

JOSÉ DE TORRES AND THE SPANISH MUSICAL PRESS IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1699–1736)

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ABSTRACT

The history of the Spanish musical press in the eighteenth century has usually been interpreted as an ongoing struggle against a narrow and underdeveloped market. Print itself has been seen as a superior technology that helps to secure stability and clarity of the musical text. In this light, José de Torres, prestigious organist and composer, music director of the Spanish Chapel Royal from 1720 and owner of an important musical press, has appeared to be a heroic modernizing figure. This article challenges this received image, underlining the effectiveness of censorship and the control of individual initiatives in the field of music publishing in early eighteenth-century Spain. This is demonstrated by newly discovered documents concerning a lawsuit brought against Torres, who owned a royal printing privilege from 1700 until his death in 1738, by Francisco Díaz de Guitián, who wanted to establish a music press of his own. Several musicians acted as witnesses, giving a detailed view of how the music press worked at the time, notably how the approbations customarily given by established musicians on behalf of music treatises intended for publication were used to promote or block a career. Based on these new insights, a general study of all the known prints by the Imprenta de Música is presented in a broader editorial, political and cultural context.

In the winter of 1714 a violent incident disrupted the routine of the Royal Chapel in Madrid. Armed with two pistols and a *guadixeño* (a large Andalusian knife made in Guadix), Francisco Díaz de Guitián, second trumpet of the chapel, tried to kill the first organist José de Torres just outside the palace. Fortunately, the royal trumpeter missed his target and was immediately taken into custody in the Cárcel de Corte, the modern-day Palacio de Santa Cruz, near the Plaza Mayor. The reason for such a dramatic disturbance has long been an enigma.¹

The discovery of new documents and music prints now places Díaz de Guitián's crime in surprising relation to the development of the musical press in the early eighteenth century. Among the files belonging to the Consejo de Castilla, which among other important duties had to grant legal permission for the printing of a book, a modest application made in 1743 has been preserved. This document, asking the king to grant a new privilege to engrave music, reveals itself as a key source in the modern history of Spanish music printing.² The relevance of this source is not only based on the fact that it contains two complete and

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- 1 Archivo General de Palacio (Madrid), Sección administrativa, legajo 696, report dated 13 December 1714; see Nicolás Morales, *L'artiste de cour dans l'Espagne du XVIIIe siècle: étude de la communauté des musiciens au service de Philippe V (1700–1746)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2007), 394.
- 2 Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Consejos 26565, expediente 12. Quotations from this large unfoliated file appear in this article without further reference. Unless otherwise stated, all transcriptions and translations are mine. This file is accessible online through the *Portal de Archivos Españoles* <www.pares.mcu.es>. On the archival sources of the Consejo de Castilla that pertain to eighteenth-century printing see Vanesa Benito Ortega, 'El Consejo de Castilla y



hitherto unknown organ scores (one by José de Torres and the other by Manuel Marín), but, even more importantly, because it includes as a legal precedent a complex lawsuit concerning the printing privilege for a new book entitled *Arte de cantar*. This dispute over the publication of a musical treatise took place about three decades earlier and involved the same Díaz de Guitián, as its author, and José de Torres, who defended his privilege against Díaz's wish to create a new music press. The legal proceedings of this first lawsuit (also accompanied by an unknown print, in this case a recitative and aria from a serenata by the court composer Antonio Literes) open new perspectives onto crucial aspects of the history of music printing in Spain.

In spite of the growing number of documentary contributions, the Spanish eighteenth century continues to be a blind spot in current print research, especially if compared with the interpretative efforts devoted to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³ Moreover, this same pattern applies to the specific area of music printing studies⁴ and especially to the early eighteenth century and the press of José de Torres.⁵ But beyond the ritual laments about the paucity of Spanish eighteenth-century editions, some recent contributions show how detailed bibliographical work on prints can successfully integrate philological source studies that are traditionally centred on manuscripts.⁶

The scarcity of musical prints in Spain until the late eighteenth century has usually been considered the result of the backwardness of a country unable to develop a market comparable with that of other European nations such as France, Germany or Italy. Consequently, the development of the musical press in Spain was interpreted under the banner of a struggle against adversity in which the enlightened figure of the music publisher is identified as epic subject of the historical narrative. José de Torres could be considered a case in point, a heroic figure of what has been called 'the typographical ancien régime', a period prior to the extraordinary expansion of music publishing from 1800 onwards.

el control de las impresiones en el siglo XVIII: la documentación del Archivo Histórico Nacional', *Cuadernos de historia moderna* 36 (2011), 179–193. For helpful comment on this article I would especially like to thank Joseba Berrocal, Tess Knighton and Isabel Moyano. I was also given important suggestions by José María Domínguez, Dinko Fabris, José Máximo Leza, Miguel Ángel Marín, Javier Marín, Pablo L. Rodríguez, Alejandro Vera and Alfonso de Vicente.

- 3 For an excellent methodological discussion of research problems relating to Spanish print culture of the eighteenth century see Javier Burgos Rincón, 'La edición española en el siglo XVIII: un balance historiográfico', *Hispania* 55 (1995), 589–627. François Lesure offers a stimulating reflection on the relationship between general bibliographical studies and musicology in 'L'édition musicale en France au XVIII^e siècle: état des questions', in *Le livre et l'historien: études offertes en l'honneur du Professeur Henri-Jean Martin*, ed. Frédéric Barbier and others (Geneva: Droz, 1997), 227–234.
- 4 A panorama of current research topics relating to the Hispanic music press of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be found in Iain Fenlon and Tess Knighton, eds, *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2006). No reference to the Hispanic world at all is to be found in the otherwise excellent Donald W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie, eds, *Music Printing and Publishing* (London: Macmillan, 1990).
- 5 For a useful synthesis on the Spanish music press of the time see Maurice Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias in Spain during the 17th and Early 18th Centuries* (Stuyvesant: Pendragon, 1994), volume 1, 77–111. See also 'Editores e impresores: España', in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores, 1999), volume 4, 606–629; Carlos José Gosálvez Lara, *La edición musical española hasta 1936: guía para la datación de partituras* (Madrid: Asociación Española de Documentación Musical, 1995), 32–44; Nicolás Álvarez Solar-Quintes, 'La imprenta musical en Madrid en el siglo XVIII', *Anuario musical* 18 (1963), 165–196. On Torres as printer and editor see Begoña Lolo, *La música en la Real Capilla de Madrid: José de Torres y Martínez Bravo (h. 1670–1738)* (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma, 1988), 101–126.
- 6 See, for instance, the fundamental study by Miguel Ángel Marín, 'La recepción de Corelli en Madrid (ca. 1680–1810)', in *Arcangelo Corelli fra mito e realtà storica: atti del congresso internazionale di studi Fusignano, 11–14 settembre 2003*, ed. Gregory Barnett, Antonella D'Ovidio and Stefano La Via (Florence: Olschki, 2005), 573–637. On the interaction between scribal and print transmission in the Spanish cantata repertory see Juan José Carreras, 'La cantata de cámara de principios del siglo XVIII: el manuscrito 2618 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid y sus concordancias', in *Música y literatura en la península ibérica: 1600–1750*, ed. María Antonia Virgili Blanquet, Carmelo Caballero Fernández-Rufete and Germán Vega García-Luengos (Valladolid: Sociedad V Centenario del Tratado de Tordesillas, 1997), 83–90.



