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The 'Guerra Manuscript' (c.1680) and the Rise of Solo Song in Spain

ÁLVARO TORRENTE and PABLO-L. RODRÍGUEZ

THE discovery of a new anthology of secular songs from Madrid fills an important lacuna in our understanding of secular music in seventeenth-century Spain. The Biblioteca Xeral of the University of Santiago de Compostela – near the romanesque cathedral for which the famous Codex Calixtinus was written – preserves a manuscript of 111 folios (E-SCu MS 265) which has hitherto escaped the attention of both musicological and literary scholars. It contains 100 anonymous songs, all but two for solo voice and continuo, and was copied by a certain José Miguel Guerra, scribe of the Spanish Royal Chapel. The manuscript is undated but, as we will argue later, it appears to have been compiled around 1680. If this estimate is correct, it would make this anthology the earliest collection of its kind, a significant missing link between the latest polyphonic *cancioneros* of the mid-seventeenth century and the numerous anthologies of solo songs and cantatas from the 1690s onwards. This article represents a preliminary investigation of the manuscript, its contents and the circumstances of its compilation, though many of the questions surrounding the collection will have to await further study.¹

All the pieces are anonymous, but a number of them can be attributed, through concordances with other sources, to Juan Hidalgo (28) and José Marín (12), and a few to other contemporary composers such as Juan de Navas (2), Cristóbal Galán (1), Juan del Vado (1) and Matías Ruiz (1). The poets set here include distinguished names such as Pedro Calderón de la Barca, Juan Vélez de Guevara and Agustín Salazar y Torres, all of whom are well-known playwrights associated with the Madrid stage in the second half of the seventeenth century. A remarkable number of songs extracted from *comedias* and *zarzuelas* by these and other authors have been identified, though this should not lead one to assume that this is

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¹ We are currently preparing a critical edition of this anthology, which will include a more complete study of the source and the circumstances of its compilation.

just a collection of theatrical songs. As will be shown later, the manuscript appears to be a representative selection of chamber cantatas from Madrid in the 1670s.

The currently held view acknowledges that solo singing accompanied by plucked instruments had a long tradition in Spain, yet it did not crystallize as the performance practice and compositional technique *par excellence* for chamber and theatrical music until more than half a century after it had become common in Italy. This fact has been one of the most problematic issues in the interpretation of Spanish Baroque music, and many scholars have tried to prove on the basis of trivial evidence that solo songs were known and cultivated in Spain at and before the time they flourished in Italy.² Interestingly, John Walter Hill has recently proposed that 'Florentine and Roman monody and recitative styles were based, at least remotely, on common traditions of composition and performance that are revealed in activities centred in Naples and Rome.' He states that one of the principal features of this style, 'the form of accompaniment that abstracts underlying harmony . . . was established fundamentally in the Spanish-Neapolitan style of strummed guitar, and was crystallized in the basso continuo notation'.³ If we take into account that Naples had been under Spanish – originally Aragonese – rule since the early fifteenth century, it would not be too speculative to assume that the Neapolitan and Roman practices referred to by Hill actually derived to some extent from an imported Spanish tradition. This would appear to support earlier assumptions concerning Spanish music, yet it does not explain why, if solo accompanied song was commonly performed in Spain, it took so long to become a common stylistic feature in written music.

Tim Carter has suggested that, in Italy, 'serious "professional" composers (Monteverdi is a good example) seem to have been reluctant to adopt the new Florentine style: they may have looked askance at such

² For example, Querol states: 'Los vihuelistas españoles fueron los primeros en inventar un acompañamiento puramente instrumental para canciones monódicas.' *Canciones a solo y duos del siglo XVII*, ed. Miguel Querol Gavaldá, Monumentos de la música española, 47 (Barcelona, 1988), ix. Louise K. Stein has stressed the fact that some solo songs in vihuela collections have newly composed accompaniments of simple sustained chords, as opposed to others with more elaborate polyphonic settings. This is particularly clear in some of the *villancicos* and romances contained in Luis Milán, *Libro de música de vihuela de mano intitulado El Maestro* (Valencia, 1536; facs. edn Leipzig, 1927, repr. 1967). Louise K. Stein, 'Accompaniment and Continuo in Spanish Baroque Music', *Actas del Congreso Internacional 'España en la Música de Occidente'*, ed. Emilio Casares and José López-Caló, i (Madrid, 1987), 357–70 (pp. 363–5). See also José López-Caló, *Siglo XVII, Historia de la música español*, 3, ed. Pablo López de Osaba (Madrid, 1983), 37–53. The problem can also be identified in the two published anthologies of seventeenth-century solo songs by Querol and Baron. In order to present a continuous line of development, both authors include a few compositions from the first half of the century, most of them taken from publications printed outside Spain, such as Gabriel Bataille, *Airs de différents auteurs mis en tablature de luth* (Paris, 1607); Pierre Ballard, *Airs de cour mis en tablature de luth* (Paris, 1614); and Juan Aranyes, *Libro segundo de tonos y villancicos* (Rome, 1624). Moreover, Querol allows himself the editorial licence of transforming Capitán's duo 'Romerico florido' into an accompanied solo. See *Canciones a solo y duos*, ed. Querol Gavaldá; *Spanish Art Song in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. John H. Baron, Recent Researches in Music of the Baroque Era, 44 (Madison, 1985).

³ John Walter Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1997), 119–20.

trifles that gave little chance to display their hard-learned skills'.⁴ The increasing preference for solo song among educated circles, the predilections of certain patrons and the commercial interests of printers may have been key factors in influencing composers such as Monteverdi to adopt the new trends. However, none of these conditions existed in Spain. Music printing declined dramatically during the first quarter of the century⁵ – when it survived, printers were more concerned with the publication of sacred polyphony or instrument tutors – while it seems that wealthy patrons remained more inclined towards skilful polyphonic settings.⁶ The latter is confirmed by the regulations for the chamber musicians of the duke of Sessa from the first quarter of the century: 'Chamber musicians [= singers] are always four, as this is indispensable to have the correct number which the music requires to be good.'⁷

During the first half of the seventeenth century, solo songs were probably regarded as too simple for the contrapuntal skills of learned musicians and, though cultivated, they rarely enjoyed the privilege of the manuscript, let alone the press.⁸ In the same period it was already a well-established practice to sing romances and other poems to the accompaniment of the guitar – as is confirmed by the substantial number of poetic manuscripts with guitar *cifra* from the late sixteenth century – yet this convention did not develop into a genre cultivated by learned musicians until some four or five decades later.⁹ It seems that solo song was by no means a stylistic novelty, as it was (we tend to think) in Italy, but a common means of expression based on a well-rooted practice. This seems to be confirmed by the definition of the term 'tonada' in the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (1611): 'The air of the vulgar [= folk] song used nowadays by guitar musicians'.¹⁰ It was probably for this reason that both the élite circles and the major ecclesiastical centres wanted to draw a clear distinction between the artful nature of learned music and the simplicity of popular practice. The relative failure of an early attempt to introduce the *stile recitativo* on the Spanish stage in 1627 may also be

⁴ Tim Carter, *Music in Late Renaissance and Early Baroque Italy* (London, 1992), 193.

⁵ Carlos José Gonsálvez Lara, *La edición musical español hasta 1936* (Madrid, 1994).

⁶ The only study of secular music in aristocratic circles during the first quarter of the century is Luis Robledo, *Juan Blas de Castro (ca. 1561–1631): Vida y obra musical* (Saragossa, 1989), which confirms this preference for polyphonic *tonos*.

⁷ 'Los músicos de cámara son cuatro siempre, porque así es siempre necesario para tener perfectamente cumplido el número que pide la música para ser buena.' E-Mn MS 14070/7, quoted from Luis Robledo, *Juan Blas de Castro*, 51.

⁸ We are dealing here with the problem discussed by Nino Pirrotta regarding the importance of unwritten traditions, which in the case of Spain has not yet received much attention from scholars. See Nino Pirrotta, *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984); *idem*, 'Musica e umanesimo', *Lettere italiane*, 37 (1985), 453–70.

⁹ Guitar *cifras* represent an abstraction of the harmony whose function is analogous to that of figured bass, and this mode of representation can probably be regarded as the surface of an unwritten practice which was common in early Spain. Early references to these sources can be found in Cesare Acutis, *Cancioneros musicali spagnoli in Italia (1585–1635)* (Pisa, 1971). A study of some of the most important Italian sources can be found in John H. Baron, 'Secular Spanish Solo Song in Non-Spanish Sources, 1599–1640', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 30 (1977), 20–42. Also relevant is M. June Yakeley, 'New Sources of Spanish Music for Five-Course Guitar', *Revista de musicología*, 19 (1996), 267–86.

¹⁰ 'El ayre del cantarcillo vulgar, quales son las tonadas que oy usan los músicos de guitarra.' Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid, 1611; facs. edn Madrid, 1977), 960.

related to this attitude.¹¹ Certainly it has less to do with the groundless notion of John H. Baron, which perpetuates the dark legend of Spanish religious conservatism as ruler of the mentalities of the people: 'Perhaps it was the overriding religious fanaticism and conservatism in Spain, where the Inquisition was very much alive.'¹²

One of the most significant indicators of stylistic trends are the *cancioneros* – anthologies of secular songs – which, following a long-established tradition of compilation, were common in the seventeenth century.¹³ The *cancioneros* from the first half of the century contain almost exclusively polyphonic *tonos*, and most of them have already received considerable attention from scholars.¹⁴ Among these, the Cancionero de la Sablonara, an anthology compiled by Claudio de la Sablonara, music scribe of the Real Capilla, for the duke of Bavaria around 1625–6, is particularly significant. Sablonara included 'the best *tonos* performed at this court, for two, three and four [voices]', and the selection doubtless reflected a preference for polyphonic compositions in that context.¹⁵ The *Libro de tonos humanos*, also containing polyphonic songs, was compiled in Madrid around 1655 and appears to be the last of a long tradition in this line.¹⁶ Interestingly, it was around this time that the Italian stage-designer Baccio del Bianco influenced the dramatist Luis de Ulloa y Pereira and the composer Juan Hidalgo to introduce in the play *Pico y Canente* a monodic lament in the style then common in Italy.¹⁷ Although this happy coincidence might be merely casual, it seems that the 1650s and 1660s represent a period of transition in the stylistic conventions for secular music in Spain, both for the chamber and for the stage.

Polyphonic music with Castilian text remained in common use well into the next century, particularly for theatrical choruses and sacred *villancicos*, yet no polyphonic *cancionero* is known to have been compiled after

¹¹ On this early attempt to introduce opera in Spain, see Shirley B. Whitaker, 'Florentine Opera Comes to Spain: Lope de Vega's *La selva sin amor*', *Journal of Hispanic Philology*, 9 (1984), 43–66; and Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Oxford, 1993), esp. pp. 191–205. A more global discussion of Italian influence on Spanish theatre of the period, paying special attention to the stage design and machinery of the Italian engineers Cosme Lotti and Baccio del Bianco, can be found in the introduction to Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *La fiera, el rayo y la piedra*, ed. Aurora Egido (Madrid, 1989).

¹² John H. Baron, 'Spanish Solo Art Song in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *De musica hispana et aliis: Miscelánea en honor al Prof. Dr. José López-Caló, S. J., en su 65º cumpleaños*, ed. Emilio Casares and C. Villanueva, i (Santiago de Compostela, 1990), 451–76 (p. 451). It is unlikely that a church which allowed the use of guitars, tambourines and other kinds of popular instruments in certain religious services would have been so concerned about something as innocent as a song for solo voice.

¹³ The term *cancionero* is often used by scholars of literature to designate poetic anthologies, as opposed to *cancionero musical*, which refers to music anthologies. In this article we use *cancionero* to mean a collection of music.

¹⁴ For a survey, bibliography and references to modern editions see Judith Etzion, 'The Spanish Polyphonic Cancioneros c.1580–1650', *Revista de musicología*, 11 (1988), 65–107. A comparative study of copying conventions can be found in Ramón Pelinski, 'La polifonía vocal española del siglo XVII y sus formas de escribirla', *Anuario musical*, 24 (1969), 191–8. See also the catalogue in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 355–6.

¹⁵ 'He buscado y recogido los mejores tonos que se cantan en esta corte, a dos, tres y quatro.' D-Mbs Mus. MS E.(200), f. [F]. For a modern study and edition which includes relevant bibliography, see *The Cancionero de La Sablonara (a Critical Edition)*, ed. Judith Etzion (London, 1996).

¹⁶ E-Mn M 1262. For a description of the contents, see Higinio Anglés and José Subirá, *Catálogo musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, i (Barcelona, 1946), 266–74.

¹⁷ For a detailed discussion, see Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 274–82.

1655.¹⁸ Until very recently, only three anthologies of secular music containing seventeenth-century repertory for solo voice and accompaniment were known: the *Libro de tonos en cifra de arpa*, written in harp tablature with the poetic text underlaid but no vocal line,¹⁹ the Marín manuscript, for solo voice and five-course guitar tablature,²⁰ and the Contarini manuscript, an eighteenth-century Italian copy of earlier Spanish repertory for solo voice and continuo.²¹ The incomplete collection of cantatas E-Mn M 2618 should be added to this list, although it contains mostly early eighteenth-century repertory.²²

The discovery or rediscovery during the last few years of as many as five anthologies of secular solo songs and cantatas that had previously been unknown or had escaped the attention of scholars is particularly remarkable. These are the manuscripts now known as Mackworth,²³

¹⁸ Perhaps the Gayangos-Barbieri and the Novena manuscripts could be regarded as two exceptions. However, neither of these is an anthology. Gayangos-Barbieri (E-Mn MS 13622) is a factitious volume in a nineteenth-century binding containing sheet music from various origins and various stylistic types, including both polyphonic and monodic songs as well as sketches, while Novena (Almagro, Museo del Teatro) is a collection of theatrical music for use by a theatrical company, and includes both polyphonic and monodic songs. See Carmelo Caballero, 'El manuscrito Gayangos-Barbieri', *Revista de musicología*, 12 (1989), 199–268; José Subirá, 'Un manuscrito musical de principios del siglo XVIII', *Anuario musical*, 4 (1949), 181–92; Louis K. Stein, 'El "Manuscrito Novena": Sus textos, su contenido histórico musical y el músico José Peyró', *Revista de musicología*, 3 (1980), 197–234. The Coimbra collections also include both polyphonic and monodic songs with both secular and sacred texts for use in the Mosteiro de Santa Cruz. See Manuel Carlos Brito, 'A Little-Known Collection of Portuguese Baroque Villancicos and Romances', *Research Chronicle of the Royal Musical Association*, 15 (1979), 17–37.

¹⁹ E-Mn M 2478. There is no specific study of the source itself, but a description of its contents can be found in Anglés and Subirá, *Catálogo musical de la Biblioteca Nacional*, i, 343–5. The *Libro de tonos en cifra de arpa* contains 75 *tonos* in harp tablature and a further 266 poetic texts without music. Some poems in the last pages contain references to Felipe V and the War of Succession, and this suggests an early eighteenth-century compilation.

²⁰ GB-Cfm MU 4-1958. There is no agreed name for this manuscript. Acquired by John B. Trend in Madrid, it was donated to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1958 and is variously referred to as the 'Cancionero de Cambridge', the 'Cancionero de Marín', the 'Trend manuscript', the 'Fitzwilliam manuscript' and so on. A description of the contents, mostly focusing on poetic texts, can be found in Rita Goldberg, 'El cancionero de Cambridge', *Anuario musical*, 41 (1986), 171–90.

²¹ I-Vnm MS Italiani, 4/470. A description of its contents can be found in Taddeo Wiel, *I codici musicali Contariniani del secolo XVII nella R. Biblioteca de San Marco in Venezia* (Venice, 1888; facs. edn Bologna, 1969). This source is a fascinating example of how the notational conventions of Spanish seventeenth-century music – particularly survivals of mensural notation and conventions for text underlay – were adapted to Italian practice.

²² This is a single partbook for soprano which contains *tonos* and cantatas for solo voice and continuo, some with violins and oboe, Antonio LITERES being the best-represented composer. For a thorough study of its contents and context, see Juan José Carreras, 'La cantata de cámara española de principios del siglo XVIII: El manuscrito M 2618 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid y sus concordancias', *Música y literatura en la península ibérica: 1600–1750*, ed. María Antonia Virgili Blanquet, Germán Vega García-Luengos and Carmelo Caballero Fernández-Rufete (Valladolid, 1997), 65–126.

