The Musical Image of Spain in European Baroque

Para Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, en su primera *jubilatio*, en homenaje de amistad

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1.—SPAIN AND EUROPE BETWEEN 1600–1750: POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL REALITY

Baroque Spain was a recognised world power with three wide spheres of influence; two of these in Europe, the first being the Castile-Austria axis, during the hegemony of the Habsburgs, beginning with the Emperor Charles I in 1517 and ending with the War of the Spanish Succession in 1714.[1] The second, also in Europe, comprised the Mediterranean area, basically the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, along with areas of political and economic interest in the various republics and domains in the Italian peninsula (especially Genoa and Venice), inherited from the conquests of the old Kingdom of Aragon and which remained within the Spanish sphere up to the Decree of Nueva Planta (1716); this area of political influence represented a counterweight to French expansion in the same zone, and was an object of continuous attention due to constantly changing political opportunities and designs in Southern Europe.

The third area was America, an adventure begun at the end of the XV century by Castile, and which represented during this period the most important cash flow of the kingdom (the gold and silver were coins with real metallic value), as well as the most important and largest international trading block and area of territorial expansion in the world. We are not going to deal here with the reception of the Baroque style in America via Spain, for obvious reasons; but it is an undoubted reality, with complex characteristics that should not be forgotten.

The prevailing political system in Spain, from the end of the XV century, was absolutist (the absence of separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary), within which the whole social and cultural structure was integrated; with the Habsburgs we also see the beginnings of Caesarism, combined, during the XVII century, with the crown's loss of powers to private individuals (Lerma, Olivares), which led the country into a series of international conflicts. Nevertheless, Spain in the first half of the XVIII century was a state of enormous political and military weight, as is shown by the internationalization of the War of the Spanish Succession. From the Bourbons on, we enter into a process of political centralization in the French style, with the incorporation of the Royal Academies being an integral element of a clear policy of cultural dirigisme.

[1] This axis would change substantially due to the Madrid-Paris alliance, born as a consequence of the Bourbons coming to the throne in Spain, consolidated in 1714 and ratified by the Decree of Nueva Planta in 1716. Nevertheless, a large number of politicians and intellectuals, among them musicians (one of whom was Giuseppe Porsile), accompanied the Emperor Charles VI (the old Archduke of Austria, resident in Barcelona between 1705–1711) and lived in the Austrian court until the end of the XVIII century.

Besides, the Spanish Church of the Baroque period, like most of Catholicism, was fully committed to the spirit and letter of the Counter Reformation that was born out of the Council of Trent, in which the Spanish had played a determining role.[2] This meant the acceptance of conservative theology, far removed from the modern position of Luther, and of a compact and intransigent dogma, which preached a rigorous and strict liturgy, as well as an intense reconversion of the individual[3] by means of ascetics and mysticism, of which Spain produced numerous renowned representatives (Saint Ignatius de Loyola, Father Louis of Granada, Saint Theresa, Saint John of the Cross, Saint John of Avila...).

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These are in short the parameters in which the process of reception, adoption and circulation of Baroque music developed in Spain. Narrow channels, to a certain extent, but not so different from those of other European regions and countries, with which we were always linked; the political and social circumstances are the same, and the religious situation was similar (except for the Protestants and Anglicans); the Spanish court was closely linked to the European courts: political marriages united Spanish kings with queens from France, Germany, Portugal, Italy, Austria and England: the same can be said for the infantas and princes; the ambassadors often introduced the Spanish court to the new cultural developments of their own countries, with the collaboration of their own artists and performers, and imported Spanish customs to their nations; the taste that we know as "international" became a consumer object through the process of rivalry and snobbism that the upper classes indulged in, *pour épater*, which itself became a question of prestige.

This music was introduced to the court—to which we must add that of the nobility, especially in Castile—the length and breadth of Spain due precisely to the absolutist political system, to the high appreciation of the models of composition of the masters of the Royal Chapel, authors of sacred and profane music which arrived as copies in what are today the archives of cathedrals and monasteries; these copies had, at the time, two functions: *summulae compositionis,* as anthologies for the study and practice of composition, and on the other hand were included in the repertory of the great musical centers (usually ecclesiastical centers).[4]

The Church was, both in Spain and in Europe, the institution which sociologically speaking carried the most weight, numerically, in the practice of music linked to the needs of Christian worship (*musica ancilla liturgiæ)*; the Church regularly maintained choirs and ensembles integrated in the chapels, which were endowed both juridically and materially; it also represented the most frequent workplace and artistic home for composers and musicians, whose posts were covered by means of a public exam to guarantee the quality demanded of a post of this calibre: all of which offers us, along with the works which have been conserved, a great source of information on the Spanish musical scene of the time. In accordance with its constitution, the Church had two types of structure: a secular one, linked to the diocesan organization, presided over by a bishop who resided at his see and preached from the same (the cathedral),[5] and

[2] As is well known, the sessions of the Council of Trent (1542–1563) were presided over by the Pope or his Legate, and by the Spanish King's Secretary.