Torres was indeed a central figure in Spanish music in the first half of the eighteenth century. Educated at the choir school of the Royal Chapel in Madrid in the 1680s, he began his musical career as an organist there, officially taking over as head of the chapel in 1720. His influence and prestige were linked not only to his musical talent and position at court, but also to his musical press, which enjoyed a virtual and powerful monopoly until his death in 1738. The received image of Torres has been that of a progressive modernizer, fostering music precisely through such initiatives as the launching of a musical press. The biographical article on Torres in the influential Spanish version of Riemann's music dictionary remains a classic example of this view: 'Torres worked with enthusiasm to safeguard the Spanish tradition in sacred music, for the sake of which he even founded the 'Music Press' [*Imprenta de Música*]. Torres was not like other contemporary Spanish composers who turned their backs on the Italian musical art that was renewing all European music of the time. On the contrary, he appeared to be an admirer of the new paths of art, protecting young students so that they could travel to Italy and subsequently transmit these ideas to Spain.'⁷ But, as I suggest in the present article, the story to be told about Torres's press is different: in a way it is a darker one, mixing shadows and lights. Going beyond the biography of Torres, I will deal with issues such as patronage and promotion at the Royal Chapel (a key institution in these years) and the emergence of a public sphere in music visible in such aspects as the new relationship between professional and amateur musicians in early eighteenth-century Madrid. Taking a broader view, my interest is focused on the impact of print culture on music in Spain through the methods of cultural and material history such as those developed by historians of the book.⁸ In the context of this rich historiography, I shall pay special attention to the complex relationship between scribal and printed representation and transmission so important in the Spanish Golden Age, and to the tensions aroused between established traditions and the eruption of a new music press around 1700. Finally, I shall address crucial questions such as the shaping and control of the Spanish musical discourse of the time. The article, which aims to cover the main activities of the music press in Spain during the first half of the eighteenth century, is divided into three parts: first, a summary of the first lawsuit and a preliminary assessment of its main implications for the music-publishing business in Spain; second, a general study of all known music prints by José de Torres between 1699 and 1736 in their broader editorial context; and third, as epilogue, the discussion of the 1743 application for a new music press in Madrid from the perspective of the final replacement of music typography by engraving.⁹

7 'Torres trabajó con entusiasmo para salvaguardar la tradición española de la música sagrada, para lo cual había fundado incluso la "Imprenta de Música" en Madrid. Torres no fue como otros compositores españoles coetáneos, que volvieron las espaldas al arte musical italiano renovador de toda la música europea de la época, sino que se mostró un admirador de los nuevos derroteros del arte, protegiendo a jóvenes estudiosos para que pudieran pasar a Italia y fueran después retransmisores a España.' *Diccionario de la música Labor*, ed. Higinio Anglès and Joaquín Pena (Barcelona: Labor, 1954), volume 2, 2133. This text was written surely by Higinio Anglès.

8 See *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. Kate van Orden (New York: Garland, 2000).

9 I presented my research on Torres as a printer at the Biennial Conference on Baroque Music held in Birmingham in 1996 and at the Congress of the International Musicological Society held in Leuven in 2002. I then presented initial findings on the chronology of the sheet prints by Torres at the *Concurso de Habilitación Nacional* held at the Universidad Complutense in Madrid in 2005. More recently, I gave a seminar relating to the contents of the current article at the Universidad de Barcelona on 17 November 2011. In July 2012, when this material had already been submitted to *Eighteenth-Century Music*, Begoña Lolo published her essay 'La Imprenta de Música de José de Torres: un modelo de desarrollo político y cultural en la España del siglo XVIII', in *Imprenta y edición musical en España (ss. XVIII–XX)*, ed. Begoña Lolo and Carlos José Gosálvez (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma, 2012), 65–105, based on a paper given by her at a conference organized in November 2010. Lolo's article offers an overview of the activities of the Imprenta de Música and an outline of the administrative aspects of the legal process based mainly on the same file of the Archivo Histórico Nacional which I use, but without interpreting Díaz de Guitián's tablature nor sufficiently considering the function of Guitián's treatise *Arte de cantar* in the whole legal process. As a result, Lolo mistakenly assumes that the manuscript tablature transcription of the *Literes cantata* (using black and red ink) is a print ('presentación de una misma obra impresa con los dos sistemas de notación e impresión', 79).