²³ GB-CDp Mackworth 1.14. This manuscript contains 18 cantatas of the early eighteenth century, mostly by José de Torres, and was probably copied in Italy. The first reference to it was published by Malcolm Boyd in 1979, but it did not catch the attention of Hispanic musicology until Boyd presented a paper at Cardiff in 1993. More recently, Juan José Carreras has undertaken a preliminary study of the source. See Malcolm Boyd, 'Music Manuscripts in the Mackworth Collection at Cardiff', *Music and Letters*, 54 (1973), 133–9; Juan José Carreras, 'Spanish Cantatas in the Mackworth Collection at Cardiff', *Music in Spain in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Malcolm Boyd and Carreras (Cambridge, 1998), 108–22. We are grateful to Malcolm Boyd for providing us with a copy of the manuscript, and to Juan José Carreras for allowing access to his article before publication.

Pombalino,²⁴ Valls,²⁵ Sutro²⁶ and Majorca,²⁷ which contain altogether about 200 new compositions, some with concordances in other sources, from the period around 1690–1730. Even though the study and evaluation of these collections has only just started, there is no doubt that they are dramatically changing the current perception of Spanish secular music in that period. The discovery of yet another anthology of solo song with accompaniment – the Guerra manuscript – appears to be just another example of material waiting to be discovered by the new wave of Hispanic music studies. However, there is another, broader issue. All five sources referred above, as well as the Guerra manuscript, have survived in collections outside the main libraries and archives with important holdings of Spanish music, and in most cases outside the country: Cardiff, Paris, Lisbon, San Francisco, Majorca and Santiago de Compostela. This interesting pattern probably illustrates a difference between the methods of preservation of secular music on the one hand and sacred music, which in most cases still survives in the archives of the institution for which it was produced, on the other.²⁸

Furthermore, the Guerra manuscript can also be interpreted, in the context of surviving sources, as a major turning-point in the conventions of Spanish secular anthologies. It appears to be the only known collection between the latest polyphonic *cancionero* – the *Libro de tonos humanos* – and the remarkable number of anthologies compiled after 1690. Like its predecessor the Cancionero de la Sablonara, which has a number of similarities to this collection, it probably contains a selection of the favourite secular compositions from the Spanish court at the time it was compiled. The dramatic change in stylistic features between the two anthologies, both of which were compiled by the official music scribe of the royal chapel at the time, illustrates that solo songs with continuo

²⁴ P-Ln Pombalino MS 82. A collection of 16 cantatas by Portuguese and Spanish composers from around 1700, it was first described in 1900 by Vieira, but also escaped the attention of Spanish musicologists until it was recently discussed by Carreras. See Ernesto Vieira, *Dicionario biographico de musicos portuguezes: Historia e bibliographia da musica em Portugal* (Lisbon, 1900), i, 315; Carreras, 'Spanish Cantatas', 111.

²⁵ F-Pn MS 8.040. First discussed by Louis Jambou, 'Cantatas solísticas de Valls y compositores anónimos', *Revista de musicología*, 18 (1995), 291–325.

²⁶ US-SFs SMMS M1. This important source containing 134 compositions for soprano and continuo was identified by John Koegel, who presented a preliminary study at the International Congress of the IMS in London (1997). It contains a Madrid repertory from around 1700, brought to Mexico City shortly thereafter. It seems to relate to a theatre company, since the two best-represented composers are Juan de Serqueira (with 34 pieces) and Manuel de Villafior (17), both of whom were connected with the Madrid stage. A preliminary study is included in John Koegel, 'Nuevas fuentes musicales para danza, teatro y salón de la Nueva España', *Heterofonía*, 30/116–17 (1997), 9–37. We are grateful to the author for giving permission to consult his article before publication as well as for providing us with some sample copies of the manuscript.

²⁷ E-Bc M 3660. This manuscript was acquired by the Biblioteca de Catalunya in 1992 from the Librería Ripoll in Palma de Mallorca, and contains 25 cantatas, mostly Majorcan in origin, although it starts with two cantatas by Juan de Navas and Sebastián Durón. A preliminary description of its contents can be found in Yakeley, 'New Sources', 279–80.

²⁸ This problem has already been addressed by Carreras, 'La cantata de cámara española', 67–9. It is most likely that a number of similar sources are preserved in the private collections of aristocratic families, as well as in the private libraries of those scholars and bibliophiles who enjoyed the privilege of a time when the acquisition of old manuscripts was within the scope of a modest academic economy. We are convinced that in the next few years a number of similar sources will be uncovered.

had already become the stylistic choice for the entertainment of the Spanish monarchy and the court élite.

'ESCRITOR DE LA REAL CAPILLA DE SU MAGESTAD'

The only name mentioned in the Compostela anthology is that of the copyist, which is written on the recto of the first folio: 'Joseph Mygvel de Guerr^a. Escriptor de la R^l. Capill^a. de sv Magestad. escrivio este libro' ('Joseph Miguel Guerra, scribe of the royal chapel of his majesty, copied this book').²⁹ No other name, whether of composer, poet or dedicatee, is included. The prominent location of the scribe's name is unusual in the context of the *cancioneros*. Indeed, the *Cancionero de la Sablonara* also records the name of the copyist, but it appears in the signature of the dedication to the duke of Bavaria, and that source also provides the names of the composers of most of the pieces. The outstanding location reserved for the scribe of the Guerra manuscript could be one of the clues to understanding its provenance, purpose and function, as well as its date of compilation. An examination of the life of José Miguel Guerra sheds important light on these issues.

The professional career of José Miguel Guerra (1646–1722) appears to be substantially different from that of most individuals involved in music production in early modern Spain.³⁰ Of *hidalgo* (lower nobility) origin, the young man who in 1667 started as acting music scribe for the Real Capilla finished his life having accumulated a number of honours and titles, including the habit (knighthood) of Caballero de la Orden de Santiago, Chronicler of the Kingdom, Rey de Armas of the Spanish monarchy (that is to say, the king's official genealogist) and Principal Servant in the Queen's Chamber. Significantly, his name also changed in the process, as is shown by his signatures in the payrolls of the Real Capilla.³¹ Although he was baptized 'Joseph Miguel Alfonso de Guerra y Villegas', until 1679 he always signed himself 'Joseph Miguel de Guerra'; and during 1680 he simplified his name to 'Joseph de Guerra'. After he came back from a long journey to Italy in 1680–1, he added his mother's surname to his signature: 'Joseph Guerra y Villegas'. From 1684 until his death he added another touch of distinction: 'Joseph Alfonso de Guerra y Villegas'.³² Although the first

²⁹ More details are given below, in the description of the source. See also Figure 3.

³⁰ Further discussion of Guerra's career, with special attention to his activities in the Real Capilla, is included in Pablo-L. Rodríguez, 'Música, poder y devoción: La Capilla Real de Carlos II (1665–1700)' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Saragossa, in preparation).

³¹ Payrolls were signed by all members of the chapel every quarter, and a complete series of documents until around 1700 is extant. The names of members of the chapel were copied in a list and they had to sign beside their names. The name of Guerra in the record is always written as José Miguel Guerra, and the changes we refer to are in the way he signed the document. See Madrid, Archivo General del Palacio Real (hereafter AGP), Secc. Administrativa, leg. 5657.

³² These changes have often led to his being identified as two different people. The current disposition of his personal record in the archive (AGP) has fed this confusion, since there are separate records under Joseph Miguel Guerra and Joseph Alfonso de Guerra y Villegas. See AGP, Secc. Expedientes personales, cajas 483/15, 484/11, 681/17. The confusion was maintained by Narciso Hergueta, who, in his well-known study of the musicians of the Real Capilla, also makes a distinction between two music scribes, 'Miguel de Guerra' and 'José Guerra y Villegas'. See Narciso Hergueta, 'Profesores músicos de la Real Capilla de S. M. según documentos de su archivo', unpublished manuscript dated 1898 preserved in Loyola, Archivo y Biblioteca Musicales Padre Otaño, p. 150.

impression is that we are dealing with two different people, administrative records from the Real Capilla leave no doubt that they refer to the same individual, and the change in the way he wrote his name appears to be a reflection of his own self-perception. The modification in the name provides an interesting insight into the change in social status of our scribe, particularly the use of 'Alfonso' – probably connected with his claim of descent from King Alfonso X of Castile and León – yet it may also prove to be relevant to the dating of the manuscript, as we shall see below.

The first payments to Guerra as acting 'escriptor' in the Real Capilla are dated 1667,³³ though he did not obtain a permanent post in the royal household until 1676.³⁴ It is important to note that the position had been vacant since the retirement of Claudio de la Sablonara in 1633, and it would appear that Guerra managed to revive it for his own appointment.³⁵ At the end of the previous year (1675) he had obtained another post as servant in the queen's household.³⁶ Appointments in the queen's service could be obtained either through personal merit or through lineage, and it seems that Guerra's appointment was based on the former, since his origin was relatively lowly and none of his relatives are known to have enjoyed any post at court. The queen at this time was Mariana de Austria, the widow of Felipe IV and mother of Carlos II, who was regent of the kingdom until precisely 1675.

The years around and after 1680 appear to be the turning-point in Guerra's career. In 1679 he travelled to the French border as a member of the retinue escorting Carlos II's first wife and new queen, the French Marie-Louise d'Orléans, to Madrid.³⁷ More important was his visit to Italy in 1680–1, which lasted a whole year. The purpose of this journey is not entirely clear, and it may have involved personal business as well as his duties as the queen's servant. During the journey, which he recorded in a chronicle,³⁸ he was received by a number of distinguished individuals, including Pope Innocent X, the viceroy of Naples (the marquis of Los Vélez) and Leonor de Moscoso y Sandoval, former lady-in-waiting to the queen. It is notable that the treatment he received in all cases was not that of a musician, but that of a gentleman. Before his departure, Guerra was granted temporary leave from his scribal duties on the

³³ Payments are found from 30 March 1667 onwards in AGP, Secc. Administrativa, leg. 1137.

³⁴ His appointment as a member of the royal household (in the Casa de Borgoña) is dated 13 June 1676. See AGP, Secc. Administrativa, leg. 1135; and Secc. Expedientes personales, caja 483/15.

³⁵ 'Claudio de la Sablonara fue escritor de la Capilla . . . y fue reservado por el año de 1633 y desde entonces no se halla otro asiento como escritor, porque han cuidado de esto los maestros de capilla, pagandoles las obras que han sido menester hacerse.' AGP, Secc. Registros, vol. 265, unfoliated document dated 20 November 1678.

³⁶ He was appointed 'mozo de oficio de la Furriera' on 6 December. See AGP, Secc. Expedientes personales, caja 484/11.

³⁷ Guerra compiled a diary of this journey, which took two months. The first reference to this chronicle appears in Jenaro Alenda y Mira, *Relación de solemnidades y fiestas públicas de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1903), i, 412–13. There is also a modern edition: Henri Leonardon, 'Relation du voyage fait en 1679 au-devant et la suite de la reine Marie-Louise D'Orléans, femme de Charles II', *Bulletin hispanique*, 4 (1902), 104–18, 247–55, 342–59.

³⁸ E-Mn MS 8406. For a description of the manuscript, see *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, xii (Madrid, 1988), 326.

condition that he paid a copyist to replace him.³⁹ The activity of other scribes in the Real Capilla, however, did not terminate after his return to Spain, and up to four different copyists, including Guerra himself, are recorded in the early 1680s.⁴⁰

From 1685 onwards, Guerra was absent from court on several occasions in order to obtain proof of his noble ancestry, as he claimed to be a descendant of King Alfonso X.⁴¹ This was probably a requirement to achieve his higher appointments at court in the following years: he became Rey de Armas in 1688 (although he had been acting in that post since 1684), Aposentador Mayor in the queen's household the same year, General Chronicler of the Kingdom (1689) and Principal Chronicler of the Orders of San Juan, Santiago, Calatrava and Alcántara (1691).⁴² In 1695 he obtained the habit of Caballero de la Orden de Santiago for his son, Juan Alfonso de Guerra y Sandoval (1672–1753),⁴³ and the same privilege was granted to him in 1702 by the new king, Felipe V of Bourbon.⁴⁴ In 1714 he was made Escritor Mayor de los Reales Privilegios en Pergamino (Principal Scribe of the Royal Privileges written in Parchment).⁴⁵ The granting of the habit of Santiago for his son when the latter was only 23 years old, and before he obtained it for himself, was most likely related to the aristocratic origin of his first wife, María de Sandoval Barros y Molina. Although the exact relationship with the influential Sandoval family in Toledo is unknown, she doubtless came from a wealthy and well-connected family, as is confirmed by her dowry of 2,000 ducats. Moreover, Guerra managed to arrange for his son to

³⁹ AGP, Secc. Real Capilla, caja 119; Secc. Expedientes personales, caja 483/15.

⁴⁰ In 1685 Manuel de Gordojuela was granted the post of 'escritor' after Guerra's retirement, 'owing to his service in copying music': 'Atendiendo a lo que ha servido Manuel de Gordojuela en copiar diferentes obras de música que se le han encargado he resuelto hacer la merced del oficio de Escritor de mi Real Capilla para cuando vace por Joseph Miguel Guerra.' See AGP, Secc. Real Capilla, caja 118.

⁴¹ Several applications for temporary leave to travel within the country are recorded between 1685 and 1688. See AGP, Secc. Expedientes personales, caja 484/11. In this respect, his absence from the 'listas de distribución' in the Real Capilla between 1686 and 1689 appears to be highly significant. See AGP, Secc. Administrativa, leg. 1137. In 1692, Guerra travelled for three months to several cities in north-west Spain, including Santiago de Compostela. Although details of his journey and activities in Santiago are unknown, it is tempting to think that he brought the manuscript with him. This would be one possible explanation of how it reached the Galician capital. See AGP, Secc. Expedientes personales, caja 484/11.

⁴² Some information on this can be found in Alfonso de Ceballos-Escalera y Gila, marqués de la Floresta, *Heraldos y reyes de armas en la corte de España* (Madrid, 1933), 222–4. See also the entry 'Guerra y Villegas, Jose Alfonso de', *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada* (= *Enciclopedia Espasa-Calpe*), xxii (Madrid and Barcelona, 1991), 188.

⁴³ His son published a short pamphlet on the genealogy of his father. See Juan Alfonso de Guerra y Sandoval, *Trasumpto del memorial de la calidad y servicios, y de sus Mayores, que dio a la Magestad de el señor Don Carlos Segundo (que está en Gloria) Don Joseph Alfonso de Guerra y Villegas, Chronista, y Rey de Armas Principal, y mas Antiguo, en estos Reynos, Señorios, y Dominios* ([Madrid], 1707). A copy of this imprint is bound in the factitious volume E-Mn MS 9149, ff. 183–92.

⁴⁴ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereafter AHN), Secc. Órdenes Militares, Santiago, exp. 272. Also discussed in José Pérez Balsera, *Biblioteca histórica genealógica: Los caballeros de Santiago* (Madrid, 1934), iii, 183–6; and Joseph Antonio Alvarez Baena, *Hijos de Madrid, ilustres en santidad, dignidades, armas, ciencias y artes: Diccionario histórico por el orden alfabético de sus nombres* (Madrid, 1798), iii, 55.

⁴⁵ In 1714 Guerra printed a memorandum explaining the duties involved in this post, a copy of which is bound in E-Mn MS 9149, ff. 254–62. A modern survey of this post, together with a short biography of Guerra, can be found in Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Diccionario biográfico y bibliográfico de calígrafos españoles* (Madrid, 1913), i, 265–6 and 326–7.

marry the daughter of the Regidor Perpetuo of Toledo, Bernardino de Valladolid, from whom Juan Alfonso eventually inherited the post. When José Miguel Guerra died in 1722, he left his library to his son, who also inherited many of his privileges. No record has survived of the father's library, yet it is important to note that no music book or manuscript is recorded in his son's library inventory of 1738.⁴⁶

This extraordinary career as a courtier has no parallel with anyone involved in music production at the time, and doubtless had some influence in Guerra's activities as music copyist. It appears that, although he started his professional life as a music scribe, his involvement in other court offices progressively detached him from music, and it seems that this activity eventually became irrelevant. He was more involved after 1688 with his duties as Rey de Armas, on which he published his only book in 1693.⁴⁷ Interestingly, most references to Guerra in secondary literature overlook the fact that he began his career as a music scribe.⁴⁸ His rise up the social ladder can probably be dated to the early 1680s, as is suggested by the changes in his signature in 1681 and 1684 (see above) and the research he undertook to obtain proof of noble ascent from 1685 onwards. Interestingly, this date coincides with his return from Italy, although the reasons for and results of this journey are unclear.