[3] The importance of the role of the individual personally as an element in the context of salvation or condemnation is to be found in numerous religious writers of the end of the XV century, especially in the *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas of Kempis († 1471), which represented a change from collective religion to the personal anguish of the Renaissance, as a consequence of the process of rationalization.

[4] The chapel masters had, among their other obligations, to compose new music every year; this did not mean, however, that they could not interpret works by other composers, as can be seen from the catalogues of the archives known today. Illustrative examples are Claudio Monteverdi, who, when he was appointed chapel master in Saint Mark's Basilica in Venice, and renovated the whole structure of the choir using real *virtuosi*, also ordered the purchase of masses by Palestrina; or Bach, in his letter to the authorities in Leipzig in August 1730, in which he said that he needed resources to interpret "all the music that arrives from Italy, France, England or Poland..."; *Cf.* WALLON, S., WEBER, E.: *Les écrits de J.S.Bach. Edition critique integrale*. Paris, 1976, p.50. or Francesco Corselli, who in 1751 ordered, so as to make up for the poor state of the archives of the Chapel Royal in Madrid, due to the fire that broke out in the Royal Alcázar (1734), the purchase or copy of works by various Spanish composers—not only those of the court—and foreign composers both contemporary and old. *Vid.*. MARTÍN MORENO, A.: *Historia de la Música Española. Siglo XVIII.* Alianza Ed. Madrid 1985[1], p. 48–50.

[5] The secular structure was reinforced and consolidated in the Council of Trent, which in its constitutions established the creation of Council Seminaries, in order to train more adequately those who were preparing for the priesthood, something that had not been regulated before; in some ways, it emphasised the importance given to this institution, and if it was not openly critical of, it was at least wary of the excessive endogenous power of the religious orders (the regular Church), which Luther

the regular one, formed by male and female religious orders, under the control of an abbot or an abbess, lord or lady of the monastery or convent, over which the bishop of the diocese where they were located had no jurisdiction; these regular centers were usually grouped in regional congregations and were presided over by a General Abbot of the Order.[6]

Both the regular and the secular Church created and maintained their own music chapels. An illustrative example is that of Barcelona, which had, by the middle of the XVIII century, ten music chapels: that of the cathedral (the most important, with the right of prominence) and those of nine parishes; a dependency of the court (the *Palau de la Comtessa*, the Viceroy's residence), twenty-two convents and female monasteries and twenty male, most of which had their own music chapel; all of which came to a payroll of about 750 practicing musicians.

Apart from the strictly religious value of this heritage (and we understand by heritage both the musical sources which have been conserved and also the musical activity which was developed), it is certain that the Church was an important musical patron, in some ways compensatory or even supplementary to civil patronage itself. And in our country as in the rest of Europe, society was the same, and therefore the nature of musical consumption followed similar parameters, be they religious or profane, often composed by the same person without differentiating—in general—a specific musical discourse, but rather the function to which it was to be put.

2.—COMPLEXITY AND CONTRADICTIONS OF THE BAROQUE MUSICAL PERIOD

Baroque music was born in Italy at the end of the XVI century, as a consequence of the convergence of various new conceptual trends: firstly the *stile rappresentativo*, which came out of the late period (1590–1600) of the *Camerata Fiorentina*, promoted by Jacopo Corsi with the collaboration of the composers Emilio de'Cavalieri, Jacopo Peri and Giulio Caccini: it is, therefore the starting point, focused strictly on vocal music, of which the *recitato*, associated with the articulation of rhetorical resources, is the most evident new form. Secondly the *stile concertato*, developed in Venice by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli during the same period, based on the work of Adrian Willaert (†1562), also vocal in form (with the integration of an instrumental module) and linked to the polichoral experience of volumetric proportions in architecture (*cori spezzati*). The lucid intervention of other composers such as Monteverdi[7] or Viadana, made this new music (*musica moderna, seconda prattica, stile affettuoso*, etc.) more widely accepted, integrating various structures of language through the compositive work itself.