CONFLICT OF PRIVILEGES: THE LAWSUIT CONCERNING DÍAZ DE GUITIÁN'S TABLATURE

Together with two other members of the Royal Chapel (the soprano Pedro París y Royo and the singer Miguel Martín), José de Torres (at the time *organista principal* of the chapel) started the Imprenta de Música in 1699 with the luxurious print of *Destinos vencen finezas*, a theatre piece by the Peruvian Lorenzo de las Llamosas with music by Juan de Navas, the first harpist of the chapel. Nothing is known about the precise relationship between the three musicians named (who appear only in this first print) and how the new music press started, but it is clear that the enterprise has to be related in some way to the patronage of Queen Marianne von Neuburg, the wife of King Charles II, the last Spanish Habsburg ruler, to whom the edition was dedicated. The main arguments given in the Introduction for establishing music typography in Madrid were the emulation of 'the first courts of Europe', the idea that the medium of print was a particularly suitable way of immortalizing writing and the practical need to satisfy the demands of aficionados.¹⁰ From a European perspective it is striking that this new music press should start by using typography, since by 1699 it was an outdated technology. The fact that Germany was the only exception in the general move from musical typography to engraving around 1700 could be another argument for linking the patronage of Marianne von Neuburg to the Imprenta de Música.¹¹

Through the *Memorias políticas y económicas* published in 1787 by Eugenio Larruga it is known that Torres received a special exemption in 1719 which authorized him to import a quantity of paper free of import taxes for his printing business. Torres's argument for this franchise was technological: he claimed to have invented a new printing device called *entablatura* that enabled him to print chords with compound types on a single musical staff. It was argued that this new technique needed special fine paper that had to be imported.¹²

Until now, little has been known about the general legal situation in which Torres's print shop operated, nor about the exact nature of the lawsuit that Torres brought against Díaz de Guitián.¹³ A legal copy of the

10 On this first musical print and its court context see Juan José Carreras, "Conducir a Madrid estos moldes": producción, dramaturgia y recepción de la fiesta teatral *Destinos vencen finezas* (1698/99)", *Revista de musicología* 18/1–2 (1995), 113–143, which includes the complete text of the dedication. On the general relationship between the Spanish royal court and typography see Albert Corbeto, 'Typography and Royal Patronage: Government Involvement in the Import and Production of Letter Types in Spain', in *Imprenta Real, fuentes de la tipografía española* ([Madrid:] Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo, 2009), 151–163. See also Lolo, 'La Imprenta de Música', 68–69.

11 Productions costs of music prints produced by typography were also about half of those produced by engraving. See Anik Devriès-Lesure, 'Technological Aspects', in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900: Concepts and Issues, Bibliography*, ed. Rudolph Rasch (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag, 2005), 66–75.

12 Eugenio Larruga, *Memorias políticas y económicas sobre los frutos, comercio, fábricas y minas de España* (Madrid: Imprenta de Benito Cano, 1787; facsimile edition Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1995), 202–208. Larruga wrongly states that the Imprenta was established in 1716. He refers to a Real Cédula dated 12 May 1719 which grants annually the established amount of '16 balones de papel ordinario, 12 de marquilla, 8 de marca mayor and 4 de imperial'. As each *bala* is equal to thirty-two reams of regular paper, the total amounts to 1,280 reams of paper, which would be equivalent to the yearly needs of the press: 'la porción que precisamente necesitaba cada año para tener corriente su imprenta' (the portion that he precisely needed yearly to keep his press running). The same document mentions 'dos oficiales que se ocupaban continuamente del trabajo de la imprenta' (two skilled workmen who attended continuously to the work of the press). See Larruga, *Memorias*, 207. On the *entablatura* see below.

13 Some indirect evidence had been observed by previous researchers such as Yvonne Levasseur de Rebollo, who mentions a document at the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid with the heading 'Don Joseph de Torres organista principal de la Real Capilla ganó privilegio en 1700 para imprimir todo lo tocante a la música por diez años. Prorrogósele para otros diez años que van corriendo'; see 'The Life and Works of Joseph de Torres y Martínez Bravo' (PhD dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1975), 28. More precisely, Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Noticias y documentos relativos a la historia y literatura españolas* (Madrid: Sucesores de Hernando, 1914), 252–253, mentions this



original privilege, used at the proceedings for the lawsuit, confirms that it was the Habsburg King Charles II who had on 25 January 1700 conceded a printing privilege to José de Torres, assuring him exclusive rights for the printing of music for ten years. The privilege was renewed by the new king, Philip V, in 1710 for another ten years, establishing a fine for the illegal printing of music of fifty thousand maravedís in addition to the confiscation of the music types. It remained in force until Torres's death in 1738.¹⁴

Music printing had been weak in seventeenth-century Spain: promising initiatives such as the establishment of the Madrid-based *Typographia Regia* in 1598 (which published some well-known music editions by Victoria, Lobo and Rogier), the music typography designed in Saragossa by Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia or the print shop founded by Artus Taberniel in Salamanca did not have a lasting influence.¹⁵ With the help of its special privilege, the *Imprenta de Música* had, on the contrary, a sustained impact for several decades, and it is not difficult to understand that his monopoly on every practical and theoretical music edition must have given Torres an extraordinary position.¹⁶ It should be noted that contrary to other print privileges that stated precisely the nature of the protected work, in the case of Torres the royal patent granted him a 'licence and privilege for the period of ten years to print at [his] expenses all things pertaining to music'.¹⁷ As we shall see, the effective commercial monopoly that resulted from this general privilege resembles similar situations in other European courts such as the publishing activities of English musicians like William Byrd or Thomas Morley (both members of the Chapel Royal), who worked with different printers using their privilege to print any kind of music, or the French case of the Parisian Ballard family, who effectively transformed their general privilege into a virtual monopoly, bringing lawsuits against any other initiatives that involved music printing.¹⁸

Five years before his attempted crime Díaz de Guitián had published a curious *Memorial Sacro-Político y Legal* in which he invoked royal protection with the argument that 'with great labour and study he had discovered a new and very easy music method for singing, accompanying and composing'.¹⁹ In his ponderous apologia, full of classical and theological references, nothing is said about the precise nature of

source as having been written by the lawyer Fernando Calderón de la Barca, with the title *Consultación jurídica sobre la concesión de privilegio para imprimir música*. In fact, the Real Academia de la Historia preserves an undated twenty-four-page folio print of this interesting report (written prior to the final legal judgment) with the modern signature 14–11429 (11).