Nothing is known about Guerra's musical training; he had not been a choirboy in the Colegio de los Niños Cantorcicos, where most members of the chapel were trained.⁴⁹ Several points suggest that he was not primarily a musician: his detachment from musical activities later in his career and his relative lack of interest in music during his trips to France and Italy, as well as some of the peculiarities of the Guerra manuscript discussed below. It is most likely that Guerra was a regular scribe and *calígrafo* of outstanding skill, and that his musical training was just sufficient to copy music. If this is true, his initial attachment to a musical institution was probably due to the availability of the post rather than to his personal preference for a music career, which was just a preliminary step in his social ascent. It therefore appears that Guerra's activity as a music scribe took place mostly in the early years of his career, and probably not later than 1685.⁵⁰ This cannot be confirmed through the study

⁴⁶ In his will, dated 14 October 1722, Guerra bequeathed all his belongings to his son, which doubtless included his library. Madrid, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos (hereafter AHP), no. 15325, ff. 243'-245'. An inventory of the library of Juan Alfonso de Guerra made in 1738 includes a number of items which originally belonged to the father. This library was sold to the Royal Library after Juan Alfonso's death in 1753, and is now part of the Biblioteca Nacional. See Gregorio de Andrés, 'La biblioteca nobiliaria del cronista Juan Alfonso Guerra, Rey de Armas de Felipe V, en la Biblioteca Nacional', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 187 (1990), 373-401.

⁴⁷ Joseph Alfonso de Guerra y Villegas, *Discurso histórico político, sobre el origen, y prehemencias de el oficio de heraldos, reyes de armas, feciales y caduceadores* (Madrid, 1693). See José Simón Díaz, *Bibliografía de la literatura hispánica* (Madrid, 1976), xi, 338-9.

⁴⁸ See notes 44 and 46-7 above.

⁴⁹ His name is not included in the comprehensive list of choirboys published by Bécker, although this is also the case for his predecessor in the post, Claudio de la Sablonara. See Danièle Bécker, 'La vie quotidienne au collège des jeunes chanteurs de la chapelle royale à Madrid au XVIIIème siècle', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 21 (1985), 219-54.

⁵⁰ While this article was at press documentary evidence came to light that Guerra abandoned his scribal duties after 1680. A memorandum by the king's household secretary Juan de Velasco, dated 2 March 1688 and addressed to the Patriarca (the head of the Real Capilla),

of music manuscripts from the Real Capilla, as the fire of the Madrid Alcázar in 1734 probably caused the destruction of most music copied by Guerra.

There is some evidence of his participation in the preparation of music copies to be sent to Vienna, which may have some relevance to the study of our manuscript. The family links between the Spanish and the Austrian Habsburgs involved the frequent exchange of presents between the two ruling houses, which included music manuscripts as well as theatrical plays.⁵¹ This exchange was particularly intense during the marriage of Leopold I with Margarita Teresa of Spain (i.e. from 1666 until her death in 1673).⁵² Varey and Shergold reveal that as early as 6 January 1667, the Austrian emperor wrote to his ambassador in Madrid: 'Because my wife constantly begs me to hear Spanish music, will you see that you send me some *tonos humanos* for one, two, or at most three voices?' The request was repeated in March and July, and it appears that the *tonos* arrived before 2 February 1668. It is not possible, however, that this was our manuscript, as the contents are clearly from a later date (see below), but it proves that collections of *tonos* for one to three voices were compiled as early as 1667. It is tempting to think that Guerra could have been involved in the preparation of that collection, owing to the coincidence of the dates with his early activities as acting 'escriptor' from around March 1667.

The dispatch of theatrical plays was regular during the life of Empress Margarita, as they were represented every year during the birthday festivities for Mariana de Austria, the queen mother of Spain and widow of Felipe IV, as well as on other occasions. One of the best-studied is *Los celos hacen estrellas*, a *comedia* by Juan Vélez de Guevara with music by Juan Hidalgo, which was probably sent to Vienna in March 1673 with

states that Manuel de Gordojuela had been appointed music scribe owing to the absence of Guerra from his duties: 'el Rey nuestro Señor, Dios le guarde, por Real decreto de 13 de junio pasado de 1685 se sirvió recibir por escriptor de la Real Capilla a Manuel de Gordojuela en las ausencias y enfermedades de Joseph Guerra y con esta ocupación le ha señalado una distribución que le ha de correr desde dos de este mes. Avissolo a Vm. para que en los libros que estan a su cargo se le haga asiento.' AGP, Secc. Expedientes personales, caja 476/2. See also above, note 40, and now postscript, below, p. 175.

⁵¹ One well-known example is the lavish manuscript of Calderón's play *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*, sent by Felipe IV to his father-in-law, Emperor Ferdinand III, which included, apart from the play, 11 stage designs by Baccio del Bianco and the music score by an unknown composer. The manuscript is now preserved in US-CA MS Typ 258 H. 1994. There is a modern edition of the text which includes facsimiles of both the stage designs and the music score. Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Andrómeda y Perseo*, ed. Rafael Maestre (Almagro, 1994). A more comprehensive study of this source and its performing circumstances can be found in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 144–69.

⁵² In an unpublished paper entitled 'Spanish Festival Culture and the Imperial Court in Vienna in the Seventeenth Century', presented at 'Feste feiern wie sie fallen': *Festival Culture in Germany and Europe* (Regional Conference of the German History Society at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London University, 18–19 April 1997), Andrea Sommer-Mathis made a general survey of the links between the two families with special attention to this period and to the representations of Spanish theatre in Vienna. We are most grateful to Dr Sommer-Mathis for her permission to consult this paper. See also Juan Vélez de Guevara, *Los celos hacen estrellas*, ed. John E. Varey, Norbert D. Shergold and Jack Sage (London, 1970), cv–cviii.

three other plays – although there is no evidence of its performance.⁵³ The performance of Spanish plays in the Viennese court did not continue after Margarita's death in 1673, but this did not stop the dispatch of manuscripts. As late as 1680, a copy of Calderón's *comedia Hado y divisa* was sent to Vienna. In this case it is recorded that the music was copied by José Miguel Guerra. In the record of expenses for the performance of *Hado y divisa* in Madrid, payments are found to two other music scribes, Juan Rodríguez and Marcos Rodríguez, who copied the performing parts of the play.⁵⁴ That year Guerra also made two copies of the same *comedia* for the queen mother, Mariana de Austria.⁵⁵ This suggests that at that point in his career Guerra was involved only in the copying of lavish manuscripts for special occasions such as the ones referred to above, while the task of copying the music for regular performances was given to other, lesser officials. No evidence of Guerra's participation in the copying of the music sent to Vienna before 1680 has been found, but it is most likely that he, as scribe of the royal chapel, was involved. This is confirmed by a memorandum written many years later, in which he states that he had copied 'infinite works for this chapel as well as [to be sent] to France and Germany [referring to Austria]'.⁵⁶

The purpose and dedication of the Guerra manuscript remain unclear. Many physical features (discussed below) demonstrate that it was compiled as a lavish anthology, more suitable for a royal gift than for regular performance. If we extrapolate from the conventions of Italian cantata anthologies of the period, the absence of composer attributions might also be related to its connection with an aristocratic or royal

⁵³ Comparison of the handwriting with our source proves that Guerra did not copy any of the three theatrical manuscripts sent in 1673. We are grateful to Andrea Sommer-Mathis, who undertook the collation of the handwriting on our behalf. An introduction and modern edition of the text and some of the music can be found in Vélez de Guevara, *Los celos hacen estrellas*, ed. Varey, Shergold and Sage: New musical sources for that play have been identified in Carmelo Caballero, 'Nuevas fuentes musicales de "Los celos hacen estrellas" de Juan Vélez de Guevara', *Cuadernos de teatro clásico*, 3 (1988), 119–55.

⁵⁴ 'A Juan Rodríguez, por auer sacado otra copia de la comedia y ser apuntador sobresaliente. A Marcos Rodriguez, por auer sacado los acompañamientos de la musica por solfa . . . A don Melchor de Leon, por auer escripto la narratiua de la fiesta para enbiar a Alemania [sic]. A don Joseph Guerra, que la escriuió y enquaderno a su costa'. AGP, Secc. Administración del patrimonio, Retiro, caja 11.744. A transcription of this document can be found in Norbert D. Shergold and John E. Varey, *Representaciones palaciegas, 1603–1699: Estudio y documentos* (London, 1982), 112 and 132. This implies that Melchor de León copied the text of the play and Guerra copied the music. The references to León and Guerra are quoted in the introduction to Vélez de Guevara, *Los celos hacen estrellas*, ed. Varey, Shergold and Sage, p. liv, note 141.

⁵⁵ Shergold and Varey, *Representaciones palaciegas*, 137. One copy of the play which seems to be in Guerra's hand is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, bound in a factitious volume from the library of Guerra's son, E-Mn MS 9373. See Biblioteca Nacional, *Inventario general de manuscritos*, xiii: (8500 a 9500) (Madrid, 1995).

⁵⁶ 'D. Joseph Alfonso de Guerra y Villegas . . . dice que ha mas de cuarenta años que entró a servir la plaza de escriptor mayor de la Real Capilla de S.M. no hayándose persona de su habilidad con la cual continuamente escribió infinitas obras así para la capilla, como para Alemania y Francia de orden real señalándole S.M. (que está en gloria) cuatrocientos ducados de renta para ayuda a su sustento.' From a memorandum dated 5 December 1708. See AGP, Secc. Expedientes personales, caja 484/11.



Figure 1. The Guerra manuscript (E-SCu MS 265) f. 5^v: 'Estrellas, astros, luces' (continuo part).

household.⁵⁷ One possible explanation is that it was prepared to be sent to the Viennese court, as was done with other music and theatre manuscripts of the same period. In the absence of any dedication, a clue to the intended dedicatee may be contained in the first piece of the collection, 'Estrellas, astros, luces', the only song copied in parchment (G1; see Appendix and Figures 1 and 2). The symbolism of the poem is open to several interpretations. The poem depicts a conflict between several characters represented as flowers, which is resolved in a wedding, a kind of allegory common in Calderón's theatre, including the *loa* for *Hado y divisa*.⁵⁸ Perhaps the allegory is related to the conflicts which took place in the Spanish court under the government of Carlos II's natural brother, Juan José de Austria (1677–9), whose direct confrontation with the queen mother, Mariana, resulted in the confinement of the latter in the Alcázar of Toledo. During the same period, negotiations with other royal houses in Europe were initiated by Juan José de Austria in order to find a suitable wife for the king, none of which was successful until the death of Juan José in 1679. That year marked the return of Mariana de Austria to court and the king's wedding with the French Princess

⁵⁷ As discussed by Margaret Murata, 'Roman Cantata Scores as Traces of Musical Culture and Signs of its Place in Society', *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia*, ed. Angelo Pompilio, Donatella Restani, Lorenzo Bianconi *et al.*, i (Turin, 1990), 272–84.

⁵⁸ The symbolism of this *loa* has been analysed by Danièle Bécker, but the differences in this poem do not allow a direct application of her conclusions. See Danièle Bécker, 'Hado y Divisa de Carlos Segundo y María Luisa en la Real Entrada de la Reina y Fiesta de 1680', *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Semiótica e Hispanismo (20–25 de junio de 1983)*, ed. Miguel Ángel Garrido Gallardo (Madrid, 1984), 611–25.

of the music would have been included if the manuscript had been finished after the première. The two *tonos* from the play *Contra el amor desengaño*, premièred on 6 November 1679,⁵⁹ provide the date *post quem* for the completion of the manuscript and, since they appear in the second half of the source, it is not unlikely that the copying process started before that date and was completed shortly thereafter.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOURCE

The Guerra anthology is the only music manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Xeral of the University of Santiago de Compostela, and perhaps for that reason it has escaped the attention of music scholars until now. It was bequeathed to the university more than a century ago, in 1880, by a certain Miguel Marín Arén, of whom very little is known apart from his own legacy. We can only speculate on how the manuscript became his property. It seems that some manuscripts from Marín Arén's bequest had originally belonged to the Benedictine monastery of San Martín Pinario, and were probably 'taken' from there when the monks were forced to abandon the monastery during the *desamortizaciones* of the 1830s.⁶⁰ The possibility that the Guerra manuscript came from this location should be considered, particularly since three other similar sources were connected in their compilation and/or preservation with religious orders, although no conclusive evidence can be presented.⁶¹ Even if this hypothesis were true, it would not explain why a collection from Madrid ended up in Santiago.

Analysis of the physical aspects of the codex – page materials, layout, handwriting and decoration – provides substantial information about its origin and compilation. The manuscript is of folio size and landscape format, and in its present state has 111 folios, six of them in parchment and the remaining 105 in paper. The folio measurements are approximately 205 × 282 mm. The manuscript is partially foliated (ff. 2–102, except f. 4 which is lost), and the foliation seems to be written by the same hand as the manuscript. Alterations in the foliation and distribution of parchment pages show that the original manuscript structure was altered. Table 1 shows the current layout and includes the hypothetical contents and location of f. 4. The foliation shows that seven parchment folios were originally placed at the beginning of the manuscript (ff. [I] + [1]–6). Of these, ff. [1]–4, containing the *tabla*, were at some point placed at the end of the manuscript to act as a back cover, and this explains why f. 4 is missing. Folio [111] is made of a different kind of paper,

⁵⁹ G69 and G92 (see Appendix below). For the date of performance of *Contra el amor desengaño*, see Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 349.

⁶⁰ This information has been kindly provided by Mariví Pardo, compiler of the unpublished 'Catálogo de manuscritos en la Biblioteca Xeral de Santiago de Compostela'.

⁶¹ *Romances y letras a tres voces* (E-Mn M 1371–3) seems to be connected with the Jesuit order, as several songs are dedicated to St Ignatius. The *Libros de tonos humanos* (E-Mn M 1262) was copied in Madrid in 1654, but was later preserved in the convent of the Carmelite Order in Salamanca, from where it was taken to the Archivo Histórico Nacional and later to the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. M 2618 includes an inscription with the name of a certain P. Anselmo Lera – its owner and/or compiler – from the Benedictine monastery of San Martín in Madrid. See Anglés and Subirá, *Catálogo musical de la Biblioteca Nacional*, i, 260–74 and 291–3. There is a modern edition of *Romances y letras* by Miguel Querol Gavaldá, *Monumentas de la música española*, 18. For M 2618, see also Carreras, 'La cantata de cámara', 87–8.

TABLE 1

STRUCTURE OF THE GUERRA MANUSCRIPT

<i>folios</i>	<i>material</i>	<i>contents</i>	<i>border</i>
[I]	parchment	opening	complex
[I ^v]	parchment	blank	complex
5	parchment	drawing 1	complex
5 ^v -6	parchment	G1	simple
6 ^v	parchment	drawing 2	complex
7-102	paper	G2-100	simple
102 ^v -[103 ^v]	paper	blank	simple
[104-110]	paper	blank	none
[111]	paper (lighter weight)	blank	none
[1]	parchment	contents A-C	complex
2	parchment	contents D-E	complex
3	parchment	contents F-K	complex
4 [missing]	parchment?	contents L-Z?	complex?

of lighter weight and partially deteriorated. This might suggest that it was originally a flyleaf, and was affected by the absence of a binding until the four folios of the table of contents were placed at the end of the manuscript. Therefore, the original structure might have been: seven parchment folios (ff. [I] + [1]-6), 104 paper folios (7-[110]) and one flyleaf ([111]). The absence of watermarks and the fact that a solid modern binding was imposed in 1987 prevent a more detailed study of the manuscript's structure, particularly with regard to the number, format and distribution of gatherings. However, the coherence of the musical contents of ff. 7-102 confirm that no significant alteration was made after the manuscript was copied.

A border was drawn on most pages, as can be seen in Figures 1-4. The degree of elaboration of the border is related to the purpose of the page. Those containing music have a simple border, consisting of five parallel lines and small circular ornaments (see Figures 1-2; this style is referred to as 'simple' in Table 1). All the parchment pages, except those containing music (ff. 5^v-6), have more elaborate borders of variable complexity, with floral and geometrical motives (see Figures 3-4; this style is referred to as 'complex' in Table 1). Borders have also been drawn on pages with no content. Of these, the most striking is the verso of the opening folio ([I^v]), which has a complex border, though not as elaborate as other examples. Three pages at the end of the music (ff. 102^v-[103^v]) also have simple borders and no other content. These empty pages could indicate that the manuscript was never completed.