The appearance of the Baroque style represents a break with tradition: the composers of the first generation considered themselves protagonists and even engaged in fierce rivalry; however, what has been left of their works shows the existence of some contradictions:

a) *Stile Antico* versus *Stile Moderno*

During the first half of the XVII century Baroque modernity, the modern style or *rappresentativo*, coexisted with the imitative polyphony that was typical of the Renaissance. Its presence in the midst of the new vanguard was due to the pressure of Palestrina's disciples, which led it to be known as *stilus praenestinensis;* actually there is no such thing as a "Palestrina style"; in his most important works, the masses, of which we have 104, only 6 are originals: the rest were composed by means of *cantus firmus* and from parodic elements from other composers.

Another reason that explains the presence of the *stile antico* in the Baroque composition of the first half of the XVII century is its use of the Latin liturgy, especially in the mass. This can be traced back to the

suppressed in the Protestant domains, based on his own previous experience as an Augustine monk.

[6] The religious orders basically consisted of two types: those based on the contemplative life, from the VI century (Benedictines and their successive transformations, Cluniacs, Cistercians...) and the so-called mendicants (born in the urban culture of the end of the XII and beginnings of the XIII century; especially the Franciscans and Dominicans). The spirit of the Counter Reformation led to the consolidation or birth of religious orders very committed to their ideas, especially the Jesuits and the Oratorians of Saint Philip Neri.

[7] Monteverdi, in his *V Libro di Madrigali* (1605) abandoned imitative polyphony and made clear his decision to compose in the new style, which he called *seconda prattica*. The *Orfeo* of 1607 is an evident example of the interaction between the new and the "old." When he was appointed chapel master of the Basilica of Saint Mark in Venice in 1613, he changed old musical habits; around 1624, with the *Combattimento di Tancredo e Florinda*, he initiated the *stile concitato*, which accentuated the semantic character of rhetorical proposals applied to music.

decisions of the Council of Trent, which established the belief in the real presence of Christ at the moment of consecration and even in the communion of mass; and for this reason a type of respectful music was used, almost neutral, that did not "portray" situations or "describe" in human terms what was really a mystery of faith. This is not to be found in the Protestant domains, because Luther stated that the consecration was a symbol rather than a reality; nevertheless, the repertory of the *stile antico* (that is: the use of imitative counterpoint language in the Baroque period) was known and practised in Protestant Europe thanks to the various anthologies published in Germany during the XVII century.

Finally we have to consider that although imitative counterpoint was a creation of the Renaissance, it did not, for that reason, have to be abandoned during the Baroque period, because there are no borders between the Renaissance and the Baroque period, even though there are important conceptual differences or, moreover, differentiations; but they are so only in our view of History, from which we make a selection and in doing so lose the context. Just as is shown by the first generation of Baroque composers, the use of imitative counterpoint belongs to the composer's own *métier*, and is an essential tool to add variety to modern musical discourse, based especially on the *recitato*, adorned with the resources of rhetoric applied to music. For this reason Heinrich Schütz pointed to, in his *Geistliche Cor Musik* of 1648, the importance of imitative counterpoint, as a training element in the careers of composers.

b) The Asymmetrical Reception of Baroque Music in Europe

The Baroque style was known and practised in the Italian states, republics and domains from the very beginning; especially after the publication of Peri and Caccini's *Euridice* (1600); E. de'Cavalieri's *Rappresettazine di anima e di corpo* (1600); G. Caccini's *Le nuove Musiche* (1601) and L.G. da Viadana's *Cento Concerti ecclesiastici* (1602); but mainly after the performance of Monteverdi's *Orfeo* (1607) and the publication of the score (1609), which represented the consecration of the new music in Italy; in parallel there were three nations where the new style was known and practised almost contemporarily: Spain, Austria and Germany. In the first case, the reception came about in two different ways and in two different geographical areas: the royal court, where from the first decade of the XVII century we know of the presence of Filippo Piccinini and other Italian musicians, and where the new style was specifically cultivated and taught in the royal chambers, and in the Catalan-Valencian zone, which had never lost contact with Italy and where various composers (among whom, Joan B. Comes and Joan P. Pujol), educated in the Renaissance style, tended to favor the new music and led the way for the reception of the new style.

In the German countries, the reception of Baroque music was due to the presence of Italian vocalists and instrumentalists in the various courts of the Länder, and personally to the work of Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672), a disciple of Giovanni Gabrieli's until his death in 1613, and who, when he returned to Venice 1628–29, met Monteverdi and the new stage of the Baroque style, the *stile concitato*.