- 14 The *Expedientes sobre licencias para impresión de libros y otras publicaciones, y censura de algunas: 1638–1788* (Archivo de Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, legajo 979) includes a certificate from 23 August 1729 that extends Torres's privilege to print and sell music books for another ten years; see Louis Jambou, 'Un "Libro de órgano" de Juan Manuel del Barrio', *Revista de musicología* 7/1 (1984), 214.
- 15 On the *Typographia Regia* see Alfonso de Vicente, *Tomás Luis de Victoria: cartas (1582–1606)* (Madrid: Fundación Caja Madrid, 2008), 27–30, and William Pettas, *A History & Bibliography of the Giunti (Junta) Printing Family in Spain 1526–1628* (New Castle: Oak Knoll, 2004), 67–77.
- 16 Esses, *Dance*, 94–95, makes this point for the period between 1700 and 1720.
- 17 'Licencia y privilegio para que por tiempo de diez años pudiese imprimir a vuestras expensas todas las cosas que fuesen pertenecientes a la música.' On the complex Spanish legal framework surrounding book printing see Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, *El libro en España y América: legislación y censura (siglos XV–XVIII)*, two volumes (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 2000). The best comprehensive study on censorship in modern Spain from a legal perspective is Javier García Martín, *El juzgado de imprentas y la utilidad pública: cuerpo y alma de una Monarquía vicarial* ([Bilbao:] Universidad del País Vasco, 2003). See also Ceferino Caro López, 'Los libros que nunca fueron: el control del Consejo de Castilla sobre la imprenta del siglo XVIII', *Hispania* 53 (2003), 161–198.
- 18 See Louis Guillo, 'Legal Aspects', in Rasch, ed., *Music Publishing in Europe*, 122–129.
- 19 'Con gran desvelo y estudio ha descubierto un nuevo y facilísimo Methodo de Música, para Cantar, Acompañar y Componer'. See Beryl Kenyon de Pascual, 'El "Memorial Sacro-Político y Legal" (1709) de Francisco Díaz de Guitián', *Revista de musicología* 11/1 (1988), 215 (the article gives the *Memorial* in full).



this new musical system besides that ‘it has been proven that this new method is the most legitimate for music, and for the same reason the easiest, as has been shown by the experience of many students who were and are presently taught by the supplicant at his home’.²⁰ This publication was in fact the first legal move by Díaz de Guitián to try to circumvent Torres’s privilege. He presented his printed *Memorial* to each member of the Consejo de Castilla, which was the supreme authority in printing matters, arguing that from his newly invented method there derived ‘great public benefit and usefulness, both in the political and in the sacred spheres, which is more extensively proven in the printed report that I have put in the hands of every minister of Your Council’.²¹

The treatise *Arte de cantar* was probably finished in 1707 or early 1708, according to the autograph of Juan (Bonet García) de Paredes, chapel master of Toledo Cathedral, who on 16 April 1708 signed a certificate of approval for the treatise, which was added as support for the legal proceedings. Juan de Paredes defends the new treatise ‘for the use and education of music lovers who . . . will not be musicians by profession’.²² A second approbation – also preserved in the trial file and signed in Madrid on 9 May 1710 by Juan Pérez de los Cobos, chapel master in the southern town of Lorca – shows how Díaz de Guitián tried to broaden support for publication of his music method.

The legal process concerning *Arte de cantar* lasted around a year. On 24 March 1710 Díaz de Guitián presented his first request, and a few weeks later Torres started legal proceedings against it. From the beginning Díaz de Guitián not only wanted to publish his *Arte de cantar*, but – and this was crucial, as the method implied a new script or tablature – he also requested permission to establish a new music press in his own house. This would allow him to supply his music students with pieces of music properly produced according to his method. Consequently, he also claimed a privilege to protect his business and his allegedly revolutionary invention. A legitimate claim, he argued, taking into account ‘the numerous gatherings of students who come to my home with the aim of acquiring [musical proficiency]’, and ‘once this has been met, they need to have secular and sacred works, put in the order and rules of the said method, to their greater advancement and exercise, as well as to be able to teach others. To this end, the most convenient way is to allow me to have a press at my home’.²³

As part of the legal proceedings, Díaz de Guitián handed in a practical example of his tablature: the printed vocal and accompanimental parts for the hitherto unknown serenata ‘Hijo de la espuma’ by Antonio Literes, together with its manuscript transcription into the new notation for each individual part. In the absence of any explanation, it affords at least an approximate idea of his system, which is clear from a comparison of the vocal part with its transcription presented in fair manuscript copy (see Figures 1a and 1b):

20 ‘Habiendo probado ser este nuevo método el más légitimo de la música, y por la misma razón, el más fácil, como además de lo dicho, lo ha acreditado la experiencia en los muchos discípulos que el suplicante ha enseñado y actualmente enseña en su casa.’ Kenyon de Pascual, ‘El “Memorial Sacro-Político”’, 234.

21 ‘Grandes utilidades y conveniencias públicas, así en lo Político como en lo Sagrado, lo cual más difusamente se prueba en el memorial impreso que he puesto en mano de cada uno de los ministros de el Vuestro Consejo.’

22 ‘Al uso y enseñanza de los aficionados la música que . . . no la han de tener profesion.’

23 ‘El numeroso concurso de discípulos que asisten a mi casa, a fin de conseguir el objeto de atribución de dicha facultad . . . , después de conseguido este, necesitan de tener obras divinas y humanas, puestas en la serie y debajo de las reglas de dicho methodo, asi para su mayor adelantamiento y ejercicio así como para la enseñanza de otros. Para cuyo fin, es el medio mas conveniente permitirme tener imprenta en mi casa.’



Cantada, humana.
Recitado.



Figure 1a Antonio Literes, vocal part of the secular cantata ‘Hijo de la espuma’ (Madrid: Imprenta de Música, 1708). Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Consejos 26565-12. Used by permission

Figure 1b Francisco Díaz de Guitián, manuscript tablature transcription of Figure 1a, using red ink for the horizontal lines. Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Consejos 26565-12. Used by permission



- Pitch is represented by numbers that correspond to a chromatic scale on C starting on 0 and reaching 9 (=A). B♭ is represented by roman numeral X (to avoid the impractical use of two numbers), and B♯ by H.²⁴
- Ascending or descending intervals are indicated by similar ascending or descending slashes between the numbers.
- The two octaves of the vocal range are distinguished by two horizontal staff lines (traced in red ink in the original) into which barlines are regularly inserted.
- Rhythmic indications are generally written above small dots in the case of a pause or above the ciphers denoting a given sound. The rhythmic signs used are: a full or half black dot for a semibreves and minims respectively, a cross for crotchets, a double dot for quavers and a sign similar to *K* for semiquavers; prolongation dots are also used.
- Tonality appears to be indicated by a combination of ciphers: thus the Dorian G minor of the opening recitative and aria is represented by 7 (=G) below an X (=B♭), the whole between brackets.
- Other signs are related to phrasing, such as slurs and the simple or double vertical strokes placed to indicate articulation inside the bar, which offer interesting insights into the performing practice of the time.