The parchment pages deserve some attention, since this material is not known to have been used for any similar manuscript of secular music in Spain except for bindings. As can be observed in Figure 3, the recto of the opening folio contains four short lines of music inserted in a large and ornamented circular border which also bears the inscription attributing the copy to Guerra (see above); six further circles of smaller

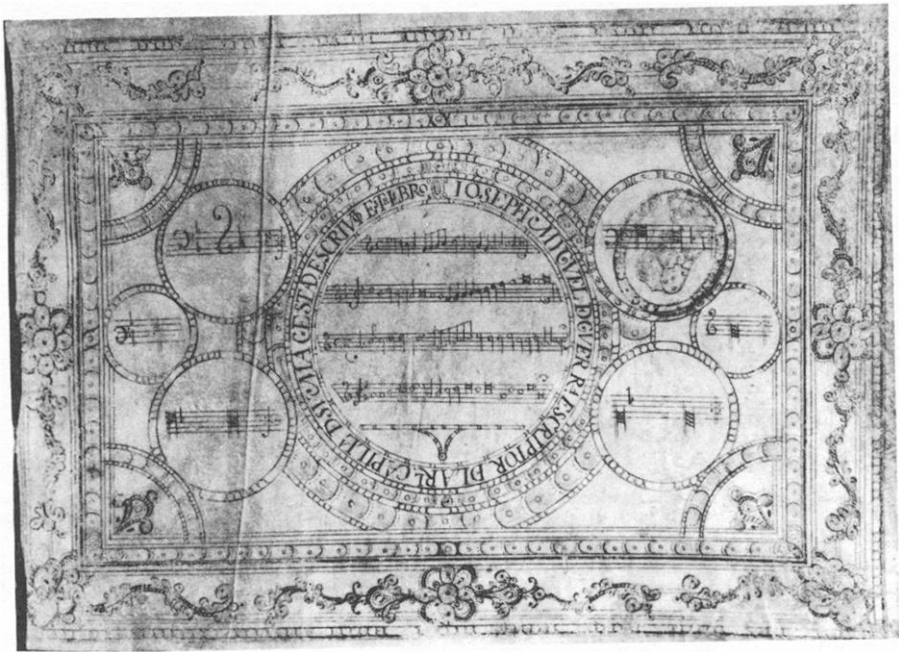


Figure 3. The Guerra manuscript (E-SCu MS 265), opening page (f. 1).

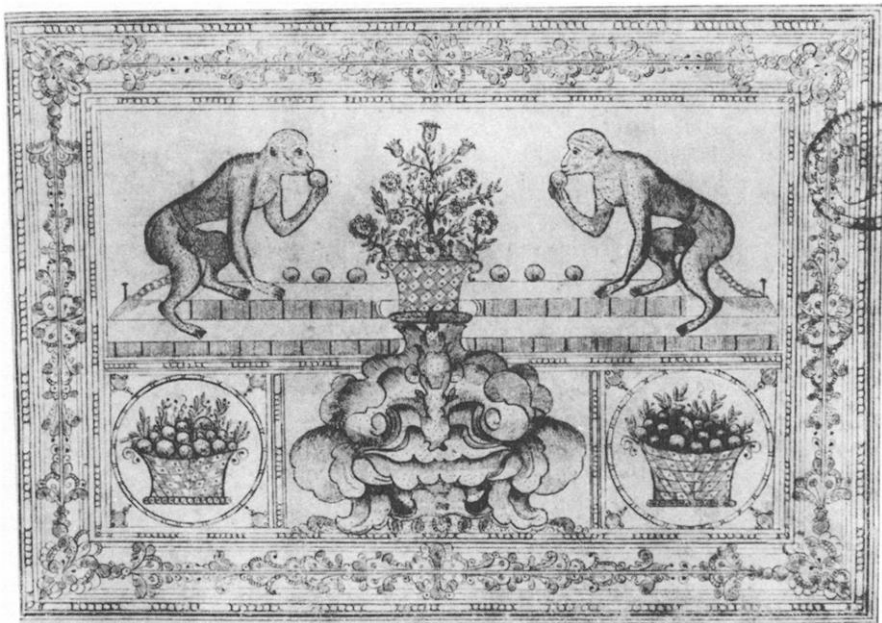


Figure 4. The Guerra manuscript (E-SCu MS 265), drawing 1 (f. 5).

size containing musical symbols are placed on both sides of the large circle, which seem to represent an enigmatic canon, though no resolution can be proposed here. Two drawings are found on ff. 5 (see Figure 4) and 6^v, both including animal and vegetable decorative motives. None of these drawings seem to bear any specific symbolism; they probably had a purely decorative function, although further research would be needed in order to answer this question. The purpose of the blank

space on f. [I^v] is more obscure. Perhaps it was reserved for an eventual dedication of the manuscript, yet its position on the verso of the opening folio would not be the most suitable location for a dedication; it is more likely that its purpose was to contain the beginning of the table of contents, which was eventually copied on ff. [1]–4. It is possible that one or more parchment pages bearing a dedication existed before f. [I], though this cannot be proved. Only one piece of music is copied on the parchment pages: ‘Estrellas, astros, luces’ (G1, ff. 5^v–6, shown in Figures 1–2). Interestingly, this is the only *tono* in the collection which has three distinctive sections (labelled *solo*, *estribillo* and *coplas*) and where two capitals in the voice part are decorated with a border.⁶² As suggested above, the symbolic language used in this piece could perhaps provide some clues as to the dedication of the manuscript.

It is unlikely that the original intention was to write the whole manuscript in parchment, or that the parchment folios were added to a pre-existent manuscript. Excluding the material, all other elements of these folios are consistent with rest of the codex, particularly the handwriting of text and music and the page borders. However, the possibility that they were incorporated as the last step in the compilation process is also feasible. Parchment pages are used mostly for the preliminaries of the manuscript: cover-page (f. [I]), table of contents (ff. [1]–4), two drawings (ff. 5 and 6^v) and the first composition (ff. 5^v–6). It is clear at least that the table of contents was compiled after all the music.

The possibility that the making of the manuscript was the result of the work of several hands for the different elements – decoration, text and music – should not be overlooked, although the general unity of style suggests the opposite. Excluding G1 and G2, which are separated by the drawing on f. 6^v, all the music is copied consecutively on ff. 7–102. Seven pieces are copied on a single page each (G2, G85–6 and G94–7) and the remainder on facing pages. In most cases the parts are presented as in Figures 1–2: the left page contains the continuo with the textual incipit of each section, and the right page contains the voice with the full text. (One exception is G21, which is copied the other way round, the voice part on the verso and the continuo on the facing recto.) When more space for the vocal part was needed, the continuo was copied in the upper half of the verso and one of the sections of the vocal line was copied in the lower half.

Only part of the sequence of operations involved in compiling the manuscript can be deduced. The existence of blank and empty bordered pages suggests that the tracing of the borders was the first step, and either that the manuscript was never completed or that it needed less paper than had been estimated at the beginning of the process. The second step was probably to draw the staves. Staves do not appear to have been traced with a rastrum, but each line is ruled individually. This is not easily perceptible in the two pages reproduced in Figures 1–2, but a careful measurement of the staves of f. 5^v (Figure 1) demonstrates a difference of nearly 2 mm in the staff span (SS) between the first and the third

⁶² In the description of G61 in the Appendix we have identified a third section, which acts as a refrain (*respuesta*) for all the *coplas*, but this is not indicated in the manuscript.

staves (SS₁ and SS₂), as well as a difference of about 0.5 mm in the distance between lines when comparing the first and fourth space at the beginning of the first stave.⁶³ Irregularities such as these are much more perceptible on other pages of the manuscript. This fact is quite striking, since *rastra* were regularly used in sources connected with the Real Capilla, both before and after Guerra.⁶⁴ The only possible explanation we can propose is that Guerra was not primarily a music scribe but a regular calligrapher, and that since he normally worked from home he did not have access to the tool specifically connected with music copying.⁶⁵ The distribution of staves and text lines demonstrates that each composition was copied individually, and that the scribe adapted the space to fit the structure and poetic content. Some space is normally allowed between staves to indicate the distinction between sections and between voice and continuo, as can be observed in Figures 1–2. In the voice part (f. 6) the distribution of staves was adapted to the poetic and musical content, and a greater space was left for four lines of text in the stanzas. This kind of distribution is used consistently throughout the manuscript.

Some minor inconsistencies suggest that the contents were copied from several sources:

- (1) The names of the sections are given only occasionally, and both full and abbreviated forms are used.⁶⁶
- (2) The common rule is not to include a part name in either the vocal or the instrumental line, but there are some significant exceptions.⁶⁷
- (3) Continuo figuration is not used at all in two thirds (68) of the pieces and, when used, rarely appears in a systematic manner.⁶⁸

⁶³ For the description of stave rulings we follow Jean K. Wolf and Eugene K. Wolf: 'Rastrology and its Use in Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Studies', *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue*, ed. Eugene K. Wolf and Edward H. Roesner (Madison, 1990), 237–91.

⁶⁴ For example, a *rastrum* was used to trace the staves of the Cancionero de la Sablonara in the 1620s, and also for the manuscripts E-Mn M 3880 and M 3881, which are contemporary with the Guerra manuscript. Description in Anglés and Subirá, *Catálogo musical de la Biblioteca Nacional*, i, 280–90.

⁶⁵ 'Señor. Joseph de Guerra y Villegas escritor de la Real Capilla de V.M. Dice que quando V.M. le recibió en ella fue con la calidad de escusarle ir a ella los días ordinarios en que V.M. no sale a ella respecto de no tener que hacer en dicha capilla sino es tan solamente en su casa donde escribe lo que es del Real Servicio lo cual consta de su asiento.' See AGP, Secc. Real Capilla, caja 119.

⁶⁶ This occurs sometimes within the same piece. As can be observed in Figures 1–2, an abbreviated form of the name for the two last sections ('Cop.' and 'Estr.') is notated in the continuo part, while they are not indicated in the voice. By contrast, the first section ('Solo') is notated only in the vocal part. Similar inconsistencies are found in a large number of pieces throughout the manuscript.

⁶⁷ The indication 'Acompañam.'" is found only on f. 5', f. 54' and, in more expanded form, on f. 99: 'Acomp.'" a las 5." coplas'. Moreover, several pieces in the last part of the manuscript have the indication 'Vajo' (f. 74') or 'Vajo solo' (ff. 73', 79' and 80').

⁶⁸ Although little or no figuration is common in contemporary Spanish music, there seems to be no consistency within the manuscript. When figuration is used, it is often found in passages where the harmony above the bass line is not straightforward (for example, in passages with abundant suspensions). Nevertheless, similar passages in other pieces do not include any figuration; 'De las luces que en el mar' (G5), for example, does not have figuration even when there are instances of dissonance in the harmony. On the use of continuo in Spain see Stein, 'Accompaniment and Continuo'. Different figurations in concordant versions of some pieces can be observed. For example, some figures indicating dissonances appear in 'Zagala di para qué matas' (G4), while another copy of the same piece in E-Mn M 3880/45 does not have any figuration at all.

(4) One single piece, 'En la ruda política vuestra' (G99), includes alphabetic *cifras* for guitar above the continuo.⁶⁹

(5) There is a five-bar fragment of tablature for five-course guitar on f. 22^v, probably a *pasacalle* (instrumental *ritornello*) to be played after each *copla*.

All these inconsistencies strongly suggest that the scribe faithfully reproduced the contents from a model. It was only when section names, figures or other indications existed in the source that they were copied in the anthology.

Although the Guerra manuscript shares the landscape format of later anthologies, the distribution of music is closer to the choirbook format common in earlier collections. In *cancioneros* containing polyphonic duos (for example, Sablonara) vocal parts are copied separately on facing pages, as in our anthology, never one above the other. It appears that Guerra, while following to some extent the conventions of choirbook compilation, also adapts the conventions for copying music in separate performing parts which were common in seventeenth-century Spain – where the music for each vocal and instrumental part is copied on a single sheet in landscape format – for his bound anthology.⁷⁰

The Guerra manuscript appears to have been copied as a luxurious anthology, with the intention of presenting it as a gift to a distinguished personality. The clearest evidence for this is the use of seven folios of parchment, a material which is not used in any other similar collection in the seventeenth century. Further proof in this direction is the presence of borders on most pages, the delicate decoration of these on the parchment folios, and the minimal concern about unused space on the pages, many of which have just one line of music in the continuo part. It is most unlikely that a collection conceived for regular performance, even in the king's chamber, would have such elaborate decoration. Although a number of inconsistencies have been identified, the borders and general disposition of the music provide a homogeneity and quality of presentation not found in other contemporary manuscripts, including the *Cancionero de la Sablonara*.

CONTENTS AND CONCORDANCES⁷¹

Of the 100 songs contained in this manuscript, all but two are for soprano and continuo. The exceptions are 'Tirano dueño del alma' (G10) for

⁶⁹ This type of *cifra* was common in other contemporary sources, but its use in one single piece of the Guerra manuscript is quite striking. They are found in poetic anthologies (such as E-Bc MS 888) and music collections (Sutro). For a survey of sources with this alphabetic *cifra*, see Yakeley, 'New Sources'.

⁷⁰ This was the convention in Spain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One of the best-known examples is the collection of *tonos* in E-Mn M 3880 and M 3881, which share a number of concordances with our anthology. Each of these class-marks refers to a box containing around 50 *tonos* in performing parts. Although this collection has been consulted and discussed by a number of scholars for different purposes, it is unfortunate that no systematic study has been undertaken in order to reveal its origin, function and copying circumstances.

⁷¹ The study of concordances for this source would have been much more difficult without the excellent catalogue of theatrical songs compiled by Louise K. Stein. It not only provided concordances for 25 pieces, but also pointed to a number of sources and collections where further concordances were found. Further references are also based on Carmelo Caballero Fernández-Rufete, 'Arded, Corazón, arded': *Tonos humanos del Barroco en la península ibérica* (Valladolid, 1997).

soprano and tenor without a separate part for continuo (the lower part indicates 'Tenor a Duo') and 'Qué dulcemente canta' (G84), which has the whole text for the *estribillo* (but not for the *coplas*) copied under the continuo part. The remaining pieces have no specific indication of vocal range, but the clef normally used for soprano is applied consistently throughout (G2 in high clefs and C1 in low clefs).⁷² There is no reference to the instrument to be used in the continuo, and the indications 'Acompañamiento' or 'Vajo' are found only occasionally. The expression 'Acompañamiento' is the Spanish equivalent to 'basso continuo', but the exact meaning of 'Vajo' is unclear (see note 67 above), since this term is used in contemporary Spanish music for both instrumental and vocal bass lines. It could well be that the four pieces with this indication were originally vocal duos which were turned into accompanied solos when copied into this collection.⁷³ The two passages with guitar notation mentioned above suggest that the accompaniment was played by this instrument, but it is most likely that other instruments were also used: harp, harpsichord, lute, violone or chamber organ.⁷⁴

With regard to the form of the pieces, the majority follow the traditional combination of a through-composed *estribillo* and a series of *coplas*. It is unclear whether the *estribillo* always had the function of a refrain repeated after each *copla*, since several pieces present a common passage with a single line of text at the end of each *copla*, or an indication to repeat just the last musical phrase of the *estribillo* – the kind of passage labelled *respuesta* in other contemporary sources. There is one single piece with an additional opening section labelled *solo* (G1, see above), while 13 songs are mono-sectional,⁷⁵ all but one consisting of a series of *coplas* which share the same music. The exception is 'Crédito es mi decoro' (G98), the only through-composed piece, to which more attention will be devoted later. Interestingly, one of the mono-sectional pieces, 'En la ruda política vuestra' (G99), survives in another source with a four-part refrain which is omitted in this collection, and this might indicate that the preference for solo-voice *tonos* implied alterations in the original features of some of the pieces to be included in this anthology.⁷⁶

No plan in the order of the pieces can easily be identified. As is shown in the Appendix below, poetic authors and composers are mixed up; songs from the same theatrical play appear in distant parts of the manuscript and not necessarily in the order in which they appear in the play; and some of the earlier compositions in terms of date are copied near the end

⁷² The use of both high and low clefs – *chiavette* and *chiavi naturali* – was common in Spain during the seventeenth century and until around 1730. This is also the case in this anthology: pieces in high clefs always use the standard G2 clef for the soprano and C4 for the bass; those in low clefs use C1 for the higher part and F4 for the bass. Further discussion of the use of high and low clefs in Spanish music of the period can be found in Álvaro Torrente, 'The Sacred Villancico in Early Eighteenth-Century Spain: The Repertory of Salamanca Cathedral' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1997), 135–40.

