

**POLITICS AND FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
SPANISH COURT THEATRICAL MUSIC WITH A STUDY OF COMPOSER
SEBASTIAN DURON (1660-1716)**

by

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ABSTRACT

The composer Sebastián Durón (1660–1716), who lived in a period of political and cultural transition spanning two antagonistic monarchic dynasties, was one of the most controversial musical figures of his time. Early in his career as a musician at the court of Charles II (1665-1700), the last Spanish Habsburg, he wrote theatrical music in the style established before him during the reign of Philip IV (1621-65). However, later during the reign of Philip V (1700-46), the first Spanish Bourbon, Durón composed theatrical music influenced by the new foreign musical idioms introduced in Madrid.

Commentators have always taken into account politics and foreign influence when interpreting the theatrical music of the baroque period judging that the music by later musicians under foreign influence represents a decline and a loss of national music identity. In addition, the controversial concept of the Spanish political-economic decline has found its way into music historiography. It is perhaps for this reason that Durón's music is treated rather obscurely as having arisen during a transitional period, both politically and musically. Two other factors contributing to the marginal status of Durón in the history of music are that little of his music has been published, and Spanish music as a whole has received relatively little attention from North American musicologists.

The aim of this study is to examine the development of theatrical music in Madrid during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries acknowledging Sebastián Durón's important contribution to the genre. Three works, each representing a different period in the life of the composer as well as a different political period in Spain, will be analyzed. I will argue that the idea of decline mentioned in connection with politics and economy cannot be applied in all fields. On the contrary, the political turmoil of the time

paradoxically contributed to the development of theatrical music in the hands of Durón. By assimilating foreign musical elements and developing the Spanish manner, Durón achieved an unprecedented synthesis of diverse textures, forms, and musical style that epitomize the pinnacle in Spanish theatrical music of the baroque period.

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1. BACKGROUND: SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY THEATRICAL MUSIC

1.1. Introduction

The concept of a Spanish politico-economic decline which arose early in the sixteenth century and continued for over two hundred years, was discussed by two opposing groups.¹ On the one hand, non-Spaniards claimed the decline had begun during the reign of Philip II (1556-98), when Spain, paradoxically, had reached its peak of imperial strength. Spaniards, on the other hand, attributed the decline mainly to the economic crisis of the early seventeenth century, establishing a link between decadence and foreigners, whom they blamed for their misery and poverty. However, despite the disagreements between foreign and Spanish commentators regarding the starting point of the decline, both parties agreed that it had begun with the House of Austria. In the eighteenth century, once the Bourbon monarchy had been instilled in Madrid, attacks on the Spanish Habsburgs, in particular the last Habsburg monarch, increased as a means of highlighting the superiority of the House of Bourbon.

The idea of decadence or decline, which began in the politico-economic sphere, has been applied indiscriminately to music. Foreign commentators, who were interested in promoting the supremacy of both French and Italian music for political reasons, argued that the decline had begun in the early seventeenth century with the beginning of the Italian influence in Madrid. As a result, Spanish seventeenth- and eighteenth-century

¹ Spaniards and foreigners represent the two groups. In the seventeenth century, for example, the groups are composed of the Spanish *arbitristas* (referees or projectors), whose reforms were aimed at solving the financial problems of the crown, and foreign observers represented mainly by diplomats.

theatrical music came to be regarded with disdain, and both Spain and its music were slowly pushed to the periphery. For a few Spaniards, on the other hand, the Italian influence was considered to have become a major problem only in the early eighteenth century. This was particularly the case among supporters of the Bourbon monarchy who attacked all music and musicians linked to the preceding Spanish Habsburg dynasty.²

It is clear that the relationship established between the so-called political decadence and decline and music was erroneous, and it had an adverse affect on how both Spanish music and musicians, in particular Sebastián Durón, were perceived.

1.2. From kingdom (Castile) to state (Spain) to empire

For many Spaniards, the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand, viewed retrospectively, represented an ideal period in the history of Spain.³ Isabella of Castile married Ferdinand of Aragon in 1469, and although at first they would live as outcasts excommunicated from the church for having married without either the King's consent or papal approval, their marriage would eventually unite the two most important, yet antagonistic kingdoms in Spain.⁴ Unlike their predecessors, Isabella and Ferdinand co-operated to govern both kingdoms under the same dynasty: Isabella was to govern

² Among the foreigners responsible for promoting the supremacy of French and Italian music and for giving rise to the notion of decadence in Spanish music, are Jean Laurent Le Cerf de La Vieville, Sir John Hawkins, and Charles Burney. The principal Spanish figure to view Italian influence in music as a sign of decadence is Benito Feijoo. Discussed in 1.3.

³ As noted, for instance, in Juan de Mariana's *Historia general de España* (1609), which was the official history of Spain until the nineteenth-century, and Menendez Pidal's *Historia de España* (1942), which presents the idealized history of Spain promoted by the Franco regime.

⁴ John Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs, I. Empire and Absolutism 1516-1598* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 1-2. The union took place in 1479 when Ferdinand succeeded his father. The kingdom of Aragon included Valencia, Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, and the crown's possessions in Italy.

Castile and Ferdinand would assume the direction of foreign affairs while both intervened in the administration of justice.⁵ However, Castile proved to be the dominant kingdom of the two both geographically and demographically because of its central location, its vast territory (three times larger than the kingdom of Aragon), and its larger population (Castile had seven million inhabitants while Aragon had only one million).⁶ Another very important indication of Castile's dominance was the spread of the Castilian language, which also proved to be an instrument of unification, both within the Iberian Peninsula as well as in Spain's holdings in the New World.⁷ The linguistic and geographical expansion of Castile, signs of an incipient empire, led to further changes and reforms. Although both Castile and Aragon retained their own laws and individual identities⁸ to some extent, great effort was required to maintain law and order in the peninsula. First, the Spanish Monarchs restructured the old law enforcement organizations (*hermandades*) as part of the *Santa Hermandad* (Holy Brotherhood). The new regulatory body had a dual function – to ensure that the aristocracy was less powerful than the monarchy and to pursue criminals.⁹ Second, by reforming the Spanish church and its orders, the monarchy achieved a new means of controlling its territory.¹⁰ In addition, the Spanish Inquisition served to unify the realm under a common religion, exert control over its population, and acquire the possessions of all heretics, thus

⁵ Ibid., 2

⁶ Ibid., 3

⁷ Ibid., 3-4.

⁸ Ibid., 4

⁹ Ibid., 5. By creating the *Santa Hermandad*, the monarchy held a monopoly on violence, a characteristic of the modern state. See Max Weber's *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York: The Free Press, 1964), 154.

¹⁰ Ibid., 7

increasing the crown's treasure.¹¹ Finally, the reconquest of Granada, as well as the annexation of Navarra in 1512,¹² gave notice of the Castilian monarchy's expansionary designs and its sovereignty over the peninsula. In brief, the aforementioned cultural and geographical domination reflects the Catholic monarchs' drive to expand the empire that would be inherited by their Habsburg grandson, Charles V (also known as Charles I of Spain).

The Habsburg family became heirs to the Spanish throne through the marriage of the Spanish princess Juana to archduke Philip of Burgundy,¹³ son of the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I. Although Juana was not first in line to the throne, through a succession of deaths in the family, she became heir apparent to the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile and her son Charles, born in 1500,¹⁴ became the sole heir of the Habsburg and Spanish kingdoms. From his father he inherited the Low Countries and the Duchy of Burgundy; from his paternal grandfather, the Habsburg states which included Austria, the Tyrol and parts of Southern Germany; and from his maternal grandparents, the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon as well as their possessions.¹⁵

¹¹ Ibid., 20-21. Lynch explains that "the Spanish Inquisition was created to deal with convert Jews" who were suspected to have converted to Catholicism to avoid the hatred and jealousy of Catholics during a period of great economic depression at the end of the fourteenth century. The tension between these *conversos* or New Christians and the Old Christians continued throughout the fifteenth century and beyond.

¹² Ibid., 28-29, 33.

¹³ Ibid., 35.

¹⁴ Ibid., 30.

¹⁵ Ibid., 35. The Low Countries included Luxembourg, Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zeeland, Hainault, Artois, and Franche-Comté. The possessions of Castile and Aragon included America, and Sicily, Sardinia and Naples respectively.

1.3. Golden age and decline

The Jesuit priest Juan de Mariana (1535/6-1624),¹⁶ who came to be known in Spain as Padre Mariana (Father Mariana), was born during the reign of Charles I and lived long enough to witness the reign of three more Spanish Habsburgs: Philip II, Philip III, and Philip IV (Appendix 1).¹⁷ Mariana's point of view was shared by many of his contemporaries:¹⁸ the House of Austria had brought about the decline of Spain. The reign of the Catholic Monarchs, on the other hand, was regarded as an idealized past or a golden age.

The concept of a golden age was perhaps first applied in comparing Renaissance culture and literature to that of the ancients.¹⁹ It was based on the representation of the ages of the world as four metals – gold, silver, brass, and iron. The age of gold represented all that was unspoiled, innocent, and ideal, whereas the age of iron stood for the world in decline.²⁰ Early in the seventeenth century, Cervantes expressed his view of the contemporary world in the words of his character Don Quixote (1605) as follows:

Happy the age, happy those centuries which the ancients called the age of gold; not because gold, so much adored in this iron age, was then easily obtained, but because those two words, *thine* and *mine*, were unknown to the people living in that holy age, when all things were in common.²¹

¹⁶ Alan Soons, *Juan de Mariana* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), see "Chronology."

¹⁷ See Appendix 1 for a complete genealogical tree of the Spanish Habsburgs.

¹⁸ A contemporary who agreed with Mariana was playwright Francisco de Quevedo (1580-1645) who blamed foreigners i.e. the House of Austria, for the decline in Spain. See Henry Kamen, "The decline of Spain: a historical myth?" *Past and Present* 81, (1978): 24-50; repr. as ch III in *Crisis and Change in Early Modern Spain*. (Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain; Brookfield, Vt., USA: Variorum, 1993), 49. Further references will be cited from the reprint.

¹⁹ Henry Kamen, "Golden age, Iron Age: a conflict of concepts in the Renaissance" *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1974): 135-55; repr. as Ch. I in *Crisis and Change in Early Modern Spain* (Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain; Brookfield, Vt., USA: Variorum, 1993), 138-39. Further references will be cited from the reprint.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 138-40; 153.

²¹ Cited in Kamen, "Golden Age, Iron Age," 147.

Kamen believes that Cervantes' gold/iron antithesis "emerges clearly as a contrast between primitive wealth and modern poverty, primitive equality and modern inequality."²² In other words, the Iron Age described by Don Quixote could be a reference to the economic and social difficulties that were being experienced at the time. However, the idea of an Iron Age, or decline, did not limit itself either to the beginning of the seventeenth century or to the Spanish economy. The idea was an old one, and it was ubiquitous.

Whereas Spanish observers like Sancho de Moncada attributed the decadence of Spain to economic factors in the early seventeenth century,²³ foreigners had claimed to witness the so-called decline of Spain during periods of economic development in the sixteenth century. In 1512, during the reign of the last Catholic Monarch,²⁴ the Florentine ambassador, Francesco Guicciardini, reported: "poverty is great here, and I believe it is due not so much to the quality of the country as to the nature of the Spaniards."²⁵ In 1583, when, according to Kamen, the Spanish empire had reached its height, the English publicist Hakluyt compared Spain to "an empty vessel, which when smitten upon yieldeth a great sound and that afar off; but come near and look into them, there is nothing in them."²⁶

²² Kamen, "Golden Age, Iron Age," 148.

²³ In his *Restauración política de España* (1619) (*Political Restoration of Spain*), Sancho de Moncada blames the discovery of America and the importation of precious metals for the impoverishment of Spain and the enrichment of its neighboring countries. See Ricardo García Cárcel, *La cultura del Siglo de Oro: Pensamiento, arte y literatura*. (Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy, S.A., 1996), 46-47.

²⁴ Isabella died in 1504 but Ferdinand continued to reign until his death in 1516.

²⁵ Cited in Kamen, "The decline of Spain: A historical myth?" 26..

²⁶ Cited in *Ibid.*, 26-27. Most likely, Hakluyt's contempt for Spain was a reflection of the political antagonism between England and Spain that led to the Anglo-Spanish War in 1585.

The bias and political hostility towards the Spanish reflected in these statements would eventually develop into a phenomenon known as “The black legend.” Etzion defines the term as encompassing “all the falsifications and misinformation that accumulated against Spain for centuries, as well as the consequent omission of what counted in Spain’s favor and the exaggeration of what counted against it.”²⁷ The French, according to Kamen, “were precisely those most interested in maximizing Spanish weakness,” in particular during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²⁸ The most likely reason for this was the desire to highlight the accomplishments and superiority of the House of Bourbon after it succeeded the Spanish Habsburg dynastic monarchy in 1700.²⁹

To summarize, the Golden Age had ended with the death of the Catholic monarchs early in the sixteenth century as far as many Spaniards in the following century were concerned. The referees (*arbitristas*) Mariana’s and Sancho de Moncada’s dark view of the state of affairs in Spain as well as Don Quixote’s “Iron Age” coincided with what Kamen identifies as a time of “severe reverses to demography, prices, trade, and production...located in about the period 1590-1652” but he adds that “it is not possible to postulate ‘decline’ over a longer period than this.”³⁰ Foreigners, perhaps driven both by racial prejudice and political enmity, declared themselves witnesses to the so-called Spanish “decline” both in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

²⁷ Judith Etzion, “Spanish Music as perceived in Western Music Historiography: A Case of the Black Legend?” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 29, no. 2 (December 1998), 93. Julián Juderías coined the term at the beginning of the twentieth century. See *ibid.*, p. 95.

²⁸ Kamen, “The decline of Spain: A historical myth?” 25, 32.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 25. Kamen adds that the eighteenth-century Bourbon attitude continued even into the nineteenth century and cites the example of Napoleon who “ordered his brother Joachim to seek out appropriate documentation in the archives, ‘in order to publish one day and make known the state of *decadence* into which Spain had fallen’.” (italics mine)

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 49.

It has become clear that the various parties' interpretations of what constitutes a golden age and its decline differ, in particular when applied to the politico-economic sphere. However, the same occurs in the field of the arts.³¹ In his *History of Spanish Literature* (1891), Ticknor linked the beginning and the end of the Golden Age in literature to important political events or eras, associating the conquest of Granada with its beginning,³² and the reign of Charles II, the last Habsburg, with its decline.³³ García Cárcel, on the other hand, acknowledges Calderón de la Barca's death (1681) as a possible end to the Golden Age in Literature, thus establishing a link with the death of one of Spain's leading dramatuges and not with a socio-political event.³⁴ Thus, there is little agreement on what constitutes a decline or what its chronological boundaries are. Now let us focus on music.

During the eighteenth century, several foreign commentators established the sixteenth century as the Golden Age in Spanish music. Sir John Hawkins concluded that Spanish music after the sixteenth century was not worth studying because it had made slow progress during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and because it was simply "an extension of Italian music."³⁵ Charles Burney, in challenging his countryman's

³¹ It is important to note that this same idea of decadence was applied to the sciences as well. As a detailed analysis of the relationship between sciences and decline is not within the scope of this thesis, for further details on this aspect of decline, see López Piñero's *La introducción de la ciencia moderna en España* (1969). In his book, López Piñero questions the application of the idea of decline to the field of science.

³² George Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, Sixth ed.; vol.1-3. (New York: Gordian Press, Inc., 1965), vol. 1, 447-48.

³³ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 280. Ticknor's description of the end of the century where "the Inquisition and despotism seem to be everywhere" and of the king, Charles II, who is "wretched and imbecile" seems to be influenced by the "black legend."

³⁴ García Cárcel, *La cultura del Siglo de Oro: Pensamiento, arte y literatura*, 6.

³⁵ Etzion, "Spanish Music as perceived in Western Music Historiography," 98-99. Similar critiques can be found, by the way, of German music in the 17th century, which was seen as being overwhelmed by Italian, theatrical influence and thus entered a state of decline. 19th-

assessments of the evolution of Spanish music, dedicated a chapter to the progress of music in Spain during the sixteenth century in his *General History of Music*. As Etzion suggests, “Burney may have been the first Western music historian to imply the notion (though not yet the term) of Spain’s ‘Golden Age’.”³⁶ However, both of these commentators on music based their findings either on German sources limited to the sixteenth century³⁷ or on French ones that focused mainly on either French or Italian music.³⁸ These French sources betray their agenda of maximizing Spanish weakness to highlight the superiority of the House of Bourbon after it succeeded the Spanish Habsburg dynastic monarchy in 1700. Jean Laurent Le Cerf de la Viéville divided Europe into two equal halves in his *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique françoise* (Paris, 1704-5). One half represented the supremacy of French music and the other the spread of Italian opera. Spain is lumped together with those second-class nations as having fallen under Italian influence.³⁹ If, as Etzion suggests, Le Cerf was unfamiliar with both older and contemporary Spanish musicians,⁴⁰ then his assessment was most likely influenced by French propaganda of the time.

Foreign influence was held up as the cause for the decline or decadence in Spanish music by some Spaniards as well. Fray Benito Feijoo linked musical decadence to foreign influence in discourse XIV of his “Música de los Templos” (1726):

This is the music of our time that the Italians have given us as a present through their devotee, Master Sebastián Durón who was the first to introduce the foreign style into the

century German writers liked to argue this; for example, Kiesewetter, Anton Thibaut, Arrey von Dommer, and others.

³⁶ Ibid., 99.

³⁷ Ibid., 100.

³⁸ Ibid., 101.

³⁹ Ibid., 101. Spain and Austria fell under Italian influence. England and the Netherlands, on the other hand, fell under French influence.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 102.

music of Spain. True enough, it has advanced so much since then that if Durón were to come back to life, he would not recognize it. But one can always cast the blame on him for [introducing] all of these novelties, since he was the first to open the door...⁴¹

Martín Moreno suggests that Feijoo's attack on Durón may be explained by the fact that Durón and Feijoo were supporters of different monarchies – the Austrian Habsburgs and the French Bourbons respectively.⁴² If this is so, then Feijoo's opinion is no different than that of his contemporaries – an obvious manifestation of the ongoing rivalry on the political stage. On the other hand, Feijoo's dislike might have had to do with the long-lasting animosity of the Spanish people towards foreigners. During the first half of the seventeenth century in particular, Spanish commentators had attributed their problems, particularly economic ones, to foreigners, who as a result, were regarded with hostility.⁴³

While eighteenth-century observers regarded the sixteenth century as the golden age in music, Louis Viardot advocated “an ‘evolutionary’ approach to the history of Spanish art music, in parallel with Spanish literary history. Accordingly, both the literary and musical ‘Golden Age’ would extend from the second half of the sixteenth century to

⁴¹ “Esta es la Música de estos tiempos, conque nos han regalado los Italianos, por mano de su aficionado el Maestro Durón, que fue el que introdujo en la Música de España las modas extranjeras. Es verdad que después acá se han apurado tanto estas, que si Durón resucitara, ya no las conociera; pero siempre se le podrá echar a él la culpa de todas estas novedades, por haber sido el primero que les abrió la puerta...” See Benito Feijoo, *Teatro Critico Universal, o Discursos varios en todo género de materias, para desengaño de errores comunes: Escrito por el muy ilustre señor D. Fr. Benito Gerónimo Feijoo y Montenegro, Maestro general del order de san Benito, del consejo de S.M. Tomo Primero* (Madrid: Joaquin Ibarra, 1778), 300. Translation in William M. Bussey, *French and Italian Influence on the Zarzuela: 1700-1770* (Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1980), 18.

⁴² Antonio Martín Moreno, *Historia de la música española, 4: Siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2006), 38.

⁴³ For many observers, “notably [Sancho de] Moncada and Martínez de Mata, [there was]...a monocausal explanation [for their problems]: for them it was the hated foreigner who was the source of the trouble.” Kamen, “The decline of Spain: A historical myth?” 40.

the first half of the seventeenth.”⁴⁴ For him, the decline in music coincided with what he believed to be the decline in literature. This decline pertained only to church music, since for both Viardot and his contemporary, François-August Gevaert, there were only two categories of Spanish music, church music and popular music; and only the former was to be taken seriously.⁴⁵

In sum, the second half of the seventeenth century and, by extension, the early eighteenth century has been wrongly perceived as a period of decadence both politically and artistically, one in which foreign influence had polluted Spanish music. That this view went unquestioned during an era of emergence of the modern nation-state with its national identity where foreign influence could only be perceived as an indicator of decline was perhaps inevitable. However, it has carried over into our century.⁴⁶ As a result, the period from the end of the seventeenth century to the early eighteenth century has come to be regarded as an iron age, or at best, as a transitional period, both politically and musically. Foreign influence on Spanish music at the end of the century was not new; it was continuous during the five generations of the Habsburg monarchy. Courtly theatrical music evolved as a rich hybrid genre that blended indigenous and foreign styles. In the eighteenth century, it continued to evolve and was enriched through the new foreign stylistic traits it absorbed.

⁴⁴ Etzion, “Spanish Music,” 114. Etzion’s view is that “the eventual decline of Spanish literature to *culturanismo* (...) is analogous to the degeneration of Spanish church music into the sterile erudition of “canons, fugues, and contrapuntal intricacies.”

⁴⁵ Ibid., 115.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 93.

1. 4. Foreign influence on music in the 16th and 17th centuries from Charles I to Philip IV

The influence of foreign music and musicians, particularly in the sixteenth century, has not been carefully examined or acknowledged⁴⁷ despite its importance for the development of Spanish music. One possible reason for this is Spanish musicology's "reluctance to admit any foreign influence"⁴⁸ in order "to preserve the purity of national traits."⁴⁹ However, it is necessary to re-evaluate and acknowledge such an impact in order to view the evolution of Spanish music from a new perspective and thus demystify any implied decline or end of a golden age at the end of the seventeenth century as a result of foreign influence.

Let us first consider foreign influence on Spanish music at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In 1506,⁵⁰ Philip and his consort Juana, daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, traveled to Spain to assume control of the crown of Castile after Isabella's death. Philip brought with him his Burgundian musicians who included the composers Alexander Agricola (1446-1506) and Pierre de la Rue (1460-1518). Philip's unexpected death led to his musicians returning to the Low Countries but a few would come back with Charles I a decade later. Not only were Franco-Flemish composers part of his

⁴⁷ Emilio Ros-Fábregas, "'Foreign' Music and Musicians in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Court Ceremony in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Juan José Carreras and Bernardo García García; English ed. Tess Knighton (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2005), 65.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 72. See pp. 67-77 for a description of "The attitude of Traditional Spanish Musicology towards 'foreigners' of the Sixteenth Century."

⁵⁰ Ros-Fábregas suggests that Philip of Burgundy died in 1506 during his trip to Castile, while Lynch indicates that he died "shortly after the beginning of the new reign." Although the discrepancy between the dates does not affect the assessment of the foreign influence in the *capilla*, it is nevertheless worth noting. See Ros-Fábregas, "'Foreign' Music and Musicians," 78; Lynch, *Empire and Absolutism 1516-1598*, 32.

musical retinue when he arrived in Spain in 1517, but between twenty-two and twenty-nine Franco-Flemish singers as well.⁵¹ This presence of foreign musicians led to the emergence of a new tradition in the music chapel. While the Catholic monarchs had kept two separate chapels, one for Castile and one for Aragon,⁵² thus promoting native music traditions,⁵³ Charles I established his own Burgundian chapel in Spain.⁵⁴ The new king adopted the Franco-Flemish style of polyphony not only because it was “the international language of the period”⁵⁵ but also because of his Burgundian origins. As a foreigner in Spain who spoke no Spanish⁵⁶ and having received his musical education in the Low Countries,⁵⁷ Charles I would try to preserve the Burgundian culture in which he had grown up. In addition, as Ros-Fábregas points out, his “predilection for the music of Pierre de la Rue, Josquin des Prez, and other Franco-Flemish composers must have had a pronounced influence on Spanish taste.”⁵⁸

Under Charles’ son, Philip II, both the Burgundian chapel and its Franco-Flemish chapel masters were retained. Among the foreign *maestros de capilla* (chapel masters)

⁵¹ Ibid., 78.

⁵² Trevor J. Dadson, “Music Books and Instruments in Spanish Golden-Age Inventories: The Case of Don Juan Borja (1607)” in *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World*, ed. Iain Fenlon and Tess Knighton (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2006), 95. Dadson notes that while Charles promoted his Burgundian chapel in Spain, his consort Isabella and their children preserved the Spanish Castilian chapel, adding that “the existence of two distinct sections of the royal chapel, unique in sixteenth-century Europe, had an important effect on musical life in the century since it acted as a magnet for musicians both national and foreign and set an example for others to follow.”

⁵³ Ros-Fábregas, “‘Foreign’ Music and Musicians,” 81.

⁵⁴ Dadson, “Music Books and Instruments in Spanish Golden-Age Inventories,” 95.

⁵⁵ Ros-Fábregas, “‘Foreign’ Music and Musicians,” 68.

⁵⁶ Lynch, *Empire and Absolutism 1516-1598*, 36.