Unfortunately, the tablature does not give information about continuo performance: the accompaniment has just the bass line, indicating the intervals of the figured bass by adding the continuo ciphers which are distinguished from the tablature numbers by a small dot on top. Guitián's didactic method merely transcribes in a simplified abstract form the standard staff notation of each part of the piece separately, thus excluding score representation or finger notation, the two main advantages of tablature. In this sense, Díaz de Guitián's proposal belongs to the type of reform tablature which wants to simplify the ordinary notational system for the benefit of beginners – a kind of tablature that also includes, some thirty years later, the example of Rousseau's 'nouveaux signes pour la musique'.²⁵ It is interesting to consider that the views that developed in France for and against this project are basically the same as in the Spanish case. On the one hand, Rousseau wants to serve the two or three thousand Parisians 'avec disposition' who are excluded from music-making by the complexity of the ordinary notational system.²⁶ On the other hand, the question of compatibility of the reformed and traditional systems and the problems raised by existing pieces of music edited in the old way are presented as a strong practical argument against any reform.

The lawyer Francisco Castro, on José de Torres's behalf, opposed the attempt to found a new music press in Madrid, arguing that the alleged system of notation could not be new since the basic rules of music were not subject to any progress. Therefore the art of music 'cannot be advanced nor be innovative in relation to which has been received and practised from the time of its first inventors. What [Díaz de Guitián] has done is only to change the forms in which the consonances and rules are understood . . . , which commonly are called *solfas*, and to replace them with numbers which explain the same concepts, without any progress being made.'²⁷

24 An example of the use of B♭ and B♯ can be seen in the aria 'Hijo de la espuma', at the first repetition of the words 'niega en suma' (B♭–A–G–B♯ = X 9 7 H), penultimate bar of the fifth line.

25 See 'Projet concernant de nouveaux signes pour la musique' (presented to the Académie des sciences in 1742) and 'Dissertation sur la musique moderne' (published one year later), in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre* (*Oeuvres complètes*, volume 5), ed. Bernard Gangnebin and Marcel Raymond (Paris: Gallimard, 1995), 129–245. As in the case of Díaz de Guitián, the question of the originality of Rousseau's proposal had already been discussed by the Académie, this time in relation to a previous seventeenth-century tablature by Jean-Jacques Souhaitty. See Rousseau, *Écrits*, li.

26 'Dissertation sur la musique moderne', Préface, in Rousseau, *Écrits*, 162.

27 'Ni se puede adelantar ni ser nueva de la que está recibida y practicada desde sus primeros inventores y lo que [Díaz de Guitián] ha ejecutado tan solamente es mudar las figuras con que generalmente se entienden sus consonancias y reglas . . . que vulgarmente se llaman solfas y puesto en su lugar números que expliquen estos mismos conceptos, sin que haya adelanto.'



Torres's defence was twofold: on the one hand, he argued that the alleged new system was not an invention, but just a peculiar kind of transcription that was already covered by his printing privilege. On the other hand, Torres's party also argued against allowing Díaz de Guitián's 'invention' to be introduced; it was a dangerous innovation that had the potential to put traditional music notation in danger. Inconsistent as this position was from a logical point of view, it was a shrewd move to try to overcome Díaz de Guitián's arguments: at best, it would involve the project as a whole being rejected; at worst, if the proposal was accepted, any resulting material would have to be printed at the *Imprenta de Música*. The case made against Díaz de Guitián's innovation reveals aspects of Spanish musical discourse involving its tight systems of control which are worth considering in some detail.

Díaz de Guitián's main consideration concerns the existence of the music lover ('*aficionado*'), a kind of musician about whom very little is known in Spain before the end of the century.²⁸ '*Aficionado*' appears in the legal arguments of the lawsuit in opposition to '*profesor*', the educated professional musician who was archetypically represented in Spain by the figure of the *maestro de capilla*, the chapel master. From the point of view of Torres's defence, if music-lovers are to be taught through a completely new system, then they will cease to use the written and printed books notated in *solfa*, and so it should be prohibited:

El nuevo método de que la otra parte se dice autor es una novedad de mucho perjuicio a los profesores de música que no se debe permitir porque los que la aprendieren por él no podrán en ninguna forma entender los libros que con tanto acierto sean escrito y de que usan las Santas Iglesias de estos Reynos ni las obras que sean impreso e imprimen en todos los comercios por explicarse todos con unos mismos caracteres y figuras de que se aparta la otra parte inventando dicha cifra particular queriendo persuadir que puede ser de útil alguno contra la practica universal observada inconcusadamente por tantos siglos.

The new method of which the other party claims to be the author is a novelty of great nuisance to the professional musician, which should not be permitted because all those who will learn music through it will not in any way be able to understand the books which have been written with so much wisdom and which are used in the Holy Churches of these Kingdoms, nor the works which have been printed in all shops, as they are all presented using the same characters and figures from which the other party departs, inventing this particular tablature and trying to convince us that it can be of some use against the universal practice which has been observed without discussion for many centuries.

In order to be printed, Díaz de Guitián's *Arte de cantar* needed to pass the censor with an *aprobación* or *censura* signed by an expert who testified that the book was of use and value (and, of course, did not offend the Christian faith). In addition to the legal text issued by the official censor from the Royal Council and published as a part of the front matter in every book, authors looked for more approbations as a sign of prestige.²⁹ In defence of his book, Díaz de Guitián argued that besides the already mentioned *aprobaciones* by Paredes and Pérez de los Cobos, he had also obtained certificates of approval from Juan de Navas, the above-mentioned harpist of the Royal Chapel, and from José de Torres himself. But both were withdrawn under unclear circumstances.

28 An exception is the precious documentary evidence concerning amateur music education (especially of women) in the Basque town of Bilbao in Joseba Berrocal, 'Consideraciones sobre la enseñanza musical privada en el Bilbao dieciochesco', *Bidebarrieta: anuario de humanidades y ciencias sociales de Bilbao* 3 (1998), 233–256.