⁷³ G69, G70, G75 and G76. This might be supported by the fact that although there is no text in the bass line, it could easily be applied without modifying the rhythm of the line in all four pieces except in the *estribillo* of G75; furthermore, none of these pieces has continuo figuration in the bass line.

⁷⁴ Stein, 'Accompaniment and Continuo'. See also Robledo, *Juan Blas de Castro*, 54–7.

⁷⁵ G2, G49, G50, G57, G71, G73 and G93–9.

⁷⁶ E-Mn M 3880/55. A modern transcription can be found in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 481–2.

of the collection. Moreover, a technical analysis of musical and poetic features points in the same direction: no perceptible order can be found in the use of tonal types, metrical combinations, poetic forms, vocal range or structure of the pieces. Only an overall analysis reveals a certain imbalance between the first and second halves of the anthology. For example, of the 13 mono-sectional pieces referred to above, all but one appear in the second half, from G49 onwards. Also, more pieces with figured bass are found in the second half. Among the pieces which we have been able to date through concordances in theatrical plays – a quarter of the total – all those found before G64 belong to plays premièred between 1672 and 1675. Although pieces from this narrow period also appear in the last part of the manuscript, a larger number of earlier and later pieces are found, including ‘Crédito es mi decoro’ (G98) from *Pico y Canente* by Ulloa y Pereira (text) and Hidalgo (music) premièred in 1656, and ‘Sobre el regazo de Venus’ (G68), from *Los tres afectos de amor*, by Calderón (composer unknown), premièred in 1658.⁷⁷

A similar imbalance can be observed in the distribution of both the composers and the poetic authors. For example, no piece to a text by Calderón has been identified before G68; eight out of 12 texts by Salazar y Torres are included in the second half while, on the contrary, seven out of nine songs with text by Vélez de Guevara – all of them from *Los celos hacen estrellas*, premièred in 1672 – appear in the first half. If the number of concordances can be taken as an indicator of the popularity of each composition, the distribution between the two halves is also asymmetrical. While in the first half there are 25 songs with three or more concordances, there are only 16 in the second half. Interestingly, the three pieces for which we have found ten or more concordances were copied in the last quarter of the anthology: ‘El curso transparente’ (G78, with 13 concordances), ‘Corazón que en prisión’ (G90, with 12) and ‘En la ruda política vuestra’ (G99, with ten).

Any conclusion on this basis would be hypothetical, since the identification of further concordances could modify the patterns pointed out above. However, it appears that the compiler started the collection with a selection of *tonos* from a narrow period of four years (1672–5), and that he then completed his collection with other pieces, some of which had enjoyed more popular appeal. The narrow chronological period covered by the pieces in the first two thirds of the collection suggests that the compilation could have taken place over several years, starting in the mid-1670s and reaching completion around 1680.

A more detailed survey of concordances might help to place this anthology into context. The large number of concordances identified in a preliminary scrutiny proves that the core of the anthology enjoyed great popularity in the second half of the seventeenth century. We have identified some 240 concordances for 69 songs in theatrical, poetic and musical sources. Of these, the music of 53 pieces survives in other sources; 24 pieces appear in theatrical plays, and the texts of 51 are also included in poetic collections and anthologies.

⁷⁷ For dates of premières, we mostly follow Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 348–51.

With regard to musical concordances, it should be noted that none have been identified in any of the *cancioneros* of the first half of the century. By contrast, the Guerra manuscript shares a number of pieces with all the important anthologies and collections of solo-voice *tonos* containing late seventeenth-century repertory. Five of these are particularly significant:

- (1) the collection of performing parts in E-Mn M 3880 and M 3881;
- (2) the Marín manuscript;
- (3) the Contarini manuscript;
- (4) the collection of *tonos* preserved under several class-marks in the archive of Valladolid cathedral (E-Vc); and
- (5) another collection in the Biblioteca de Catalunya (E-Bc).

There are 74 concordances for 49 songs altogether; that is to say, only three of the remaining 26 musical concordances are not found in these collections as well: those for G18, G43 and G91 (see Appendix for further details).

The most relevant is the collection in E-Mn M 3880 and M 3881, which contains 112 pieces, most of them *tonos a solo* by Hidalgo and other musicians connected with Madrid in the second half of the seventeenth century.⁷⁸ 24 of these, 16 attributed to Juan Hidalgo and six to José Marín, are also found in the Guerra manuscript. This large figure suggests that both contain musical repertory from roughly the same period and context. Likewise, the existence of 11 concordances with Marín, many of which are also concordant with pieces in M 3880 or M 3881, points to a close relationship. Similar circumstances apply to the Contarini manuscript, which shares nine pieces with Guerra, exactly one third of the 27 compositions contained in that source. There is only one song which is included in all four sources: 'Pensará vuestro rigor' (G35), better known by the incipit of the *estribillo*, 'Apostemos, niña, que acierto'.⁷⁹

Twelve further concordances are found in the large collection of seventeenth-century music manuscripts preserved in the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona under several class-marks (E-Bc M 743–75; see Appendix for details). Given the heterogeneity of the collection and the lack of information about its ultimate provenance, it is difficult to make an assessment, although most of the concordant manuscripts could well have been copied in Madrid. The case of Valladolid cathedral is far better documented and particularly interesting, since it illustrates another dimension of the repertory in the Guerra manuscript: the adaptation of secular repertory for use in sacred contexts. The exchange of music and texts between court musicians and those from provincial cathedrals to be used in sacred *villancicos* is well known thanks to the correspondence that survives from the second half of the century.⁸⁰ Although

⁷⁸ Despite the two separate class-marks, these all seem to be part of a single collection.

⁷⁹ Although there are some differences between the three sources, they appear to be variants of the same piece.

⁸⁰ A discussion of the mechanics of this exchange can be found in Pablo-L. Rodríguez, '“Sólo Madrid es corte”: Villancicos de las capillas reales de Carlos II en la catedral de Segovia', *Artigrama*, 12 (1996–7), 237–56 (pp. 248–50). A more thorough discussion of the different process used for the adaptation of secular *tonos* in the *villancicos* can be found in Carmelo Caballero Fernández-Rufete, 'Miscent sacra profanis: Música profana y teatral en los villancicos de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII', *Música y literatura en la península ibérica: 1600–1750*, ed. Virgili Blanquet *et al.*, 49–64.

concordances *a lo divino* with the Compostela anthology have been found in other two cathedral archives (Burgos and Segovia), Valladolid has by far the largest number, and in many cases the original secular version of the pieces is also extant. The most interesting is 'Son tus descuidos, Marica' (G39), which is better known by the incipit of the *estribillo*, '¿A quién me quejé?' Several versions are preserved in Valladolid, including the secular version of the *tono* (E-Vc 84/238), the working sketch (E-Vc 71/29) and the *particellas* (E-Vc 62/61) of a *villancico* for the Assumption which is a contrafactum of this *tono*. It was composed in 1679 by the Valladolid chapel-master Miguel Gómez Camargo (1654–90), and the same piece was copied again in 1706 – probably for a new performance – by the then chapel-master, José Martínez de Arce (1690–1721). Carmelo Caballero has demonstrated that Camargo regularly received the most recent music composed in Madrid, and in most cases it was used for *villancicos* in the following years.⁸¹ Therefore it could be assumed that the original *tono* was composed around 1677–8. Because many *tonos* are copied in the same sketchbooks ('cuadernillos de borradores') as the *villancicos* for which they were used, the date of these sketchbooks helps to date the secular repertory they contain. Concerning the Guerra manuscript, concordances appear in sketchbooks for 1674 and 1675; and the latest is that for Corpus 1680 (E-Vc 71/31), which contains the *tono* '¡Ah de la esfera de nieve!' (G51). This gives further support to the proposed date for the compilation of the Guerra manuscript.

A few further concordances are found in other collections and anthologies, most of which date from around 1700 onwards. This includes five in the Suro manuscript (US-SFs, SMMS M1), four in Gayangos-Barbieri (E-Mn MS 13622), two in the collection of the Hispanic Society of America (US-NYhsa MC380/824a), one in the Majorca manuscript (E-Bc M 3660) and just one textual concordance in Novena.⁸² One single concordance in the incomplete book of cantatas E-Mn M 2618 is particularly interesting, since this collection was compiled nearly half a century after the Guerra anthology. 'Con tanto respeto adoran' by Juan Hidalgo (G33) is the earliest piece included in M 2618 and the only one by this composer. It also survives in E-Mn M 3880/29 and E-BUc 61/20, and in a sacred version in Segovia cathedral (E-SE 56/52). The few concordances with these collections give further support to the estimated date for the compilation of the Guerra manuscript and also prove that some of its music still enjoyed a certain popularity in the first decades of the eighteenth century.

Several references have already been made to songs which appear to have been composed for *comedias* and *zarzuelas*. The close connections between the chamber *tono* and the theatre in this period are well known, particularly through the works of Louise K. Stein. 24 of the 26 theatrical songs identified in this collection appear in Stein's catalogue; the two remaining pieces are significant. 'En este nuevo alentar' (G17) comes from the first act of *Los celos hacen estrellas*, with text by Juan Vélez de Guevara

⁸¹ With regard to the reception of music from Calderón's plays in Valladolid, see Carmelo Caballero Fernández-Rufete, 'Nuevas fuentes musicales del teatro calderoniano', *Revista de musicología*, 16 (1993) (= *Actas del XV Congreso de la Sociedad Internacional de Musicología*), v. 2958–76.

⁸² Stein, 'El "Manuscrito Novena"'. See also note 18 above.

and music by Juan Hidalgo. This is one of nine songs from that play included in the Guerra manuscript, which confirms that the music for this *zarzuela* was one of the most popular of the late seventeenth century, as its music has survived in a number of different sources.⁸³ The text of 'Este, Lucinda, que miras' (G92) belongs to the play *Contra el amor desengaño*, which is attributed to Calderón in the only source in which it has survived, and which received its première in 1679.⁸⁴ Another piece from that play also included in the collection, 'Cuentan que el Amor es niño' (G69), was already known from other sources.

It is commonly assumed that in this period the songs were newly composed for the plays in which they were included. However, the possibility that pre-existent poems and songs were also used on the stage during the second half of the century should not be discounted, particularly since this was a well-rooted practice in the previous decades. Perhaps that was the case with some of the poems by Agustín Salazar y Torres which are included in his posthumous *Cythara de Apolo* – a compilation of his *opera omnia* in two volumes – both as independent poems and as part of theatrical plays.⁸⁵ Three of these double concordances are found in the Guerra manuscript: '¿Quién son aquellos villanos?' (G22), also in the *Baile de amor y de celos*; 'Sujeten, Amor, las ondas' (G46), also in the first act of *También se ama en el abismo*; and 'Este dolor tan vehemente' (G86), also included in the *Baile del juego del hombre* (see Appendix for further details). The possibility that the poems (and their music) were written before they were used in the plays should be considered.

Concordant sources show that the main composers in the Compostela anthology are Juan Hidalgo (with 28 songs) and José Marín (with 12). Generally speaking, these are the two composers active in Madrid in the 1670s from whom most secular music is extant. Furthermore, Hidalgo was the official composer of secular music at the Madrid court from the 1650s until his death in 1685. This may explain his prevalence in the collection but, as our attributions are based on concordant sources, it is possible that more music by other composers is included among the pieces for which no concordance has been found. However, the remarkably low number of pieces by Cristóbal Galán or Juan de Navas and the absence of any work that can be attributed to Juan de Serqueira might have some significance. Galán, in his role of *maestro* of the Descalzas Reales and of the Real Capilla (from 1680 until his death in 1684), was mostly responsible for the composition of sacred music, but he also composed secular music, as is shown by a number of surviving *tonos* as well as by the music he composed for three plays between 1674 and 1684. The only piece by Galán in the collection is 'Ya los caballos' (G57) from *Lides*

⁸³ The edition by Varey and Shergold of *Los celos hacen estrellas* includes the music for 19 of the songs in the play edited by J. Sage, most of them preserved in E-Mn M 3880. More recently, Carmelo Caballero identified and published six songs, two of them previously unknown, found in E-Vc. See Carmelo Caballero, 'Nuevas fuentes musicales'. The identification of a new source containing nine songs from the play, one of them previously unknown, confirms the popularity of the play.

⁸⁴ E-Mn MS 16726, première on 6 November 1679. Stein suggests that the attribution to Calderón is doubtful; *Songs of Mortals*, 249.

⁸⁵ Agustín Salazar y Torres, *Cythara de Apolo*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1681).

de amor y desdén by Juan Bautista Diamante, premièred in 1674, but no song from any of the other plays has been identified. Both Navas and Serqueira also composed music for theatrical plays, but mostly after 1680 and particularly after Hidalgo's death in 1685. The minimal presence of music by these three composers – Galán, Navas and Serqueira – also points to the proposed date for completion of the manuscript in 1680. If Guerra had copied the manuscript after 1680 – the year when Galán become head of the Real Capilla – more works by this composer would have been expected, while both Navas and Serqueira enjoyed their most active periods as composers of secular music after that year.⁸⁶

The third largest block of concordances is found in poetic collections and anthologies. Apart from those included in *Cythara de Apolo*, the remainder have been identified in a large number of manuscript anthologies preserved in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and New York. Only one of these sources is available in a modern edition (see below), and in many cases their contents are not even described in catalogues or in the secondary literature.⁸⁷ Therefore, only a provisional assessment can be included here, as we have to wait for future developments to understand a number of important issues concerning these sources and their contents, including provenance, authorship, compilation and function.

Nevertheless, the large number of poetic concordances confirms some of the conclusions drawn earlier. 105 poetic concordances for 51 pieces, many of which also survive in musical sources, prove that the core of the Guerra manuscript was well known in seventeenth-century Spain.⁸⁸ Apart from the nine poems contained in *Cythara de Apolo*, four manuscripts share a large number of texts with our anthology. The most important is the anthology E-Bn MS 888 (a Catalan manuscript dated 1689), which contains 214 poems, 20 of which are songs contained in the Guerra manuscript.⁸⁹ The most interesting aspect of MS 888 is that about a quarter of the poems have alphabetic *cifras* for guitar, and four of these texts are also included in our anthology (G14, G15, G16 and G56). This shows an interesting example of the survival of the early convention that was discussed at the beginning of this article. The other three are the

⁸⁶ The most recent survey of these composers can be found in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 298–310. On Navas see also Juan José Carreras, '“Conducir a Madrid estos moldes”: Producción, dramaturgia y recepción de la fiesta teatral *Destinos vencen finezas* (1698/99)', *Revista de musicología*, 18 (1995), 113–43.

⁸⁷ There is no catalogue of the poetic manuscripts in the Biblioteca de Catalunya, and only a partial catalogue of those in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (*Catálogo de manuscritos poéticos castellanos de los siglos XVI y XVII en la Biblioteca Nacional*, ed. Pablo Jauralde Pou and Manuel Sánchez Mariana, 2 vols., Madrid, 1993). The contents of the manuscripts from the collection in the Hispanic Society of America are described in Antonio Rodríguez Moñino and María Brey Marino, *Catálogo de los manuscritos poéticos castellanos existentes en la Biblioteca de The Hispanic Society of America*, 3 vols. (New York, 1965). Our study of the concordances in the Hispanic Society is based exclusively on the catalogue, since it has not been possible to consult the sources directly.

⁸⁸ It should be noted that this figure also includes concordances in musical sources which have the same text but different music, as well as parodic versions of the original poems that appear to have been sung to the same music. In some cases the variants are significant, but they cannot be discussed here.