⁵⁷ Ros-Fábregas, “‘Foreign’ Music and Musicians,” 78.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 81. Ros-Fábregas notes that: “Josquin had a strong presence in Spanish musical sources of the period.” In addition, among for the foreign composers who accompanied Charles were Pierre de la Rue (1460-1518), Nicholas Gombert (c. 1495-c.1560), Cornelius Canis (c. 1510-1561), and Thomas Crecquillon (c. 1480/1500-c.1560).

were Pierre de Manchicourt (1559-64), Jan de Bonmarchié (1564-69), Gérard de Turnhout (1572-80), George de la Hèle (1581-86), and Philip Roger (1588-99).⁵⁹ Both the establishment of the court in Madrid in 1561 and the support of Philip II and his son Philip III, both avid music lovers, enabled the royal chapels to flourish.⁶⁰ Both Kamen and Robledo agree that Philip II encouraged and participated positively in the court's musical activities, leading Dadson to conclude that "such patronage ensured that musicians from elsewhere in Europe were drawn to the Spanish court for employment and the chance of fame."⁶¹

One such musician of note was the Franco-Flemish composer Mathieu Rosmarin (c.1575-1647), who would later become known in Spain as Mateo Romero.⁶² In 1598 Romero, who had studied under Philip II's Franco-Flemish chapel master, Philip Rogier, became *maestro de capilla*, occupying the post until 1633.⁶³ As Philip III's chapel master, Romero also taught French and music to the king's heir, Philip IV.⁶⁴ The importance of Romero's influence at the Madrid court is twofold. Romero had a major impact on the future monarch's musical taste (it would be under Philip IV's patronage that Spanish theatrical music would develop under the leadership of court composer Juan Hidalgo), and together with his contemporary Juan Blas de Castro, Romero laid the foundations for court musicians during the second half of the century. Among the latter

⁵⁹ Ibid., 81.

⁶⁰ Dadson, "Music Books and Instruments," 96.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 93.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

composers was Juan Hidalgo.⁶⁵ Thus it can be argued that after being passed down from generation to generation, foreign idioms had become so deeply engrained in seventeenth-century Spanish court music that their foreignness finally became almost imperceptible.

However, with the arrival of a handful of Italian musicians at the court of Philip IV, a new era of foreign influence began. This time, the influence would be felt in the newly emerging court musical-theatrical genres functioning both as entertainment and in some cases as an instrument of propaganda and prestige.⁶⁶

1.5. Second half of the seventeenth century: Theatrical music, politics and foreign influence

Although no leading Italian composers were present in Madrid during the seventeenth century, the presence of a few Italian musicians and non-musicians at court nonetheless sufficed to introduce elements basic to modern Italian theatrical music – monody, *stilo recitativo*, and baroque spectacle. In 1627 under the reign of Philip IV the Madrid court saw its first production of a musical work for the theatre in the Italian style. The Bolognese lutenist and theorbo player Filippo Piccinini, the Florentine stage designer Cosimo Lotti, the Tuscan embassy secretary Bernardo Monanni, and Madrid's own playwright Félix Lope de Vega combined forces to present a work entitled *La Selva sin amor*, for which only the text has survived.⁶⁷ The work, described by

⁶⁵ Footnote 10 in María Asunción Flores, *Música teatral en el Madrid de los Austrias durante el siglo de Oro* (Madrid: ICCMU, 2006), 18.

⁶⁶ Michael F. Robinson, *Naples and Neapolitan Opera* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 7. Robinson describes *opera* as a “recognized means of prestige and prestige.”

⁶⁷ Louise K. Stein, “Opera and the Spanish Political Agenda,” *Acta Musicologica* 63, no. 2 (April-December 1991): 126-27.

Monanni as a “little play in the Florentine style with machines,”⁶⁸ seems to have consisted mainly of recitative. Monanni’s participation was vital to the production of the opera. Although nothing is known of his musical abilities, it is clear that he composed part of the opera in order to help Piccinini, who was not an experienced composer. In addition, while Piccinini had arrived in Madrid in 1613 “when recitative and monody were still innovations,”⁶⁹ Monanni may have had firsthand experience of the new and more established Italian genres before his arrival with Cosimo Lotti to the Spanish court in September 1626.

Although no further operas would be written until 1660, the Italian influence on court music and theatrical productions would continue, mainly due to Lotti’s elaborate and ingenious machinery and stage designs. Lotti’s greatest contribution to the development of the Spanish theatre was perhaps his guidance in the construction of the royal theatre of the *Buen Retiro*, which he planned and designed in the Italian fashion. The new theatre featured painted decorations according to the Italian taste and moveable scenery, machinery, and curtains that allowed for the production of theatrical music.⁷⁰ A clear example of one such production is Pedro Calderón de la Barca’s court play *El mayor encanto amor* (1635).

According to the conventions of the time established by Lope de Vega in his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (1609)⁷¹ the Spanish *comedia* had to obey three basic rules: the play should consist of three acts written in polymetric verse,

⁶⁸ Ibid., 127.

⁶⁹ Ibid., *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods*, 196. Philip IV requested that Cosimo Lotti were brought to Spain.

⁷⁰ Antonio Martín Moreno, Introduction to *Salir el amor del mundo* by Sebastián Durón (Málaga: Sociedad española de musicología, 1979), 4, 10.

⁷¹ Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods*, 11. For more on Lope’s *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (The new art of making comedy in this time) see pp. 13-16.

comedy and tragedy were to be combined, and most importantly, the story had to be credible.⁷² Lope's successor, Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-81), struggled to accommodate Lotti's extravagant requests without compromising the conventions of the Spanish *comedia*. Their collaborative work, *El mayor encanto amor*, is testimony to what may be the first clash between Spanish and Italian taste and aesthetics. Calderón expressed his view of Lotti's plan as follows:

Although it is designed with much imagination, the plan itself is not performable because it pays more attention to the invention of the stage machines than to the tasteful pleasure of the whole performance.⁷³

Nevertheless, *El mayor encanto amor* fell under the sway of Italian innovations and is best described as a *comedia* with sections of spectacle.⁷⁴

After Piccinini's death, no other Italian succeeded the Bolognese composer perhaps because, as Stein suggests, "neither the king, his ministers, or the court's composers seem to have felt the need to recruit a foreign composer for their court plays. Spanish theatrical music was good enough."⁷⁵ But although no new Italian musicians were brought to Madrid, court musico-theatrical genres continued to show signs of the influence of Italian style. The main reason for this is that the taste for innovative visual effects did not disappear with Lotti's death in 1643. In fact, a new Florentine stage

⁷² Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods*, 12.

⁷³ Cited in *Ibid.*, 107.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 104. In Calderón's play, which is based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Book 14), Ulysses has been captivated by the beautiful sorceress Circes and is torn between love and pleasure, and his duty as a husband and as the leader of his people. Being a stage designer, Lotti was concerned with grandiose visual effects, which he linked to and derived from the magical elements of the play. In Lotti's original proposal for the play, music was intended to accompany the spectacular effects or to cover the noise of the machinery. Calderón rejected Lotti's plans and remained faithful to the conventions of the Spanish *comedia*. In *El mayor encanto amor*, music has a structural function and reinforces the element of verisimilitude of the play: human love, power, and heroism. The magical element is secondary. See *ibid.*, 105, 111.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 124. Stein believes that "with the court stages dedicated to zarzuelas, semi-operas, and *comedias*, opera was not the genre of choice in Spain in the seventeenth century." See p. 187.

designer, Baccio del Bianco (1604-57), arrived at court in 1651.⁷⁶ In addition to exerting control over the visual aspect of theatrical productions, Bianco tried to influence Spanish musical taste by reintroducing the Italian recitative style after a hiatus of twenty years.⁷⁷ Bianco also counted on the help of another Italian – the Roman librettist and papal nuncio to the Spanish court, Giulio Rospigliosi, who was in Madrid from 1644 to 1653.

Once again, Calderón was asked to collaborate with Italians. This time it was not simply a matter of a stage designer introducing the Italian *visual* style but rather of an important figure in Roman opera eager to establish the Italian *musical* style. It seems that Rospigliosi even wrote a play to bring the *stilo recitativo* to the attention of the Spaniards.⁷⁸ As a result of the Italian influence at court, Calderón created a new court genre, the mythological semi-opera, which integrated the Spanish *comedia nueva*, the earlier court masques, and the new Italian recitative. The introduction of the recitative was, of course, an innovation since dialogue had been spoken in earlier Spanish court plays and *comedias*. However, recitative had a specific role in the new genre; in accordance with the conventions of the Spanish *comedia nueva*, mortals spoke their dialogues while recitative was allowed only for conversations of the gods.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods*, 130. It seems that the Spanish were avid for special effects and voracious to create new machines that could create spectacular and dangerous effects, which shocked even the Italian engineer. See p. 187.

⁷⁷ Stein, “Opera and the Spanish Political Agenda,” 127; *Ibid.*, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods*, 134.

⁷⁸ Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods*, 133-34. If the play was in fact written, it has not survived.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 132,136.

The newly introduced Italian recitative would continue to be employed in Calderón's semi operas for decades⁸⁰ and would eventually filter into the zarzuela, a genre probably invented in 1657 by Calderón.⁸¹ To summarize, the Italian influence at court altered the final course of the *comedia*, the most important genre in seventeenth-century Spain, by modifying such conventions as the element of verisimilitude, but also by deriving new theatrical musical genres from it.

While foreign influence shaped the development of seventeenth-century Spanish theatrical music, so did politics. Interestingly, the texts in Calderón's aforementioned court plays are described as "designed to glorify the Spanish Habsburg monarchy."⁸² In order to exemplify the intimate relationship between politics and the development of theatrical music more specifically, I will briefly refer to the last two operas written during the reign of Philip IV.

Between 1660 and 1661 two operas were produced at the Madrid court: *La púrpura de la rosa* and *Celos aun del aire matan*.⁸³ Considering that both the Spanish zarzuela and the semi-opera originated sometime between 1650 and 1660⁸⁴ and that they had both met with tremendous success, it is surprising that opera was reinstated at court, especially when the first and only opera produced before 1660 had failed to capture the imagination of the Spanish audience.⁸⁵ The most plausible explanation is

⁸⁰ Calderón's first semi opera, *La fiera, el rayo y la piedra*, was composed in 1652. Other semi operas by the dramatist include: *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo* (1653), *Ni amor se libra de amor o Psiquis y Cupido* (1662), *La estatua de Prometeo* (c.1670). See *Ibid.*, 348.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 258. A more detailed analysis of the use of recitative in the zarzuela will be provided in its corresponding section.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 131.

⁸³ Both operas with text by Calderón de la Barca were written in collaboration with court composer Juan Hidalgo.

⁸⁴ Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods*, 134, 261.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 191-92, 203.

that the operas were produced for two of the most important political events of the time.⁸⁶ *La púrpura de la rosa* (1660) was performed in Madrid to commemorate the Peace of the Pyrenees concluded by Spain and France in 1659. It is likely that Philip IV and his ministers found out about Cardinal Mazarin's plans to celebrate the same event with a performance of Cavalli's opera *Xerxès* and thus decided that Spain should also produce an opera so as not to be outdone by France, since "the display of wealth and status in competition with France were important and well-known concerns for Philip IV."⁸⁷ The occasion for the performance of the second opera, *Celos aun del aire matan* (1660 or 1661) which was meant to be a sequel to *La púrpura de la rosa*, was the wedding of the infanta María Teresa to Louis XIV of France in 1660, which was also one of the terms of the peace treaty.⁸⁸ Thus, the two political events as well as the two operas were related to each other.

Although these works were not called operas,⁸⁹ their form was quite different from that of the other contemporary Spanish theatrical music genres. Even the *loa* (introduction) to one of them (*La púrpura de la rosa*) indicates that "the work is to be all in music for it is meant to introduce this style, so that all other nations will see their refinements rivaled."⁹⁰ Thus, the foreign genre and style had been adopted for the purpose of competing with the festivities of Spain's victorious rival. However, what is perhaps most interesting about the music developed under Philip IV, particularly theatrical music, is that it has been categorized and described right up to the present day as being written in the *estilo español* (Spanish style). The question seems almost inevitable: what exactly is

⁸⁶ Stein, "Opera and the Spanish Political Agenda," 130-31, 135, 139.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 132-134.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 139.

⁸⁹ *La púrpura de la rosa*, for example, was subtitled "representación música."

⁹⁰ Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods*, 208.

the *estilo español*, a style that, as we have seen, evolved under foreign influence and why has it been so designated?

Described as having arisen during a “period of relative artistic stability and stylistic homogeneity” when a national style was cultivated,⁹¹ the *estilo español*, present in both vernacular and sacred genres,⁹² was not achieved until towards 1650.⁹³

Concerning Spanish music written at this time, Stein has written:

Throughout the century, composers cultivated a strongly diatonic, contrapuntally structured style and used chromaticism and harmonic daring only for the most extreme instances of word-painting. [...] However, some of the new techniques common in Baroque music outside of Spain were immediately adapted to Spanish usage. One such was the basso continuo... The characteristic Spanish continuo ensemble included harps and guitars, the preferred accompanimental instruments in Spain since at least the middle of the sixteenth-century. In a sense, then, Spanish continuo practice was a compromise between new techniques and an older tradition.⁹⁴

With regard to theatrical music, she adds:

The musical style for theatrical songs in the period from 1650 to 1675 did not become ‘Italianized’, although externally Italianate forms (recitative, laments) were adopted by Spaniards. The definition of a Spanish musical language, the shaping of a national music style, had a great deal more to do with the exploitation of viable, ‘popular’ musical types that defy the implications of imported Italian models.⁹⁵

It is hard to know for sure if there was an awareness of a Spanish musical style in the seventeenth century or if there was even an intention to create one. Philip IV, patron of some of the most influential artistic figures in Spain at the time such as Velázquez,

⁹¹ Louise K. Stein, “The Iberian Peninsula” in *The Late Baroque Era, from the 1680s to 1740*, ed. Buelow J. George (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1993), 412. This period is established as one of “relative artistic stability” as opposed the early eighteenth century, which was marked by a plurality of styles.

⁹² Ibid. These genres included *tonos humanos*, *tonadas*, romances, *jácaras*, dances and *villancicos*, among others.

⁹³ Louise K. Stein, “Spain,” in *The Early Baroque Era, from the late 16th century to the 1660s*, ed. Curtis Price (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1994), 327.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 330.

⁹⁵ Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods*, 186.

Calderón de la Barca, and Hidalgo,⁹⁶ may have well intended to encourage his fellow countrymen to create a style that would help redefine a realm that was struggling to maintain its hegemony in Europe. On the other hand, perhaps because the king had acquired a taste for foreign musical styles as a child and youth (both the Franco-Flemish composer Rosmarin [Romero] and the Bolognese lutenist Filippo Piccinini influenced the monarch's musical taste at a young age),⁹⁷ he was unconcerned with forging a national musical style. In addition, there is no evidence to suggest that the musicians of the time were interested in creating typically Spanish music. One of the first Spanish sources to mention a national style is Joseph de Torres's revised edition of his treatise, *Reglas generales de acompañar en órgano, clavicordio, y arpa* (1736), written more than sixty years after the death of Philip IV and under a new dynastic monarchy. In his treatise, Torres explained that he wished to expand his 1702 edition which describes the "rigorous style of Spain" so that it will include rules to accompany the new works "in the Italian style" that have become so popular "in these kingdoms."⁹⁸ In addition to Torres, Francisco Valls asserts in his *Mapa armónico-práctico* (1742) that "we, the Spanish,

⁹⁶ Stein, "The Iberian Peninsula," 412.

⁹⁷ Filippo Piccinini, who had been brought to the Madrid court in 1613 to serve Philip III as court musician, was also the young future king's viol teacher. See Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods*, 194.

⁹⁸ "Con que aviendo sacado a la luz el año 1702 este Libro de Reglas Generales de acompañar, según el estilo riguroso de España; y viendo lo muy introducidas que están en estos Reynos, las obras al estilo Italiano, de que resulta a los acompañantes la precisa obligacion de saber acompañarlas; me ha parecido [...] aumentar este tratado [...] a mi entender, en este estilo [italiano]..." Cited in Thomas Schmitt, "El problema del *estilo español*" in *Teatro y música en España: Siglo XVIII*, ed. Rainer Kleinertz (Kasser: Reichenberger, 1996), 208. For a modern edition of Joseph de Torres's treatise, see *José de Torres's Treatise of 1736: General Rules for accompanying on the Harpsichord, and the Harp, by knowing only how to sing the Part, or a Bass in canto figurado*, annotated bitextual edition by Paul Murphy (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

differ from other nations in the style of writing, as we are more tied to the precepts of Art than foreigners.” Unfortunately, he fails to support his view with musical examples.⁹⁹

It is important to acknowledge the possibility that the idea of a musical national identity may have originated only later in the eighteenth century during the time of the Bourbon monarchy when foreign influence was limited not simply to the court but was rampant in the streets of Madrid. Evidently, the issue of identity emerged in opposition to the Other (France and Italy) that was threatening to dominate the local patrimony in the eighteenth century but also perhaps as the result of a later nationalistic movement.¹⁰⁰

The problem with the term *estilo español* is that it implies a purely Spanish style, when, as we have seen, the development of seventeenth-century Spanish theatrical music was based on local and foreign idioms. What is perhaps more important is that the concept of an indigenous Spanish, or rather Castilian, style has been used to attack, marginalize or discredit Spanish composers who explored foreign styles in theatrical music during the early eighteenth century.¹⁰¹

1.6. Transition between the 17th and 18th centuries: Politics and theatrical music

The end of the seventeenth century in Spain was characterized by increasing internal political turmoil and instability at the Castilian court. In 1665 Philip IV died,

⁹⁹ “Diferimos los españoles de las demás naciones en el estilo de componer, obrando nosotros más atados a los preceptos del Arte que los extranjeros.” Ibid., 209. In his statement, Valls seems to be referring to the precepts of classical art, thus implying that Spanish music is pure and uncorrupted.

¹⁰⁰ For more on the “nationalist attitudes inherited from the nineteenth century,” see Ros-Fábricas, “Foreign Music and Musicians,” 67-77.

¹⁰¹ It is important to note that the term *estilo español* is also extremely problematic because it refers to Castilian music and excludes all other Spanish styles.

leaving his ten-year old son as heir to the throne. The boy's mother, Mariana of Austria, reigned as his regent until he reached his majority in 1675¹⁰² at which point he ascended the throne as Charles II. As a result of the intermarriage between members of the Spanish Habsburg family for generations (Appendix 1), the new king had been sickly since childhood,¹⁰³ dashing any hope for the continuation of the hereditary line. Nevertheless, Queen Mariana decided to defend the legitimate right of her son to the throne at all costs. To the disappointment of many, the unhealthy king proved to be incapable either of governing personally or of earning the respect of his subjects.¹⁰⁴ His weakness, according to Kamen, "was an invitation to factional disputes and rivalry for power among ministers."¹⁰⁵

The disorder at the Castilian court was interpreted as a sign of decadence outside of Spain, particularly in France where Louis XIV had begun devising plans to take possession of Spain as early as 1668.¹⁰⁶ The French ambassador Rébenac reported in 1689:

If one examines the government of this monarchy closely, one finds it to be in a state of excessive disorder...Enlightened people agreed that the government of the House of Austria was leading them inevitably to total ruin.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Ibid., 27.

¹⁰³ According to Kamen, "Charles II from earliest infancy showed signs of being sickly and retarded...he had to be breast-fed for close on four years...he was unable to walk until over four years old, because his legs were too weak to support him... Early signs of rickets were already visible [at that age]." See *Spain in the Later Seventeenth Century, 1665-1700* (London: Longman, 1980), 21.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 21.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 22.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., *The War of Succession in Spain: 1700-15* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969), 2. Louis XIV's interest in Spain's possessions began with his marriage to Maria Teresa, Philip IV's daughter. On January 19, 1668, he signed a secret partition treaty with emperor Leopold I in case Charles II were to die without an heir.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., *Spain in the Later Seventeenth Century*, 13.

Rébenac's may have been a faithful account of what he witnessed or may well have been a dramatized version of the situation in Castile aimed at currying favor with his own monarch. The report may also be an example of the distorted pejorative view of Spain at the time when it was convenient to encourage the Spanish black legend that had been spreading throughout Europe since the sixteenth century. Whatever the case, because the monarch seemed unfit to rule and unable to produce an heir, the internal political situation in Castile was grave.

Ribot divides the reign of Charles II into three distinct periods: 1) the regency up to the fall of Valenzuela and the departure of the queen mother in 1677; 2) the reforming years from the arrival of Don Juan of Austria to the fall of the Count of Oropesa in June 1691; and 3) the decade of the 1690s during which the king's second wife, Mariana of Neuburg, dominated the political scene.¹⁰⁸ Since a thorough political analysis of the entire reign of Charles II would be beyond the scope of the present study, only the last period will be analyzed in detail as relevant to the composer Sebastián Durón, the subject of this thesis.

Immediately after the death in 1689 of Charles II's first wife, Maria Louise of Orleans, three new candidates as consort were announced to the king.¹⁰⁹ A few months

¹⁰⁸ "El reinado de Carlos II puede dividirse en tres grandes fases: la regencia, que abarcaría hasta la caída de Valenzuela y el alejamiento de la reina madre (en enero de 1677); el período reformista, desde la llegada de don Juan de Austria al poder hasta la caída del conde de Oropesa, en junio de 1691; y la década de los noventa, en la que la acción política estuvo dominada por la segunda mujer del rey, Mariana de Neoburgo." Luis Ribot, *El arte de gobernar: Estudios sobre la España de los Austrias* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2006), 208.

¹⁰⁹ Mercedes Simal López, "La llegada de Mariana de Neoburgo a España. Fiestas para una reina" *Madrid, revista de arte, geografía e historia*, no. 3 (2000): 101. The three candidates were Mariana of Neuburg, who would later become Charles' wife, the Infanta Isabel Maria of Portugal, and Mariana, daughter of the duke of Florence, Cosme III.

later and after careful deliberation,¹¹⁰ he announced his choice – the princess Mariana of Neuburg, daughter of the Elector Palatinate of the Rhine and sister to the Empress. The choice was supported by many of his Austrian ministers who reasoned that the alliance would help defend the Austrian interests at the Madrid court.¹¹¹ Nothing was further from the truth. Since the moment of her arrival at the Spanish court in May of 1690, Mariana had clashes with the Austrian queen mother as well as the Austrian ambassadors Lobkowitz, Fernando de Harrach, and the latter's son, Aloisio Luis de Harrach.¹¹² A year after her arrival she forced out Charles II's prime-minister, the Count of Oropesa.¹¹³ In addition, the new queen's preference for Germans and other foreigners to whom she granted positions of power upset not only the Austrians but also the Castilians, who believed foreigners incapable of maintaining the unity of the monarchy in the event of the king's death.¹¹⁴ The changes implemented by the new Queen resulted in the dispersal of power and the onset of institutional and political crisis.¹¹⁵

The struggle between France and the Austrian Habsburgs over the Spanish crown during the late seventeenth century which later proved to be a determining factor during the War of Succession, had a strong impact on the Spanish population and divided the populace into two groups. One group believed that only a French king could spare Spain from French attacks.¹¹⁶ Some took sides with the French because of their hatred of the

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 102. The choice was based on political advantages as well as on two other facts: Mariana's portrait, which had pleased the Monarch, and the fact that the German princess had twenty-three siblings, which was viewed as a sign of fecundity.

¹¹¹ Ribot, *El arte de gobernar*, 231.

¹¹² Ibid., 233.

¹¹³ Ibid., 212.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 240-41.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 213.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 234.

Austrians and Germans who, for the Spanish, were interchangeable.¹¹⁷ Their enmity was based on the tension between the new German queen and the Austrian representatives and on the figure of the Emperor who, in their opinion, only looked after his own interests.¹¹⁸ The other group was in favor of the perpetuation of a Spanish Habsburg monarchy.

With the king's death in 1700, the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14) became inevitable. The king of France Louis XIV, as son of Philip III's eldest daughter, Anna Maria, and the Holy Roman emperor Leopold I, as son of Philip III's youngest daughter, Maria Anna, were both cousins of Charles II (Appendix 2) and believed they were entitled to the throne. Although in his last testament Charles II had expressed his wish to leave the crown to Philip of Anjou, Louis XIV's grandson,¹¹⁹ the will was contested. If Philip of Anjou became heir to the French and the Spanish thrones, then France would establish its hegemony in Europe: if a Habsburg inherited the Spanish crown the Austrians would do the same.¹²⁰ The situation was complex and difficult to resolve, yet in accordance with the dead king's wishes, Philip of Anjou ascended the throne in 1701 as Philip V of Spain. That same year the Grand Alliance, initially led by England and the United Provinces, was formed. By 1703, the allied forces of the Dutch, English, and Germans,¹²¹ all determined to overthrow the Bourbon king and install the Habsburg candidate, Charles of Austria, had coalesced. The War of Succession, which

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 233.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 234, 239.

¹¹⁹ In *The War of Succession in Spain: 1700-15*, 4, Kamen states that this choice was made because it was the "least prejudicial to peace."

¹²⁰ Ibid., *Spain in the later Seventeenth Century 1665-1700*, 384.

