 Vln. 2 Ac.

= 134
A - per - tum est os Za - cha - ri -

ae, A - per - tum est os Za - cha - ri -

ae, A - per - tum est os Za - cha - ri -

ae, A - per - tum est os Za - cha - ri -

ae, A - per - tum est os Za - cha - ri -

ae, A - per - tum est os Za - cha - ri -

A - per - tum est os Za - cha - ri -
7 Responsorio A cinco
Para los Maytines de Sn. Ju. Baptista

Por el Maestro
Dn. Jph. Lazo
Año del [1]749

\[
\begin{align*}
20 & \quad \text{Nullus maior, Nullus maior, Nullus} \\
\end{align*}
\]
Tip.

A.

T. I (Solo)

T. II

B.

Ac.
Tip.

A.

T. I (Solo)

T. II

B.

Ac.
Tip.
A.
T. I (Solo)
T. II
B.
Ac.

Hic est enim,
hic est e - nim Pro-phe - ta, et_ plus _ quam pro-
Tip.

A.

T. I (Solo)

B.

Ac.

et plus quam Prophe ta Sal va tor a -

et plus quam Prophe ta Sal va tor a -

et plus quam Prophe ta Sal va tor a -

et plus quam Prophe ta Sal va tor a -

p h et a
de quo,

non est... et plus quam...
Tip.

A.

T. I
(Solo)

T. II

B.

Ac.
VIII Responsorio
Para los Maytines
de Sn. Ju. Baptista

Por el Mtro.
Dn. Jph. Lasso Valero
Tip. 1

Gabriel Angelus apparuit Zachariae,

Tip. 2

Gabriel Angelus apparuit Zachariae,

A.

Gabriel Angelus apparuit Zachariae

T.

Gabriel Angelus apparuit Zachariae

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Ac.

7 7
Tip. 1

Tip. 2

A.

T.

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Ac.

di - cens: "Nas - ce - tur ti - bi fi - li - us, Nas - ce - tur
di - cens:

di - cens: "Nas - ce - tur ti - bi fi - li -
di - cens:

di - cens: "Nas - ce - tur
ti-bi fi-li-us, fi-li-us no-men e-

"Na-sc-e-tur ti-bi fi-li-us, no-men e-

us, Na-sc-e-tur ti-bi fi-li-us, no-men e-

us, ti-bi fi-li-us, fi-li-us, no-men e-

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Ac.
Tip. 1

Tip. 2

A.

T.

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Ac.

 tur." Et mul -

 tur."  

 tur."  

 tur."  

 tur."  

 Et mul -
Et multi in nativitate

Et multi in nativitate
no, vi-num et si-ce-ram non bi-

no, vi-num et si-ce-ram non bi-

no

no

3\ 3\ 6\ 5\ 6\ 4\ 4\ 3
Tip. 1

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{bet:} & \quad \text{non bi - - bet, vi - num et} \\
\text{Tip. 2} & \quad \text{bet, non bi - - bet, vi - num et} \\
\text{A.} & \quad \text{bet, vi - num et si - ce-ram non bi - - bet,} \\
\text{T.} & \quad \text{-bet, vi - num et si - ce-ram non bi - - bet,} \\
\text{Vln. 1} & \quad \text{Vln. 2} \\
\text{Ac.} & \quad 4 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 3 \quad 6 \quad 5 \quad 3
\end{align*} \]


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