⁸⁹ *Libro de Diuersas Letras del comensal Joseph Fontaner y Martell de Tarragona hecho en Bay^{ona}, a primero de Henero de 1689*. A brief study can be found in Yakeley, 'New Sources', 267–86.

manuscripts E-Mn MS 2202, with 13 concordances, US-NYhsa MS B 2543, with 11, and *Tonos a lo divino y a lo humano* (E-Tp MS 391), also with 11 concordances.⁹⁰

One final example may help to illustrate and summarize the complex implications and ramifications of the repertory contained in the Guerra manuscript (see Appendix for references). The *tono* 'El curso transparente' (G78) appears to have been composed for the first act of the play *Los juegos olímpicos* by Agustín Salazar y Torres (premiered in 1673), and is included in the second volume of collected works of this author.⁹¹ Two musical versions – both with minor variants – and one small fragment are preserved in the Biblioteca de Catalunya, and another musical concordance is found in Burgos cathedral. A small fragment in Gayangos-Barbieri also quotes the beginning of this text with completely different music. Moreover, poetic versions are found in six different manuscript sources. This includes *Tonos a lo divino* and two further versions in poetic manuscripts preserved in Madrid and New York. Another poetic concordance as well as a scatological parody of the *coplas* is included in the poetic section of the *Libro de tonos en cifra para arpa*.⁹² Finally, there are two sacred contrafacta, one musical and one poetical: the same music and a modified text dedicated to the Virgin Mary attributed to Juan Hidalgo and preserved in Segovia cathedral under the title 'Cielos, astros, signos'; and a modified version of the text under the title 'Josefa, que fielmente' attributed to Francisco Figuerola preserved in a Valencian manuscript of the Serrano Morales Library.⁹³ This is not, it should be said, a typical example, as for most pieces the number of concordances identified is smaller.

The manuscript preserved in the Compostela library is the earliest surviving anthology of Spanish secular solo song with continuo. The pieces are labelled with the Spanish name *tonos*,⁹⁴ but it is appropriate to consider the analogies between this specifically Spanish type of composition – with its indigenous name and stylistic peculiarities – and a more pan-European genre, the cantata. In other words, we want to avoid the possibility that a difference in terminology might prevent the perception of a 'generic' and functional ground common to two apparently

⁹⁰ This source is the only poetic anthology among those discussed here that is available in a modern edition, which includes a detailed discussion of its contents, compilation and concordances. *Tonos a lo divino y a lo humano*, ed. Rita Goldberg (London, 1981).

⁹¹ Salazar y Torres, *Cythara de Apolo*, ii, 206. The function of the piece within the play and its expressive features are discussed by Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 285–8, who also includes a modern edition of the *estribillo* (p. 518).

⁹² References to all the poetic concordances and a transcription of the parody can be found in *Tonos a lo divino y a lo humano*, ed. Goldberg, 167–8.

⁹³ Reference given by Andrea Bombi in his paper 'From Stage to Church, from Church to Cities: On the Dissemination of the *Stile Recitativo* in Seventeenth-Century Spain', presented at the Eighth Biennial Conference on Baroque Music, Birmingham, July 1998. We are grateful to the author for allowing us to draw on this unpublished work.

⁹⁴ The term *tono* is used generically throughout the seventeenth century to label all secular vocal pieces with text in Castilian, as opposed to *villancico* or *tono divino*, which are used to refer to compositions performed in a sacred context. The term does not make a distinction between polyphonic and monodic pieces, nor does it imply a *cappella* or accompanied performance. Further discussion can be found in Robledo, *Juan Blas de Castro*, 46–8.

distinctive types of composition. In many ways, the collection stands between the conventions of the polyphonic *cancioneros* from the first half of the century and the anthologies of cantatas from the early eighteenth century. The main point in common with the former group is the overall structure of most of the pieces in terms of the combination of *estribillo* and *coplas*. The connection with the latter group is based in the scoring for solo voice, the use of continuo, the absence of a contrapuntal texture and the wide layout of the manuscript. The identification with either of them would depend on the eye of the observer. If the emphasis is placed on form, these pieces could be identified as traditional Spanish *tonos* in a new monodic costume. Alternatively, if more relevance is given to scoring and texture, they could be regarded as close relatives of the cantata. How close that relationship was we cannot know, yet it may well have been that the development of solo-voice *tonos*, although rooted in a pre-existent unwritten tradition (see above), also derived from an acquaintance with the conventions of the Italian cantata. Only for the period after 1680 can the analogies between the Spanish monodic *tono* and the Italian cantata be supported with some evidence, which is connected with one of the pieces in the Guerra manuscript. The song 'Corazón que en prisión' (G90) appears to have been among the most popular of the period, since we have been able to identify as many as 12 concordances (see Appendix). Carreras has already pointed out that the text of this piece is labelled 'cantada' in a poetic collection compiled in the circles of the viceroy of Naples,⁹⁵ even though its structure does not consist of the conventional alternation of recitatives and arias. Here, the structure is not that of a traditional Spanish *tono*, since it lacks the *estribillo* and consists of a series of *coplas*, which alternate two different music lines. Another example of this kind, not connected with our anthology, can be provided: 'Atiendan, escuchen' is a solo song by Sebastián Durón preserved in Palencia cathedral that is labelled 'cantada' and consists of *estribillo* and *coplas*.⁹⁶

The analogies between *tono* and cantata are also implied in the *Diccionario de autoridades* (1726): 'Cantada. Tonada consisting of arias and other music sections. This is a new term introduced by the Italians, which is called *tono* and *tonada* in Spain.' The same source defines *tono* as a metrical song consisting of several *coplas*.⁹⁷ Although an overall distinction is made in the constitutive elements – arias and other sections in the *cantada*; *coplas* in the *tonada* – this early definition identifies the Spanish *tono* with the Italian cantata, stressing that the novelty is the term 'cantata' itself and not the type of composition it refers to. This points to the assumption that the early eighteenth-century *cantada* filled the functional space of the earlier *tono*.

⁹⁵ E-Mn MS 2100, ff. 237–238. See Carreras, 'La cantata de cámara española', 66–7, notes 5 and 6. See also Stein, 'Accompaniment and Continuo', 365–9.

⁹⁶ E-PA 50/2; composition for solo voice, two violins, organ and harp.

⁹⁷ 'Cantada. compuesta de Arias, y otros passos músicos. Es voz nuevamente introducida por los Italianos, que en España se llama Tono, y tonada'; 'Tono. Se llama también la canción métrica para la Música compuesta de varias coplas'. See Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (= *Diccionario de autoridades*) (Madrid, 1726–39; facs. edn Madrid, 1963). This is discussed in more detail in Carreras, 'La cantata de cámara española', 65–9.

A complementary perspective is provided by the perception of the monodic *tonos* by foreign travellers in Spain. The Frenchman François Bertaut, who travelled to Spain in 1659 with Mariscal Grammont in order to make the arrangements for the marriage of Luis XIV with the Infanta María Teresa, wrote the following about Hidalgo: '[Il] fat des airs fort agreables et qui joue fort bien de la Harpe. Il m'en donna quelques-uns.'⁹⁸ A few years earlier, the already-mentioned stage-designer Baccio del Bianco refers to the sacred *tonos* performed in the celebration of the Forty Hours in 1651 as 'ariettes'.⁹⁹ It seems that, for the 'alienated eye' of these observers, the *tono* was identified with the genres they were more familiar with, *airs de cour* or *ariettes*. We do not think we should be more restrictive in our appreciation than these contemporaries of the repertory we have been discussing. This is not just a terminological issue, but points to a broader problem in current musicology, the necessity of establishing a more elaborate theoretical apparatus to define the concept of a given musical genre. Although the tendency has often been to base the concept of genre on formal and stylistic features – particularly as regards the cantata – we are inclined to give more emphasis to another feature, the function.¹⁰⁰

Musical sources bear a complex, and often only tangential, relationship to musical practice. The Guerra manuscript may well reflect, as we have suggested, a major shift in the preferences for secular music in late seventeenth-century Spain, which confirms previous investigation on theatre music. None the less, we have to be aware that it represents only the surface of the performing and compositional conventions that were cultivated in the period. And we may never be able to overcome this limitation.

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⁹⁸ François Bertaut, 'Journal du voyage d'Espagne (1659)', ed. F. Cassan, *Revue hispanique*, 47 (1919), 1–317 (p. 152).

⁹⁹ Mina Bacci, 'Lettere inedite di Baccio del Bianco', *Paragone: Rivista de arte figurativa y letteratura*, 14 (1963), 68–77. See also Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge, 1987), 260.

¹⁰⁰ The lack of serious conceptual definitions of some genres, beyond the peculiarities of national conventions, is reflected, for example, in the entry 'Cantata' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), iii, 694–718, which for the Italian repertory takes primarily into account both compositions labelled 'cantatas' and those which present specific formal features, while for the German variant it accepts the categories established by nineteenth-century scholars, disregarding contemporary terminology. With regard to the Iberian *villancico* – which presents notable parallels with the German type of composition we now call 'cantata' – the problem is discussed in Álvaro Torrente, 'The Sacred Villancico', particularly in the chapter 'Introduction to the Sacred Villancico', pp. 45–63; and *idem*, 'Italianate Sections in the Villancicos of the Royal Chapel (1700–1740)', *Music in Spain during the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Boyd and Carreras, 72–9.

Postscript: The fact that Guerra was not copying music for the chapel after 1680 is confirmed by another document unearthed while this article was at press. Cristóbal Galán, who had just been appointed master of the Royal Chapel, complains in a memorandum dated 18 July 1680 that he had been obliged himself to pay a scribe for the chapel music while there was an appointed scribe who did not fulfil his duties (doubtless referring to Guerra): 'Don Cristobal Galan maestro de la Real Capilla de VM dice . . . que ha de pagar ducientos de alquiler de casa (habiendose dado a los otros maestros, y aun al teniente para ella) pagando las letras de los villancicos (que cuestan mucho), sustentando escribiente (dando renta vuestra Magestad a otro que no lo hace).' AGP, Secc. Real Capilla, caja 119.

APPENDIX

CONTENTS OF THE GUERRA MANUSCRIPT

The global title for each piece is taken from the table of contents on ff. [I]–3, which always gives the first words of the *coplas*, but not necessarily the first poetic line. In order to maintain consistency, the global title for those pieces which do not appear in the table is also taken from the *coplas*. Many pieces in this anthology are listed in other sources under the incipit of the *estribillo*, and for that reason we have included the first two poetic lines of all the sections. The spelling of the titles follows the source, but that of the internal sections has been modernized. Section names are also modernized; when they do not appear in the source they are placed in square brackets. The number of *coplas* is indicated in parentheses after the section name. The musical metre is indicated after each section, also in parentheses.

All the pieces in the Guerra manuscript are anonymous, so the references to authors of both text and music are always attributions based on concordances in other sources. Concordances are divided into three categories: musical, poetic and theatrical (see below). For musical and poetic concordances found in manuscript sources, full details of the source location are given. For those in printed sources, author, title and page are cited. Concordances in theatrical plays include the author's name, the title of the play and the act number. Variants in concordant sources are not reflected in this catalogue, but will be analysed in the forthcoming critical edition of the manuscript. The exceptions are those pieces in musical sources where the music is different from the version in the Guerra manuscript, which are referred to as poetic concordances [P]. Modern editions and bibliographical references are not included. All concordances in sources preserved in Spanish, Italian and British archives have been collated with the pieces in the Guerra manuscript, but for those preserved in other countries we have relied on secondary literature quoted in the body of the article.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

- [M] = musical concordance
 [Md] = musical concordance with sacred contrafactum of the text (*a lo divino*)
 [P] = poetic concordance
 [Pd] = sacred contrafactum
 [Pc] = poetic text with guitar *cifra*
 [T] = concordance in theatrical play

1. Estrellas Astros luces (ff. 5^v–6)
solo: 'En el trono de esmeraldas / el girasol noble y fiel' (C3)
coplas (5): 'Estrellas, astros, luces / cielo, sol, luna, sed' (C)
estribillo: 'La rosa y jazmín / hermosa y gentil' (C3)
2. Que dulcemente suena (f. 7); music attributed to José Marín
 [coplas] (9): 'Qué dulcemente suena / entre esos verdes sauces' (C)
 [M] GB-Cfm MU 4-1958/26, f. 51 (Marín?). [M] I-Vnm MS Italiani, 4/470/9, pp. 87–95; [P] E-Bc MS 888/158; [P] E-Mn MS 17669, f. 85; [P] E-Tp MS 391/60, ff. 51^v–52; [P] US-NYhsa MS B 2543/167, f. 122^v
3. Como hade saber Velilla (ff. 7^v–8); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Juan Vélez de Guevara / Diego de Nájera y Cegri
coplas (4): '¿Cómo ha de saber Belilla / tener fina voluntad?' (C3)
estribillo: 'Porque abrasa más / en el fuego hermoso' (C3)

- [M] E-Mn M 3880/42 (Hidalgo); [M] E-Vc 84/239; [P] E-Bc 888/64, p. 39; [P] E-Mn MS 3974, f. 37 (Nájera y Cegri); [T] Vélez de Guevara, *Los celos hacen estrellas, loa*
4. Zagala di para que / matas (ff. 8^v-9); music by Juan Hidalgo
[coplas] (5): 'Zagala, di para qué / matas sin querer matar' (C3)
estribillo: 'Cuando puede en lo amante / matar lo lindo' (C3)
[M] E-Mn M 3880/45 (Hidalgo)
5. De las Luces que en el Mar (ff. 9^v-10); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Juan Vélez de Guevara
coplas (6): 'De las luces que en el mar / iba encendiendo el Aurora' (C3)
estribillo: '¡Ay que desdicha!, / mas ¡ay que lisonja!' (C3)
[M] E-Mn M 3880/8 (Hidalgo); [P] E-Bc MS 888/88, p. 53; [T] Vélez de Guevara, *Los celos hacen estrellas, 2*
6. Que quiere el vendado niño (ff. 10^v-11); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Juan Vélez de Guevara
coplas (3): '¿Qué quiere el vendado / niños dios y ciego?' (C3)
estribillo: '¿Qué quiere Amor / coronado de flores?' (C3)
[M] E-Mn M 3880/12 (Hidalgo); [M] E-Vc 84/257; [P] E-Mn MS 10560/6, p. 7; [T] Vélez de Guevara, *Los celos hacen estrellas, 2*
7. Adoro sin Esperanza (ff. 11^v-12)
coplas (8): 'Adoro sin esperanza / tan gustoso que no quiero' (C3)
estribillo: 'Dichoso yo que adoro / y que no espero más paga' (C)
[P] E-Bc MS 888/46, p. 28
8. De la Sierra Morena (ff. 12^v-13); music by José Marín
coplas (5): 'De la Sierra Morena / contemplaba los riscos' (C3)
estribillo: '¡Ay del que sin sentido / tiene lejos el bien!' (C3)
[M] E-Mn M 3881/29 (Marín); [M] US-SFs SMMS M1/56, f. 56 (Marín); [P] US-NYhsa MS B 2543/120, f. 95^v
9. De mi Pensamiento (ff. 13^v-14); music attributed to José Marín
coplas (6): 'De mi pensamiento / lloro la crueldad' (C)
estribillo: 'Van y vienen mis pensamientos / como las olas del mar' (C3)
[M] GB-Cfm MU 4-1958/18, ff. 33-34^v (Marín?); [P] E-Mn MS 2202/60, ff. 73^v-74^v; [P] US-NYhsa MS B543/31, f. 38^v
10. Tirano dueño del alma (ff. 14^v-15); music by Juan Hidalgo
[coplas] (4): 'Tirano dueño del alma / en cuyo desdén esquivo' (C)
estribillo: 'Detén tus rayos / celestial prodigio' (C)
[M] E-Mn M 3880/28 (Hidalgo)
11. Ansias que el Pecho angustiays (ff. 15^v-16)
coplas (4): 'Ansias que el pecho angustiaís / penas que el alma oprimís' (C3)
estribillo: 'Si descubro mi dolor / temo un injusto catigo' (C3)
12. De los Ceños de Diciembre (ff. 16^v-17); music probably by José Marín; text by Juan Vélez de Guevara
coplas (6): 'De los ceños del diciembre / qué temeroso está el campo' (C3)
estribillo: 'Pues así mis cuidados / del hielo de un desdén' (C)
[M] US-SFs SMMS M1/8, f. 8 (Marín); [P] E-Mn M 3880/34 (Hidalgo); [P] E-Mn MS 17669, f. 80; [P] E-Vc 71/24, f. 4; [P] US-NYhsa MS B 2543/147, f. 111^v; [T] Vélez de Guevara, *Los celos hacen estrellas, loa*