¹²¹ Ibid., *The War of Succession in Spain: 1700-15*, 4.

took its toll both internally and internationally, would last for more than a decade, finally ending in 1714 with the Treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastadt (1714).¹²²

Both the political instability that characterized the late seventeenth century as well as the last Habsburg monarch's mental and physical limitations had a major impact on the musical life at the Castilian court. Many historians and musicologists are of the opinion that there was a decline both in theatrical music productions at court and musical education in Castile. Ribot believes that "[Charles II] never had the same cultural or artistic leanings as his father or his great grand-father Philip II, thus the patronage system that had characterized the court during the previous reign was interrupted."¹²³ Stein adds:

Musical education had declined to such an extent that competent male singers and instrumentalists for the royal chapel could not be found in Spain to replace those who, having remained in their posts for decades, finally died or retired. During the reign of Philip IV the chapel had been overwhelmingly staffed by musicians born and trained in Spain, but by the 1680s and 1690s its administrators resorted to hiring more musicians, mostly singers and string players from out of Spain.¹²⁴

Considering the decline in musical education and royal patronage, as well as the deterioration of the political situation in a Castile ruled by a hobbled monarch, it is easy to infer that there was also a musical decline at court. However, based on the available evidence, one thing is clear: court musical-theatrical productions were at their peak during the reign of Charles II.¹²⁵ Throughout the forty-four years of Philip IV's reign, we have a total of fifteen court plays that include music, including *comedias*, mythological

¹²² Martín Moreno, *Historia de la música española*, 17.

¹²³ "[Carlos II] nunca tuvo las aficiones artísticas o culturales de su padre, o su bisabuelo, Felipe II, por lo que el mecenazgo que había caracterizado a la corte durante el reinado anterior se interrumpió." Ribot, *El arte de gobernar*, 204.

¹²⁴ Stein, "The Iberian Peninsula," 413.

¹²⁵ This might also have to do with an improvement in the economy, as there were fewer wars during Charles II's reign. This in turn is a strong argument against the idea of decline.

semi-operas, pastoral *comedias*, and operas.¹²⁶ During the thirty-five years of his son's reign, on the other hand, there are forty documented court productions, which include newly composed works as well as revivals.¹²⁷ The threefold increase in activity in this sphere would seem to constitute a strong argument against the idea of a decline.

In order to better understand how theatrical music evolved it is necessary to examine the court productions during the three periods in Charles II's reign previously mentioned in their political context. During the regency period (1665-77), there are thirteen musical-theatrical productions that include zarzuelas, semi-operas and *comedias*. Twelve are newly composed works and only one is a revival.¹²⁸ The main composer of the period was Juan Hidalgo, Philip IV's *maestro de capilla*.

During the second period (1677- 91), the reforming years beginning with the arrival of Don Juan de Austria and ending with the fall of Oropesa, there are a total of nineteen musical-theatrical productions, which include works in the same genres plus the revival of one opera. Again, twelve are newly composed and seven are revivals of older works. Hidalgo continues to be the main composer of the period together with his famous contemporary, Cristóbal Galán (1630-84). Juan de Navas (c.1650-1719), a new composer who was appointed *maestro de capilla* after Hidalgo's death as "his music was

¹²⁶ Based on the information provided in *Table 3. Musical indications in court plays, 1617-49* and *Table 4. Chronological list of court productions whose composers have been identified* in Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods*, 346-51. Although these lists may not be up to date, they remain an invaluable source of information, and most likely the only ones of their kind. Unfortunately, I have not come across any other lists of seventeenth-century theatrical works during my research.

¹²⁷ This is based on the information provided in *Table 4. Chronological list of court productions whose composers have been identified* in *ibid.*, 348-51.

¹²⁸ I have not included Hidalgo's *Baile* (dance) as it most likely does not include any vocal music.

judged closest to Hidalgo's in style and spirit,"¹²⁹ appears for the first time. Perhaps what is most interesting about this period is that it seems to be the one of greatest activity.

In addition, it was also the period with the most revivals of works premiered during the reign of Philip IV. Perhaps prime-minister Oropesa's intention was to use theatrical genres as nostalgic reminders of better times or to re-create the illusion of prosperity and grandeur. That is to say, musical-theatrical genres most likely served as propaganda tools.

Finally, during the last period (1691-1700), during which the king's second wife, Mariana of Neuburg, dominated the political scene there are a total of eight musical-theatrical productions. Seven were newly composed; one was a revival. Curiously, in this period, Juan de Navas continued to compose musical-theatrical pieces and other works but was slowly replaced by a younger Spanish composer who would eventually become *maestro de capilla* and whose career would be controversial both during and after his lifetime. Enmeshed in political intrigue during the War of Succession at a time when his career as a composer of theatrical music was flourishing, he would be sent into exile but later forgiven. After his death, he would be accused of having polluted Spanish music and of having led Spain into decline through his music. His theatrical works, bearing the stigma of the political decline of their time, would be neglected and forgotten for centuries. The new composer at court was Sebastián Durón.

¹²⁹ Stein, "The Iberian Peninsula," 413-14. Two other musicians, Gregorio de la Rosa and Juan de Serqueira, appear in this period. I have not included them in my analysis, as they were not court musicians and did not write new theatrical works. They were attached to companies of actors who were paid for composing the *loa* (introduction) or a *baile* (dance), or both, for the revivals of older works. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods*, 206 n. 51.

1.7 Conclusion

I have demonstrated that the concepts of a Spanish politico-economic decline and musical decline, as well as their boundaries, expressed by various commentators are debatable in that both are influenced largely by political factors – both external ones such as foreign enmity and internal ones such as the sense of national identity. Moreover, foreign influence cannot be held up as the cause for the decline in Spanish music because, as we have seen, Spanish theatrical music originated as a hybrid of indigenous and foreign elements to begin with. Spanish theatrical music never declined either in the seventeenth century or in the eighteenth century. On the contrary, it evolved and became enriched through the foreign traits that it absorbed and later merged with popular national forms and musical characteristics.

In the following chapter I will proceed to the analysis of three theatrical works by Sebastián Durón: *Salir el amor del mundo* (?1696), *La Guerra de los Gigantes* (?1702), and *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor* (?1710). I will study their stylistic evolution in the context of the elements Feijoo singles out for criticism.

2. MUSIC AND ANALYSIS

2.1. Sebastián Durón

Sebastián Durón was born on April 19, 1660 in the town of Brihueła, province of Guadalajara. His father, sacristan of the church *San Juan de Brihueła*, died in 1668 when Sebastián was only eight years old. There is no information about Durón's early musical training besides the assumption that, as a young boy, he may have been exposed to religious music and the church organ given his father's occupation.¹³⁰

Nothing is known about Durón's life as a musician until the year 1679 when he appears as the disciple of organist Andrés de Sola and as organist at the Church of the Savior in Zaragoza. In 1680 he competed for the position of second organist at the prestigious cathedral in Seville. The judges voted almost unanimously for Durón who became *segundo organista*.¹³¹ Little is known about his four years in Seville as second organist. However, a document dated 22 December 1683, from the *Actas Capitulares de Sevilla*, provides us with some information about the composer's life. The document refers to Durón as a priest and as an organist who also had disciples. In 1684, Durón accepted a position in Cuenca as *maestro de capilla*, perhaps, as Lothar G. Siemens suggests, because he was dissatisfied with his position as second organist in Seville.¹³² After Cuenca he was appointed organist at the cathedral in El Burgo de Osma, where he stayed for less than a year. It was during this time that his elevation to the status of

¹³⁰ Antonio Martín Moreno, "El músico Sebastián Durón: su testamento y muerte: hacia una posible biografía," *Anuario Musical* 27 (1972): 182.

¹³¹ Ibid. The document of his appointment as second organist reads: "...Sebastián Durón, [...]forty-three [votes], Juan de Torres, [...] one, and Esteban Lloz, five...". See Lothar G. Siemens Hernández, "Nuevas documentos sobre el músico Sebastián Durón," *Anuario Musical* 16 (1961): 180.

¹³² Siemens Hernández, "Nuevas documentos sobre el músico Sebastián Durón," 180-2.

puritate sanguinis (“by the purity of blood”) occurred. The last position he held as church organist was at the cathedral of Palencia from 1686 to 1691.¹³³

On 23 September 1691, Durón became a court musician when he assumed the post of organist at the royal chapel of Charles II in Madrid.¹³⁴ In a document dated 1696 the monarch, who still referred to Durón as “organist of my chapel,” granted him an increase in salary.¹³⁵ This was an important year for the composer as both the remuneration for his work and his responsibilities increased. It was most likely in 1696 that he wrote his first theatrical piece for the court and sometime soon after he was appointed *maestro de capilla*, taking over from court composer Juan de Navas.

A new phase in the life of the composer began after Charles II’s death in 1700. In spite of the new Bourbon king’s many reforms of the royal chapel and his preference for foreign styles and genres, Durón’s position at court was not jeopardized.¹³⁶ In 1701 his salaries as chapel master and as rector of the Royal College of Cantorcicos Children were amalgamated and in 1703 he was granted an increase in salary.¹³⁷

¹³³ Ibid., 182-90. The Spanish *limpieza de sangre* (*puritate sanguinis*) referred to ethnic and religious ancestry. It aimed at distinguishing the “old Christians,” who had no Jewish or Muslim ancestors, from the “new Christians” or *conversos*, who were Jews and Muslims converted to Christianity. As Lynch explains, “...there were two sources of descent which caused impurity of the blood—from an ancestor who was Jewish or Moorish, or from one who had been sentenced by the Inquisition. Anyone who desired a tranquil career in church or state, or in many cases even admittance to one, applied to the Inquisition for certificates attesting their purity of blood, and for this purpose, they described their genealogy, named witnesses and paid a fee.” Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, 27.

¹³⁴ The appointment, signed by His Majesty’s secretary, Don Juan de Velasco, is cited in Martín Moreno “El músico Sebastián Durón,” 173.

¹³⁵ Martín Moreno, “Sebastián Durón, Autor de Música Teatral” in *Salir el amor del mundo*, 27.

¹³⁶ Stein states that the “series of reforms of the royal chapel and household provided for the redistribution of musical instruments and personnel to accommodate the foreign musical styles and textures favoured by the new patrons.” Stein, “The Iberian Peninsula,” 416.

¹³⁷ Martín Moreno, *Historia de la música de española*, 35.

Durón was also exposed to, and probably influenced by, the new musical fashions favored by Philip V. As chapel master, he would most certainly have met the French musicians who accompanied Maria Luisa of Savoy, Philip V's first wife, to Barcelona first and later to Madrid. He may have also met the French composer, Henry Desmarests (1661-1741), who arrived in Madrid with six other French musicians on loan from the Versailles court. The group, which stayed in Spain until 1705, performed several *divertissements* both in Barcelona and Madrid as part of the festivities for the marriage of Philip V and Maria Luisa.¹³⁸ Not only the French but also the Italians began exerting their influence in Madrid, both in and outside the court, in particular with the arrival of the first Italian opera troupe. Thus, Durón would have become more closely acquainted with the latest developments in Italian musical style.

Although Durón enjoyed a good reputation and held a respectable position at court, he seems to have sided with the archduke Charles of Austria when the latter claimed the Spanish throne as Charles III in 1706. Perhaps, as Martín Moreno suggests, Durón chose to support the Austrian family since it was the Habsburgs who had promoted him.¹³⁹ Another possibility is that Durón's loyalty was more specifically directed to Mariana of Neuburg since she dominated the political scene during the 1690s when he was given his court position. The widow queen had been exiled from Madrid and sent with only a few of her servants to Toledo in 1701 before the arrival of the new monarch. Moreover, Philip V had chosen to disregard a stipulation in Charles II's will that she receive a considerable allowance. With the beginning of the War of Spanish Succession in 1702, Mariana's situation worsened. She was isolated, in financial distress,

¹³⁸ Stein, "The Iberian Peninsula," 415.

¹³⁹ Martín Moreno, "Sebastián Durón, Autor de Música Teatral," 28, 31.

and in need of supporters. All her hopes rested on her nephew's ability to secure the Spanish throne. Unfortunately for her and for all the Habsburg defenders, the troops of Philip V recaptured Madrid. Many pro-Austrians were detained and imprisoned for having celebrated the proclamation of Charles II at Madrid, and Mariana, who was in Madrid at the time supporting her nephew, was sent back to Toledo. Philip V would later send the Duke of Osuna to oversee and monitor the transfer of the widow queen to Bayonne, France.¹⁴⁰

Due to a lacuna of documentation, it is hard to determine the activities of Durón during the period from 1706 to 1712. Most likely, he went into exile in 1706 for supporting the Habsburg cause and joined the court of Mariana of Neuburg in Bayonne in the south of France.¹⁴¹ In 1710 when Philip V was defeated in Zaragoza, Durón seems to have expressed such joy that he became *persona non grata* to the French. He was forced to leave Bayonne to avoid reprisals and took up residence in another French city, Pau, which he probably left at some point in 1714. Sometime between 1710 and 1714, perhaps due to his connections with Osuna and a few other influential aristocrats at the Madrid court, he was pardoned and allowed to return to Spain. He was offered a post in Palencia as organist in 1714, but there is no record of his response. However, in December of that year he moved back to Bayonne where, as a priest, he officiated at the marriage of Mariana to a younger Frenchman of lower social class, the Chevalier de Larretéguy. This

¹⁴⁰ Gloria Martínez Leiva, "Mariana de Neoburgo: Cartas de un exilio," in *Congreso Internacional "Espacios de poder: Cortes, ciudades, villas (s-XVI-XVIII)"*, (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2002), 292-94.

¹⁴¹ As Durón counted on the support of the Duke of Osuna with whom he had established amicable relationships at the court of Charles II, it is likely that the aristocrat was responsible for his joining Mariana's court. Martín Moreno, "Introducción," in *La Guerra de los Gigantes: Opera escénica en un acto*, ed. Antonio Martín Moreno (Madrid: ICCMU, 2007), XII. That year the Duke also assigned Durón a monthly pension of 25 doubloons, which the composer would collect until his death.

marriage not only caused a scandal but also encouraged the adherents of the Bourbon monarchy to attack the Habsburgs and their supporters. In 1716, for medical reasons, Durón moved to a city by the sea – Cambo les Bains – where he died at the age of fifty-six.¹⁴²

2.2. Theatrical music by Sebastián Durón

Martín Moreno divides Durón's career into early, middle, and late periods. The first begins in 1691, when Durón was appointed court organist, and ends in 1700 with the death of Charles II. The second begins with the new Bourbon monarchy in 1700 and ends in 1706 when Durón went into exile. The third begins in 1706 and ends in 1716 with Durón's death.¹⁴³ Sebastián Durón's theatrical works were written between 1696 and ca. 1711. The first two, the zarzuela *Salir el amor del mundo* and the *comedia en tres jornadas* (comedy in three acts) *Muerte en Amor es la Ausencia* were composed during the first period in 1696 and 1697 to celebrate Charles II's birthday. The last theatrical work composed in this early period is the zarzuela *Selva encantada de amor*. Two works have survived from the middle period, the opera *La Guerra de los Gigantes* of 1702 and the zarzuela *Apolo y Dafne* written in collaboration with the composer Juan de Navas. Three zarzuelas *El imposible Mayor*, *en Amor le vence Amor* first performed at the *Teatro de la Cruz* in Madrid in 1710, and *Veneno es de amor la envidia* and *Las Nuevas Armas de Amor* both from the following year, come from the late period.¹⁴⁴ See Appendix 3.

¹⁴² Martín Moreno, "Sebastián Durón, Autor de Música teatral," in *Salir en amor del mundo*, 31-6.

¹⁴³ See Martín Moreno, "Sebastián Durón, Autor de Música Teatral," in *Salir el Amor del Mundo*, 39.

¹⁴⁴ Martín Moreno, *Historia de la música española*, 382-86.

For the purpose of this study, I will analyze three works, one from each period: *Salir el amor del mundo* (1696), *La Guerra de los Gigantes* (1702), and *El imposible mayor en amor le vence amor* (1710).¹⁴⁵ Significantly, each of these works was written for a different audience and venue: the first for the monarch and his court, the second for a Spanish aristocrat, possibly at his private home or theatre, and the third for the general public at a *corral* or public theatre in Madrid. That his works were performed in all three venues for which Spanish theatrical music was composed in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is a testimony to Durón's great versatility and popularity as a composer.

***Salir el amor del mundo* (?1696)**

The precise date of composition for this zarzuela is difficult to pinpoint since part of the *loa*, which acts as an introduction and explains the work's *raison d'être*, is missing. Perhaps the most important piece of evidence is furnished by the *loa*'s extant seguidillas (verses 57-60):

Carlos tu mejoría
celebre el tiempo,
tus edades contando
por sus inperios.

Charles, may time celebrate
your convalescence,
your years counting
for its empire.

Martín Moreno suggests 1693 and 1696 as possible dates for this work since the king was gravely ill in both these years. In 1693 his recovery was celebrated with

¹⁴⁵ These are the only theatrical works by Durón available in modern editions.

festivities in Madrid on May 18, 19, 30, and June 1. However, since the *loa* also makes reference to the king's birthday (November 6) it seems most likely that the work was composed in 1696. During the summer of that year, the monarch fell ill after eating eel pie that may have been poisoned. At the same time the people were in mourning after the death of the queen mother on May 16. All performances were suspended until the period of mourning was over on September 1, and it is probable that the work was performed after this date when Charles II had completely recovered.¹⁴⁶ It is also difficult to determine where the zarzuela was performed. However, the instructions regarding machinery and visual effects in the manuscript would indicate that it was performed at the *salón dorado del Alcázar* (the Golden Hall at the *Alcázar*) in Madrid.¹⁴⁷ Although the libretto does not indicate the name of the dramaturge responsible for it, its authorship has been attributed to José de Cañizares (1676-1750). Cañizares was one of the most important and prolific dramatists of his time, and the prominent role of music in his plays is undeniable. He collaborated with the most renowned Spanish composers in Madrid, including Sebastián Durón, Antonio de Lóteres, José San Juan, and José de Nebra, as well as Italian composers present in Madrid during the reign of Philip V, such as Jaime Facco, Antonio Duni, Pedro Inachi, and Francisco Coradini.¹⁴⁸ His works were performed at the court, the *corrales* (public theatres) in Madrid, and perhaps in the private home of the Duke of Osuna, whom he also served. As the literary manuscript of *Salir el amor del*

¹⁴⁶ Martín Moreno, "La zarzuela *Salir el amor del mundo*," in *Salir el Amor del Mundo: Zarzuela en dos Jornadas*, ed. Antonio Martín Moreno (Málaga: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1979), 85-86.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹⁴⁸ Martín Moreno, "José de Cañizares, Autor dramático de fines del Siglo XVII y primera mitad del XIII," in *Salir el Amor del Mundo*, 45-55. For a list of Cañizares's works, see pages 58-77. The list includes 130 works.

mundo was located in the library of the House of Osuna and since its calligraphy matches that of Cañizares, the work has been attributed to him.¹⁴⁹

The plot of *Salir el amor del mundo* does not seem to have any allegorical or political connotations. As in most zarzuelas of the time, its undemanding story line was intended simply to entertain the monarch and his court.¹⁵⁰ The plot is simple: Diana, who hates Cupid and wishes to banish him from the world, appeals to the Gods for help. Apollo, Mars, and Jupiter descend from the Olympus and come to her aid. Cupid is chased, captured, and shut forever in a cave. For the synopsis and a formal description of the work, including its scenes and their musical setting, see Appendix 4.

La Guerra de los Gigantes (?1702)

As we have seen in section 1.5 in this dissertation, only three operas were produced in Spain in the seventeenth century. All three manifest the Italian influence at the Madrid court and were performed for the monarch. While the first seems to have been an experimental exercise in the new genre, the second and third operas were clearly produced for political purposes. Durón's *La Guerra de los Gigantes*, on the other hand, was not produced for the court but for a nobleman. In addition, unlike its predecessors, it was entitled "opera," the first Spanish work to be so designated.

La Guerra de los Gigantes tells the story of the war between the Giants and the Gods of Mount Olympus. Not satisfied with ruling the earth, Palante, leader of the Giants, wishes to conquer Olympus and incites the Giants to war. Hercules and Minerva defeat the Giants, and the Gods celebrate their victory.

¹⁴⁹ Martín Moreno, "La zarzuela *Salir el amor del mundo*," 79-80.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 85.

The title page indicates that the opera was clearly written for a nobleman, the Count of Salvatierra.¹⁵¹ The problem however is deciding for which of two Counts of Salvatierra it was written – the Fifth Count of Salvatierra (originally from Galicia) or the Count of Salvatierra from Avala. Martín Moreno concludes that the opera was written for the former, Count José Francisco Sarmiento de Sotomayor y Velasco (1681-1725), on the occasion of his wedding to Doña María Leonor Dávila López de Zúñiga (1684-1749), marchioness of Lorian, on February 23, 1702. However, he acknowledges that the enigmatic name Melisa, in the introduction to the opera, could refer to the Archduke Charles of Austria's wife, Elisabeth Christina of Brunswick, to whom many Spanish musicians referred as Elisa. If the introduction in fact refers to her, then the opera would have been produced in 1707 and the character of the Lord would have represented the Count of Salvatierra of Avala.¹⁵²

It is difficult to ascertain who wrote the libretto since there is no indication of the poet's name. The author may have been any of Sebastián Durón's literary collaborators: Francisco de Bances Cadamo, José de Cañizares, Antonio de Zamora, Juan de Benavides, or the Count of Clavijo, Marcos of Lanuza. It is also possible that the Count of Salvatierra or even Durón himself, perhaps in collaboration with the count, may have written the libretto. As Martín Moreno suggests, this hypothesis seems even more believable when one considers the final, self-effacing verses in the opera: “Y pues a la reverente osadía de mi pluma, si el empeño le amedrenta, la obediencia la disculpa” (and

¹⁵¹ The title page of the work reads: Opera scenica; Deduzida de/la Guerra de los Jigâtes A4 con v^s y Clarí/Escriviose Para el Ex^{mo} Señor/Conde de Salvatierra Mi Señor/M Duron (Staged Opera; deduced from/the War of the Giants A4 with v[iolins] and *clarín*/ Written for [his] Excellency Sir/ Count of Salvatierra Mi Lord/ M Duron).

¹⁵² Antonio Martín Moreno, Introduction to *La Guerra de los Gigantes: ópera escénica en un acto* by Sebastián Durón (Madrid: ICCMU, 2007), XII-XIV.

then for the reverent boldness of my pen, if the endeavor intimidates, obedience excuses it). If the Count and Durón were responsible for the libretto, they might have felt they needed to excuse themselves for the audacity of their work. Not only is the work an opera (a genre favoured and promoted by the new monarch) but it also contains allegorical and political connotations.¹⁵³

Martín Moreno interprets the work as a double allegory:

The introduction is a clear homage to the Count of Salvatierra and Doña María Leonor Dávila López de Zúñiga on the occasion of their marriage, while the opera in itself is a homage to Philip V on the part of the Count of Salvatierra because on a deep level it can be interpreted as follows: the power bequeathed to the king by Charles II in his will renders him immune to the attacks (even of his adversary's Giants) instigated by the Archduke Charles of Austria, first deliberately beginning in 1702 and later in a fratricidal and civil conflict beginning in 1705.¹⁵⁴

Following this interpretation, Hercules would then symbolize the King, Philip V; Jupiter, the Count of Salvatierra; Minerva, Doña María Leonor Dávila López de Zúñiga; Palante, leader of the Giants, the Archduke Charles of Austria; and Melisa, Maria Luisa de Saboya, the king's consort.¹⁵⁵ See Appendix 4 for the synopsis and a formal description of the work, including its scenes and their musical setting.

El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor (?1710)

The arrival of the new Italian musicians who later became known as “Los Trufaldines” in Madrid in 1703 marked the beginning of a change in the theatrical works

¹⁵³ Ibid., XIII.

¹⁵⁴ “La introducción es un claro homenaje al conde de Salvatierra y Doña María Leonor Dávila López de Zúñiga con motivo de su matrimonio, mientras que la ópera en sí es un homenaje a Felipe V por parte del conde de Salvatierra, pues sublimemente se puede leer que el poder del rey nombrado por el testamento de Carlos II es inmune a los ataques (aunque sea de los Gigantes del adversario) que ya se comenzaban a producir por parte del Archiduque Carlos de Austria, primero intencionalmente a partir de 1702 y luego de manera fratricida y civil, a partir de 1705.” Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

by Spanish composers. It is likely that the Italians accompanied Philip V on his return to Madrid after his visit to Naples (and later Milan) whose possession for the Spanish crown he had been fighting to maintain. These foreign musicians, unlike their Spanish counterparts, benefited from the protection of the king and were not required to answer to the municipal authorities. Although they originally performed for the king only at the Buen Retiro Palace, they later rented a *corral* (public theatre) and mounted performances for the Madrid audience. Their tremendous success in the city was due to their music – recitatives and Italian arias – as well as their innovative seating of the audience. While men and women were traditionally seated in separate sections of the theatre for performances of Spanish works in the Madrid theatres, for presentations of the new Italian company men and women sat together.¹⁵⁶

Martín Moreno believes that Durón's zarzuela *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor* was “the result of the rivalry between Spanish and Italian composers and represents a new period of Spanish zarzuela, which had to compete with the Italians on the same terrain: vocal virtuosity.” In this zarzuela, Durón uses “the French style in the recitatives, the Italian in the arias and a more Spanish style for the *tonadas* and dances.”¹⁵⁷

The work was performed by the company Joseph de Prado at the *Teatro de la Cruz* in Madrid from July 24 to August 3, 1710. As we have seen in chapter one, Durón had been living in exile beginning in 1706, but it seems that by 1710 he had received authorization to return to Spain. It is impossible to ascertain whether the work was a

¹⁵⁶ Antonio Martín Moreno, Introduction to *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor* by Sebastián Durón (Madrid: ICCMU, 2005), XI; Ibid., *Historia de la música española*, 343-45. Unfortunately, since the Italians did not answer to the city authorities, none of their performances were recorded or documented.