In France, although the Baroque style was known since its beginning, as Giulio Caccini's residence in the French court between 1604–1605 proves, its true development did not arrive until the second half of the XVII century, and in practice, not until the period of J.B. Lully. The main reason lies in the actual process of reception, which consisted of the assumption of new Italian customs and their contact with French musical habits themselves. France in the XVII century continued in the style of rationalism introduced during the Renaissance (order, balance, domination of nature, control of affections and cultural dirigisme), which was increased now by the actions of its thinkers—especially Descartes and Mersenne—who suggested another type of aestbetic reflection, measured and debated by means of systemic doubt. The heart of the musical revolution of the *Camerata fiorentina* was the *recitativo*, written with complete freedom, following the modulations of speech; in France the *vers mesuré* was used, and it was not until Lully found a compromise formula between the freedom of Italian *recitativo* and French measured verse, that Baroque vocal music managed to gain entry to court circles (this would be so especially after the opera *Armide*, in 1686).

For different reasons, England was late in accepting the Baroque style. The first was the traditional lagging behind—at least from a musical point of view—with respect to the Continent and the second and more important, the social situation, with a civil war and the resulting dictatorship (Oliver Cromwell)

which hindered the normal development of the arts in Great Britain; similarly to the French case, it was a personality, Henry Purcell (1653–1699), who successfully protagonized the full acceptance of the Baroque style in England.

3.—THE SPANISH CONTRIBUTION TO EUROPEAN BAROQUE

Except for the first contribution (*prima facie*, Spain, a power or "the" European power that accepted and practised the Baroque style from its beginnings and which, therefore was actively involved in the sphere of the new music), we can consider two fundamental aspects by which Spain contributed concrete material to the European Baroque heritage.

a) Vocal Music

Knowledge of and the circulation of Spanish music in Europe, in the same way that European music was known in Spain, is a well-known and documented fact since the end of the Middle Ages.

"De una manera general, y salvo en el caso de estudios dedicados a una época o a un género determinados, las historias de nuestra música occidental se cantonan dentro de una estricta geografía política —historias de la música española, francesa, italiana, inglesa...— y aún las obras más amplias separan en cerrados capítulos la evolución del arte de combinar los sonidos según las diversas nacionalidades. Variados aconteceres orientan, sin embargo, hacia lo que podría denominarse "musicología comparada"/.../ La extraordinaria producción española de los siglos XVI y XVII corre por ambos carriles, nacional y extranjero..."[8]

This fundamental text by Daniel Devoto puts the proposal in its exact context: the circulation of music outside the frontiers of what is popular and highbrow, outside the linguistic framework, outside the aesthetics of a particular period and the historic and systemic context of musicological science.

Thanks to the research of various musicologists, in particular that of professors Miquel Querol and Daniel Devoto, we know this better today, which represents a new starting point, from which it is still necessary to engage in a long and intense task of research, and to the development of which all musicologists are called to arms.

The most important contribution of Spain to the European Baroque style was based on vocal music, an important repertory of sung poetry which, according to Devoto,

"...se define gracias a su dúplice halago: ser poesía, e ir cantada."[9]

The process began in Italy, where a large number of Spanish manuscripts and printed music copied during the same period are still conserved: some collections of songs of the period ended up, during the Baroque era, in various European libraries (the Palumbi in Paris; the Casalotti in London, etc.), as did printed anthologies from the beginning to the end of the XVII century (especially Stefani, *Affetti amorosi, Venice* 1624; Le Chevalier, 1691, Amsterdam).

Following the same process the circulation of Spanish sung poetry extended to France at the beginnings of the XVII century: the starting point was the joint use of an Italian repertory, in which Spanish works were to be found; as Devoto points out, the presence of Spanish queens in the French court of the XVII century (Mariana de Austria, wife of Louis XIII; Maria Teresa, wife of Louis XIV) contributed effectively to the knowledge of and acceptance of Spanish sung court poetry included in numerous manuscripts of song collections and printed anthologies (Battaille, Paris, 1608–1628, 5 volumes; Moulinié, Paris, 1625; Tessier, Paris, 1582; Boesset, Paris, 1617);[10] to which we still have to add the interest in contemporary Spanish literature and theatre (especially that of Lope and Calderón); from France this acceptance extended into Germany, the Low countries and England, of which we should highlight the

[8] DEVOTO, Daniel: "Un millar de cantares exportados," Université Michel de Montaigne, Bordeaux, *Bulletin Hispanique*, tome 96, nº 1, Janvier–Juin 1994 [1995], 5–6.