29 On the function of literary approbations see José Simón, 'Tráfico de alabanzas', *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 12 (1976), 65–75, and 14 (1977), 197–204. See also Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, 'La estructura formal del libro antiguo español', *Paratesto* 7 (2010), 9–59; Anne Cayuela, *Le paratexte au Siècle d'Or: prose romanesque, livres et lecteurs en Espagne au XVIIe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1996), 15–82; José Simón, *El libro español antiguo: análisis de su estructura* (Madrid: Ollero & Ramos, 2000); Ignacio García Aguilar, *Poesía y edición en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Calambur, 2009).



The legal proceedings around these withdrawn approbations afford unexpected insights into how these texts were used to promote or to block a book (and a professional career). Guitián's attorney asked both Torres and Navas to make declarations under oath concerning their alleged approbations and the reasons for their withdrawal. Navas declared that the author visited him at his home and showed him the approbation by Juan de Paredes. At Guitián's request he gave his consent without looking properly at the document, given his many commitments. Later on, 'having examined carefully some drafts and papers of the said music written by the aforementioned Don Francisco [Guitián], he found that he did wrong in giving him his aforesaid approbation, so that he asked to recall it, which in effect he did'.³⁰ In Torres's affidavit, he admitted that the corrections to a draft approbation presented by Guitián were in his own hand, but that he did not recall having signed it. Torres made some changes to expressions that were unacceptable to him and as a friendly favour to his colleague:

Es verdad que Don Francisco Díaz de Guitian, músico instrumentista de dicha Real Capilla le hizo grandes instancias asi pasados para que le aprobase un método que él decía ser de música para lo cual trajo un borrador aprobación hecha a su modo, que es el que está presentado en estos autos y en el había algunas cosas que repugnaban a la razón, por cuyo motivo el declarante no lo firmó y sólo en ella por la amistad y consuelo de dicho Guitian enmendó algunas entreren-glonaduras que le parecieron más conformes a la razón y no se acuerda que le haya firmado.

It is true that Don Francisco Díaz de Guitián, intrumentalist of the said Royal Chapel, had often asked in the past that [Torres] approve his method, which he said was a musical one and for which he brought an approbation he had drafted himself, which is the draft presented at this summons and which contained some things that contradicted reason, so that the deponent did not sign it, and only out of friendship for the aforementioned Guitián, as well as to console him, did he make some corrections between the lines which seemed to him more akin to reason, and he does not recall having signed it.

The dispute surrounding Guitián's work demonstrates very clearly that the major disciplining function assumed by the Spanish system of censure also applied in the field of music. It was the highly conservative hierarchy of chapel masters that finally – and very effectively – controlled what could or could not be published about music.³¹ Generally speaking, the rhetorical and conventional content of approvals tell us little except for the way in which authority is imposed. Who signs is essential: as we shall see, a series of approbations in a given time and place form a reconstructable network. The arguments against Díaz de Guitián, a contentious intruder in a stable existing structure of interests,³² shrewdly evoke his eccentric position, and he was unable in the end to achieve an approval from any reputable Madrilenian chapel master:

Sin que hasta ahora haya exhibido ninguna [aprobación] como se ha referido de los maestros conocidos de las capillas de esta corte, por saber que ninguno se la ha querido dar, porque no sólo no se adelanta en dicho método la enseñanza y aprovechamiento de este arte, si no es que se siguieran repetidos perjuicios de que no han querido ser causa ni motivo.

30 'Pero habiendo reconocido muy despacio algunos borradores y papeles de dicha música ejecutada por el referido Don Francisco, halló que había hecho mal en haberle dado la referida aprobación, con que solicitó el volverla a recoger como con efecto lo hizo.'

31 On this idea of the disciplinary control of theoretical discourse during the Spanish 'long seventeenth century' by the exclusive caste of cathedral chapel master see my essay 'La policoralidad como identidad del "Barroco musical español"', in *Polychoralities: Music, Identity and Power in Italy, Spain and the New World*, ed. Juan José Carreras and Iain Fenlon (Venice and Kassel: Fondazione Levi and Edition Reichenberger, 2012), 87–122.

32 Besides the assassination attempt already mentioned, in 1707 Díaz de Guitián had already had a dispute with Bartolomé Jimeno, the interine chapel master, because of Guitián's wish to perform outside the chapel. See Lolo, *La música*, 87.



So that until now he has been unable to show any [approbation] as has been reported from the reputed chapel masters of this city, as we know that no one wanted to give him one, not only because teaching and improvement of this art are not advanced by this method, but also because they did not want to be the cause or instigators of the repeated nuisances that may follow from it.

As a legal argument for his own printing privilege, Díaz de Guitián defended change and improvement as social virtues that should be protected by political power: 'because it is against any political and public advantage to constrain the liberal professions to narrow precepts when in matters of decent or similar pastimes progress is not obstructed but rewarded and even encouraged for the greater profit of teachers'.³³

Finally, on 7 March 1711, the Royal Council resolved against the establishment of a new music press. A legal report by a member of the council issued a few weeks before the ruling shows the legal reasoning (which excludes any mention of the printing privilege) and reveals a great deal about the hegemony of the institutional system of ecclesiastical chapels and the notions of order, use and public interest that were applied to music. On the one hand, Guitián's proposal is praised as a new didactic music method that actually could be of use to people who want to learn music as entertainment without investing too much time. On the other hand, the method would be useless for professional singers and instrumentalists. The judge's fear that this novelty would render the old notation and all prints using it redundant makes him decide against Guitián's proposal under the general argument of its lack of utility and its serious potential disruption to the music profession.³⁴ Given this precedent, it is not surprising that the *Arte de cantar* was never published and that no other music editions by Díaz de Guitián are known to have been printed. Moreover, it was no doubt an effective warning to any other possible challenger.