13. Cuidado con el Poder (ff. 17^v–18); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Juan Vélez de Guevara
coplas (6): 'Cuidado con el poder / del rapaz flechero Dios' (C3)
estribillo: 'Recelos, cuidados, / desdén y favor' (C3)
 [M] E-Vc 84/257; [M] E-Vc 85/32; [T] Vélez de Guevara, *Los celos hacen estrellas*, 2
14. Diuina Hermosa Casandra (ff. 18^v–19); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Agustín Salazar y Torres
coplas (6): 'Divina, hermosa Casandra, / pues ignoras qué es Amor' (C3)
estribillo: '¿Quién es Amor? / Es un leal traidor' (C3)
 [M] E-Vc 85/1 (Hidalgo); [M] US-SFs SMMS M1/46, f. 46; [P] E-Mn MS 10560/15, pp. 18–20; [P] E-Mn MS 2100/18, f. 41; [P] Salazar y Torres, *Cythara de Apolo*, i, 157; [Pc] E-Bc MS 888/73, p. 45
15. Quien sabe de un jilguerillo (ff. 19^v–20); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Francisco de Avellaneda
coplas (6): '¿Quién sabe de un jilguerillo / de dulce y sonora voz?' (C3)
estribillo: '¡Ay que sí, ay que no! / todo soy enigma de amor' (C3)
 [M] E-Mn M 3880/25 (Hidalgo); [P] E-Tp MS 391/58, ff. 50–50^v; [Pc] E-Bc MS 888/21, p. 13; [T] Avellaneda, *El templo de Palas*, 1
16. Para que muera quien quiere (ff. 20^v–21); music by Matías Ruiz
coplas (6): 'Para que muera quien quiere / basta su misma pasión' (C3)
estribillo: 'Oid del amante más fino / la noble pasión' (C3)
 [M] E-Mn M 3881/27 (Ruiz); [P] E-Tp MS 391/55, f. 48^v; [Pc] E-Bc MS 888/11, p. 7
17. En este nuevo alentar (ff. 21^v–22); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Juan Vélez de Guevara
coplas (2): 'En este nuevo alentar / de mi dudoso sentir' (C3)
estribillo: 'Al aire se entregue / mi acento veloz' (C3)
 [M] E-Bc M 3660/18, ff. 22^v–24; [P] US-NYhsa MS B 2543/33, f. 39; [T] Vélez de Guevara, *Los celos hacen estrellas*, 2
18. Ymajinación perdida (ff. 22^v–23); music by Juan Hidalgo
coplas (6): 'Imaginación perdida / en tu mismo pensamiento' (C3)
estribillo: '¡Ay de mi dolor, / ay de mi tormento!' (C3)
 [M] US-SFs SMMS M1/7, f. 7 (Hidalgo)
19. De Daliso Ofendida (ff. 23^v–24)
coplas (6): 'De Daliso ofendida / la hermosísima Clori' (C)
estribillo: 'A las peñas las penas / mueven de Clori' (C)
20. Quando Crespas Ondas de Oro (ff. 24^v–25)
coplas (5): 'Cuando crespas ondas de oro / surca el pensamiento mío' (C3)
estribillo: 'Poco sabe de Filis / quién hace juicio' (C3)
21. Diuina Amarilis oye (ff. 25^v–26)
coplas (5): 'Divina Amarilis, oye, / y mira desde tu cielo' (C3)
estribillo: 'Frescos airecillos / de este sitio ameno' (C)
22. Quien son aquellos villanos (ff. 26^v–27); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Agustín Salazar y Torres
coplas (7): '¿Quién son aquellos villanos, / bastardos hijos de Venus?' (C3)
estribillo: '¿Quién son aquellos / que es delito el pedirlos?' (C3)
 [M] GB-Cfm MU 4-1958/7, ff. 13–13^v; [M] US-NYhsa MC380/824a/17, f. III; carp. 39.2 (Hidalgo); [P] Salazar y Torres, *Cythara de Apolo*, i, 163; [T] Salazar y Torres, *Baile de amor y de celos*

23. Ayer Çagales vaje (ff. 27^v–28)
coplas (5): 'Ayer, zagales, bajé / al soto de Manzanares' (C3)
estribillo: 'Mas, ¡ay que dolor!, / mas, ¡ay que desdicha!' (C3)
24. Dizque era como vna Rossa [*sic*] (ff. 28^v–29); music by José Marín
coplas (6): 'Diz que era como una nieve / Marica la de Berlinches' (C3)
estribillo: 'Porque a todos dice / que es para ella' (C3)
[M] E-Mn M 3881/34 (Marín); **[M]** E-Vc 85/58 (Marín); **[M]** GB-Cfm MU 4-1958/6, ff. 11–12^v (Marín?)
25. Balgate Amor por Ileta (ff. 29^v–30); music by José Marín; text by Diego de Nájera y Cegrí
coplas (6): 'Válgate amor por Gileta, / que traidoramente afable' (C3)
estribillo: 'Y al son de las fuentes / cantando las aves' (C3)
[M] E-Mn M 3881/36 (Marín); **[P]** E-Mn MS 10560/16, pp. 20–1; **[P]** E-Tp MS 391/100, f. 73^v; **[P]** US-NYhsa MS B 2392/24, f. 16 (Marín/Nájera); **[P]** US-NYhsa MS B 2543/88, f. 77^v
26. Aquella Filomena (ff. 30^v–31); text by Diego de Nájera y Cegrí
coplas (6): 'Aquella Filomena / que ha sido entre las flores' (C)
estribillo: 'No cantes, Filomena, / suspende la voz' (C)
[P] E-Bc MS 888/201, p. 131; **[P]** US-NYhsa MS B 2392/86, f. 52 (Nájera y Cegrí)
27. Zelos me pide un Pastor (ff. 31^v–32); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Juan Vélez de Guevara
coplas (6): 'Celos me pide un pastor / pero yo muy fácilmente' (C3)
estribillo: 'Si los celos se hallan / donde Amor se pierde' (C3)
[M] E-Mn MS 13622, f. 27 (Hidalgo); **[M]** I-Vnm MS Italiani, 4/470/8, pp. 82–6; **[T]** Vélez de Guevara, *Los celos hacen estrellas*, 1
28. Pues de la Beldad que adoro (ff. 32^v–33)
coplas (4): 'Pues de la beldad que adoro / puede el dulce hechizo tanto' (C3)
[estribillo]: 'Déjenme morir de mi mal / pues yo no me quejo' (C3)
29. Sobre las Ramas de un Sauze (ff. 33^v–34)
coplas (5): 'Sobre las ramas de un sauce / un músico rui señor' (C3)
estribillo: 'Que corriendo y volando, / cantando al albor' (C3)
30. Todo a este imperio (ff. 34^v–35); music by Juan Hidalgo
coplas (8): 'Todo a este imperio se rinde / y así tú que alegre vas' (C3)
estribillo: 'Jilguerillo que al alba saludas / con dulces primores' (C3)
[M] E-Mn M 3880/46 (Hidalgo)
31. Solo se han diferenciado (ff. 35^v–36)
coplas (6): 'Sólo se han diferenciado / que en lo amante y lo neutral' (C3)
estribillo: 'No parezca rigor el desdén / que no es querer mal el no querer bien' (C3)
[M] E-Bc M 759/11 (3)
32. Porque afectas imposibles (ff. 36^v–37)
coplas (6): '¿Por qué afectas imposibles, / Amarilis, siendo fea?' (C3)
estribillo: 'Y si lo consideras / el más rendido amante' (C)
33. Con tanto respecto Adoran (ff. 37^v–38); music by Juan Hidalgo
coplas (5): 'Con tanto respeto adoran / mis retirados afectos' (C3)
estribillo: 'Sólo es querer, / penar, morir, arder' (C3)
[M] E-BUc 61/20 (Hidalgo); **[M]** E-Mn M 2618/12, pp. 39–40 (Hidalgo); **[M]** E-Mn M 3880/29 (Hidalgo); **[Md]** E-SE 56/52 (Hidalgo); **[Pc]** E-Mn MS 3747, p. 146

34. Que es madre de los Vicios (ff. 38^v–39)
coplas (12): 'Que es madre de los vicios / la ociosidad conozco' (C3)
estribillo: 'Culpas son, Nise hermosa, / mi retiro gustoso' (C3)
 [M] I-Vnm MS Italiani, 4/470/7, pp. 63–80
35. Pensara buestro Rigor (ff. 39^v–40); music by José Marín; text by Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza?
coplas (3): 'Pensará vuestro rigor / en no querer bien jamás' (C3)
estribillo: 'Apostemos, niña, que acierto / qué tenéis en el pensamiento' (C3)
 [M] E-Mn M 3881/31 (Marín); [M] GB-Cfm MU 4-1958/37, f. 75 (Marín?);
 [M] I-Vnm MS Italiani, 4/470/18, pp. 150–4; [P] E-Bc MS 888/84, p. 52;
 [P] E-Mn MS 3884, f. 363; [P] F-Pn Esp. 418, p. 324 (Hurtado de Mendoza)
36. Buelue Amarilis Diuina (ff. 40^v–41)
coplas (6): 'Vuelve, Amarilis Divina, / vuelve a la campaña a donde' (C3)
estribillo: 'Al aire, Amarilis, / vuelan conformes' (C3)
37. Palida yaze Velisa (ff. 41^v–42); text by Diego de Nájera y Cegri
coplas (5): 'Pálida yace Belisa / a ser en su primavera' (C)
estribillo: 'Mayor es mi dolor, / Belisa amada' (C)
 [P] US-NYhsa MS B 2392/26, f. 17 (Marín/Nájera)
38. Quien sera atento Clori (ff. 42^v–43)
coplas: '¿Quién será atento, Clori, / si aún callando te he dicho?' (C)
estribillo: 'Suma belleza me induce / a sentir lo que no digo' (C3)
39. Son tus descuydos Marica (ff. 43^v–44); text by Joseph Garcés
coplas (6): 'Son tus descuidos, Marica, / vanidades de mi fe' (C3)
estribillo: '¿A quién me quejaré / de un dolor que padezco?' (C)
 [M] E-Vc 71/29, ff. 22^v–23 (Camargo?); [M] E-Vc 84/238; [M] US-NYhsa MC 380/824a/47, f. iii, 3; carp. 65; [Md] E-Vc 62/42 (Camargo/Arce?); [Md] E-Vc 62/61 (Camargo?); [Md] E-Vc 85/62; [P] E-Mn MS 2202/117, ff. 150^v–151^v; [P] US-NYhsa MS B 2389/7, f. 5 (Garcés)
40. Durmiendo estaua una tarde (ff. 44^v–45)
coplas (6): 'Durmiendo estaba una tarde / en las flores Cupidillo' (C3)
estribillo: 'Niña, si encontrases / durmiendo a Cupido' (C3)
 [M] E-Bc M 759/8 (3); [M] I-Vnm MS Italiani, 4/470/4, p. 18; [P] US-NYhsa MS B 2543/134, f. 102
41. Ojos para el llanto (ff. 45^v–46)
coplas (7): 'Ojos para el llanto, / prevenid paciencia' (C3)
estribillo: 'De la prisión del pecho desasidos / salid, tristes gemidos' (C)
 [P] E-Mn MS 17669, f. 83^v
42. En los floridos Paramos (ff. 46^v–47); music by Juan Hidalgo
coplas: 'En los floridos páramos / de este ameno pensil' (C3)
estribillo: 'Pero pobre de ti que tus finezas / débiles duran solo un Abril' (C)
 [M] E-Mn M 3880/53 (Hidalgo); [M] I-Vnm MS Italiani, 4/470/2, pp. 8–12;
 [P] E-Bc MS 888/91, p. 57; [P] US-NYhsa MS B 2543/146, f. 11
43. Enamorado de Siques (ff. 47^v–48); music by Juan de Navas; text by Agustín Salazar y Torres
coplas (8): 'Enamorado de Psiques / baja Amor a los vergeles' (C)
estribillo: 'Atente, Psiques, espera, / no le despiertes' (C3)
 [M] E-Mn MS 13622, f. 206 (Navas); [P] E-Mn MS 10560/22, pp. 28–9; [P] Salazar y Torres, *Cythara de Apolo*, i, 153

44. Aquella Sierra Neuada (ff. 48^v-49); music by José Marín
coplas (6): 'Aquella sierra nevada / que densa nube parece' (C)
estribillo: 'Desabrida esperanza, / remedio mortal' (C3)
[M] E-Mn M 3881/33 (Marín); **[M]** GB-Cfm MU 4-1958/3, f. 4^v (Marín?);
[P] E-Mn MS 17669, f. 83
45. Que quiere el Sol (ff. 49^v-50)
coplas (6): '¿Qué quiere el sol en el monte / cantó en la jaula de un césped?' (C3)
estribillo: 'Si el sol al monte asciende / ha de parar en derretir la nieve' (C)
46. Sujeten Amor las ondas (ff. 50^v-51); text by Agustín Salazar y Torres
coplas (6): 'Sujeten, Amor, las ondas / hoy mis suspiros ardientes' (C3)
estribillo: 'Mas que amante no fuera / felice siempre' (C3)
[M] E-Bc M 769/22, pp. 4-5; **[M]** E-Bc M 769/51 (1); **[M]** E-Mn MS 13622, f. 39; **[P]** E-Mn MS 2202/53, ff. 65^v-66; **[P]** E-Mn MS 2202/100, ff. 128-128^v; **[P]** Salazar y Torres, *Cythara de Apolo*, i, 151; **[P]** US-NYhsa MS B 2543/156, f. 116; **[T]** Salazar y Torres, *También se ama en el abismo*, 1
47. Amante, Ausente y triste (ff. 51^v-52); music by Juan Hidalgo
coplas (6): 'Amante, ausente y triste, / Filis, de ti me quejo' (C)
estribillo: 'Que vivir amante / de tus desprecios' (C3)
[M] E-Mn M 3880/54 (Hidalgo); **[M]** GB-Cfm MU 4-1958/2, ff. 3-4 (Marín?);
[P] E-Bc MS 888/42, p. 25
48. Desengañemonos ya (ff. 52^v-53); music attributed to José Marín
coplas (4): 'Desengañemonos ya, / mal pagados pensamientos' (C)
estribillo: 'Que obstinarse en las sombras / de los desprecios' (C3)
[M] GB-Cfm MU 4-1958/1, ff. 1-2^v (Marín?)
49. Filis el miedo ha de ser (ff. 53^v-54); music by José Marín
coplas (4): 'Filis, el miedo ha de ser / quien más explique mi amor' (C3)
[M] GB-Cfm MU 4-1958/21, f. 39^v (Marín?); **[M]** I-Vnm MS Italiani, 4/470/17, pp. 142-50; **[M]** US-SFs SMMS M1/11, f. 11 (Marín)
50. Si la Gloria de Adorar (ff. 54^v-55)
coplas (4): 'Si la gloria de adorar / es gemir y padecer' (C3)
51. A de la Esphera de Nieve (ff. 55^v-56)
coplas (6): '¡Ah de la esfera de nieve! / ¡ah del agua! ¡ah del barco!' (C)
estribillo: 'Oyeme, escúchame, / mírame, cuidado' (C3)
[M] E-Vc 71/31, ff. 18^v-19
52. No repares en mis ansias (ff. 56^v-57)
coplas (6): 'No repares en mis ansias, / muéstrate a mis penas sorda' (C)
estribillo: 'Por no merecer, / te quiero adorar' (C3)
53. Dejate querer zagala (ff. 57^v-58); music by José Marín
coplas (6): 'Déjate querer, zagala / porque el querer no es delito' (C)
estribillo: 'Que pues muero y me matas, / ¡ay!, con tu desdén' (C3)
[M] E-Vc 85/1 (Marín?)
54. Es el Ausencia vn Dolor (ff. 58^v-59); music by Juan Hidalgo
coplas (5): 'Es la ausencia un dolor / de tan continua violencia' (C3)
estribillo: 'Zagalejos del valle, / ¿cuál es mayor mal?' (C3)
[M] E-Vc 85/1 (Hidalgo)