[9] *Id.Ibid.*, p. 107.

[10] Hidalgo's tones were known and appreciated in the French court, as can be seen from a small note furnished by Louis Jambou, noted by François Bértaut, of the French Royal Chapel, on a journey to the court in Madrid in December 1659: "Je vis aussi les deux Maistres de la Musique du Roy, Patiño qui est celuy de la Chapelle, & Jean Hidalgo celuy de la chambre, qui fait des airs très agreables & qui jouë très bien de la Harpe. Il m'en donna quelques-uns..." *Cf.* JAMBOU, L.: "Les répresentations de la musique espagnole dans les écrits français du XVII siècle: de la statistique à la methaphore." *Échanges musicaux franco-espagnols, XVIIe–XIXe siècles*. Les Rencontres de Villecroze, 2000, p. 37.

Musicall Banquett by Robert Dowland, published in 1610.[11]

The importance of the contribution of this Spanish sung poetry lies fundamentally in the fact that it shared several cultural and social features with other countries; it was identified with its source and merged with the wealth of the European Baroque style, of which it formed an integral part.

b) Instrumental Music

The good fortune enjoyed by Spanish instrumental music for polyphonic instruments can already be seen in the XVI century: music for vihuela, guitar, harp, organ, clavichord and harpsichord by our composers was published, well-known and practised throughout Europe and America. According to Arturo Farinelli,

"I musicisti di Spagna del '400 e del '500 avevano maggior fortuna in Italy dei letterati e poeti. Suonatori trombettieri, tromboni, cantori, organisti, «actegiatori» d'origine spagnuola e traspiantati del suolo italiano, si spedivano e si raccomandavano da una corte all'altra come preziosi gioielli"[12]

Baroque music followed the same pattern, not only in the repertories published during the period (Gaspar Sanz, 1674; Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, 1678), but also with the circulation and adoption of dances and other Spanish musical genre, which filled, from France, Italy, England, Germany and the Low Countries, the chorographical and instrumental repertories (both for polyphonic instruments and ensemble) of all the Baroque style; we could mention the *zarabanda*, the *chacona*, the *pasacalle*, the *canario*, the *folía*, the *españoleta* and the *pavana*. On the latter, and despite what Corominas's dictionary says about its supposed Italian origin, Arturo Farinelli finds enough examples to prove the Spanish origin of the name, which does not derive from *padovana* (from Padua), but from *pava* (feminine of *pavo*, turkey in Spanish). This music forms a fundamental part of the sound image of Spain in the European Baroque scene, and has lasted down to the beginnings of the XX century, especially via France. We are not speaking then only of the "gitanadas" of Merimée; the relationship of neighbors and reciprocity with Spanish music goes way back.

[11] DOWLAND, Robert: *A Musicall Banquet furnished with varietie of delicious Ayres, Collected out of he best Authors in English, French, Spanish and Italian*. London, 1610.

[12] FARINELLI, Arturo. *Italia e Spagna*. Torino, 1929, p. 83.

The immense repertory of Spanish Baroque organ music forms the most important instrumental heritage of the period. As Anglés and Kastner well pointed out, organ music is the most permeable to mutual quotation and inter-influence; this is especially true in the case of Cabanilles; in his work we can see the mutual influence of the French, Italian and Dutch repertories of his time.[13]

c) A Two-way Traffic

To paraphrase the quote from Daniel Devoto, not only are we dealing with Spanish loans to Europe and vice versa: the process is more complex, and is related to the historical and artistic dialectics of style formation, in relation to the aesthetic proposals and social support of a period. Thanks to this one can propose a grammar, differentiating morphology and syntax, that is to say, genre and structure; distinguishing between rules and use, and above all, taking into account the interactive process that normally presides over the establishment of a historical canon that, due to the loss of context seems to be, often, a compact entity. The porosity of its elements has been an essential part of its constitution that we, patiently, have to recover if we want to know more about the real Spanisb role in the configuration of this important period in the cultural life of Europe.