¹⁵⁷ Martín Moreno, Introduction to *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor*, XXI.

revival, whether it was first performed in 1710, and if so, how long Durón had been back in Spain before composing the piece. In any case, the work met with great success and was later revived in Portugal in 1718, two years after the composer's death.¹⁵⁸

The story of *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor* recounts Jupiter's love for Danaë, daughter of the king of Phoenicia. In order to be with Danaë, Jupiter must first defeat her suitors and save her from the punishment his wife has imposed on her. In the end, their love conquers all. For the synopsis and a formal description of the work, including its scenes and their musical settings, see Appendix 4.

The authorship of the libretto for *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor* has been attributed to both of the greatest dramaturges of the time, Francisco Bances Cadamo (1662-1704) and José de Cañizares, but the debate over the identity of the librettist must remain open. Cadamo, whose scenic and musical designs seem to have appealed to Charles II, became "Escritor de Festejos" (Writer of festivities) for the court in 1687. However, his court career may have been cut short because of his political instruction of the monarch in his literary works. His last literary work for the monarch was performed in 1693. Shortly after, he left the court and was succeeded by Antonio de Zamora.

Two issues have sparked the debate over the identity of the librettist. First, when the work was performed in 1710, the sum paid to the supposed author of the work, José de Cañizares, was unusually low (half of what was normally paid). Martín Moreno suggests that perhaps Cañizares appropriated Bances Cadamo's work after his death in 1704 and that would explain the small sum paid to Cañizares. Second, in the copy deposited in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (National Library in Madrid, manuscript

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., XIII.

17.203), Cañizares's name is crossed out and replaced by that of "Bances Cadamo." On this basis, Martín Moreno suggests that the double attribution should be retained until the author's identity can be demonstrated conclusively.¹⁵⁹

Second, Martín Moreno concludes that the work was written during Charles II's reign, since the zarzuela verse, "The good King cannot be blander than butter," clearly refers to the Habsburg monarch and not to Philip V. Nevertheless, it was performed during the Bourbon monarch's reign.¹⁶⁰ If Bances Cadamo wrote the zarzuela in collaboration with Durón while the two were at the court of Charles II as Martín Moreno suggests, then Durón must have revised the work sometime closer to 1710 to reflect the changes at court since the original performance. Perhaps, as Bances Cadamo had died in 1704, Durón had to revise the work with his first literary collaborator, José de Cañizares, closer to the date of the premiere in 1710. This hypothesis might help explain the (low) payment that Cañizares received for the work and as well as the origin of the debate over the authorship of the libretto.

Although it is difficult to reconstruct the genesis and evolution of the libretto, it seems safe to say that Durón was in Madrid long enough to be exposed to the ongoing theatrical rivalry in the city and, as a result of this exposure, to produce a work in which foreign musical elements and national traits were synthesized. The zarzuela *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor* was followed by two more very successful theatrical works in the same style (see Appendix 3). But inexplicably, at some point after these three productions and in spite of his considerable success, Durón left Madrid for good and returned to the widowed queen's court at Bayonne.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., XIII.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., XV.

2.3. Criticism of Durón by his contemporaries

In section 1 of this dissertation, we saw that the idea of economic-political decline, which originated in the sixteenth century and continued for over two centuries, informed the view that Spanish music of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was equally decadent. Observers and musicologists of the time believed that Spanish music was not worth studying because it was not progressive or because it was strongly influenced by Italian music. But while there had been foreign influence at court as early as the sixteenth century (as noted in 1.4), seventeenth and eighteenth century foreign influence had served particularly to discredit Spanish music and musicians during the early eighteenth century. It seems that the political rivalry between the Spanish Habsburgs and the Bourbons as well as latter's victory in the War of Succession were not only strong factors in determining how Spanish music was to develop but also, and even more importantly, how it would be perceived and judged. Perhaps the musician most affected by the shift in the balance of power was Sebastián Durón.

Durón's career and life were shaped by the political and musical rivalry of the time. He was attacked as a musician and also as a public figure. Courteault quotes a disturbing statement by a contemporary of Durón in his article on the life of the Chevalier de Larretéguy:

The people who believe they see clearly are of the opinion that Sebastián Durón, a man capable of anything, has secretly married the person that boards with him, to the great astonishment of respectable people...¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ "Les personnes qui croient voir bien clair, sont d'opinion que Sébastien Duron homme capable de tout, a marié de confiance la personne avec celluy qui loge chez luy, au grand estonnement des gens de bien..." My translation. Original cited in Martín Moreno, "El músico Sebastián Durón," 176.

The quotation refers to the wedding of the widow queen, Mariana of Neuburg, to a younger Frenchman of lower class, the Chevalier de Larretéguy. Sebastián Durón, an ordained priest, administered the sacrament of marriage sometime during his stay in Bayonne. It seems that because of this, Durón was viewed as “a man capable of anything” but there is no further evidence to corroborate this allegation. If one takes into account that the accuser was a Bourbon supporter (a Frenchman in this case), the accusation then can be seen as yet another example of the French agenda of highlighting the superiority of the House of Bourbon by calling into ill repute everything and everyone associated with the Spanish Habsburg dynastic monarchy.

Durón’s reputation as a composer was also damaged when he became the focus of the polemic against foreign musical influence published in Fray Benito Feijoo’s “Música de los Templos” in 1726. Feijoo held Durón responsible for the decadence of Spanish music, concluding that “one can always cast the blame on him for [introducing] all of these novelties, since he was the first to open the door.”¹⁶²

Contemporary observers, such as Pedro Vas Rego, chapel master at the Church of Evora, and violinist Francisco Corominas, reacted to the attack. Vas Rego responded:

In Madrid he did wonders and he was at the top of his field: ... I showed my respect in letters that I keep. But I do not find Feijoo to be right because he murmurs falsely. He [Durón] composed for the church with rigorous prudence and in the comic genres he gave freedom to the fashions favoured by the people.¹⁶³

While Vaz Rego admits that Durón writes in the foreign style in his secular theatrical

¹⁶² I have already cited the pertinent passage in full. See above, 9.

¹⁶³ “En Madrid hizo prodigios y era la mayor altura de su Polo: no se cómo dejó por Francia su cuna. Mucha atención le debí en cartas que guardo tuyas ni hallo razón a Feijoo porque en Falso le murmura. El compuso para el Templo con decorosa cordura y a lo cómico dio libres las modas que al pueblo gusta.” Translation mine. Original cited in Martín Moreno, *Historia de la música española*, 38. Further, Martín Moreno claims that the Italian style is not present in Durón’s church music. See *ibid.*, 40.

pieces, his categorical statement concerning the “rigorous prudence” exercised by Durón in his church music¹⁶⁴ and his giving “freedom to the fashions favored by the people” in his theatrical music indicates that Feijoo’s criticism was leveled exclusively at Durón’s secular compositions which, perhaps because of the clear operatic influence in Italian church music of the time, was also posing a serious threat to the sanctity of Castilian church music for Feijoo. However, at no point in his critique does Feijoo specify whether he is referring to Durón’s sacred or secular works.

Further, it is not clear why Feijoo singled out Durón for criticism since, according to Francisco Corominas, Durón was not the first composer in Spain to introduce the Italian style in Spanish music. In 1726, the year of the publication of Feijoo’s work, Corominas published an essay in defense of the music of his time—particularly the use of violins and chromaticism—stating that the only moral danger, if any, lay not in the music, but in the text it was set to.¹⁶⁵

As Martín Moreno has suggested, Feijoo’s attack on Durón may be explained by the fact that Durón and Feijoo (1676-1764) were supporters of different monarchies – the

¹⁶⁴ This judgement is confirmed by Louise K. Stein who states that Durón’s liturgical music is quite conservative. See Louise K. Stein with Jack Sage and John H. Baron, "Sebastián Durón" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), 755. Stein admits that Durón’s motet and psalm settings are more adventurous, and it is just possible that Feijoo might be referring to these works. However, given Vas Rego's statement that Feijoo was wrong about Durón’s music written for the church, this is unlikely. While an exploration of Durón’s church music would be fascinating, it constitutes a separate subject in itself and is beyond the purview of this study.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 39, 423. Corominas’s work is entitled *Aposento Anti-Critico desde donde se ve representar la gran Comedia, que en su Teatro Critico regalò al pueblo el R.R. P. M. Feijoo, contra la musica moderna, y uso de los violines en los Templos, ò Carta, que en defensa de uno, otro escribió D. Juan Francisco de Corominas, Musico, primer violin de la Grande Universidad de Salamanca*. Salamanca: Imprenta de la Santa Cruz, 1726. A facsimile edition of the work can be found in Mariano Lambea’s article: “Edición Facsímil del aposento anti-Crítico de Juan Francisco de Corominas,” *Separata de la Revista de Musicología* 24, nos. 1-2 (Enero-Diciembre 2001): 320-29.

Austrian Habsburgs and the French Bourbons respectively. This theory may also explain why Feijoo praised composer Antonio Lóteres in his “Música de los Templos,” as Lóteres’ music, paradoxically, is more in the Italian style than Durón’s.¹⁶⁶ Feijoo’s accusations may have been based both on political antagonism and on stylistic disagreement. Although Feijoo’s statements perhaps tarnished the composer’s reputation, they contribute to an understanding of the development both of Spanish theatrical music as well as of Durón’s musical style. As a means of shedding light on Durón’s compositional style, we shall examine Feijoo’s critique of the music of his time.

As a priest concerned about maintaining the purity of church music, Feijoo’s main objection to modern music was that the music of the theatre had insinuated itself into the church. During antiquity, Feijoo explained, music was used in the church for worship but once it moved to the theatre, it was used “for encouragement of vice.” For this reason perhaps, unlike the Spaniards, the Greek had maintained a clear distinction between music for the church and music for the theatre. In Spain, however, such modern theatrical forms as the minuetta, recitative, arietta, and allegro had all been adapted for use in church music.¹⁶⁷

Feijoo also found chromaticism to be unnatural and even indecent:

¹⁶⁶ Martín Moreno, *Historia de la música española*, 46. It is likely that Lóteres had no political affiliations, but if he did, he may have sided with the Bourbons like Feijoo, as he seems to have obtained the post of acting chapel master after Durón went into exile. Pizà states that Lóteres became acting chapel master in 1706 after Durón went into exile and that he held the position until 1714. See Antoni Pizà, *Antoni Lóteres: Introducció a la seva obra* (Palma: Edicions Documenta Balear, 2002), 33. Martín Moreno, on the other hand, suggests in *Historia de la música española*, 40, that there may have been two other acting chapel masters: Matías Cabrera and Nicolás Humanes. These two chapel masters were later succeeded by José de Torres Martínez Bravo.

¹⁶⁷ Feijoo, *Teatro Crítico Universal*, 285-87.

What well-trained ears could suffer in sacred songs those amorous breaks [in the voice], those lascivious inflections that go against decency, and even Music the Devil taught to the actresses and these in turn to the rest of the singers?¹⁶⁸

Although he acknowledged that chromaticism, used with “sobriety, art and genius,” could produce a more expressive and delicate music, he insisted that it should only be used in the theatre because “fashions were not made for the church.”¹⁶⁹

Feijoo blamed Durón for three changes stemming from foreign influence that he brought to modern music. The first was the diminution of sixteenth-note figures to those with even smaller note values—thirty-second and even sixty-fourth notes, which he believed ruined music for two reasons. First, he maintained that it would be “very hard to find a performer who could realize with the voice or with an instrument, notes of such small duration.” Second, he argued that “the diminution of the note values destroys music...because it does not allow the ear to perceive the melody.”¹⁷⁰

The second problem was the frequent transitions from the diatonic genre into the chromatic and enharmonic genres:

The second distinction between ancient and modern music is the latter’s excess of frequent transitions from the diatonic into the chromatic and enharmonic genres, at each step changing tones with the introduction of sharps and flats.¹⁷¹

Feijoo’s choice of the term “genre” raises an important question. Was he referring to genre more generically as a “type” or was he specifically making reference to the ancient

¹⁶⁸ “¿Qué oídos bien condicionados podrán sufrir en canciones sagradas aquellos quiebros amatorios, aquellas inflexiones lascivas, que contra la decencia, y aun de la Música, enseñó el demonio a las Comediantas, y estas a los demás Cantores?” *Ibid.*, 289. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Feijoo are the author’s.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 290.

¹⁷⁰ “...porque rarísimo ejecutor se hallará que pueda dar bien, ni en la voz, ni en el instrumento puntos tan veloces.” “...la disminución de las figuras destruye la música...porque no se da lugar al oído para que se perciba la melodía.” *Ibid.*, 297-98.

¹⁷¹ “La segunda distinción que hay entre la Música antigua, y moderna, consiste en el exceso de ésta en los frecuentes tránsitos del género diatónico al cromático, y enharmónico, mudando a cada paso los tonos con la introducción de sostenidos, y bemoles.” *Ibid.*, 299.

Greek genera?¹⁷² Feijoo may have been playing on the Italian music theorist and composer Nicola Vicentino's (1511-75/76) celebrated treatment of the genera in his *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (1555). Whatever the case, the odd choice of terminology is striking, as the ancient genera were not the issue for Spanish composers of theatrical music in the early eighteenth century that they had been for the Italian madrigalists of the mid-sixteenth century. This somewhat bizarre reference to the ancient Greek genera by Feijoo may have been his way of demonstrating his erudition and thereby lending weight to his criticism of what in Italy had become a commonplace affective device in music.¹⁷³ Certainly, his non-theoretical description of the process as "changing tones with the introduction of sharps and flats" would seem to be a reference to commonplace chromatic writing. Feijoo allowed that in certain situations and in moderation transitions from the diatonic into the chromatic and enharmonic genres were acceptable but he criticized the Italians in particular, and Durón by extension, for using them excessively or incorrectly.¹⁷⁴ As noted, although Feijoo's criticism may have been leveled exclusively at Durón's secular compositions, it is never clearly stated.

The third problem was composers' use of modulations at will in their fantasias. Feijoo, who seems to have preferred the old *pasos* to the new free musical compositions, stated that the new compositions were not as beautiful as those written in the imitative

¹⁷² The word "género" derives from the Latin word "genus" meaning "lineage," "kind," or "genre." It is hard to tell exactly what Feijoo is referring to. After all, Feijoo sometimes uses ambiguous or inaccurate terms to describe music, as when he refers to "allegro" as a formal construct. See page 47 above.

¹⁷³ In 1551 Vicentino took part in a debate on the relationship of the ancient Greek genera to contemporary music practice with Vicente Lusitano. Lusitano claimed that contemporary music could be explained in terms of the diatonic genus alone whereas Vicentino argued that it should be seen as a combination of the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic genera, the last of which contained a microtone. See Henry W. Kaufmann and Robert L. Kendrick, "Nicola Vicentino" in *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (accessed June 5, 2010).

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 299.

style of the *pasos*.¹⁷⁵ The fantasias, which he referred to as “loose music” (*música suelta*), were disordered and inferior. Feijoo added that since foreign composers could not write *pasos*, they tried to convince everyone in Spain that the genre was no longer in fashion.¹⁷⁶

Feijoo also condemned composers for their excessive use of the doctrine of affects, which held that the music should mirror the emotion projected by the text, so that “where the text [was] grave and sad, the singing should be grave and sad.”¹⁷⁷ In his opinion, no other composer overused the affects more than Durón, who would sometimes vary six or eight times the affects in one single *copla* (stanza).¹⁷⁸ Finally, he criticized the use of violins in the church. For him, their high-pitched sound was inappropriate because music in the church should be in a lower register in order to be majestic and religious.¹⁷⁹

One last thing remains to be said of Feijoo’s attack on Durón. Feijoo blames Durón for succumbing to the new foreign fashions in contrast with his contemporary, Antonio Líteres (1673-1747), who, in Feijoo’s opinion, did not give in to fashion, using chromaticism well and in moderation. However, as noted, Líteres’ music is more in the Italian style than Durón’s. Given his criticism, it is interesting that of these two composers, Feijoo grants the status of maestro not to Líteres, but to Durón. Durón’s

¹⁷⁵ The *paso*, a term that seems to have been used interchangeably with the *intento*, *sujeto*, *tema*, and *motivo*, was a keyboard piece (specifically for the organ) in imitative style. For further information on this genre, see Louis Jambou, “Intento” in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio, José López Calo, and Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 2000), 438.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 299-300. The fantasias were improvisatory instrumental pieces. See John Griffiths, “Fantasia” in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio, José López Calo, and Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 2000), 934-35.

¹⁷⁷ “y así, donde la letra es grave, y triste, grave, y triste debe ser todo el canto.” *Ibid.*, 302.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 302-03.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 304-05.

fame and stature in Spain must have been remarkable, even to the point where it overshadowed Líteres. One can speculate as to whether Feijoo's animosity arose from political differences or perhaps was aroused by Durón's influence on the next generation of composers and his partial emancipation from Spanish theatrical and musical conventions.

2.4. Musical Analysis

The following comparative analysis of Durón's theatrical music will demonstrate how the genre evolved and became enriched by the foreign traits that it absorbed and merged with national forms and musical characteristics. I will analyze Durón's compositional according to the following musical characteristics mentioned in Feijoo's critique of the music of his time:

1. Theatrical forms
2. Use of affects
3. Chromaticism and transitions from diatonic into chromatic genres
4. Diminution of the sixteenth-note figures
5. Modulations
6. Violins

1. Theatrical forms

In his criticism, Feijoo complained that the music of the theatre had insinuated itself into the church and that such modern theatrical forms as the minuet, recitative, arietta, and allegro had all been adapted for use in church music.¹⁸⁰ Evidently, these

¹⁸⁰ Feijoo, *Teatro Crítico Universal*, 287. Feijoo added: "El que oye en el órgano el mismo minuet que oyó en el sarao, ¿qué ha se hacer, sino acordarse de la dama con quien danzó la noche antecedente?" (He who hears in the organ the same minuet he heard at the soiree, what can he do but remember the lady with whom he danced the night before?). Feijoo's concern

foreign forms, genres, or types of compositions found their way into Spanish theatrical music and, as Feijoo believed, later corrupted church music. But when exactly did Durón's adopt these foreign fashions in his theatrical music?

The prevalent musical genre in early seventeenth-century theatrical music is the *tonada*, a type of song that consists of *estribillos* (refrains) and *coplas* (stanzas). López-Caló describes these songs, which are mostly in ternary meter, as having simple melodies and “straightforward and syllabic” rhythms. He also mentions the presence of “frequent dactylic rhythms” and “rhythmic syncopations” and the use of word painting, the legacy of the previous century.¹⁸¹

In Durón's first theatrical work, the zarzuela *Salir el amor del mundo* (?1696), most songs are set as *tonadas* although the word *tonada* never appears in the manuscript. In some cases, either the *copla* or the *estribillo* will be indicated in the score while the other will be implied. Only rarely are both indicated (nos. 2, 18, and 20). In other cases, the *tonada* will include a variant such as the *estribillo con violines* (refrain with violins) in no. 20: “¡Eso no cobarde!” or the *tonada* with *recitado* (recitative) in no. 10: “Sosieguen, sosieguen.” See Appendix 4, tables A.1.1 and A.1.2. Other typically Spanish musico-theatrical genres included in Durón's work are the *a cuatro*, the strophic song, and the *seguidilla*.

seems to be the lascivious thoughts engendered when listening to theatre or court music in the church.

¹⁸¹ José López-Caló, *Historia de la música española, 3: Siglo XVII* (Madrid: Alianza, 1983), 172.

The Spanish *a cuatro* or *cuatro teatral* is a choral composition for four voices, originally intended for the opening (*cuatro de empezar*) and/or the ending of a theatrical work (*cuatro de concluir*).¹⁸² In the second half of the seventeenth century, however, the *a cuatro* can also be used “within the body of the play” or as “the *estribillo* of a solo strophic song,” as in Juan Hidalgo’s works.¹⁸³ Something similar occurs in Durón’s first zarzuela where the *a cuatro* (or its variant *a tres* in some cases) is used to open and conclude the theatrical work (no. 1 and no. 22) as well as each *jornada* or act (nos. 5, 14, 15, 22). In addition, the *a 4* can also precede or follow solo strophic songs (nos. 6 and 9) as well as other musical numbers such as the *seguidilla* (no.12).

Also following the tradition established by Hidalgo, Durón uses strophic songs for some musical settings (no. 17)¹⁸⁴ as well as the *seguidilla* (nos. 4, 12), both a type of literary verse and a musical piece in triple meter.¹⁸⁵ Comparing Durón’s *seguidillas* to Hidalgo’s, Martín Moreno concludes that Durón uses the same rhythm as his predecessor and also takes care that each musical phrase coincides with two verses of poetry.¹⁸⁶

In terms of theatrical forms or genres, for the most part, Durón’s earliest extant theatrical work is very similar in style to that of his predecessors. The only exception is perhaps the use of the *recitado* (recitative). Durón seems to be breaking away from

¹⁸² José Subirá, “El cuatro escénico español,” in *Miscelánea en homenaje a Monseñor Higinio Anglés* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de investigaciones científicas, 1961), 2: 895-96. Subirá’s article is a useful source for the study of the antecedents, evolution and disintegration of the Spanish *cuatro*.

¹⁸³ Ruth L. Pitts, “Don Juan Hidalgo, Seventeenth-Century Spanish Composer,” Ph.D. diss. (George Peabody College of Teachers, 1968), 65.

¹⁸⁴ Pitts discusses Hidalgo’s musical style under three categories: recitative, strophic songs, and “brief non-strophic choral numbers” based on the tradition of the *cuatro de empezar*. See *ibid.*, 57, 65.

¹⁸⁵ The poetic *seguidilla* consists of quatrains in which lines 1 and 3 are heptasyllabic and lines 2 and 4 are pentasyllabic. The musical *seguidilla* is a quick dance in a major key and in triple meter that usually begins on the second beat.

¹⁸⁶ Martín Moreno, “La zarzuela *Salir el amor del mundo*,” 96.

Hidalgo's use of recitative, which is somehow incorporated into the *tonada*, substituting for either the *copla* or the *estribillo*.¹⁸⁷ In *Salir el amor del mundo*, Durón includes a recitative within a traditional *tonada* (no. 10: *Sosieguen, sosieguen*). The piece begins with an *estribillo* (refrain) in triple meter, and is followed by three *coplas* (stanzas) in duple meter. Before the *estribillo* comes back, as was usual in the *tonadas*, Durón includes a *recitado* (recitative) in common meter, after which comes the *estribillo*. The form of the piece is ABCA, perhaps anticipating the imminent adoption of the Italian da capo aria.

Feijoo's complaint about the use of theatrical forms in the church did not have to do with Spanish genres or forms. In fact, the choral *a cuatro* was used in sacred music, and the secular *tonada* called *tonada humana* (human *tonada*) had a church counterpart, the *tonada divina* (divine *tonada*). The difference between the two lies not in the music but in the text.¹⁸⁸ Feijoo was clearly referring to Durón's later works when he inveighed against the new foreign style.

In the opera *La Guerra de los Gigantes* (?1702), there are a number of *a cuatros*, one *seguidilla* and many *tonadas*. Durón's treatment of the *seguidilla* is almost identical to that in his first work with the only exception that the opera does not end with a choral *a cuatro*. However, this seems logical, as the practice of beginning and ending theatrical works with a choral *a cuatro* applied only to Spanish theatrical genres and not to foreign genres such as the opera. The *tonadas* in this work, on the other hand, have undergone

¹⁸⁷ For example, in Hidalgo and Calderón's semi-opera *La Estatua de Prometeo*, the goddess Minerva sings a recitative in common time, "Tonante Dios" which is followed by four coplas in triple meter. See Louise K. Stein, "La plática de los dioses" in *Pedro Calderón de la Barca: La Estatua de Prometeo, a critical edition by Margaret Rich Greer, with a study of music by Louise K. Stein* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1986), 87-92.

¹⁸⁸ López-Calo, *Historia de la música española*, 170.

considerable change involving the *tonada* with ritornello (no. 3), the *tonada* with *clarín* (no. 4), the *tonada* for two voices (nos. 14, 15), the *tonada* with an arietta (no. 20), and the *tonada* with violin, *clarín* and accompaniment (no. 22).¹⁸⁹ Also, in many cases the word *tonada* is used as a synonym for *estribillo*. In other cases, the *tonada* consists of only one section (*estribillo* or *copla*).

The changes to the *tonada* in this work can be explained by the fact that *La Guerra de los Gigantes* was the first composition that Durón was required to set entirely to music (zarzuelas included many spoken sections). In order to achieve musical variety, Durón may have felt compelled to explore all the possibilities that the *tonada* had to offer, for instance, those of contrasting the genre's timbre and varying its form. Also, perhaps because he was experimenting, the word *tonada* appears in the score to avoid any confusion or ambiguity his new approach might create. Or perhaps Durón simply wanted to differentiate the *tonada* from the new foreign genres and styles of composition he was beginning to experiment with: the minuet and the duet. See Appendix 4, tables A.2.1-2.7.