THE IMPRENTA DE MÚSICA: BOOKS, SCORES, SHEET-MUSIC

Torres's privilege and his lawsuit against Díaz de Guitián place his publishing activities under a new light. If I restrict my research here to the music productions of his press, it is important to bear in mind that it produced many other books which had nothing to do with music, such as sermons, medical treatises (next to music one of the main published subjects), historical and legal monographs, and so forth.³⁵ The Imprenta de Música also played an institutional role at the court of Philip V, as is shown by the 1707 edition of the two-volume index of books forbidden by the Inquisition, among other political prints.³⁶ It

33 'Porque es contra toda política y utilidad pública estrechar las profesiones liberales a limitados preceptos cuando en asunto de esta honesta o semejante diversión los adelantamientos no se impiden, sí se premian y aun se invita para mayor aplicación de los profesores.'

34 A similar argument was offered by Venegas de Henestrosa when presenting a new keyboard tablature in his *Libro de cifra nueva* (1557), fearing that professionals will reject his invention because of its simplicity: 'No dejo de temer que la gran facilidad que tiene será la causa para que los mejores músicos la calumnien y tengan en poco, porque como ellos gastaron tanto tiempo en, y pasaron tanto trabajo en alcanzar lo que saben y vean que por esta vía, se ataja mucho camino.' (I cannot but fear that the great ease that it [the tablature] presents will cause the best musicians to slander it and hold it in low esteem, because have they invested so much time and endured so much work to attain their knowledge, and shall see that through this path they can take a big short cut). See John Griffiths, 'Printing the Art of Orpheus', in Fenlon and Knighton, eds, *Early Music Printing*, 183.

35 This was not unusual in other countries, as pointed out by Roger Chartier in his 'Afterword: Music in Print' to van Orden, ed., *Music and the Cultures of Print*, 331, citing the cases of John Playford or Étienne Roger. Many prints of the Imprenta de Música are easily accessible through the *Biblioteca digital hispánica* <www.bne.es>.

36 *Index expurgatorius hispanus*, ed. Diego Sarmiento y Valladares and Vidal Marín (Madrid: Typographia Musicae, 1707). The same year a Bourbon propaganda sheet representing typographically the order of the battle of Almansa was also issued by the Imprenta de Música. See *Orden de la Batalla que tubo el exercito de su Magestad (que Dios Guarde) el día 25 de abril de 1707 sobre los campos de Almansa, y orden que tubo el enemigo que quedó enteramente derrotado por las Victoriosas Armas de Su Magestad*, one copy surviving at the Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid) under the signature 9/3653 (29).



is difficult to know to what extent and under what circumstances Torres was involved in these non-musical prints. Printers who operated as independent publishers, such as Bernardo Peralta, occasionally used the types from Torres's print shop, as can be deduced from the title pages of several editions and the use of typographical ornaments belonging to the press.³⁷ Other names that appear in connection with the Imprenta de Música are those of Miguel de Rézola and Juan Sáez Ocañuela. Unlike these men, Torres was not a professional publisher, but a court musician who owned a musical press, which he directed simultaneously with his numerous duties in the chapel.³⁸

A consideration of the music production of the Imprenta de Música as a whole must make a formal distinction between books and scores, on one side, and small individual pieces of sheet music, which will be treated separately. The production of the first category falls into three distinct groups: (1) music tutors; (2) liturgical music prints; and (3) theatrical prints (see Table 1).

The largest class is that of music tutors and includes Nassarre's *Fragmentos* (a basic introduction to plainchant and counterpoint), the two parts of Huete's harp tutor, Torres's two editions of his own thoroughbass treatise, four editions of Montanos's book on plainchant (which includes in all the editions a substantial introduction to modern solfeggio by Torres) and both Guzmán's and Martín y Coll's treatises on plainchant (the last of these also having a detailed introduction to solfeggio and polyphony). Ulloa's treatise on music remains somewhat apart in this group because his speculative discourse clearly separates it from the didactic function of the practical tutor.

Liturgical polyphonic music prints in mensural notation include Torres's *Missarum liber* and the polyphonic turba setting by Matías Ruiz (referred to in the print as chapel master of the Royal Chapel of La Encarnación in Madrid). A special case is the 1702 print of the Holy Week *Officium*, the only known chant print by the Imprenta de Música. As the approbation for the book states, in this case Torres had obtained special permission in order to avoid infringing El Escorial's privilege concerning all liturgical books pertaining to the Tridentine New Prayer (*Nuevo Rezado*).³⁹

Finally, the third group includes two prints of theatre music: *Destinos vencen finezas* and *Los desagravios de Troya*. Both folio luxury prints have a distinct political and commemorative function, in connection with two birthday celebrations: in 1699 that of King Charles II at court and in 1712 that of the Infante Felipe de Borbón in Zaragoza.⁴⁰ The 1699 print (which combines the full text of the theatre piece with its forty-seven musical sections in score) was dedicated to Marianne von Neuburg, the last Habsburg queen in Spain. Thirteen years later, the situation had changed dramatically. The score of *Los desagravios* (which eliminated the spoken text of the piece, but included all the stage music for the interludes) was dedicated

37 Research on Madrilénian printers and editors of the early eighteenth century is scarce. Judging from the surviving editions traced in Francisco Aguilar Piñal's comprehensive *Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII*, ten volumes (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1981–2001), the printer Bernardo Peralta seems to have been active as an independent publisher in Madrid from about 1716, specializing in medical literature. Pedro Ulloa's *Música universal* and Antonio Martín y Coll's *Arte de canto llano* (1719) were produced by him using the typography of the Imprenta de Música.

38 This seems to be an exceptional situation. For a typology of music dealers and editors (based mainly on German examples) see Klaus Hortschansky, 'The Musician as Music Dealer in the Second Half of the 18th Century', in *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century*, ed. Walter Salmen, Herbert Kaufman and Barbara Reisner (New York: Pendragon, 1983), 210–211.

39 See Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, 'Los libros de Nuevo Rezado y la imprenta española del siglo XVIII', *Revista general de información y documentación* 9/1 (1999), 117–158. On the lasting influence of this privilege on Spanish music printing at the end of the eighteenth century see Javier Marín López, 'Libros de música para el Nuevo Mundo a finales del siglo XVIII: el proyecto editorial del impresor José Doblado', in *Orbis incognitus. Avisos y legajos del Nuevo Mundo: homenaje al Profesor Luis Navarro García*, ed. Fernando Navarro Antolín (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva – Asociación Española de Americanistas, 2008), volume 2, 137–152.