Two examples illustrate what has been outlined above. The first is the song *Susanne un jour*, a song of Calvinist origin based on the well-known Biblical scene of Susana being slandered by some libidinous old men,[14] which appeared in 1548 in an edition by Guillaume Guéroult; in 1560 Orlando de Lassus composed his own version for five voices, using the previous melody; other authors of the time such as Ludovicus Episcopus, Gerardus Turnhout, Tielmann Susato, Andrie Pevernage, Philippe de Monte, Jan Peterson Sweelinck and G. Bassano, wrote their own polyphonic vocal works on the same theme; the vocal register was then transmuted to the instrumental for keyboards with the contributions of

[13] ANGLÈS, H.:"Síntesis biográfica y bibliográfica de Cabanilles," *Anuario Musical* XVII (1962), 12–13; KASTNER, M.S.: "Randbemerkungen zu Cabanilles' Claviersatz." Ibid., 73–97. *Cf.* also DODERER, G.:"Aspectos de un género primordial de la música de órgano ibérica observados a través del tiento en la obra de Juan Cabanilles," International Symposium *Tiento a Cabanilles*, Valencia, 1995, p. 47–67; GONZÁLEZ VALLE, J.V.:"Cabanilles en el entorno europeo," *Ibid.*, p. 97–108.

[14] *Daniel*, XIII.

E.N. Ammerbach (1571), A. Francisque (1600; for lute), Andrea Gabrieli (published in 1605), and arrived in the hands of Spanish composers via Antonio de Cabezón (1578) and Manuel Rodrigues Coelho (1620).[15]

The chapel master Pere Riquet (active between 1598–1640, master of the Cathedral of Urgell and the Cathedral of Tarragona) composed a mass based on the same song. The manuscript copy can be dated between 1627–1634;[16] its compositive structure follows the canons of the *stile antico*, but it possesses two important transgressions: the first concerns the use, expressly prohibited by the Council of Trent, of themes that depart from the due respect that should be given to the Eucharist, and *Susanne un jour*, despite being based on a passage from the Bible, was a roguish song written in Romance language; the second concerns its Calvinistic origin, a totally prohibited religion in Spain and all the catholic world; both transgressions (and others that we could mention such as the *música de romance* which had a paraliturgical function in Spain) heighten its importance due to the fact that it arose out of the dark atmosphere of prohibition that was the Counter-Reformation. *Susanne* represents a clear example of the difference between rules and use, which helps to explain the complexity of historical dialectics.

d) Rhetorical Topos

Apart from exchanges by means of thematic loan, perfectly accepted in the orthodoxy of historical musicology, there often appear τοποι of a rhetorical nature, the evaluation of which is often difficult because of the vagueness of their reach or the absence of critical documentation; in such cases, these data are usually condemned to the discrete pigeonhole of contingencies.

This is not the case of the τοποσ *Kommt, ihr Töchter* of the *Matthäus-Passion* by Johann Sebastian Bach (BWV 244); its origin is documented around 1675 in Barcelona, and in the space of more than a century it was used by fifteen Catalan and Valencian composers; it arrived in Bach's hands by the process Daniel Devoto himself called a "two-way traffic," and continued its journey in the country up to forty years after Bach's death. The truth of its value lies in the maintenance of the relation between music and text, that is to say, its classification as a rhetorical element within the master framework of the will to represent affections, which goes much further than the brief thematic development which constituted its origin. Composing vernacular music in the last third of the XVII century, were the initiators L.V. Gargallo (*ca.* 1636–1682; *Si la misma vida temió la muerte*, for 3 and 8 voices and thoroughbass), Joan Cererols (1618–1680; *Ay, qué dolor!*, for 5 voices and thoroughbass), Joan B. Cabanilles (1644–1712: *Mortales que amáis*, for 4 voices and thoroughbass); it passed into liturgical Latin music from 1682, continuing with Joan Barter (*ca.* 1645–1706: *Deum venerunt gentes*, for 12 voices and 4 choirs; a work for competitive examinations for the post that came vacant after the death of Gargallo), Francesc Soler (†1686: *Heth. Misericordiae Domini*, for 2 voices and thoroughbass), Josep Gaz (ca. 1657–1713: *Lamed. Matribus suis*, for 2 voices and thoroughbass), Matías Navarro (ca. 1670–1727: *Jod. Manun suam*, for 2 voices, 2 violins, one *violón* and thoroughbass), Pere Rabassa (1681–1767: *Vau. Et egressus est*, for 3 voices and thoroughbass; *Stabat Mater*, for 4 voices and thoroughbass) and Melcior Juncà, 1757–1824: *Jod. Manum suam*, for solo and orchestra.). The same theme with the rhetorical topos appears in the *Tombeau de Mr. Meliton* by Marin Marais, published in Paris in 1686. Finally Bach himself again used the topos in the funeral cantata *O Jesu Christ, mein's Leben Licht*, BVW 118, (1st version between 1736–37, 2nd between 1740-45); by which Bach himself sets himself up as a champion of the process of reception and circulation of the τοποσ.[17]