55. Con Mill donayres tus ojos (ff. 59^v–60)
coplas (6): 'Con mil donaires tus ojos / me obligan a padecer' (C3)
estribillo: 'Aunque sabes, Nise, / matar sin querer' (C3)
56. Con la Espina de vna Rosa (ff. 60^v–61)
coplas (8): 'Con la espina de una rosa / se picó Casandra un día' (C3)
estribillo: 'Que las rosas de suyo / son muy benignas' (C3)
[P] E-Tp MS 391/110, f. 77^v; **[P]** US-NYhsa MS B 2497/149, f. 147; **[Pc]** E-Bc MS 888/22, p. 14
57. Ya los Caballos de Jazmin (ff. 61^v–62); music by Cristóbal Galán; text by Juan Bautista Diamante
coplas (8): 'Ya los caballos de jazmín y rosa / deja vuestro lamento' (C3)
[M] E-Mn M 3881/20 (Galán); **[T]** Diamante, *Lides de amor y desdén*, 2
58. Ya Adora las espumas (ff. 62^v–63); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Agustín Salazar y Torres
coplas (4): 'Ya adora las espumas / con belleza más alta' (C3)
estribillo: 'Rompe, Amor, las flechas, / rompe el aljaba' (C3)
[M] E-Mn M 2880/51 (Hidalgo); **[P]** E-Mn MS 2202/136, ff. 187–188; **[P]** US-NYhsa MS B 2497/108, f. 114^v; **[T]** Anon., *Baile en rompe amor las flechas*; **[T]** Salazar y Torres, *Los juegos olímpicos*, 1
59. Ay de ti Pobre Cuydado (ff. 63^v–64)
coplas (7): '¡Ay de ti! pobre cuidado, / que en la cárcel de silencio' (C3)
estribillo: 'Y con servir a Clori / feliz te has hecho' (C)
60. Si eres Ciego Amor (ff. 64^v–65); text by Agustín Salazar y Torres
coplas (5): 'Si eres ciego, Amor, tu vista / no ciña el lazo penoso' (C3)
[estribillo]: 'Rompe, Amor, la venda, / pues es impropio' (C3)
[P] Salazar y Torres, *Cythara de Apolo*, i, 160
61. Que humilde esta Cupido (ff. 65^v–66); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Agustín Salazar y Torres
coplas despacio (3): 'Qué humilde está Cupido / depuesta la arrogancia' (C)
[estribillo]: 'Disfrazado de pastor / baja el amor' (C3)
[respuesta]: 'Mas, ¡ay que dolor! / que lloran las aves' (C3)
[M] E-Bc M 769/22, pp. 12–13; **[M]** M-SG; **[P]** E-Bc MS 888/199, p. 130;
[P] E-Mn MS 2202/4, ff. 4^v–5^v; **[P]** E-Mn MS 2202/105, ff. 131^v–132^v; **[Pd]** E-VAsm MS 6408, p. 34 (Francisco Figuerola); **[T]** Salazar y Torres, *Los juegos olímpicos*, 1
62. Bello Enigma que Adoro (ff. 66^v–67); music by Juan Hidalgo
coplas (6): 'Bello enigma que adoro, / oye mi afecto ansioso' (C)
[estribillo]: 'Atiende y da, enigma divino, / atiende y da respeto y piedad' (C3)
[M] E-Mn M 3880/49 (Hidalgo)
63. Al ayre al Ayre Suspiros (ff. 67^v–68)
coplas (6): 'Al aire, al aire, suspiros, / suspiros, al aire, al aire' (C3)
estribillo: 'Al aire, al aire, lisonjas / de mis verdades' (C3)
[P] E-Bc MS 888/62, p. 38; **[P]** E-Mn MS 2202/116, ff. 150–150^v
64. Con la Pasion Amorosa (ff. 68^v–69); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Juan Vélez de Guevara
coplas (8): 'Con la pasión amorosa / que sin esperanza luchas' (C)
[respuesta] (4): '¡Qué loca! qué ciega! / qué sorda! ¡qué muda!' (C3)
[M] E-Vc 71/23, ff. 10^v–11; **[Md]** E-Vc 38/75 (Camargo?); **[Md]** E-Vc 71/23, ff. 10^v–11 (Camargo); **[P]** E-Bc MS 888/65, p. 40; **[T]** Vélez de Guevara, *Los celos hacen estrellas*, 2

65. Dulce animado Instrum.¹⁰ (ff. 69^v-70)
coplas (6): 'Dulce, animado instrumento, / que sin temer la prisión' (C3)
[estribillo]: 'Canta, pajarillo, / dulce ruseñor' (C3)
66. Tan sonoras tiranías (ff. 70^v-71); music attributed to José Marín
coplas (5): 'Tan sonoras tiranías / esa breve flor esparce' (C3)
[estribillo]: 'Filis, no cantes / disfrazando rigores' (C3)
[M] GB-Cfm MU 4-1958/9, ff. 15-16^v (Marín?); **[P]** E-Mn MS 10560/17, pp. 21-2
67. Cuydado que el Corazon (ff. 71^v-72)
coplas (6): 'Cuidado, que el corazón / del incendio persuadido' (C3)
[estribillo]: 'Cuidado, cuidado, descuido / pues tan entre ojos traéis' (C)
68. Sobre el regazo de Venus (ff. 72^v-73); text by Pedro Calderón de la Barca
coplas (6): 'Sobre el regazo de Venus / descansando estaba Adonis' (C3)
[estribillo]: 'Ya, madre del ciego dios, / me es tu favor importuno' (C3)
[P] Novena/33, pp. 95-6; **[P]** E-Mn MS 2202/18, ff. 24^v-25^v; **[T]** Calderón, *Los tres afectos de amor*, 1
69. Cuentan que el Amor es Niño (ff. 73^v-74); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Pedro Calderón de la Barca
coplas (8): 'Cuentan que el Amor es niño / y que tiene por hijuelos' (C3)
estribillo: '¿Juegas, Florilla? / Bato, no juego' (C)
[M] I-Vnm MS Italiani, 4/470/8, p. 81; **[P]** E-Mn MS 17718, ff. 33-33^v (Jaqué); **[P]** E-Mn MS 2202/44, ff. 57-58; **[P]** E-Tp MS 391/65; **[T]** Calderón?, *Contra el amor desengaño*, 1
70. Aues q. al sol despertais (ff. 74^v-75)
coplas (4): 'Aves que al sol despertáis / de su cuna de clavel' (C3)
estribillo: 'Pajarillos que alegres cantáis / decidme si amáis' (C3)
[P] E-Bc MS 888/85, p. 52; **[P]** E-Vc 40/45 (Hidalgo); **[Pd]** E-E 83/7 (Ruiz)
71. Hermosa Tortolilla (ff. 75^v-76)
coplas (6): 'Hermosa tortolilla / que esas ramas altas' (C3)
72. Tu hacia mi mudable (ff. 76^v-77)
coplas (7): 'Tú hacia mi mudable / hacia ti yo firme' (C3)
[estribillo]: 'Si a las deidades / distancia no impide' (C3)
[P] US-NYhsa MS B 2497/183, f. 200
73. Despertando estaba el Sol (ff. 77^v-78)
coplas (6): 'Despertando estaba el sol / en su lecho de cristal' (C3)
[P] US-NYhsa MS B 2543/165, f. 121
74. La noche tenebrosa (ff. 78^v-79); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Juan Vélez de Guevara
despacio [coplas] (6): 'La noche tenebrosa / que en sombras se dilata' (C)
más despacio [respuesta]: 'En el descanso / olvida la tristeza' (C)
[M] E-Mn M 3880/13 (Hidalgo); **[P]** E-Bc MS 888/56, p. 34; **[P]** Salazar y Torres, *Cythara de Apolo*, i, 162; **[P]** E-Tp MS 391/42, ff. 37^v-38; **[T]** Vélez de Guevara, *Los celos hacen estrellas*, 2
75. Ruseñor que alegre cantas (ff. 79^v-80)
coplas (4): 'Ruseñor que alegres cantas / en ese verde laurel' (C3)
estribillo: 'Calla, no cantes, / suspende la voz' (C3)
[P] E-Mn M 2478/180, f. 99; **[P]** E-Mn MS 2202/52, ff. 65-65^v; **[P]** E-Tp MS 391/59, ff. 51-51^v

76. Aunque el Alba sois (ff. 80^v–81)
coplas (4): ‘Aunque el alba sois, / bella Celia mía’ (C3)
solo: ‘No lloréis, mi Celia, / no lloréis mi amor’ (C3)
77. Porque a mis ojos niegas (ff. 81^v–82^v)
[coplas 1] (5): ‘Llega, esperado prodigio, / que apresurando tu riesgo’ (C3)
[coplas 2] (11): ‘¿Por qué a mis ojos niegas, / oh dulce bien, el imperio?’ (C)
[P] US-NYhsa MS B 2396/52, f. 30; **[P]** US-NYhsa MS B 2483/64, f. 45^v
 (Vargas Maldonado)
78. El Curso transparente (ff. 82^v–83); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Agustín Salazar y Torres
coplas (6): ‘El curso transparente / de tu corriente clara’ (C)
[estribillo]: ‘Peces, fieras, aves, / sentid mis males’ (C3)
[M] E-Bc M 753/24 (16); **[M]** E-Bc M 759/15 (1); **[M]** E-Bc M 775/77; **[M]** E-BUc 61/22; **[M]** E-Mn MS 13622, f. 113; **[Md]** E-SE 46/15 (Hidalgo); **[P]** E-Mn M 2478/199, ff. 104–104^v; **[P]** E-Mn M 2478/206, f. 108^v; **[P]** E-Mn MS 2202/137, ff. 188–189; **[P]** E-Tp MS 391/41; **[P]** US-NYhsa MS B 2543/141, f. 107^v; **[Pd]** E-VAsm MS 6408, p. 27 (Francisco Figuerola); **[T]** Salazar y Torres, *Los juegos olímpicos*, 1
79. No diré yo que tus trenzas (ff. 83^v–84)
[coplas] (9): ‘No diré yo que tus trenzas / son cadenas de oro que’ (C3)
[estribillo]: ‘De Fili da la beldad / no la pintaré, no’ (C3)
80. La que de necia procura (ff. 84^v–85); text by Agustín Salazar y Torres
coplas (6): ‘La que de necia procura / acreditar la verdad’ (C3)
estribillo: ‘No hay razón que a lo bello / no se comben ya’ (C3)
[P] Salazar y Torres, *Cythara de Apolo*, i, 224
81. Como puedes pretender (ff. 85^v–86)
[coplas] (5): ‘¿Cómo puedes pretender / que crea tus falsedades?’ (C3)
[estribillo]: ‘Cansada imaginación / ¿qué me quieres?’ (C3)
82. Al mar, al mar ojos míos (ff. 86^v–87)
coplas (4): ‘Al mar, al mar, ojos míos, / por agua para llorar’ (C3)
[estribillo]: ‘No lloren más mis ojos, / cesen y callen’ (C3)
83. En San Elifonso (ff. 87^v–88)
solo [coplas] (8): ‘En San Elifonso / el sol me salió’ (C3)
estribillo: ‘Una niña pregonó / que se perdió, y por no hallarla’ (C3)
84. Que dulcemente canta (ff. 88^v–89)
[coplas] (6): ‘Qué dulcemente canta / un ruiseñor amante’ (C)
[estribillo]: ‘Canta, no calles, / que tu voz es alivio’ (C3)
85. Pues siguiendo la locura (f. 89^v)
[coplas] (4): ‘Pues siguiendo la locura / de mi alto pensamiento’ (C)
[estribillo]: ‘Pues quiero la pena / y busco el tormento’ (C3)
[P] E-Bc MS 888/119
86. Este dolor tan behemente (f. 90); text by Agustín Salazar y Torres
coplas (4): ‘Este dolor tan vehemente / que el corazón ha ocupado’ (C3)
estribillo: ‘Esto es amor, déjenme / padecer su rigor’ (C3)
[P] Salazar y Torres, *Cythara de Apolo*, i, 227; **[P]** US-NYhsa MS B 2392/97, f. 58 (Nájera y Cegri); **[T]** Salazar y Torres, *Baile del juego del hombre*
87. Yo soy Amor (ff. 90^v–91)
coplas (6): ‘Yo soy Amor, aquel suave, / poderoso encanto activo’ (C)
[estribillo]: ‘Y esto te dice / quien ha padecido’ (C3)

88. Lloro, Amarilis divina (ff. 91^v-92)
coplas (5): 'Lloro, Amarilis divina, / pero es llanto por el sol' (C)
estribillo: 'Diga el dolor, / cómo no ha de llorar' (C3)
89. Alado Cisne de Nieve (ff. 92^v-93); music by Juan de Navas; text by Diego de Nájera y Cegri
[coplas] (6): 'Alado cisne de nieve, / que naufragando cristales' (C)
estribillo: 'Pero bien haces / disfrazando rigores' (C3)
[M] E-Vc 70/260 (Navas); **[Md]** E-Vc 70/260 (Martínez de Arce); **[P]** E-Tp MS 391/19, ff. 17-17^v; **[P]** US-NYhsa MS B 2392/44, f. 27^v (Navas/Nájera)
90. Corazón que en Prision (ff. 93^v-94); music attributed to José Marín; text by Agustín Salazar y Torres
[coplas impares] (5): 'Corazón, que en prisión de respetos / cautivo te miras' (C3)
[coplas pares] (4): '¿De qué le sirve a tu incendio / el llanto que solicita?' (C)
[M] CO-B; **[M]** E-Bc M 759/7 (3); **[M]** E-Mn M 2478/29, ff. 22-23; **[M]** GB-Cfm MU 4-1958/10, ff. 17-18^v (Marín?); **[M]** I-Vnm MS Italiani, 4/470/13, pp. 112-20; **[P]** E-Bc MS 888/50, p. 30; **[P]** E-Mn M 2478/227, f. 114^v; **[P]** E-Mn MS 17669, f. 84; **[P]** E-Mn MS 2100/237, ff. 237^v-238; **[P]** E-Mn MS 3884, ff. 176-176^v; **[P]** Salazar y Torres, *Cythara de Apolo*, i, 138; **[P]** US-NYhsa MS B 2453/131, f. 101
91. Al son de los Cristales (ff. 94^v-95); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Francisco de Avellaneda
coplas (6): 'Al son de los cristales / de esta sagrada fuente' (C)
[estribillo]: 'Al cristal, mortales, / venid y llegad' (C3)
[M] E-Mn M 2478/35, f. 27; **[Pd]** E-Tp MS 391/17, ff. 14^v-15; **[T]** Avellaneda, *El templo de Palas*, 1
92. Este Lucinda que miras (ff. 95^v-96); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Pedro Calderón de la Barca
[coplas] (8): 'Éste, Lucinda, que miras / reducido a los desprecios' (C)
[estribillo]: 'Porque no es falta / permitirse a un incendio' (C3)
[T] Calderón?, *Contra el amor desengaño*, 2
93. Manda la piedad divina (ff. 96^v-97)
[coplas] (6): 'Manda la piedad divina, / quiere a la deidad humana' (C3)
94. La mas bella ninfa (f. 97^v)
[coplas] (8): 'La más bella ninfa, / deidad soberana' (C3)
95. Por mas que la noche fria (f. 98)
[coplas] (7): 'Por más que la noche fría / su manto de horror escoja' (C)
96. Yo Joben ygnoraba (f. 98^v); text by Agustín Salazar y Torres
[coplas] (5): 'Yo joven ignoraba / de aquel ardor sutil' (C)
[M] E-Bc M 759/10 (2); **[M]** E-Bc M 769/22, pp. 4-5; **[P]** E-Bc MS 888/104, p. 66; **[T]** Anonymous, *Baile del Truscattrux nuevo*; **[T]** Salazar y Torres, *También se ama en el abismo*, 2
97. Que piedad ni que favor (f. 99)
[coplas] (5): '¿Qué piedad ni qué favor / conseguir Palas pretende?' (C-C3)
98. Credito es de mi dechoro (ff. 99^v-100); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Luis de Ulloa y Pereira
coplas (5): 'Crédito es mi decoro, / éste mi dolor postrero' (C)
[M] E-Mn M 3880/32 (Hidalgo); **[M]** E-SE 51/21 (Hidalgo); **[T]** Ulloa y Pereira, *Pico y Canente*, 3

99. En la ruda Política buestra (ff. 100^v–101); music by Juan Hidalgo; text by Pedro Calderón de la Barca

[*coplas*] (9): 'En la ruda política vuestra / dos leyes tenéis injustas las dos' (C3)
 [M] E-Mn M 3880/55 (Hidalgo); [Pd] E-Mn M 2478/123, f. 83; [P] E-Tp MS 391/47, ff. 41^v–42^v; [P] E-Mn MS 2202/85, ff. 109–109^v; [Pd] E-Mn MS 2245/77, ff. 125^v–126 (Padre Cornejo); [Pd] E-Mn MS 2245/78, ff. 126^v–27 (Padre Cornejo); [T] Calderón, *La estatua de Prometeo*, 3; [T] Calderón, *El pastor fido*; [T] Mathias Godos, *Baile de la ruda política*; [T] Anon., *Baile de Jupiter y Calixto*

100. Un corazon amante (ff. 101^v–102); music by Juan del Vado; text by Diego de Nájera y Cegri

coplas (5): 'Un corazón amante / que desprecia el aviso' (C3)

estribillo: 'Desmayado el aliento / ya su dolor rendido' (C3)

[M] E-Bc M 769/22, pp. 18–19 (Vado); [P] US-NYhsa MS B 2392/27, f. 17^v (Vado/Nájera)

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