There are two minuets in the opera *La Guerra de los Gigantes* (nos. 17 and 23), and in both cases, they are sung by Hercules (first with Minerva, later with Minerva and Jupiter). If, as Martín Moreno has suggested, the opera is an allegory of the Spanish War of Succession and Hercules represents the Bourbon King, then the French minuet, the courtly dance *par excellence*, would have been an appropriate dance type with which to celebrate both the victory of Hercules over the giants and the victory of the French monarch over the Habsburgs.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ The *clarín* is a small high-pitched trumpet that was popular in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

¹⁹⁰ See page 41 above.

The other new type of composition encountered in this work is the *duo* (duet). In Durón's first zarzuela, there are musical pieces sung by two characters but they never sing simultaneously. In strophic songs, for example, the characters take turns singing the different verses; in seguidillas or recitatives, they sing alternate lines of text. In *La Guerra de los Gigantes*, however, Durón clearly composes duets in which the two voices not only alternate but also sing simultaneously (nos. 13, 16, 19).

El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor (?1711) is perhaps the most daring of the three works in terms of its variety and juxtaposition of national and foreign idioms. Durón continues to compose the traditional Spanish *a cuatro* and *tonada* (although there are no seguidillas in this piece), but he includes more duets, a genre he began to explore in *La Guerra de los Gigantes*, and he adds many *recitados* (recitatives) for one or more voices in addition to the new Italian ariettas and arias. See Appendix 4, tables A.3.1 and 3.2.

In this zarzuela, Durón continues to use the *a cuatro*, in the same way as he had in the zarzuela *Salir el amor del mundo*, namely to open and conclude the zarzuela and each *jornada*, (nos.1, 22, 23, 46.B). Here, the *a cuatro*, besides its traditional use as prelude and epilog, also appears in the body of the play (no. 16) where it is treated in a way that is very similar to that in the *estribillo* of a solo strophic song, that is, following another musical number. In no. 23B, the *a cuatro* follows a solo recitative; in no. 38, it follows as short solo melodic line, and in no. 39 it follows a *recitado* for two voices. In addition, the *a cuatro* now appears as introduction to a duet (no. 2), as a means of reinforcing the dramatic action (no.19), and between the dialogues of the mortals (nos. 1.A-1.E. and 23.B-E). There are only three *tonadas* (two solo *tonadas* and one *tonada a duo*), and

they occur in the second act of the zarzuela (nos. 30, 32, 33). In all three cases, the *tonada* is a synonym for *coplas* (there are no *estribillos*), in direct opposition to what generally occurs in *La Guerra de los Gigantes*. The duet is the foreign genre that appears most commonly, to the point that it seems to have been completely integrated into Durón's zarzuelas. In some cases, it is expanded and includes an *aryoso* (no. 3), cast in ABA form (no. 41), or is strophic (no. 43). The *recitado* continues to be reserved for text spoken by the gods, a usage established by Calderón and Hidalgo in the early semi-operas (discussed in chapter one). In some instances, it is for one voice (nos. 20, 25, 26) and in others for two (nos. 4, 6, 10, 28, 35).

Italian arias and ariettas are also completely integrated into the zarzuela. There are three formal types: those in ABA form (nos. 5, 7, 21), in strophic form (no. 14), in AAB form (no. 15) and through composed (no. 18). All ariettas are in ABA form (nos. 11, 27, 29, 36, 37). Because both the length and style of Durón's arias and ariettas is similar, it is difficult to establish a distinction between them. However, a general rule of thumb seems to be that the ariettas are reserved for instances of great inward pain or strong emotions, such as torment (lament arias nos. 11, 27) and anger or reproach (nos. 29, 36). The only arietta that does not follow this pattern is no. 37, which interestingly has the indication "vivo" (lively) and not "gravely" or "slowly," as it might be expected in a lament.¹⁹¹

The one arietta Durón includes in *La Guerra de los Gigantes* is notable. At the moment of his death, Palante, the leader of the Giants, interrupts Minerva's *tonada* (no.

¹⁹¹ The aria, no. 7 ("¡Ay, Jupiter, ay, ay!") seems to be a lament but is not, for in it Cupid mocks Jupiter. In setting these verses as an aria, Durón seems to be reinforcing the distinction between the aria and the arietta.

20) and begins to sing a sort of lament, indicated in the score as arietta. Perhaps because Durón had little experience with the arietta, he included his first one as part of a genre (the *tonada*) in which he was well versed. But while the dramatic content in the ariettas of both works seems to be the same, the musical style is different. In Durón's zarzuela, *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor*, the idea of suffering is conveyed musically with the extreme use of chromaticism, which will be discussed at length below.

Feijoo complained that these new foreign theatrical genres and styles had found their way into church music. Clearly, there is an increase in the use of foreign idioms (particularly Italian ones) in Durón's later theatrical music, which seems to correlate with the growing rivalry between Spaniards and Italians mentioned earlier in this chapter. What Feijoo failed to see in his attack on Durón is that by developing the national genres and by incorporating the foreign style into his music, Durón contributed to the evolution and the survival of Spain's most important musico-theatrical genre, the zarzuela, at a time when Italian music was rampant in the streets of Madrid. Moreover, in these foreign genres, particularly the arietta, Durón found a vehicle for profound expressivity.

2. Affects

Feijoo condemned composers, in particular Sebastián Durón, for their excessive and improper use of the projection of affects:

More than anyone else, the famous Durón fell into this vice to such an extent that sometimes, within a single *copla* he would vary six or eight times the affects in the music... And although great skill is necessary for this, which indeed he had, it was very poorly applied.¹⁹²

¹⁹² “En este defecto cayó, más que todos, el célebre Durón, en tanto grado, que a veces, dentro de una misma *copla* variaba seis, u ocho veces los afectos del canto... Y aunque era

Feijoo does not specify whether he is referring to Durón's church or theatrical compositions. Nevertheless, the allegation would seem to be exaggerated, for in order to vary six or eight times the affect within a single *copla*, a stanza of *four* lines, would require more than one affect per line. Before analyzing Durón's application of the affects in depth, I will briefly refer to two eighteenth-century treatises on the subject.

One of the most important late Baroque sources for its treatment of the affects is Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739). In his treatise, Mattheson (1681-1764), who was a composer as well as a music theorist, identifies the most important affects and describes how they are to be conveyed musically in order to move the listener. A few of the most important affects described by Mattheson are:

- 1) **Joy**: "best expressed by large and expanded intervals."¹⁹³
- 2) **Sadness**: "In sacred works, . . . , it rules all these: penance, remorse, sorrow, dejection, complaint and the recognition of our misery."¹⁹⁴
- 3) **Love**: described as "a diffusion of the spirits. Thus, to express this passion in composing, it is best to use intervals of that nature."¹⁹⁵
- 4) **Despair**: described as "a casting down of the spirit." It "can be well represented by sound when other circumstances (tempo in particular) contribute their share."¹⁹⁶

menester para esto grande habilidad, como de hecho la tenía, era muy mal aplicada." Feijoo, *Teatro Crítico Universal*, 303.

¹⁹³ Cited in Hans Lenneberg, "Johann Mattheson on Affect and Rhetoric in Music," *Journal of Music Theory* 2, No. 1 (Apr., 1958), 51-52.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

5) **Violent emotions** such as anger, heat, revenge, rage, and fury: “[they] are far more suitable to all sorts of musical inventions than the gentle and agreeable passions, which must be treated with more refinement... [but they must also] have a proper singing quality.”¹⁹⁷

A second treatise of great importance, in particular for the study of Spanish music, is Pedro de Ulloa’s *Música Universal o principios universales de la música* (1717).¹⁹⁸

Ulloa explains that in its application to music, rhetoric involves three components: *inventio* (*invención*), *dispositio* (*disposición*), and *elocutio* (*elocución*). What is perhaps most relevant for the study of the affects is Ulloa’s treatment of *dispositio*, which determines how harmonic figures (*figuras harmonicas*) should be used both for embellishment and for great effect. The principal musico-rhetorical figures he cites are: *pausa*, *repetitio*, *gradatio*, *complexio*, *causa finalis*, *contrapositio*, *ascensio*, *descensio*, *circulatio*, *fuga*, *assimilatio*, and *abruptio repentino*.¹⁹⁹

Both Mattheson’s and Ulloa’s discussion of affect can be applied to the analysis of Durón’s theatrical works. The two main affects in all three theatrical works are those projecting violent emotions such as anger, revenge, rage, and fury, and despair, including that originating from sadness, death, or unrequited love. Consequently, the following rhetorico-musical figures described by Ulloa should be considered: 1) *repetitio*, “when for greater energy the same period is repeated... especially... for vehement passions of ferocity, contempt, and so on. A good example is “Take your arms, take your arms.” 2)

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 55.

¹⁹⁸ Pedro de Ulloa (1663-1721) was a Jesuit priest and a mathematics professor at the Royal College in Madrid.

¹⁹⁹ “Las principales son las siguientes, *Pausa: Repeticion: Gradacion: Complexo: Finalizante de la misma suerte: Contraposition: Ascencion: Descencio: Circulacion: Fuga: Assimilacion: Abrupcion repentina*.” Pedro de Ulloa, *Música universal o principios universales de la música* (Madrid: Imprenta de Música Bernardo Peralta, 1717), 96-97.

pausa, “sighs can be reduced to this figure, when tearful affects are expressed with eighth notes or sixteenth notes, for which reason their pauses are called sighs.” and 3) *descensio*, a “harmonic period with which affects of servility, humbleness, depression, etc are expressed.”²⁰⁰

In *Salir el amor del mundo*, there are several numbers in which violent emotions are portrayed, since throughout the entire zarzuela, the Gods are chasing Cupid whom Diana, in particular, detests. The first verse set in the first *jornada* is: ¡Muera Cupido! (“Death to Cupid!”).²⁰¹ The entire stanza is as follows:

¡Muera Cupido!
¡Y en nueva lisonja
del zeño dibino,
el buelo le corten las flechas ardientes,
la planta le muerdan los áspides fríos!
¡Muera Cupido, muera Cupido!

Death to Cupid!
And to the new flattery
of the godly frown,
may flaming arrows arrest his flight,
may cold asps bite his soul!
Death to Cupid, death to Cupid!

The stanza is set as a choral *a cuatro* piece that is repeated two more times following a spoken passage. The first three lines are set homophonically; the third and fourth,

²⁰⁰ “Repetición...quando para maior energia se repite varias vezes un mismo Periodo...especialmente...en las pasiones vehementes de ferocidad, desprecio, etc, v.g. Al arma, al arma, etc;” “La Pausa...a esta Figura se pueden reducir los Suspiros, quando con Corcheas, o Semicorcheas, que por eso suelen llamarse Suspiros sus pausas, se expresan afectos llorosos...” “Descension...es un periodo harmonico con que se expresan los afectos de Servidumbre, Humildad, Depression, etc.” Ibid., 97.

²⁰¹ Nine and a half spoken lines in octosyllabic meter precede this verse.

contrapuntally, and the last (a repetition of the first), homophonically. The tension in the drama is conveyed musically by the use of dissonances that appear in almost every measure, but mainly in the homophonic sections. Example 1.

Example 1: Dissonances caused by passing tones in “Muera Cupido!,” mm. 1-3.²⁰²

The image shows a musical score for the scene "Muera Cupido!". It consists of five staves: Soprano 1 (S1), Soprano 2 (S2), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Aceto. The music is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are "¡ Mue - ra Cu - pi - dol! Ya". Vertical dashed lines indicate specific dissonances in measures 2 and 3. In measure 2, there is a dissonance between the Soprano 1 and Soprano 2 parts on the syllable "ra". In measure 3, there is a dissonance between the Soprano 1 and Tenor parts on the syllable "pi".

In measures 2 and 3 accented passing tones – the a in the tenor and the c in the tenor and accompaniment respectively. The first dissonance, on the last syllable of the word “mue-ra” (die), is in fact a double dissonance: a minor 2nd and a minor 7th. The second dissonance, on the last syllable of the word “Cu-pi-do” (Cupid), is a major 2nd. Dissonance is also created by the use of suspensions. For example, in measure 4 there is a 9-8 suspension in the first soprano (f-eb); in measure 5 there is a 4-3 suspension again in the first soprano; in measure 6 there is another 4-3 suspension but this time in the second soprano, and in measure 7 there is a 4-3 suspension in the alto. Example 2.

²⁰² All examples are by Durón, unless otherwise indicated.

Example 2: Dissonances caused by suspensions in “Muera Cupido!,” mm. 4-8.

The image shows a musical score for five staves. The top four staves are vocal parts, and the bottom staff is a piano accompaniment. The music is in a minor key and common time. The lyrics are: "nue - ba li - son - ja del çe - ño di - bi - no,". A measure number '5' is written above the first staff. Vertical dashed lines indicate suspensions in the vocal parts, where notes are held over from the previous measure, creating dissonances with the notes in the following measure.

In the contrapuntal section, along with the dissonances, there are also instances of word painting, a technique that Durón used throughout his entire career as a composer of theatrical music. One such example is the word “buelo” (flight). The outer voices move in an ascending and descending scale of eighth notes (the first scale of four consecutive eighth notes in the piece), thus depicting flight. Example 3.

Example 3: Word painting on “buelo” (flight) in “Muera Cupido!,” mm.9-11.

The image shows a musical score for five staves. The top four staves are vocal parts, and the bottom staff is a piano accompaniment. The music is in a minor key and common time. The lyrics are: "el bue - lo le cor - ten las". A measure number '10' is written above the first staff. The vocal parts feature an ascending and descending scale of eighth notes, which is a word painting technique for the word "buelo" (flight).

The only text repetitions are those included in the libretto but Durón repeats the music set to the words ;*Muera Cupido!* (in the first and last lines) to reinforce the affect.

In *La Guerra de los Gigantes*, Durón continues to use word painting but makes less use of dissonance. His attention seems to have shifted to the instruments and their potential to depict the affects, in particular violent emotions suggestive of battle and war. While the entire opera is based on such violent emotions, the first piece to clearly convey the primary affect of the work is Palante and the Giants' "Al arma, Al arma, gigantes" ("Take your arms, Giants").²⁰³

The movement begins right after Palante's *tonada* "Yo, racionales monstruos." It opens with Palante encouraging the Giants to take their arms and fight the Gods. Each one of Palante's utterances is received with enthusiasm as the Giants respond to their leader by repeating with him his last words. The rhetorical repetition produces emphasis and adds to the rising tension. Durón's setting cleverly matches the poetic intention and in fact, enhances it where the affect of warlike fury is conveyed in several ways.

Example 4.

²⁰³ While the poetic verse begins with the words "Al arma," the musical setting begins with the word "Alarma" (Alarm). "Al arma" seems to be old Spanish for "to arms," which is clearly appropriate for this piece, as Palante is trying to incite the Giants to go to war. Perhaps the terms were interchangeable.

Example 4: Large melodic intervals, harmonic and instrumental tension in “Al arma, al arma!,” mm. 11-17.

The musical score for "Al arma, al arma!" (mm. 11-17) features the following parts and lyrics:

- Vns al unis.:** Violins playing a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.
- Clarín:** Clarinet playing a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.
- Tp. I, Tp. II:** Trumpets I and II playing a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.
- PAL y C.:** Palante and C. playing a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.
- T.:** Tenor singing the lyrics: "A-lar-ma, a-lar-ma. A-lar-ma Gigan-tes, Ti-ta-nes a-lar-ma. A-lar-ma, a-lar-ma." (Note: The lyrics in the image are "A-lar-ma, a-lar-ma. A-lar-ma Gigan-tes, Ti-ta-nes a-lar-ma. A-lar-ma, a-lar-ma.")
- Aceptor:** Acceptor playing a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.

First, Palante’s short opening melodic utterance is characterized by strikingly large intervals that include fourths, fifths and octaves (mm. 11-14). Second, the affect is conveyed harmonically by the constant shift between dominant and tonic, in particular in the homophonic sections, when for example the Giants and Palante repeat together “al arma” (mm.15-17). Third, the violins and the *clarín* produce a piercing and agitated sound by repeating a single note alternating between the dominant and the tonic in eighth or sixteenth notes, which contrast with the longer harmonic progressions in the homophonic sections (mm. 15-17).

While initially, the instruments alternate playing short but strident musical phrases, these gradually increase in length. Finally, in the last four measures they each present a melodic line characterized by leaps and short rhythmic values. Interestingly, this is the section where Durón takes the liberty of repeating the phrase “Al arma” (To arms) *five times* after the last poetic line. Example 5.

Example 5: Growing instrumental participation in “Al arma, al arma!,” mm. 44-47.

The musical score for Example 5 consists of two systems of staves. The first system covers measures 44-47, and the second system covers measures 48-51. The instruments and their parts are as follows:

- Vns:** Violins, playing a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes.
- Clarín:** Clarinet, playing a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes.
- Tp. I & II:** Trumpets I and II, playing a melodic line with quarter and eighth notes.
- PAL y C.:** Percussion, playing a rhythmic pattern.
- T.:** Tenor, playing a melodic line with quarter and eighth notes.
- Acpto:** Acoustic guitar, playing a rhythmic pattern.

The vocal line is repeated five times, with the lyrics: "a - lar - ma, a - lar - ma." The lyrics are written below the vocal line in the first system and above the vocal line in the second system.

The melodic figuration in the violins resembles that of Italian vocal coloratura, which Durón began to experiment with early in the eighteenth century.²⁰⁴ It is noteworthy that Durón's use of coloratura is mainly restricted to word painting and to the depiction of the affects, particularly those projecting violent emotions.²⁰⁵

In the third scene of *La Guerra de los Gigantes*, Hercules is complaining that he does not have an opportunity to show what a powerful warrior he is. Avid for war, Hercules brags about his might and enumerates his many victories and conquests. In his *tonada*, “Animoso denuedo guerrero” (Boldly courageous warrior), there is a clear example of Durón's use of the new Italian inspired coloratura, in this case, to convey bellicosity. Each stanza in which Hercules describes his battle achievements ends with a section of coloratura (mm. 23-25). Example 6.

²⁰⁴ It should be remembered that it was during this time that the first Italian opera troupe arrived in Madrid. During the seventeenth century, the majority of Spanish actresses who performed in zarzuelas, *comedias* with music, and opera, had no musical training and learned their music by rote. Thus the importation of Italian musicians not only brought new foreign musical trends and compositional styles, but a new school of vocal training as well.

²⁰⁵ In 1679, the French Countess D'Aulonoy who was traveling through Spain remarked after a performance at the Coliseo del Buen Retiro that “[Spanish singers had] good voices, but not a good school of vocal training.” (Los cantors tienen buena voz, pero no buena escuela de canto.) Cited in Martín Moreno, Introduction to *Salir el amor del mundo*, 5. On another occasion, having attended a concert in Aranjuez, she added that they “sang with their throats” and that their way of singing was “deficient and [that] nobody in Spain sang as in France or Italy.” (...pero su manera de cantar es deficiente y casi nadie en España canta como en Francia e Italia.) Cited in *ibid.*, “La zarzuela *Salir el amor del mundo*,” 92. The importation of Italian singers in Madrid must have influenced the Spanish style of singing allowing composers to elaborate vocal lines more fully.

Example 6: Vocal coloratura in “Animoso denuedo guerrero,” mm. 16-29.

16

fán va - ro - nil pues por mí só - lo a - lien - ta el ca - ba - do fa - mo - so cla -
ya al con - fin, yo con el fue - go y el ye - rro des - hi - ce la a - dus - ta cer -
ga al se - guir co - mo a vis - ta de ru - do e - ri - man - te pos - trar al es -
ta - ba el pa - ís, des - hi - cie - ron mis fle - chas a - bor - to de cor - bo mar -
do a un jar - dín, pues el dra - gón de cien cue - llos no su - po li - diar, sí, mo -

23

rín, fa - mo - so cla - rín.
- - - - - viz, la a - dus - ta cer - viz.
- - - - - pín, pos - trar al es - pín.
- - - - - fil, de cor - bo mar - fil.
- - - - - rir, li - diar, sí mo - rir.

In this opera, Durón continues to use dissonance (although to a lesser degree) and word painting. However, his focus seems to be on mastering writing for the instruments and vocal coloratura used expressively to intensify the affects. This is also true of *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor*.

Jupiter and Amor (Cupid) are fighting over who has the most power and decide to begin their battle:

Y el cielo, la tierra,
El aire, y el mar
testigos han de ser
de la batalla,
en cuyo duelo, arma
han de tocar.
Fineza y escarmiento,
cariño y libertad,
¡A batallar, a batallar,
a batallar!

And the skies, Earth,
air, and the sea
will be witnesses
to the battle,
for whose combat
they will sound the alarm.
Politeness and lesson
affection and freedom
To battle, to battle,
to battle!

depicting the same affect. In measures 20 and 21 they play an ascending scale that is later repeated and elaborated upon in counterpoint by the vocal lines (mm. 21-23). In addition, Durón continues to explore the dramatic possibilities of word repetition, both in relation to word painting and to convey affect. Durón repeats the last line of the text, “a batallar” (to battle!) five times. In measures 25-26 and 28, he fragments the word “batallar” by inserting a pause between the second and last syllables.²⁰⁶ One has the impression that Durón has fragmented the words to imitate the sound of gunshots or cannon fire. The violins resume the unsettling repeated sixteenth notes, this time in a higher and more strident register. Example 8.

Example 8: Vocal coloratura, word fragmentation and note repetition in “El cielo, la Tierra,” mm. 20-28.

The musical score for Example 8 consists of five staves. The top two staves are for vocal parts: AM (Alto Male) and JUP (Tenor). The AM part has a box around the number 20 in the first measure. The lyrics are: "tad, ¡A ba - ta - llar, a ba - ta - llar". The JUP part has the same lyrics. The next three staves are for instrumental parts: Vn I (Violin I), Vn II (Violin II), and Acomp (Accompaniment). The Vn I and Vn II parts feature a repeating sixteenth-note pattern. The Acomp part has a steady accompaniment.

²⁰⁶ Durón favors this technique, which he also uses, as we will later see, for other affects such as despair.

24

AM — a ba - ta - llar, a ba - - - ta - llar, a ba - - - ta - llar, a

JUP — a ba - ta - llar, a ba - - - ta - llar, a ba - - - ta - llar, a

Vn I

Vn II

Acomp

In addition to the musical devices discussed above, in this last work Durón plays with harmonic instability to convey the sense of tension that arises as a result of his depiction of violent emotions. In the opening section, the affect is conveyed by the harmonic tension resulting from the delayed harmonic resolution, in the first five measures. The duet begins in D major but almost immediately moves to E major (V/V) in measure 4, and to A major (the dominant) in measure 6. The second descending diminished fifth in Amor's melody is particularly striking, since we are expecting the $g\#$ in measure 3 to resolve to a , which it fails to do. In the same measure, there is a harmonic augmented 4th between the bass line and Jupiter's line ($d-g\#$), and once again the $g\#$ does not resolve. In measure 4, the $g\#$ in Jupiter's line does not resolve either.

Example 9.

Example 9: Diminished fifths and delayed harmonic resolution in “El cielo, la Tierra,” mm. 1-5.

Musical score for Example 9, measures 1-5. The score includes vocal parts for AMOR and JÚPITER, Violines I and II, and Acompañamiento. The lyrics are: "La Tie - rra, y el mar, tes - ti - goshan de ser de la ba-ta - El cie - lo, el ai - re, tes - ti - goshan de ser de la ba-ta -".

Musical score for Example 9, measures 6-8. The score includes vocal parts for AM and JUP, Violines I and II, and Acompañamiento. The lyrics are: "lla, lla,".

Mattheson states that “violent emotions such as anger, heat, revenge, rage, and fury...are far more suitable to all sorts of musical inventions than the gentle and agreeable passions, which must be treated with more refinement.” Durón clearly seems to have shared this view as he exploits all the musical devices available to him to convey these violent affects. At first he was still composing in the tradition of his predecessors, using mainly dissonance and word painting to underline words or phrases, but later he had clearly absorbed the new style that had taken hold in Madrid. In the examples discussed above from Durón’s later works, we see reflected a new trend, mainly that of the increasing use of instrumental figuration and vocal coloratura to heighten the drama

and the repeated short rhythmic figures reminiscent of the Italian *stile concitato*.²⁰⁷ However, while absorbing new foreign musical idioms to convey the affects, Durón continues to adhere to Spanish rhetorico-musical conventions, for example in his use of *repetitio* as it is described by Ulloa. It seems unreasonable to conclude as Feijoo has, that Durón misused the affects.

The other extreme emotion to be analyzed here is despair originating from sadness, death, or unrequited love. The movements that project these affects are conceived as laments and as such, most of them include chromatic descending passages, which will be discussed below in the section on chromaticism. Both “harmonic figures” described by Ulloa are present in these pieces: *pausa* (pauses depicting sighs) and *descencio* (descending scales that express the affect of sadness).