[15] The song must have been very well-known in Spain, according to a commentary in the *Apotegmas* by Juan Rufo (ca.1547–ca.1620), published in Toledo, 1596: "...Acabó un excelente músico de cantar *La Susana*, y tratóse luego de que otros tonos admirables por sí y por sus letras suelen envejecerse en el gusto, como las demás cosas, y dar en el rostro, y que esta canción siemre regala el oído, como la mejor y la más nueva de[l] mundo. Respondió: «Eso es providencia divina, para que sempre se cante la inocencia e Susana». RUFO, Juan: *Las seiscientas apotegmas y otras obras en verso*. Edición de Alberto Blecua. Clásicos castellanos. Espasa Calpe. Madrid, 1972, apothegm 225, p. 85. On the reception of the musical theme *Susanne un jour*, see LEVY, K.J.: "«*Susanne un jour*». The history of a 16th Century Chanson," *AM* I (1953), 77.

[16] The mass can be found in Ms.M. 859 of the Library of Catalonia in Barcelona. It was published in a critical edition by F. Bonastre, *Quaderns de Música 1*, Institut d'Estudis Tarraconenses "Ramon Berenguer IV," Tarragona, 1982.

[17] BONASTRE, F.: "Anteeedentes hispánicos del tema *Kommt, Ihr Töchter* de la *Matthäus-Passion* de J.S. Bach (BWV 244). Historia de la pervivencia de un programa semántico nacido en

4.—EUROPA SPECULUM HISPANIAE

In the interactive dynamics of the Baroque style in Europe, one of the cases of which touches on Spain, it is illustrative to see how the great composers of the period gloss in very different ways the sound image of Spain. This is the same as turning the process of exposition on its head, simply so that we may take into account the game that is played out, and see how, apart from the inherent asymmetry of historical events, there is also an answer that forms part of the complexity of this process.

Below we set out, merely as an indication, some of the most outstanding contributions of the international Baroque style as regards Spain.

Francesco Cavalli (1602–1676)
Te Deum for the Peace of the Pyrenees, 1659
Missa, id., id.

Henry Purcell (1659–1695)
The comical History of Don Quixote, a comedy in 3 acts, 1694–95.

Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713)
Sonata XII (var. Follia de Spagna), 1700.

Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725)
Amazone corsara, op., 1689.
Scipione nella Spagne, op., 1714.
La dama spagnola e il cavaliere romano, op., 1730. Adaptation of the above, performed posthumously in Bologna.

Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757)
Il Giustino, scenic opera for Philip V's saint's day, 1703.
Festeggio armonico, for the wedding of Barbara of Braganza and Ferdinand VI, 1728.

Tommaso Albinoni (1671–1750)
Scipione nella Spagne, op., (A. Zeno), Venice, 1724.

Benedetto Marcello (1686–1739)
La Ciacona o La Stravaganza: 110 variazioni per il clavicembalo, s.d.

Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741)
Sonata *La Follia* (19 var.)
Montezuma, op. (lost), 1743.

J.Ph. Rameau (1683–1764)
Les Indes Galantes, b. de cour, 1735–36.
La princesse de Navarre, op., 1745.

G.F. Telemann (1681–1767)
Wie lieblich sind auf dem Berge die Füsse der Boten, cantata to celebrate the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, 1715 (lost).
Du Herr bist unser Gott, centenary of the Peace of Westphalia, cantata, 1748.
Holder Friede, heilger Glaube, dich zu küssen, oratory for the CC anniversary of the religious peace, 1755 (Peace of Aquisgrán, Charles V, 1555).
Sancio oder Die siegende Grossmuth, op., 1721.
Margaretha, Königin von Castilien, op., 1730,
Don Quixote, der Löwenritter, op., 1761.

Johann Joseph Fux (1660–1741)
Te Deum, for the wedding of the Archduke Charles with Elizabeth of Brunswick and Wolffenbüttel, Barcelona, 1708.

A. Caldara (1670–1736)
L'Imeneo, op., Barcelona, 1708.
Il piú bel nome, op., *ibid.*, 1708, wedding of Charles of Austria to Elizabeth of Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel.
L'Atenaide, op., *ibid.*, 1709.