A good example of Durón’s projection of the affect of despair is “Sosieguen, sosieguen” (“Let them rest, let them rest”) in *Salir el amor del mundo*. This movement, cast in ABCA form, is written for voice, *biguela de arco* (a Spanish instrument similar to its Italian counterpart, the viola *da gamba*) and accompaniment. It is the climactic piece of the zarzuela in terms of its dramatic content and its central position in the work (see Appendix 4, tables 1.1-1.3).

Having escaped the Gods who wish to banish him from the world, Cupid sits down to rest in the woods and laments his fortune. In the opening, he tries to quell his fears and to comfort himself:

²⁰⁷ The Italian *stile concitato* (“agitated” style), used to convey affects derived from violent emotions, is mainly characterized by passages of fast short note figures.

Sosieguen, sosieguen,
 descansen, descansen,
 las timidas penas,
 los tristes afanes,
 y sirban los males de alivio en los males.

Let them quiet down, quiet down,
 Let them put to rest, put to rest,
 The timid hardships,
 The sad toils,
 and may pains serve to soothe pains.

Each line is set to a descending musical phrase (*descencio*) and is separated by either two consecutive quarter-note rests or one full measure rest (*pausa*). Example 10.

Example 10: *Descencio, pausa*, modulations and dissonances in “Sosieguen, sosieguen,” mm. 1-9.

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Sosieguen, sosieguen." It consists of two systems of music. The first system features a vocal line (Soprano, marked [S]) and a piano accompaniment (Biguela de arco and Acipio). The vocal line begins with the lyrics "So - sie - guen, so - sie - guen, des -". The piano accompaniment includes a descending melodic line in the right hand and a supporting bass line in the left hand. The second system continues the vocal line with the lyrics "can - sen, des - can - sen, las" and the piano accompaniment. The score illustrates the use of descending musical phrases and rests, as well as modulations and dissonances.

The affect in the opening line is further emphasized by the use of quick modulations and brief dissonances. While the piece opens in the key of D minor, it quickly moves through a series of brief tonicizations of scale degrees rising by a tone (mm. 3-5) producing brief dissonances such as the g against the f in measure 4. The brief modulations, dissonances,

and the rising chromatic scale set up by the harmonic progression that dominate the entire first section of the movement dramatically convey the affect of despair, caused in this case from sadness and loneliness.

“Ay de mí, ay de mí!” (“Woe is me, woe is me!”) is the second of two laments in the zarzuela. After having been chased by the Gods, Cupid (Amor) has been cornered and the Gods are threatening to lock him up in a cave. The movement opens in the key of A minor with Cupid singing a full stanza (*estribillo*) in which he laments his fate. Then, one by one, the Gods sing a different stanza (*copla*) in which they scorn Cupid who in turn responds and ends the stanza with a short lament. The movement is cast as a combination of *estribillo* (one unmetrical verse) and *copla* (four heptasyllabic septets). The *copla* is divided in two, both poetically and musically: the first four and a half lines are sung by one deity while the last two and a half lines are sung by Cupid as a variation of his first *estribillo*. Table 1 indicates the sections of the song as well as the character singing each section.

Table 1: Formal analysis of “Ay de mí, ay de mí!”

Estribillo	Copla No.1	Copla No. 2	Copla No. 3	Copla No. 4
Cupid + choral echo	Diana + choral interjection*+ + Cupid	Marte + choral interjection+ + Cupid	Jupiter + choral interjection+ +Cupid	Apolo + choral interjection+ Cupid + choral echo
A + a	B (+a'+ A')	B' (+a'+ A')	B (+a'+ A')	B (+ a' +A')+ a

* the choral interjections are three beats long, in dactylic rhythm, and on the words: “Ay de ti!” (Woe is you!)

While each *copla* sung by a deity begins and ends on the same note, A, Cupid’s response always outlines a descending melodic line, *descencio*, which conveys the affect of despair. Example 11.

Example 11: *Descencio* in “Ay de mí, ay de mí!,” mm. 35-45.²⁰⁸

35 AMOR

te in - fe - liz. ¡ Ay de mí, que no ai dis - ¡ Ay de tí!

[Fol. 41v]

40 tan - cia en - tre des - pre - ciar en - tre he - rir! 45

As the main theme in *La Guerra de los Gigantes* is war, there is only one piece in which the affect of despair is the focus – the climactic moment in the opera when Minerva and the Gods defeat the Giants and their leader, Palante. In the *tonada* “Donde, cielo divino” (“Where, heaven divine”), Palante and Minerva sing of fate, death, and revenge. Minerva stabs Palante with her spear, and the *tonada* is interrupted by a

²⁰⁸ This piece will be discussed further under the section on chromaticism.

ritornello introducing Palante’s arietta. Table 2 indicates the sections of the movement as well as the characters singing each section.

Table 2: Formal analysis of “Donde, cielo divino.”

Instrumental introduction	Copla no. 1	Copla no. 2	Copla no. 3	Ritornello* + arietta
	Palante	Minerva	Palante + Minerva	Palante + interjections by Minerva

* Durón was aware of the Italian *ritornello* and clearly intended to include one in this section. Although Durón does not indicate that this section is a ritornello, it is perhaps implied as the term *retornelo* [sic] appears earlier in this work (*tonada* no. 3).

The instances of *descencio* in the movement that are most noteworthy occur in connection with Palante’s lament. Durón uses short descending chromatic scales in the ritornello section to convey the affect of despair, as the moment of Palante’s death approaches. The descending passages in the ritornello both express the pain inflicted on Palante the moment he is wounded and his agony as he later sighs: “ay, ay, ay.” Example 12.

Example 12: Descencio in the Ritornello in “Donde, cielo divino,” mm. 37-42.²⁰⁹

The musical score for Example 12 shows a descending chromatic scale in the ritornello section. The score includes staves for Vn I, Vn II, Clarin, PA, MI, and Acpto. The Vn I and Vn II parts are marked 'al unisonus'. The PA and MI parts have lyrics: 'li - - - ce!' and '¡Ay, que al'. The Acpto part shows a descending chromatic scale with fingerings 4 3, 7 6, b5, 7.

²⁰⁹ Examples 12 and 13 will be further discussed under the section on chromaticism.

Further, the aforementioned line that is preceded and followed by rests at each of six repetitions until Palante finally dies, exemplifies the use of *pausa* as sighs to express tearful affects. Example 13.

Example 13: *Descencio* in the Ritornello and *pausa* in “Donde, cielo divino,” mm. 54-59.

The image shows a musical score for Example 13, spanning measures 54 to 59. The score is arranged in six staves: Vn I, Vn II, Clarín, PA, MI, and Acpto. The Vn I and Vn II staves feature a melodic line with six repetitions of a phrase, each followed by a rest. The Clarín staff is mostly silent. The PA and MI staves show vocal lines with the lyrics "Ay, ay, ay, ay, ay, ay." The Acpto. staff provides a basso continuo line with figured bass notation: b5, 7, 4 3, 7, 5.

In *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor*, there are several movements that evoke the affect of despair. The most remarkable of these is Jupiter’s lament “Yo no puedo a tal pesar resistir” (I cannot resist such pain). Jupiter and Cupid have been quarreling over who has the greatest power. Cupid shoots Jupiter with an arrow and leaves him wounded in the woods. Jupiter is then overcome with an intense feeling of love. He cannot control or understand the pain that afflicts him and so slips into a lament:

Yo no puedo a tal pesar
resistir, pues, del sentir,
aún la voz viene a faltar.
¡Oh, Cupido, fementido,
en pedazos con mis brazos
te pudiera reducir!
Mas, si no acierto a morir,
¿cómo acertaré a matar?

I cannot resist such pain;
Because of this feeling
even my voice fails me.
Oh, deceitful Cupid,
if only I could reduce you
to pieces in my arms!
But, if I cannot die,
how will I be able to kill?

The indication in the score in measure 1 reads “*canta interrumpido*” (he sings interruptedly), and indeed, Jupiter sings the four syllables “yo no puedo” to four half notes, each one preceded and followed by a rest (mm. 1-4). As the last word is fragmented, the affect of despair is emphasized; it seems that Jupiter is sighing and needs to breathe between each syllable.²¹⁰ Example 14.

Example 14: *Descencio* and *pausa* in “Yo no puedo,” mm. 1-8.²¹¹

(*Canta interrumpido*)

JU
Yo no pue - do a tal pe - sar re - sis - tir,

Violines I

Violines II

Acompañamiento

6

JU

Vn I

Vn II

Acomp

²¹⁰ As noted above, Durón seems to favour the technique of word fragmentation that he uses primarily for word painting or affective purposes.

²¹¹ This example will be further discussed under the section on chromaticism.

At the same time, both *descencio* and *pausa* are clearly present in the opening vocal line to reinforce the general affect of despair. Immediately after the exposition of the first phrase “yo no puedo a tal pesar resistir,” the first violin comes in echoing the same descending melodic line (mm. 5-6).

From one work to another there appears to be an evolution in Durón’s style, or at least a more obvious or dramatic representation of the affects, as all the techniques used to depict despair are present in the opening vocal line including the use of chromaticism, which will be discussed below. As with the affects derived from violent emotions, not only does Durón exploit all the musical devices available to him but he also masters them. Feijoo’s discontent simply cannot derive from the manner in which Durón deploys the affects. It might stem either from political animosity or differences of opinion concerning composition. Or, it might have more to do with the turn that Spanish music was taking at the time, a turn that Feijoo felt threatened to contaminate church music.

3. Chromaticism and transitions from the diatonic into the chromatic genre

Feijoo condemns the use of chromaticism, arguing that “those lascivious inflections which were taught to the actresses by the devil, should remain in the theatre” because “fashions were not made for the church.”²¹² He later acknowledges that in some cases, chromaticism can produce a more expressive and delicate music but only if used with sobriety and genius. The Spanish composer Antonio de Líteres (1673-1747) was, in Feijoo’s opinion, extraordinary in the handling of accidentals “because almost every time he introduce[d] them, they [gave] Music an energy which correspond[ed] to the meaning

²¹² Feijoo, *Teatro Crítico Universal*, 289-90.

of the words and moved [the listener].”²¹³ However, in his opinion, most other composers, including the Italians from whom this fashion had been adopted, overused both chromaticism and transitions from the diatonic into the chromatic genre:

But the Italians today overuse these transitions so much that they drive harmony crazy. He who refuses to believe this should consult ... his ears when he listens to songs, or sonatas which abound in accidentals.²¹⁴

Not only did Feijoo blame Durón for introducing this foreign fashion in Spain, but he also implied that Durón was among those ungifted composers who either overused or did not know how to use chromaticism.

Durón’s use of chromaticism differs from that of his predecessor, Juan Hidalgo. Hidalgo cultivated what has been called the *estilo español*, characterized by Stein as “a strongly diatonic, contrapuntally structured style [in which composers] used chromaticism and harmonic daring only for the most extreme instances of word-painting.”²¹⁵ Hidalgo uses chromaticism in moderation: for example, a single chromatic chord can be used to highlight a word within a diatonic passage. In Durón’s music, on the other hand, the use of chromaticism is not always so circumscribed, and often encompasses entire passages, particularly in solo movements set as laments.

As mentioned earlier, Durón found a vehicle for profound expressivity in the arietta, which had overtones of the lament. However, the arietta was not the first genre in which Durón features a new treatment of chromaticism. *Salir el amor del mundo*, “Ay de

²¹³ “...pero en el manejo de los puntos accidentales es singularísimo; pues casi siempre que los introduce, dan una energía a la Música, correspondiente al significado de la letra, que arrebatada.” *Ibid.*, 293.

²¹⁴ “Pero los Italianos hoy se proponen tanto en estos tránsitos, que sacan la armonía de sus quicios. Quien no lo quisiese creer, consulte, ..., sus orejas, cuando oyere canciones, o sonatas, que abundan mucho de accidentales.” *Ibid.*, 299. From this statement, it seems that Feijoo tolerated only the limited use of chromaticism.

²¹⁵ I have already cited the pertinent passage in full. See page 21 above.

mí, ay de mí!” discussed above, can be viewed as one of Durón’s earliest attempts to use chromaticism for dramatic purposes.

As the movement progresses so does Cupid’s despair. For his second entrance (*copla* no. 1) Cupid sings “Ay de mi, que no hay distancia entre despreciar y entre herir!” (Woe is me, there is no difference between despise and hurt!) to a melodic line that implies chromaticism. Diana’s *copla* begins and ends in a minor, and it is followed by a short choral interjection based on the harmonic progression i-V. See Example 11 above.

Cupid’s enters on the g# at measure 37. The pitches in the melody in measure 37 can be interpreted as a descending melodic minor scale (g#-F#-e) in a minor. However, in the following measure, while the melodic line moves up to a, the bass progression is to C#, suggesting an A-major chord in first inversion. The next chord is a D-minor chord in measure 39. The f# in the melody does not sound unfamiliar because we have heard it before; but in the next chord, we hear a striking g-f natural progression as the harmony moves back to A minor by measure 44. These shifts between the g # and f # and g[♮] and f[♮], as well as the bass line progression: A-E-C#-D-G-C natural-B (mm. 36-41) are chromatically colored so as to underline musically Cupid’s suffering. The same occurs in *coplas* 2, 3, and 4.

There is one more instance of chromaticism worth noting here. At the end of each *copla*, two measures before the choral interjection (“Ay de ti!”), the bass line traces the progression: F-E-D-D#-E-A (the chords preceding the F vary slightly in each *copla*). The

chromatic pitch is, of course, the D#; however, its function is not to highlight a specific word, but rather as affective preparation for the following lament section.²¹⁶ Example 15.

Example 15: Chromatic bass in “Ay de mí, ay de mí!” mm. 52-56.

The image shows a musical score for Example 15. It consists of five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "y aces so-lo des-po-jo el quean-tes fue-a da-lid." The second staff has lyrics "i Ay de". The third staff has lyrics "i Ay de". The fourth staff has lyrics "i Ay de". The fifth staff has lyrics "i Ay de". The bass line is chromatic, starting on F, moving to G, A, B, and C. There are vertical dashed lines indicating bar boundaries.

As we have seen, Durón reserves chromaticism as a means of highlighting a lament or anticipating it. Something similar occurs in his opera, *La Guerra de los Gigantes*. The *tonada* “Donde cielo divino” (discussed above) is in F minor, a very dark key affectively speaking. The preparation for the mood of suffering or despair takes place not in the music which leads up to the movement but rather in the chromatic ritornello which opens it. The bass line follows the progression F-G-A-B-C, which is immediately repeated varying the rhythm with a *b* natural, tonicizing the dominant of F minor before the resolution to the tonic. The violins, doubling one another, present a descending chromatic scale, first beginning on the tonic – F-E-E \flat -D (mm. 38-39) and then beginning on the subdominant – B \flat -A-Ab-G (mm. 39-40). See Example 12 above.

²¹⁶ In each case, the words on the chromatic pitch are devoid of any emotional content. They are: “azerte” (make you) in *copla* no.1, “antes” (before) in *copla* no. 2, “titulo” (title) in *copla* no. 3, and “ocaso” (sunset) in *copla* no. 4.

The same descending chromatic scale fragment beginning on C appears in the arietta at measures 46-47 set to the word “ay!” serving to highlight musically Palante’s pain.²¹⁷ See example 13 above.

The initial chromatic passage is repeated several times in the following ritornello at measures 54-59, this time accompanying the repeated word “ay” in the voice.

Example 16.

Example 16: Descending chromatic scale in ritornello and text in “Donde, cielo divino,” mm. 46-47.

Musical score for measures 46-47. The score includes staves for Vn I, Vn II, Clarin, PA, MI, and Acpto. The Vn I and Vn II parts play a descending chromatic scale. The MI part has lyrics "- tal. Ay,".

Musical score for measures 48-49. The score includes staves for Vn I, Vn II, MI, and Acpto. The Vn I and Vn II parts play a descending chromatic scale. The MI part has lyrics "ay, ay. a - go -". A measure rest "b 5" is indicated below the Acpto staff.

²¹⁷ The Spanish word “ay” does not have an exact English equivalent. It has been translated as “Oh” or “Alas.” However, the word ay implies great pain, physical or psychological.

Once again, Durón reserves instances of intense chromaticism to introduce or to accentuate the affect focused on in the lament.

A slight change in his approach to the use of chromaticism can be perceived in Durón's last period. While the use of chromaticism continues to be reserved for instances of great pain, it is not always introduced so gradually into the music in the zarzuela *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor*. The aria "Yo no puedo a tal pesar" ("I cannot such pain"), discussed above, provides a particularly good example. Here chromaticism is not gradually introduced in the course of the movement as in the previous examples, but appears right away in the opening line (mm. 1-2). See Example 14 above.

Jupiter sings the four syllables "yo no puedo" to four half notes, each one preceded and followed by a rest. The four notes again trace a chromatic descent through a minor third – D-C#-C-B, reminiscent of the chromatic descending tetrachord commonly associated with laments.²¹⁸ Because the chromatic descending figure is in the melody here rather than in the lowest part as an ostinato or quasi ostinato bass as is more normal, it stands out and conveys effectively the sense of drama. Immediately after the exposition of the first phrase "Yo no puedo a tal pesar resistir," the first violin enters echoing the same chromatic melodic progression, both reinforcing the use of chromaticism and Jupiter's despair (mm. 5-8).

Another instance of chromaticism occurs a little later on the word "viene" from the text "aún la voz viene a faltar" (even my voice comes to fail me). Example 17.

²¹⁸ For more on the descending tetrachord and its connection to the lament, see Ellen Rosand, "The Descending Tetrachord: An Emblem of Lament," *The Music Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (July, 1979): 346-59.

Example 17: Descending chromatic scale passage on the word “viene” in the *arieta*, “Yo no puedo” no. 11, mm. 14-15

The musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is for Jupiter (JU) in treble clef, showing a vocal line with a chromatic descent from F4 to D4 (F-E-E \flat -D) over the words 'vie - - - ne a fal-'. The second and third staves are for Violin I (Vn I) and Violin II (Vn II) in treble clef, with Vn II having a key signature of one flat. The bottom staff is for Accompaniment (Acomp) in bass clef. The chromatic passage in the vocal line is highlighted by quarter rests on the words 'vie' and 'ne'.

This phrase is repeated twice for dramatic purposes, the chromatic passage appearing now in the vocal line (mm.14-15). Again, this traces the same chromatic descent through the minor third – F-E-E \flat -D. This passage is a prime example of word painting, quite common in Durón’s works. In this case, devices such as word fragmentation, breaks in the vocal line (quarter rests), and textual repetition underline graphically Jupiter’s speechlessness.

While Feijoo’s critique is clear testimony to the growing incursion into church music of the chromaticism commonly employed in theatrical music, it seems to be neither particularly objective nor relevant in assessing Durón’s skill in its application in the secular sphere. Durón’s later works certainly make greater use of chromaticism; the passages are more obvious, perhaps even bolder. What is clear is that Durón knew very well how to use chromaticism. In the laments discussed above, chromaticism, to quote Feijoo, undeniably produces “a more expressive and delicate music.” Moreover, in keeping with his ideal, the chromatic alteration here serves to “give music an energy corresponding to the meaning of the words that moves the listener.”

4. Diminution

The first and most important distinction [between ancient and modern music] is the diminution of the figure. The smallest note values before were sixteenths,... [Then] not so long ago they invented thirty-seconds...The composers' extravagances did not stop here, and sixty-fourths were invented.²¹⁹

Feijoo seems appalled at the “invention” of these small note values that, in his opinion, ruin music because they are hard for the performer to execute and hard for listener to perceive.²²⁰ Although Feijoo blames Durón for having brought this disagreeable foreign (Italian) practice into modern Spanish music, none of Durón's theatrical works reflect this change. The smallest note value in all the three theatrical works analyzed in this chapter is the sixteenth note.²²¹

Nevertheless, there is one change worth noting in these theatrical pieces: the evolution in the rhythmic meter. As most seventeenth-century theatrical pieces, *Salir el amor del mundo* is mainly in simple triple meter (3/4), with very few exceptions (Appendix 4, tables 1.1-1.3). *La Guerra de los Gigantes*, on the other hand, is more varied. The Spanish *tonada*, originally in 4/4 and 3/4 meter, has changed. In *La Guerra de los Gigantes*, the *tonadas* (including *coplas* and *estribillos*) are also in 6/4, 9/4, and 3/2 meter. Choral *a cuatro* pieces are also found in a variety of meters: 4/4, 6/4, 9/4, 3/2, and 3/4, and the newly adopted duet is mainly in 6/4 meter (Appendix 4, tables 2.1-2.7). Finally, in *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor*, duets are both in duple and triple

²¹⁹ “La primera, y más señalada distinción que ocurre [entre la música Antigua y la moderna], es la disminución de las figuras. Los puntos más breves que habia antes, eran las *Semicorcheas*, ...[Ahora] se inventaron no ha mucho las *Tricorcheas*...No paró aquí la extravagancia de los compositores, y se inventaron las *Cuatricorcheas*...” Feijoo, *Teatro Crítico Universal*, 297.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ It is possible that Feijoo was referring to improvisational embellishment such as that applied by singers in the cadenzas of da capo arias but it is not possible to say for sure, and in any event, few if any examples of this diminution practice have survived in Spanish sources.

meter (4/4, 6/4, 9/4, 3/2, 3/4), arias and ariettas in 3/2, 4/4, 6/4, 6/8, 9/4, 12/8, and 12/8, and the Spanish *tonada* and choral *a cuatro* feature the same variety of meters as in *La Guerra de los Gigantes* (Appendix 4, tables 3.1-3.2). Also, it is important to note that many of these pieces shift back and forth between different meters.

Durón expanded the use of rhythmic meters, but following the tradition of his predecessors, he continued to make use of the rhythmic elements such as hemiola, syncopation and dactylic rhythms so typical of Spanish music.²²² Examples 18-23.

Example 18: *Salir el amor del mundo*, “Transfiera en obsequios mil,” mm. 10-11.

The image shows a musical score for Example 18, measures 10-11. It features four vocal staves and several accompaniment staves. The lyrics are: - tra - rá el a - ño gen - til. The music is in a key with one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The vocal lines show a mix of quarter, eighth, and dotted rhythms, with some syncopation. The accompaniment includes bass lines and chords.

²²² Louise Stein states that “The use of hemiolas ..., syncopations, and dotted rhythms in sesquialtera meter are typical of Hidalgo’s music and of the Spanish style.” In *Ibid*, “La plática de los dioses,” 66. López-Caló identifies the dactylic rhythm (a dotted quarter note followed by an eighth note, particularly in a piece in ternary meter) as a characteristic of seventeenth-century Spanish songs. See *ibid.*, *Historia de la música española*, 171.

Example 19: *Salir el amor del mundo*, “Tanto de Amor en ultraje,” mm. 23-24, 26-27.

[S] Pa - ra que su con - fu - sión se du - pli - que en el es - truen -
 [MARTE] Pa - ra que su con - fu - sión se du - pli - que en el es - truen -
 [JUPITER] Pa - ra que su con - fu - sión se du - pli - que en el es - truen -
 [Acapto]

Example 20: *La Guerra de los Gigantes*, “Esa monstruosa especie,” mm. 13-14.

13 A 4
 Tp. I En el cón - ca - vo pro - fun - do
 Tp. II En el cón - ca - vo pro - fun - do
 A. En el cón - ca - vo pro - fun - do
 T. En el cón - ca - vo pro - fun - do
 [Acapto]

Example 21: *La Guerra de los Gigantes*, “Ya en mi oído su informe,” mm. 11-14.

Musical score for Example 21, featuring vocal parts for MINERVA and JUPITER, and piano accompaniment (Acpto.). The score is in 3/4 time and includes the following lyrics:

JUPITER
 ria. Mi e - no - jo bas - - - ta. Ay, que lo - cu - - - ra
 llo. Qué e - rra - do jui - - - cio. Que in - fa - - me a - bu - - so
 les. Qué hu - ma - no en - ga - - ño. Qué e - rror ce - les - - te
 nus. Qué des - va - rí - - o. Que de - - sa - cier - - to
 quis. No le de - sai - - res. No te con - ff - - es
 ce. Pues a qué es - pe - - ras. A que res - pa - - res
 to. Y al cie - lo as - cien - - do. Ya al ai - - re co - - rro

MINERVA

Acpto.

Example 22: *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor*, Choral a4, mm. 2-4.

Musical score for Example 22, featuring vocal parts for SOPRANO I, SOPRANO II, CONTRALTO, TENOR, Violines I, Violines II, and Acompañamiento. The score is in 4/4 time and includes the following lyrics:

(Dentro)

SOPRANO I
 Ven - tu - ro - sas las plan - tas, fie - ras, — y hom - bres, que j - do .

SOPRANO II
 Ven - tu - ro - sas las plan - tas, fie - ras, — y hom - bres, que j - do .

CONTRALTO
 Ven - tu - ro - sas las plan - tas, fie - ras, — y hom - bres, que j - do .

TENOR
 Ven - tu - ro - sas las plan - tas, fie - ras, — y hom - bres, que j - do .

Violines I

Violines II

Acompañamiento

Example 23: *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor*, “Ay de mi!,” mm. 29-34.

Musical score for Example 23, featuring vocal parts and piano accompaniment (p). The score is in 4/4 time and includes the following lyrics:

29
 ne - gar - te el a - li - vio!
 Qui - sie - ra que fue - se más blan - do el re - me - dio.

p

Feijoo's criticism simply does not apply to Durón's theatrical music. What may have troubled Feijoo is a new trend reflected in Durón's later works: his use of vocal coloratura and the repetition of short rhythmic figures reminiscent of the Italian *stile concitato*, both used to convey the affects discussed above and heighten the drama. However, while he focused on what he perceived as the pollution of the Spanish style, Feijoo failed to notice the change and the evolution in Durón's adoption of an increasing variety of meters and rhythmic figures. Perhaps because rhythm had always been an important feature in Spanish music, Durón felt the need to enliven it by exploring changes in meter. While preserving typically Spanish features such as the hemiola, syncopation, and dactylic rhythms, Durón enriched the Spanish musico-theatrical genres by expanding and juxtaposing a wider variety of rhythmic meters.

5. Modulations

Feijoo blames Durón for the introduction of another unwanted foreign influence, his use of modulations seemingly at will:

The third distinction [between ancient and modern music] lies in the liberties that composers take when introducing [in music] all those modulations that take place in the fantasia, without adhering to imitation or theme.²²³

Feijoo clearly prefers the old *paso*, a keyboard piece (specifically for the organ) in imitative style, to the new compositional style of the fantasias. However, as the *paso* and

²²³ It is hard to tell from Feijoo's complaint regarding modulations if he is referring to the modulations in the fantasia (improvisatory instrumental pieces) or if he is criticizing musicians for using modulations "a la fantasia," "as they occur to them." However, he does refer to the *pasos*, a genre for organ, as an example of good music. In any case, he clearly does not approve of "disordered" genres, such as the fantasia. "La tercera distinción [entre la música Antigua y moderna] está en la libertad que hoy se toman los compositores para ir metiendo en la Música todas aquellas modulaciones, que les van ocurriendo a la fantasía, sin ligarse a imitación o tema." Feijoo, *Teatro Crítico Universal*, 299.

the fantasia are instrumental genres not used in Spanish theatrical music, they will not be discussed in the analysis of Durón's theatrical works. A genre introduced into Spanish theatrical music from Italian opera, which does modulate freely is the *recitado*, and a conservative like Feijoo may have been critical of its abrupt changes of key. Moreover, Durón's use of harmonic instability and rapid modulations to depict the affects described above also seem to have troubled Feijoo.

6. Violins

Feijoo complained in his assessment of modern music that the use of violins was improper in church music, as their high-pitched sound did not allow music to be majestic and religious:

And I say that violins are inappropriate in this sacred theatre. Their shrieks, though harmonious, are [still] shrieks, and they arouse a sort of puerile liveliness in our minds, far from the decorous attention that it is due to the majesty of the Mysteries ...²²⁴

The growing use of violins in church music seems to be concomitant with their increased importance in theatrical music. As noted above, while in *Salir el amor del mundo* the use of violins is limited in function (mainly accompanimental) and quantity, in Durón's later works the violins have gained immense importance. In *La Guerra de los Gigantes* and in *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor*, as we have seen, Durón relies heavily on the violins to convey the affects. It seems reasonable to conclude that Feijoo's concern might also have to do with the violins' newly acquired function in theatrical music, one that

²²⁴ "Y por mí digo, que los Violines son improprios en aquel sagrado teatro. Sus chillidos, aunque armoniosos, son chillidos, y excitan una viveza como pueril en nuestros espíritus, muy distante de aquella atención decorosa que se debe a la majestad de los Misterios." Ibid., 305

threatened to infiltrate church music and draw the listeners' attention away from religious devotion.

The evolution and enrichment Durón's compositional style is clear from the foregoing analysis of three theatrical works from early, middle, and late periods. He retained and developed indigenous forms and musical idioms a) by introducing timbral contrast and formal variation into the typically Spanish *tonada*, *copla*, and *estribillo*, b) by incorporating the Spanish *a cuatro* into the body of the play and expanding its function and structural potential, and c) by preserving typically Spanish rhythmic techniques – hemiola, syncopation and dactylic rhythm while expanding the use of other rhythmic figures. In addition, Durón adopted new foreign musical forms and genres that had become known in Madrid – French dances (in particular the minuet), Italian arias and ariettas cast in ABA, strophic, or through-composed forms, and the new form of duets in which characters sang simultaneously.

What is perhaps the most remarkable new trait in Durón's later works, however, is his adoption of the Italian affective mode of representation. First, the new genres adopted, particularly the arietta, seem to be used to convey the main affects in each work. Second, while Durón continues to use dissonances and word painting in the style of his predecessors, he clearly adopts Italian affective idioms such as the rapid repeated note figuration reminiscent of the *stilo concitato*, coloratura (used primarily for affective purposes in Durón's music rather than for embellishment), and chromaticism, in particular that reminiscent of the descending tetrachord commonly associated with laments. Third, in Durón's later works the use of harmonic instability and quick modulations to underscore the affects gradually increases. On some occasions, the

modulations occur in the B section of the newly adopted *da capo* aria. Finally, Durón increases the use of violins on which he heavily relies to convey the affects in his later works. By developing the Spanish manner while at the same time he was assimilating foreign musical elements, Durón achieved an unprecedented synthesis of diverse textures, forms, and musical styles.

Feijoo may have felt political animosity toward Durón, but one thing is clear: in terms of music, virtually all of Feijoo's points of criticism seem to stem from Durón's use of dramatic affective representation. The harmonic instability, the quick modulations, the chromaticism, and the rhythmic instrumental and vocal style employed by Durón to project the affects seem to be what most disturbed Feijoo. Perhaps it was Feijoo's overriding concern about maintaining the purity of church music that prevented him from appreciating the new richness and expressivity of Spanish theatrical music.

3. CONCLUSION

The present study arose from an interest in addressing the following two questions: 1. Why has Western, particularly North American, musicology paid so little attention to the study of baroque theatrical music in Spain? and 2. Why do we know so little about Sebastián Durón, one of the most important composers of the Spanish baroque? The reason, I believe, can be found in misconceptions generated by both political factors and slanted criticism of Durón's music and Spanish music of this period in general.

In chapter one, I demonstrated these problems using the concept of a "golden age" and decline in Spanish music, a concept that originated in the socio-political sphere but later influenced how Spanish music and Durón's music would be perceived. As various commentators have stated, both the viability of such a concept and its applicability are debatable in that both are greatly influenced by political (foreign enmity or rivalry), social (dislike for the Spanish Habsburg family by Spanish society), and economic factors (internal turmoil caused by economic hardship).

When applied to the field of music, the concept is equally controversial. During the eighteenth century in particular, such political factors as elevating the Bourbon supremacy over the Habsburgs and the criticism of foreign influence on Spanish (or rather Castilian) music tended to discredit or marginalize Spanish music and musicians. As a result, Spanish music after the sixteenth century was regarded as inferior or considered to have been polluted by foreign musical fashions. What is interesting to note is that although foreign influence on Spanish music dates back to the beginning of the sixteenth century, it only became an issue after more than a century, when the political

hostility towards Spain and internal turmoil there had increased considerably. But the political nature of critiques leveled at foreign influence is clear.

As noted in chapter two, Sebastián Durón's life and career were greatly affected by the political rivalry of the time and by the stigma attached to the Spanish Habsburgs. During his lifetime, Durón's political opinions would cause him to be sent into exile, cutting short his career as a composer of theatrical music. Supporters of the Bourbon monarchy would criticize him and defame his good name. But after his death, the attacks would worsen, as Durón's music came under fire both from outside and from within Spain. On the one hand, the dismissal of eighteenth-century Spanish music by foreign critics who deemed it unworthy of study would indirectly lead to the lumping together of Durón's works with those of all other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish composers. In their opinion, Spanish music was inferior because it had made slow progress and was simply an extension of Italian music. On the other hand, Durón's music in particular would be strongly criticized in Spain by Padre Benito Feijoo. Feijoo's harsh criticism seems to carry strong political overtones; he blames Durón exclusively for the introduction of the new Italian fashions while praising other Spanish composers even though they were largely influenced by the same foreign style. But aside from any political antagonism Feijoo may have felt towards Durón and the Habsburg legacy in Castile, Feijoo's musical critique seems to stem from the dialogue between the Ancients and the Moderns. As a priest, Feijoo clearly wished to preserve church music and its tradition from what he described as modern fashions and foreign pollution. It would seem that Feijoo particularly disliked the adoption of musical techniques that supported the Italian affective mode of representation, for which he blamed Durón almost entirely.

Durón's music may have been discredited, ignored, and finally forgotten for a number of reasons. The two most important were the aforementioned misconceptions that originated in the eighteenth century regarding the worth of Spanish music and Feijoo's criticisms. However, when all political prejudice and negative criticism is stripped away, the importance of Durón's compositions in the development of Spanish theatrical music is indisputable. At a time of political and cultural change when the Spanish people favored foreign fashions in music, Durón preserved and developed the rich Spanish musico-theatrical tradition that had originated during the seventeenth century with figures such as Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, and Hidalgo. At the same time he assimilated the new foreign style, and his music achieved an unprecedented synthesis of diverse textures, forms, and musical styles. Thus enriched, it acquired a new and profound expressivity, which propelled the development of Spanish musico-theatrical genres. Because of his progressive compositional style, then, Durón's era was hardly a period of musical decline; rather, it represents a pinnacle in the development of Spanish theatrical music. Finally, understanding Spain's rich musico-theatrical tradition and the importance of Durón's works within it provides a more complete picture of Baroque music and fills a major gap in Western musicology.

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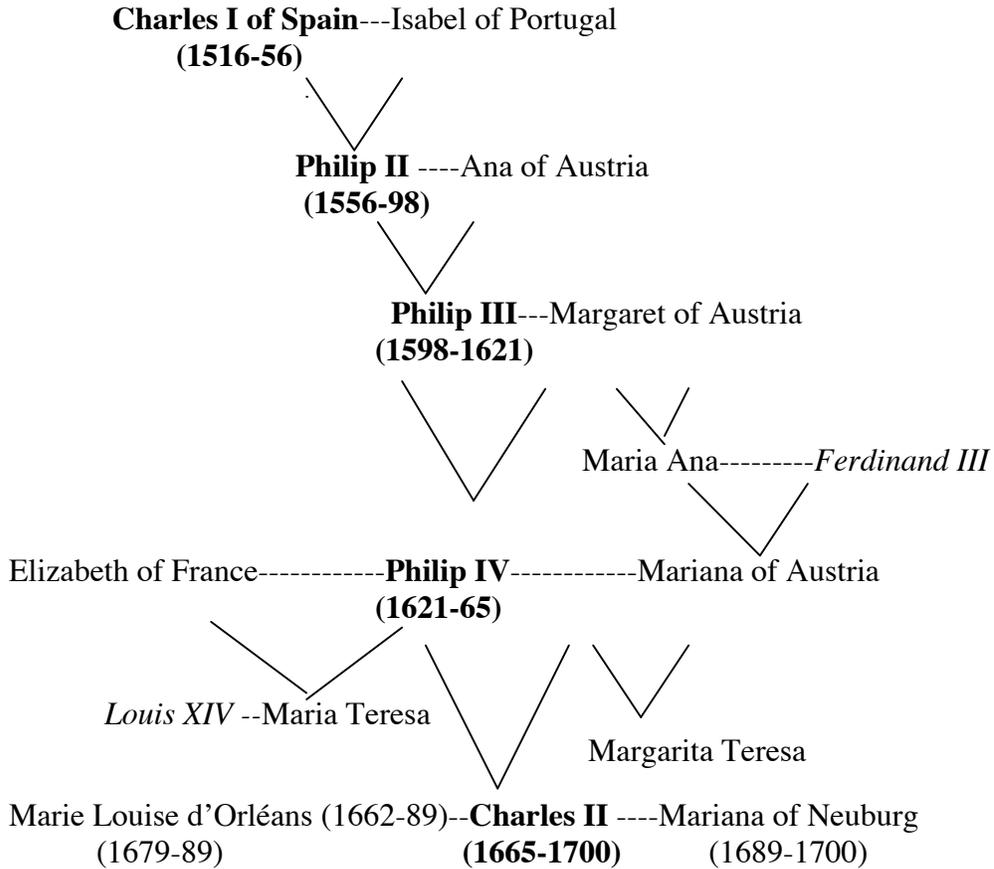
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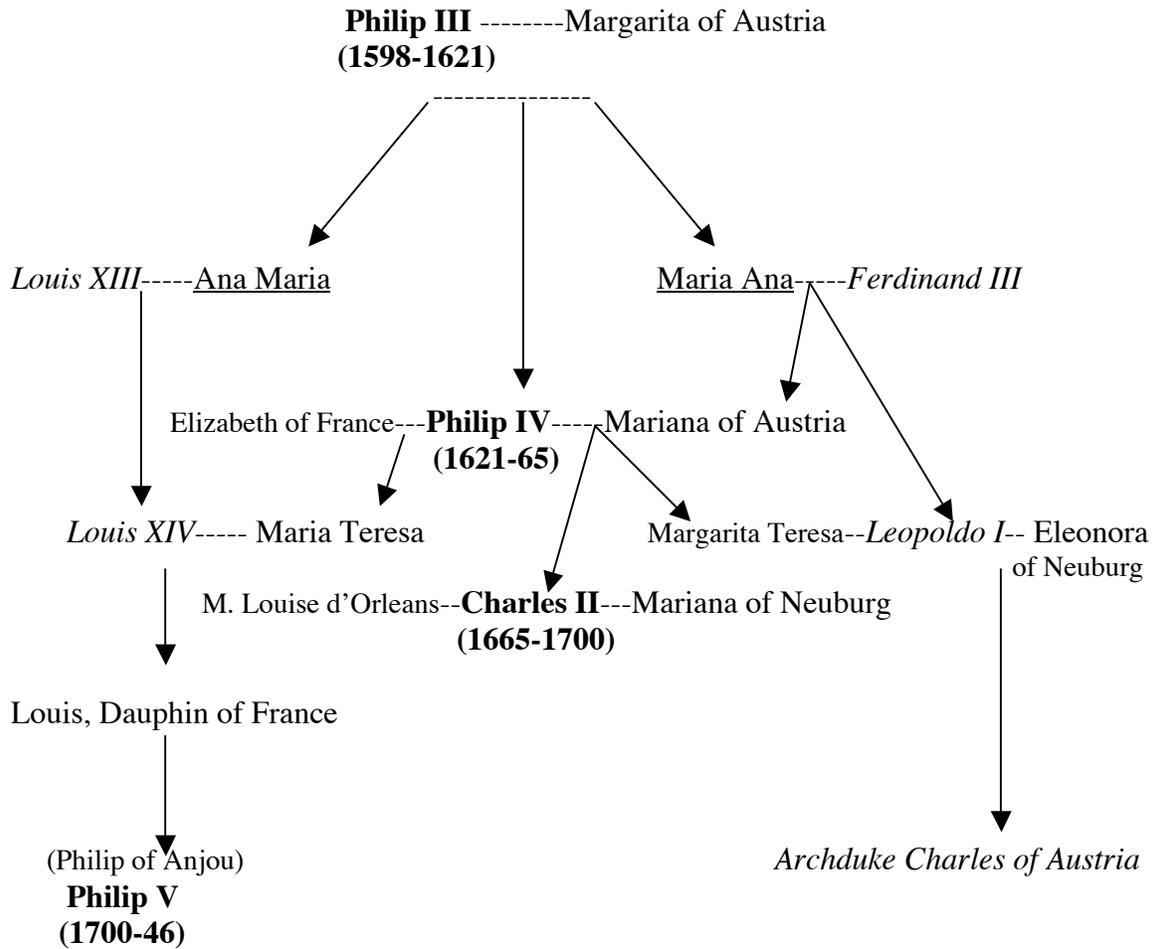
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Spanish Habsburg Monarchy



Appendix 2
The War of the Spanish Succession



Appendix 3
Theatrical music by Sebastián Durón.²²⁵

Title/ year/ genre	Dramatist	Comments
1) <i>Salir el amor del Mundo</i> (1696) <i>zarzuela en dos jornadas</i> (zarzuela in two acts)	José de Cañizares	Written for the court on the occasion of Charles II's birthday and recovery from a serious illness. The word "area" appears in the manuscript, the first documented use in a Spanish source.
2) <i>Muerte en Amor es la Ausencia</i> (1697) <i>comedia en tres jornadas</i> (comedy in three acts)	Antonio de Zamora	Written for the court on the occasion of Charles II's birthday.
<i>Celos vencidos de amor y de amor el mayor triunfo</i> (1698)	Marcos de Lanuza, the Count of Clavijo	Music missing but accepted as a work of Durón.
3) <i>Selva Encantada de Amor</i> "compuesta por Dn Sebastián Durón a los años del Exmo. Sr. Conde de Oñate" (1698) zarzuela	unknown	Written for the Count of Oñate's birthday.
<i>Jupiter y Ioo. Los cielos premien desdenes</i> (1699)	Marcos de Lanuza, the Count of Clavijo	According to Martin Moreno, based on characteristics of the score, the music may be by Durón.
4) <i>La Opera Scenica, Deduzida de la Guerra de los Gigantes</i> (1702) opera	unknown	The word "opera" in the score marks its first appearance in a Spanish theatrical musical work.
5) <i>Apolo y Dafne</i> Zarzuela en tres jornadas del maestro Durón (date unknown)*	Juan de Benavides	Although a zarzuela, the work is written in three <i>jornadas</i> , the first and third composed by Durón. The second <i>jornada</i> is by Juan de Navas. The word "aria" appears here for the first time in a score by Durón.
6) <i>El Imposible Mayor, en Amor le vence Amor</i> (1710) zarzuela	Francesco de Bances Cadamo/José de Cañizares	First performed at the Teatro de la Cruz in Madrid in July 24, 1710 by the company Joseph de Prado.
7) <i>Veneno es de Amor la Envidia</i> (1711)	Antonio de Zamora	First performed at the Teatro de la Cruz in Madrid on January 22, 1711 by the company Joseph de Prado.

²²⁵ Antonio Martín Moreno, *Historia de la música española*, 382-86 and Introduction to *La Guerra de los Gigantes: ópera escénica en un acto* by Sebastián Durón (Madrid: ICCMU, 2007), X.

Title/ year/ genre	Dramatist	Comments
8) <i>Las Nuevas Armas de Amor, zarzuela armónica</i> (1711) zarzuela	José de Cañizares	For the first time a succession of the words <i>Recitados</i> and <i>Arias</i> and even one “Arietta italiana” appears. The documentary source where 1711 is given as the date of the work’s first performance does not clarify whether this was a revival of the zarzuela or its first performance.

* Navas died in 1709. The zarzuela was most likely composed before or in 1706, when Durón went into exile.

Appendix 4

Salir el amor del mundo (?1696)

Synopsis:

In the first *jornada*, Diana discovers Amor in her forest and orders her nymphs, Zinna, Yrene, and Lesbia, to capture him. Diana also appeals to the Gods Apollo, Mars, and Jupiter to help her banish Amor from the world. The Gods descend from the Olympus and agree to help her. Diana and the Gods find Amor asleep in the forest and decide to break his arrows. When Amor awakes and sees his broken arrows he decides to flee Diana's garden. The Gods intercept him and Amor begs them to let him free. Diana appears and orders him to go. Amor flees but promises to return and seek revenge.

In the second *jornada*, Momo and the shepherds decide to make Amor a special arrow, an arrow stronger than all other arrows because it is forged with jealousy, oblivion, and absence. Amor takes the arrow and pursues Diana who is hunting with her nymphs in the forest where she has been stopped first by Jupiter, then by Mars, and finally by Apollo. Finally, Amor finds Diana in the woods and tries to stab her with his special arrow but he is prevented from doing so and taken prisoner. He is shut in a cave with Ignorance while everybody sings: "que salga el amor del mundo" (let Love depart from the world).

Table A.1.1: *Salir el amor del mundo*, Loa (Its text is missing; we cannot know for sure how many verses were set to music)

Name	Musical setting**	Metrical structure
1) Coro: <i>Transfiera en obsequios mil</i>	a 4 3/4	1 heptasyllabic quatrain 1 unmetrical septet
2) Solo: <i>Suspenda el aplauso</i> <i>El Abril soi floreciente</i>	<i>Estribillo</i> 3/4 <i>Coplas</i> 3/4	1 dodecasyllabic three-line verse 3 octosyllabic quatrains alternating with 3 hexasyllabic quatrains
3) Amor: <i>Yo, yo que soy</i> <i>Del aire i la esfera</i>	[<i>Estribillo</i>] 3/4 <i>Coplas</i> 3/4	1 unmeasured verse 3 quatrains (heptasyllabic and octosyllabic lines)
4) Carlos, tu mejoría	<i>Seguidillas</i> 3/4	<i>Seguidillas</i> : 4 verses

Tables A.1.2 and A.1.3 indicate the names of the musical sections, the type of musical setting chosen by the composer, and the metrical structure of their corresponding verses. They do not indicate the purely spoken sections in the zarzuela.

Table A.1.2: *Salir el amor del mundo*, first jornada...

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
5) <i>Música: ¡Muera Cupido!</i>	<i>a</i> 4 3/4	1 unmetrical stanza
6) <i>Diana : Dorada luçiente esfera</i> (Diana recites two stanzas) <i>Musica: Ya al eco suave</i>	[<i>coplas</i>] 3/4 followed by a choral reponse: <i>a</i> 4 3/4 (repeated three times: s+ch+s+ch+s+ch) <i>a</i> 4 3/4	solo stanzas: lines 1 and 2: octosyllabic lines 3 and 4: dodecasyllabic. choral section: 2 lines written in 12 syllables. 3 dodecasyllabic two-line stanzas
7) <i>Solo: Apolo: Y ia que en la selba</i> [<i>Marte: Y ya Prosperinal</i> <i>Jupiter: Ya en fin, luna hermosa</i>]	[<i>coplas</i>] 3/4 followed by a choral reponse: <i>a</i> 3 3/4 (repeated three times: s+ch+s+ch+s+ch)	solo stanzas: three sestets lines 1-4: 6 syllables lines 5: 11 syllables line 6: 3 syllables choral section: 3 two-line stanzas line 1: 2 syllables line 2: 11 syllables
8) <i>Solo: Apolo: Tanto de Amor en ultraje</i> [<i>Marte: Tanto en su oprobio!</i> <i>Jupiter: De modo mi indignacion</i>] (after 14 spoken verses) <i>Apolo, Marte, Jupiter [Diana]: Para que su confusión</i>	[solo strophic song] 3/4 (3 stanzas) <i>a</i> 3 [later <i>a</i> 4] 3/4	3 unmetrical sestets 8 unmetrical verses
9) <i>Música: ¿ Que inporta que airada deidad?</i>	<i>a</i> 4 followed by solo 3/4	choral section: 1 heptosyllabic sestet solo section: 2 heptosyllabic sestets
10) <i>Amor : Sosieguen, sosieguen</i>	[<i>tonada</i> with a recitative section: ABCA form] [<i>estribillo</i>]: 3/4 <i>coplas</i> : 2/2 and 6/4 <i>recitado</i> : 4/4	<i>estribillo</i> : 1 quintain: 4 lines of 6 syllables and 1 of 12. <i>coplas</i> : 3 nine-line stanzas of 6 and 10 syllables <i>recitado</i> : 2 octosyllabic stanzas
11) <i>Morfeo : Descanse el Amor</i>	[<i>estribillo</i>] 3/4 <i>Copla</i> 3/4	<i>estribillo</i> : 1 quintain in lines of 5 and 7 syllables <i>coplas</i> : 3 septets lines 1-5: 6 syllables line 6: 12 syllables line 7: 5 syllables

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
11) <i>Morfeo : Descanse el Amor</i>	[<i>estribillo</i>] 3/4 <i>Copla</i> 3/4	<i>estribillo</i> : 1 quintain in lines of 5 and 7 syllables <i>coplas</i> : 3 septets lines 1-5: 6 syllables line 6: 12 syllables line 7: 5 syllables
12) <i>Diana: Del Amor los arpones</i> [<i>Apollo, Jupiter, and Marte</i>]	<i>Seguidillas</i> 3/4 followed by a choral section (a 4) 3/4	<i>Seguidillas</i>
13) <i>Amor : ¿Qué orror, qué espanto?</i>	<i>Recitado</i> (recitative: at first a solo sang by Amor; later the deities join in and sing taking turns) 4/4	1 ten-line stanzas and 1 fourteen-line stanza written in lines of 7 and 11 syllables 9 lines written in 5, 7, and 11 syllables
14) <i>Apollo, Jupiter, Marte, Diana: ¡Huie, huie, cobarde!</i> [Amor:Miente, miente la voz]	[Choral piece]: all characters (solos) + a 4 with with solo sections sung by Diana and Amor 3/4	3 quatrains written in lines of 7, 10, and 11 syllables

Table A.1.3: *Salir el amor del mundo*, second *jornada*.