G.F. Händel (1685–1759)
Vincer se stesso la magior vittoria [D. Rodrigo], op. (lost), 1707.
No se enmendará jamás, "cantata spagnuola" for voice, guitar and thoroughbass, 1707.[18]
Te Deum for the peace of Utrecht, Cat. St. Paul, Londres, 7-VII-1713.
Amadigi di Gaula, op. 1715 (London).

5.—THE RAPE OF EUROPE

The European Baroque musical style is not the consequence of the addition of products valued beforehand; its existence as a cultural value is the result

el barroco musical español." *Revista de Musicología*, Vol. XVI, 1993, p. 59–133. [Actas del Congreso Internacional de la IMS, Madrid, 1992].

[18] With a text by Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, (part).

of a complex, asymmetric and decontextualized process, given that its scientific autonomy in the domain of musicology does not appear until the middle of the XX century, thanks to the contributions of three great international figures within this discipline, whose conceptual bravery allowed this most important feature of western musical culture to regain its rightful place. In 1947 Manfred Bukofzer published *The Music in the Baroque Era. From Monteverdi to Bach*; with this work, the Baroque style began to be studied using its own parameters, ignoring the axiological sectorised parameters taken from the Renaissance or Classicism. Bukofzer also established a chronology (*/...l from Monteverdi to Bach*), that has become classic, and has overcome the purely German point of view to incorporate Italian models and origins; in this way the old and excessive fondness of German musicology for the two great themes, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, was also overcome, along with the compact cult of J.S. Bach.

The second contribution is *Le Baroque. Essai d'esthetique musicale*, by Susanne Clercx-Lejeune (1948); her contribution is essential, because she studies the aesthetic evaluation of the style, without which one could not consider any specific analysis. The intellectual bravery of Clercx-Lejeune can be seen in her methodology, which converges on the establishment of common lines, on which she sets out the doctrine of aesthetic fundamentals.

Miquel Querol, in his paper on *La Música religiosa española del siglo XVII*, (Roma, Convegno internazionale di Musica Sacra, 1950) sets out the scientific problem of this ignored and disregarded repertory, and begins, taking advantage of the intellectual window of opportunity offered by Bukofzer and Clercx-Lejeune, and along with the efficient arguments he himself puts forward, the road to the scientific and cultural recovery of Spanish Baroque music. His six monographs on the subject, published between 1970 and 1988,[19] constitute homage to the musicology of his country of birth. His disciples, who saw him die, hope to repay him by means of this homage which he could not live to see.[20]

Some eight years ago, a French record company released a *coffret* of 12 CDs dedicated to European Baroque music. It was an anthology of vocal music (religious and profane) and instrumental music (for polyphonic instruments and ensemble), in which all those composers who belonged to the consecrated canon of European Baroque music were represented. In this *coffret* there was not even one example of Spanish music. This inexplicable inverse rape of Europe highlights the dire lack of cultural policy (especially musical) in our country which, however, does seem to know how to build scientific and cultural bridges with the international community. I believe that it is not only a question of arguing about the ontological and aesthetic importance, or even the attractiveness of our Baroque music. In the recognized canon of this era of European culture one member of the family is missing; to bring the family back together we need the sensible and competent collaboration of those who can carry it out, *cum gratia et sapientia*. The Baroque style is not self-contained: it forms part of our contemporary experience, as does all the music that came before and after it, that nowadays, with the present day mechanisms for sound production, is present, like never before, in the most everyday areas of our daily lives. *Quousque tandem?*

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[19] With the generic title ***Música Barroca Española***, he published the following monographs: *Polifonía profana* (Cancioneros españoles del siglo XVII, vol. I, CSIC, Barcelona, 1970); *Cantatas y canciones para voz solista e instrumentos* (vol. V, *Ibid.*, 1973), *Teatro Musical de Calderón* (vol. VI, *Ibid.*, 1981); *Polifonía policoral litúrgica* (vol. II, *Ibid.*, 1982); *Villancicos polifónicos del siglo XVII* (vol. III, *Ibid.*, 1982); *Canciones a solo y dúo del siglo XVII* (vol. IV, Ibid., 1988).

[20] During the 5–7 of February 2004 the international conference *Miquel Querol i la música hispànica del Barroc* was held in Barcelona (CSIC) and Tarragona (Palau de la Diputació), with the attendance of numerous domestic and international scholars. The papers of this conference, dedicated as a posthumous homage, will appear at the end of 2005.