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
15) <i>Música: De cuantos yerros forjó</i>	[a 4] 3/4 + 6/4	1 octosyllabic quartet 1 unmetrical sestet
16) <i>Amor: Temores, ¿qué ruido es éste?</i>	Solo [Strophic song] 3/4	4 octosyllabic quatrains (1 line with the same text follows each stanza)
17) <i>Gracioso: Biendo que el ceguezuelo</i>	Solo [Strophic song] 3/4 + 3/2	<i>seguidillas</i>
18) <i>Júpiter: Pues bibre la cuerda</i>	<i>Estribillo</i> 3/4 <i>Coplas</i> 3/4	<i>estribillo</i> : 1 hexasyllabic quatrain <i>3 coplas</i> : 3 hexasyllabic octaves
19) <i>Marte: ¿Dónde vas cobarde?</i> <i>Amor: No se</i>	<i>Recitado</i> (recitative) 2/2 6/4	many stanzas of varied length written in 7 and 8 syllables
20) <i>Apolo: ¡Eso no cobarde!</i>	<i>Estribillo con violines</i> 3/4 (<i>Estribillo</i> with violins) <i>Coplas</i> [con violines] 3/4	<i>estribillo</i> : 1 sestet: six and 11 syllables <i>3 coplas</i> : 5 quintains: 7, 8, and 11 syllables
21) <i>Amor: ¡Ay de mí!</i>	<i>Estribillo</i> and <i>coplas</i> 3/4	First stanza (<i>Estribillo</i>): unmetrical sestet <i>Coplas</i> : 4 heptasyllabic septets

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
22) <i>Todos y música: En el cóncavo profundo.</i>	<i>a 4 2/4</i>	<i>romance</i> (1 octosyllabic quatrain)

**Everything between square brackets is not indicated in the score and has been added by me.

La Guerra de los Gigantes (?1702)

Synopsis:

The Giants that inhabit the earth but wish to lay siege to and conquer the home of the gods, Olympus.

In the first scene, Palante summons the Giants and tells them about his plans to conquer Olympus. In the second scene, Jupiter, who has heard the commotion on earth, calls Minerva. She promises she will prevent the giants from carrying out their plan. They decide they will call on Hercules to revenge them against the Giants. In the third scene, Hercules meets Minerva and, love-stricken by her beauty, promises to stop the Giants. War breaks out in the fourth scene as both armies cower in fear. They finally flee in the fifth scene leaving Palante alone with Minerva. He kneels in front of her and asks her to put him out of his misery, which she does. Finally, the sixth and last scene celebrates the victory of the Gods over the Giants.

Tables A.2.1-A.2.7 indicate the names of the musical sections, the type of musical setting chosen by the composer, and the metrical structure of their corresponding verses.

Table A.2.1: *La guerra de los gigantes*, introduction

Name	Musical setting*	Metrical structure
1) <i>El Numen y La Voz: Cítaras dulces</i>	<i>A 4</i> with [2] violins and clarin 9/4 - 6/4 - 3/2	1 quintain: lines 1-4: 5 syllables line 5: 3 syllables. 1 thirteen-line stanza: line 1: 4 syllables line 2-13: 6 syllables.
<i>De Melisa, en alabanza</i>	<i>Coplas</i> (a 4) <i>Despacio</i> 4/4 <i>Vivo</i> 9/4	1 quintain: lines 1-4: 5 syllables line 5: 3 syllables. 3 octaves: lines 1-4: 8 syllables lines 5-8: 6 syllables

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
2) <i>La Fama: Si numen y voz</i> (Coplas) <i>Penetre mi vuelo</i>	<i>Tonada</i> [voice & accomp.] 6/4 <i>Coplas</i> 6/4	1 fourteen-line stanza 2 nine-line stanzas: lines of six syllables
3) <i>El Tiempo: Aunque más vuele,</i> <i>Fama, tu pluma</i> (Coplas) <i>Si a las felicidades</i>	<i>Tonada</i> [2 vlms. and accomp.] 6/4 <i>Coplas</i> 6/4 The word <i>Retornelo</i> [sic] appears in measure 72.	1 unmetrical quatrain + 1 line 2 unmetrical septets
4) <i>La Inmortalidad: Quien</i> <i>primero que la fama</i> <i>Quien la fortuna eterniza</i>	<i>Tonada</i> with clarin 6/4 <i>Coplas</i> 6/4 (brief 9/4, m.55)	2 sestets: octosyllabic lines predominate 1 septet + 1 octet
5) <i>El Silencio: Tiempo, eternidad</i> <i>y fama</i> <i>Como sólo el silencio</i>	<i>Tonada</i> [2 vlms. & accomp.] 3/2 <i>Coplas</i> 3/2	1 octave: octosyllabic and hexasyllabic lines 2 nine-line stanzas: 1 seguidilla** + 1 octosyllabic line + 1 hexasyllabic quatrain

** Seguidillas: quatrains in which lines 1 and 3 are heptasyllabic and lines 2 and 4 are pentasyllabic

Table A.2.2: *La guerra de los gigantes*, first scene

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
6) <i>Palante y Gigantes: Disformes</i> <i>hijos del cielo</i> <i>Pues al airado acento</i>	<i>Tonada</i> [Voice and accomp.] 6/4 3/2 [Coplas] a4 6/4 3/2	6 stanzas: stanzas 1, 3, 5 (sung by Palante): sestets Stanzas 2,4,6 (sung by the Giants): octaves
7) <i>Palante: Yo, racionales</i> <i>montruos</i>	<i>Tonada</i> [2 vlms. and accomp.] 4/4 – 6/4	6 quatrains: lines 1-3: heptasyllabic line 4: hendecasyllabic
8) <i>Palante [y Gigantes]: Al arma,</i> <i>al arma</i>	[Coro a4] [2 vln.s clarin, and accomp.] 6/4	Various alternating lines; various syllables

Table A.2.3: *La guerra de los gigantes*, second scene

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
9) <i>Júpiter: Aguila impaciente</i>	<i>Tonada</i> [Vlms. unison and accomp.] 3/4	4 hexasyllabic octaves

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
10) Júpiter [y Minerva]: <i>Y ya que ha varado el vuelo</i> <i>Minerva: Que si yo de las ciencias soy dueño</i>	<i>Recitado</i> [2 voices and accomp.] 4/4 Estribillo 6/4 (brief 9/4, m. 53)	1 octosyllabic octet 1 octet mainly octosyllabic 1 quatrain (duet) Various alternating lines; various syllables
11) <i>Minerva [y Gigantes]: Esa monstruosa especie</i> <i>Gigantes: En el cóncavo profundo</i>	<i>Tonada</i> [voice and accomp.] 4/4 a4 6/4 9/4	Several quatrains: 1 lines 1-3: heptasyllabic; line 4; hendecasyllabic alternated with groups of 3 quatrains+ 1 two-line stanza: octosyllabic and hexasyllabic lines
12) <i>Júpiter y Minerva: Ya en mi oído su informe</i>	<i>Seguidillas partidas</i> [voices and accomp.] 3/4 3/2	<i>Seguidillas</i>
13) <i>Júpiter, Minerva [Y Gigantes]: Bucentoro de plumas</i> <i>Fuego, fuego, agua, agua</i>	A dúo 6/4 a 4 3/2 - 6/4 - 9/4	Alternating heptosyllabic, pentasyllabic, and quadrisyllabic lines

Table A.2.4: *La guerra de los gigantes*, third scene

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
14) <i>Hércules y Minerva: Animoso denuendo guerrero</i>	<i>Tonada sola</i> with clarin 3/4	5 octets of various syllabic lines 1 two-line stanza
15) <i>Hércules y Minerva: ¿Quién eres divina beldad?</i>	<i>Tonada</i> [2 voices and accomp.] 3/4	Alternating sestets and quintains: quadrisyllabic, hexosyllabic and octosyllabic lines.
16) <i>Hércules y Minerva: Sacrílego impulso</i>	A dúo vivo [2 vlns. unison and accomp.] 6/4	(duet) hexosyllabic lines. 2 quatrains
17) <i>Hércules y Minerva: Ahora sí, mi clava feroz</i> <i>Pues guía mis pasos</i>	<i>Minuete</i> [2 vlns. unison and accomp.] 3/4 [duet] 6/4	2 septets: hexosyllabic and pentasyllabic lines Several alternating hexosyllabic and pentasyllabic lines 1 sestet and 1 quatrain

Table A.2.5: *La guerra de los gigantes*, fourth scene

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
18) <i>Júpiter, Palante, Hércules [y coro A4]: Osados escuadrones</i>	[<i>Tonada</i> : 2 vlns., clarin, and accomp.] 4/4 - 6/4	1 quintain followed by a quadrisyllabic line repeated 4 times. Alterating octosyllabic and enneasyllabic lines and 1 stanza of 10 lines

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
19) <i>Júpiter: Mas, ¿Qué es esto deidades?</i>	<i>Tonada</i> 3/4	3 ten-line stanzas: line 1: heptosyllabic; line 2,3,5,6,8,10: hexasyllabic, lines 4,7,9: decasyllabic
<i>Júpiter, Palante, Hércules: Viva Palante</i>	<i>a 3</i> [3 voices] 6/4	followed by various alternating similar lines
<i>Júpiter y Minerva: Muera Palante</i>	<i>a duo</i> [duet with accomp.] 6/4	

Table A.2.6: *La guerra de los gigantes*, fifth scene

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
20) <i>Palante y Minerva: ¿Dónde, cielo divino?</i>	[<i>Tonada</i> : 2 vlns., and accomp.] 4/4	2 septets: lines 1-6: heptasyllabic; line 7: quadrisyllabic
<i>Palante: Ay, que al golpe del ceño cruel</i>	<i>Arieta</i> [2 vlns., and accomp.] 4/4	followed by various lines and stanzas of different meter.
<i>Minerva: Albricias, valor</i>	6/4 - 9/4 - 4/4	

Table A.2.7: *La guerra de los gigantes*, sixth scene

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
21) <i>Júpiter, Minerva, Hércules, and choir: Ah de la tierra</i>	[<i>Tonada</i> : 2 vlns., clarin, and accomp.] 6/4 3/4	Alternating three-syllable lines, pentasyllabic, and quadrasyllabic lines <i>Seguidillas</i>
22) <i>Júpiter: Suenen ya el dulce hechizo</i>	<i>Tonada</i> [2 vlns., clarin, and accomp.] 6/4 3/4	<i>Seguidillas</i>
<i>Si en la escénica tarea</i>	<i>Coplas</i> [2 vlns., clarin, and accomp.] 3/4	1 unmetrical twelve-line stanza 1 unmetrical eleven-line stanza 1 unmetrical twelve-line stanza
23) <i>Hércules, Minerva, Júpiter: Como hoy no ha de ser</i>	<i>Minuete</i> 3/4	3 quatrains. Quatrains 1-2: line 1: enneasyllabic; lines 2-4: octosyllabic. Quatrain 3: octosyllabic.

*Everything between square brackets is not indicated in the score and has been added by me.

El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor (?1710)

Synopsis:

El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor (1710) recounts the story of Danaë, daughter of the King of Phoenicia.

In the first *jornada*, Lisidante, king of Lesbos, tries to conquer his enemy Acrisius' daughter, Danaë, with whom he is in love. But Polydectes, one of Acrisius' captains, also loves her. Danaë's cousin Filda, on the other hand, is madly in love with Lisidante. Meanwhile, in the realm of the Gods, Amor (Cupid) punishes Jupiter for his arrogance by causing him to fall madly in love with Danaë. When Jupiter's wife Juno finds her husband confessing his love for Danaë who returns his love, she decides to punish the beautiful mortal. Juno tells the mortals that Danaë has offended the Gods by her beauty and so must be locked up in a tower from which she can only be freed if someone can produce a shower of gold.

In the second *jornada* Amor, moved by Jupiter's despair, decides to help him with his seemingly impossible task. Meanwhile, back on earth Lisidante and some soldiers are on their way to the tower to rescue Danaë. Jupiter arrives and puts them to sleep by means of music and magic herbs. After they wake up, they hear beautiful music as Jupiter, Danaë, and Amor appear on a cloud with a shower of gold. All ends well. Filida marries Lisidante, and Danaë becomes a goddess adored by Polydectes. The zarzuela ends with everyone singing "El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor, pues nada hay que amor no venza" (The most impossible in love is overcome by love, because there is nothing that love cannot overcome).

Tables A.3.1 and A.3.2 indicate the names of the musical sections, the type of musical setting chosen by the composer, and the metrical structure of their corresponding verses. They do not indicate the purely spoken sections in the zarzuela.

Table A.3.1: *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor*, first jornada...

Name	Musical setting*	Metrical structure
1.A) Coro: <i>Venturosas plantas...</i> Spoken verses	<i>a 4</i> 6/4 3/2	1 sestet written in lines of 5 and 7 syllables
1.B) Coro: <i>Venturosas plantas...</i> Spoken verses		1 sestet written in lines of 5 and 7 syllables
1.C) Coro: <i>¡...Que idolantren a Dánae...</i> Spoken verses		1 two-line verse: one pentasyllabic, one heptasyllabic
1.D) Coro: <i>...Pues, ya que mueren...</i> Spoken verses		1 two-line verse: one pentasyllabic, one heptasyllabic
1.E) Coro: <i>Venturosas plantas...</i>		1 sestet written in lines of 5 and 7 syllables
2) Coro: <i>¡Al monte!...</i>	<i>a 4</i> 4/4	6 Trisyllabic lines interjecting the spoken dialogue of the mortals 6 enneasyllabic verses interjecting the spoken dialogue of the mortals 2 long verses interjecting the spoken dialogue of the mortals
3) Júpiter y Amor: <i>¡Al monte!</i>	Duet 4/4 <i>Ayroso</i> 12/8	Several verses and two short stanzas in which heptasyllabic lines predominate 2 coplas: lines 1,2,7,8,: octosyllabic lines 3,4,5,6,9,10,11,12; hexasyllabic Several lines written in 6, 7, 5 syllables
4) Júpiter: <i>Y ya pues en la delicia</i> Amor: <i>¿Quién se atreve a la fama?</i>	Recitative 4/4	1 fourteen-line stanza 1 unmetrical quintain 1 line
5) Júpiter: <i>¿Dónde vas rapazuelo...</i>	[ABA] Aria 6/4 3/2	A section: 1 quintain lines 1,3: heptasyllabic lines 2,4: pentasyllabic line 5: hexasyllabic (repeated) B section: 1 unmetrical stanza (last line repated)

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
6) Amor y Júpiter: <i>¿De suerte que a ti solo...</i>	Recitado 4/4	4 short stanzas of various syllables
7) Amor: <i>¡Ay, Júpiter...</i>	[ABA] Aria 12/8	A section: 1 unmetrical sestet B section: 1 heptasyllabic quintain
8) Júpiter y Amor: <i>¡Ciego alevoso!</i>	Duet 6/4 and 9/4	Several quatrains and two-line stanzas in which hexasyllabic lines predominate
9) Júpiter y Amor: <i>Y el cielo...</i>	Duet 4/4	Several unmetrical lines
10) Amor: <i>Y, pues consentir no debo...</i> Júpiter: <i>Oye, escucha...</i>	Recitado 4/4	1 octave, 1 sestet, 1 quatrain in which octosyllabic and heptasyllabic lines alternate 1 octet (line 1 is hendecasyllabic, all other lines are octosyllabic) + 1 octosyllabic quatrain
11) Jupiter***: <i>Yo no puedo a tal pesar</i>	[ABA] Arieta 6/4 3/2	A section: 1 octosyllabic quatrain (last line is repeated) B section: 1 octosyllabic quintain
12) Júpiter y Juno: <i>¿Qué es esto?</i>	Duet 4/4	Several verses in which heptasyllabic lines predominate
13) Júpiter y Juno: <i>No el céfiro inspire...</i>	Duet 6/4 and 9/4	Several hexasyllabic lines
14.A) Júpiter: <i>¡No, apacible dorado...</i> <i>spoken section (Danae)</i> 14.B) Júpiter: <i>No te acerques</i>	[Strophic] Aria 6/4 ; 9/4 and 3/2	1 quatrain + 1 tercet: Heptasyllabic and pentasyllabic lines alternate 1 quatrain + 1 tercet: Heptasyllabic and pentasyllabic lines alternate
15) Júpiter: <i>Yo, hermosísima ninfa...</i>	[AAB] Aria 4/4	A: (Copla) 1 octosyllabic stanza lines 1-4: heptasyllabic lines 5, 7: decasyllabic lines 6, 8; hexasyllabic B: 1 sestet: line 1-4: hexasyllabic, line 5: decasyllabic, line 6 dodecasyllabic
16) Coro: <i>¡Piedad, Juno, piedad!</i>	a 4 6/4 3/2	1 quatrain: heptasyllabic and pentasyllabic lines alternate

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
17) Selvajio y Siringa: <i>Ay, señora de mi vida...</i>	Duet 6/4 3/2	Several verses in which octosyllabic lines predominate 2 hexasyllabic sestets 1 unmetrical sestet
18) Juno: <i>¡Fenicia me atiende,...</i>	[through-composed] Aria 6/4 3/2	1 octet: lines 1,3,4,5,6,8: hexasyllabic lines 2, 7; decasyllabic
19) Coro: <i>¡Piedad, Juno, piedad</i>	a 4 6/4 3/2	1 unmetrical quatrain
20) Juno: <i>Dánae, cuya belleza...</i>	Recitado 4/4	2 unmetrical octets
21) Juno: <i>Quien quisiere...</i>	[ABA] Aria 4/4	2 unmetrical quatrains: octosyllabic lines predominate
22.A) Coro: <i>¡Quien quisiere este tesoro...</i>	a 4 4/4	1 quatrain: lines 1,3,4: octosyllabic line 2: trisyllabic
Spoken verses		
22.B) Coro: <i>¡Quien quisiere este tesoro...</i>		1 quatrain: lines 1,3,4: octosyllabic line 2: trisyllabic

*Everything between square brackets has been added by me.

** Although the score transcribed an edited by Martín Moreno indicates that Juno sings this *arieta*, the piece is actually sung by Jupiter. The *arieta* continues the dramatic action established in the previous recitative [n.10].

Table A.3.2: *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor, second jornada...*

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
23.A) Coro: <i>Pues vencer un imposible</i>	a 4 3/2	1 octave lines 1-4: octosyllabic lines 5-8: hexasyllabic
24) Júpiter: <i>Fortuna tirana</i>	Coplas 3/2 [Strophic song; 2 verses]	4 hexasyllabic stanzas (2 quatrains, 6 sestets)
25) Júpiter: <i>Pero, ¿en qué te desvaneces</i>	Recitado 4/4	1 octosyllabic octave 1 octosyllabic quatrain

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
23.B) Coro: <i>Pues vencer un imposible</i> Spoken verses	<i>a 4</i> <i>3/2</i>	1 octave lines 1-4, 7,8: octosyllabic lines 67: hexasyllabic
23.C) Coro: <i>Pues vencer un imposible</i> Spoken verses		1 octave lines 1-4, 7,8: octosyllabic
23.D) Coro: <i>A la perfección de Dánae</i> Spoken verses		lines 67: hexasyllabic 1 octosyllabic two-line verse
23.E) Coro: <i>Veamos amantes</i>		1 quatrain: lines 1,2: hexasyllabic lines 7-8: octosyllabic
26) Júpiter: <i>Oh tirano Cupido</i>	Recitado <i>4/4</i>	1 septet lines 1,2,4,6: heptasyllabic lines 3,5,7: pentasyllabic
27) Júpiter: <i>Otro adora lo que adoro</i>	Arieta [ABA] <i>12/8</i>	1 octosyllabic quatrain 1 quadrasyllabic word 1 octosyllabic quatrain
28) Júpiter: <i>¿Para cuándo los rayos...</i> Amor: <i>Temprano sientes</i> Jupiter: <i>¡Vive el cielo, villano...</i>	Recitado <i>4/4</i>	1 quintain: lines 1,2,4,5: hexasyllabic line 3: quadrisyllabic 1 tercet: lines 1,2: pentasyllabic line 3: decasyllabic 1 quintain: lines 1,2,5: hexasyllabic line 4: quadrisyllabic line 3: quadrisyllabic
29) Amor: <i>¿Por qué despreciaste...</i>	Arieta [ABA] <i>4/4</i>	1 hexasyllabic quatrain 1 sestet: lines 1-3: hexasyllabic line 4 heptasyllabic line 5,6: hexasyllabic 1 hexasyllabic sestet
30) Júpiter: <i>¡Dime, Amor!</i> Amor: <i>Yo tu mal aliviaré!</i>	<i>Tonada 1st Copla</i> <i>6/8</i> <i>2nd Copla</i> [Strophic song, two stanzas]	2 octosyllabic quatrains + octosyllabic <i>estrambote</i> * 1 octosyllabic verse 2 octosyllabic quatrains
31) Júpiter: <i>¿Tal pronuncia tu ciega alevosía...</i> Amor: <i>Y Danae morirá</i>	Recitado <i>4/4</i>	1 septet: lines 1,2,4,6,7: hendecasyllabic lines 3,5: heptasyllabic 1 hendecasyllabic verse

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
32) Júpiter: <i>¡Ay, de mi! Amor: Que pretendes?</i>	<i>Tonada</i> 1 st <i>Copla</i> 6/4-3/2 2 nd <i>Copla</i> [Strophic song, two stanzas]	1 octosyllabic quatrain 2 verses 2 octosyllabic two-line verse 1 quintain: lines 1-2: hexasyllabic line 3,4: octosyllabic lines 5: quadrisyllabic 6 verses 2 two-line heptasyllabic verses
33) Amor, Júpiter y Juno: <i>Pues, Cupido...</i>	<i>Tonada a duo</i> 3/2 [Strophic song]	1 hexasyllabic octave 1 hexasyllabic quatrain 1 quatrain: lines 1,2,4: hexasyllabic line 3: octosyllabic 1 two-line stanza 1 twelve-line stanza: lines 1-11: hexasyllabic line 12: quadrasyllabic 1 septet: line 1: trisyllabic lines 2-7: heptasyllabic 2 hexasyllabic verses
34) Júpiter y Amor: <i>... de que imposibles de amor...</i>	Duet 3/2	1 octosyllabic quatrain
35) Júpiter y Juno: <i>¡Rompí el ceño inhumano...</i>	<i>Recitado</i> 4/4	1 two-line stanza 1 unmetrical quintain and octave 1 two-line stanza 1 two-line stanza 1 two-line stanza
36) Juno: <i>¡Oh, esposo fementido!</i>	Arieta [ABA] 4/4	2 hexasyllabic octaves
37) Siringa: <i>Si hacemos treguas...</i>	Arieta vivo [ABA] 6/8	1 unmetrical eleven-line verse 1 unmetrical quatrain
38) Siring y Coro: <i>Para aliviar un tormento...</i>	<i>a 4</i> 3/4	1 octosyllabic two-line verse 2 hexasyllabic quatrains
39) Voz 1 ^a y Voz 2 ^a : <i>Espera Dánae...</i>	[Strophic song, 2 verses] 3/4; 6/4; 3/4	6 octosyllabic two-line verses
40) Coro: <i>¡Espere!</i>	<i>a 4</i> 3/4; 4/4	1 hexasyllabic sestet
41.A) Júpiter y Amor: <i>Mortífera cicuta...</i> Spoken verses	Duet [ABA]	1 hexasyllabic quatrain 1 unmetrical tercet
41. B) Júpiter y Amor: <i>Del tósigo viertes...</i>	Duet [ABA] 6/4; 9/4; 6/4; 3/4; 6/4; 9/4; 6/4; 3/4; 6/4	1 hexasyllabic quatrain 1 unmetrical quatrain
42) Juno, Júpiter y Amor: <i>Ya, sin haber podido...</i>	<i>Recitado</i> 4/4	Several heptasyllabic and pentasyllabic verses

Name	Musical setting	Metrical structure
43) Amor y Juno: <i>Pues, ¡arma!</i>	Duet 3/4 [Strophic]	2 trisyllabic lines 1 unmetrical tercet 2 trisyllabic lines 1 hexasyllabic quatrain 2 quadrisyllabic lines
44) Amor y Juno: <i>¡Ya de mis ecos,...</i>	Duet 3/4	4 unmetrical two-line verses
45. A) Júpiter: <i>Deidad hermosa...</i>	[AABA'] 4/4	1 octosyllabic quintain
Spoken verses 45. B) Júpiter: <i>Por donde Amor...</i>		1 octosyllabic quintain
Spoken verses 45. C) Júpiter: <i>Perdona, mi bien...</i>		1 octosyllabic tercet
Spoken verses 45. D) Júpiter: <i>Por donde el cielo te adore...</i>		1 octosyllabic quatrain
46.A) Coro: <i>¡En monte y el valle...</i>	a 4 6/4	1 unmetrical quartet 1 nine-line verse: lines 1-6: hexasyllabic lines 7-9: octosyllabic
47) Júpiter y Amor: <i>Prodigios de amor...</i>	Duet 3/4	1 sestet: lines 1-5: hexasyllabic line 6: heptasyllabic 1 octave: lines 1,3,5,7: heptasyllabic lines 2,4,6,8: pentasyllabic
48) Júpiter y Amor: <i>¡Moradores de Fenicia!</i>	Duet 4/4	1 unmetrical sestet and tercet 1 unmetrical septet 1 octave: lines 1,3,5,7: heptasyllabic lines 2,4,6,8: pentasyllabic
46.B) Todos: <i>¡En monte y en valle...</i>	a 4 6/4	1 thirteen-line verse lines 1-3,4-9: hexasyllabic line 4: heptasyllabic lines 10-13: octosyllabic

* estrambote: a verse or verses added to a poem of fixed structure