40 On *Los desagravios de Troya* see Rainer Kleinertz, *Grundzüge des spanischen Musiktheaters im 18. Jahrhundert: Ópera – Comedia – Zarzuela* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2003), 27–52.



Table 1 Books and major music publications by the Imprenta de Música

Year	Author / Title	Approbations	Dedicattee
1699	Juan de Navas / <i>Destinos vencen finezas</i>		Queen Marianne von Neuburg
?	[Philidor / <i>Canciones francesas</i>]		
1700	Pablo Nassarre / <i>Fragmentos Músicos</i>	Diego Verdugo cm CR Diego Xaraba y Bruna org CR Juan de las Elbas chaplain CR	Manuel de Silva Mendoza y Cerda
1702	<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae cum psalmis et lectionibus secundum missale et breviarium romanum</i>	Sebastián de Cotes y la Cárcel, Comisario de la Santa Cruzada	
1702	Matías Ruiz / <i>Turba de la Pasión</i> RISM R3107		Ana Agustina de Santa Teresa, prioress of La Encarnación monastery
1702	Diego de Huete / <i>Compendio I</i>	Pedro de Ardanaz cm Toledo Juan de Navas harp CR José Solana org Toledo	King Philip V, 'through the hand of the Count of Benavente, sumiller de corps'
1702	Torres / <i>Reglas generales de acompañar</i> (1 ed.)	Sebastián Durón cm CR Diego Xaraba y Bruna org CR Juan de Navas harp CR	Pedro Portocarrero, Patriarca CR
1703	Torres / <i>Missarum liber</i> RISM T1009		King Philip V
1704	Diego de Huete / <i>Compendio II</i>		Virgin of the Shrine, 'through the hand of Luis Manuel Fernández de Portocarrero, cardinal bishop of Toledo'
1705	Francisco Montanos / Torres <i>Arte de canto llano</i> (1 ed.)	Francisco Arteta Convento de la Merced Madrid Juan de Paredes cm CR Descalzas	
1709	Jorge de Guzmán / <i>Curiosidades de canto llano</i>	Juan de Navas harp CR	
1712	Joaquín Martínez de la Roca / <i>Los desagrazios de Troya</i> RISM M999	Pablo Nassarre org Zaragoza Torres	Princesse des Ursins
1712	Francisco Montanos / Torres <i>Arte de canto llano</i> (2 ed.)	= 1705	
1717	Pedro de Ulloa / <i>Música universal</i>	Torres Francisco Hernández cm CR Encarnación	Ignacio de Loyola Oyanguren, first-born of the Marqueses de la Olmeda
1717	Miguel de Ambiela / <i>Disceptación música</i>	Joseph Maestro carmelite Toledo Jacinto del Río org Toledo Torres	



Table 1 *continued*

Year	Author / Title	Approbations	Dedicatee
1719	Roque Lázaro / <i>Tratado de música</i>		
1719	Antonio Martín y Coll / <i>Arte de canto llano</i>	Torres Carlos Burguet, Secretary-general of languages of the Franciscan Order Joseph Garcia General minister of the Franciscan Order Francisco Hernández cm CR La Encarnación Nicolás Alvarez de Peralta, Ordinary inquisitor José de San Juan cm CR Descalzas Benito B. de Torices Colegio Real Gregorio B. Remacha cm San Cayetano Madrid	Joseph Sanz, Franciscan and His Majesty's theologian
1728	Francisco Montanos / Torres <i>Arte de canto llano</i> (3 ed.)	= 1705	
1734	Francisco Montanos / Torres <i>Arte de canto llano</i> (4 ed.)	= 1705	
1736	Torres / <i>Reglas generales de acompañar</i> (2 ed.)		Alvaro Eugenio de Mendoza, Patriarca CR

cm = Chapel master; CR = Capilla Real; org = organist

to the French party in the figure of the powerful first lady-in-waiting of the Spanish queen, Marie-Anne de La Trémoille, Princesse des Ursins, by the Count of Montemar, a general of the Bourbon army during the War of Succession (1701–1714).⁴¹ This war, which brought the European powers into conflict on the question of the successor to the Spanish crown in 1700, had a profound effect in Spain, where it assumed the traits of a complex civil conflict between Castile and the Crown of Aragon. The international dimension of the war also deeply affected the court and nobility: long-held family strategies, as well as established loyalties and patronage systems between the Spanish and Italian nobility throughout the seventeenth century, had suddenly to shift between Austrian and French sides of the war, accommodating themselves to the changing military fortunes and the conflict's lasting strategic consequences.⁴² The dedications published by the Imprenta de Música illustrate the public dimension of the print dedication and the complexity of the political shift which Torres had to make from his at first strong Habsburg connections to the need to display political loyalty to the new Bourbon king.

A work that falls outside the musical production of the press is Eugenio Coloma's *Obras posthumas de poesía*, an anthology published by the Imprenta de Música in 1702 (see Figure 2). However, this edition merits special attention because of Torres's extraordinary personal involvement; as is stated on the title-page,

41 On Montemar's musical patronage see Juan José Carreras, 'La serenata en la corte española (1700–1746)', in *La serenata tra Seicento e Settecento: musica, poesia, scenotecnica*, ed. Nicolò Maccavino (Reggio Calabria: Laruffa, 2007), volume 2, 612–613.

42 See *La pérdida de Europa: la guerra de sucesión por la monarquía de España*, ed. Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio, Bernardo García García and Virginia León (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2007).

Reservado

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**OBRAS POSTHUMAS,
DE POESIA,
ESCRITAS**

*POR EL SEÑOR DON EVGENIO CO-
loma , Cavallero que fue del Abito de Cala-
trava , y del Consejo de su Magestad,
en el Real de Castilla , y
Hazienda.*

SACALASA LVZ , Y LAS DEDICA.

A LA EXCELENTISSIMA SEÑORA
Doña Josepha Alvarez de Toledo , y Portu-
gal , Pacheco, Velasco, y Giròn , Marquesa de
Vel-Monte, y Menas-Albas , &c. Don
Joseph de Torres, Organista Prin-
cipal de la Real Capilla.



CON LICENCIA.

En Madrid , en la Imprenta de la MVSICA , Año de 1702.

A. 172. 166

ESTE LIBRO PERTENECE A LA BIBLIOTECA HISTORICA DE MADRID

Figure 2 Eugenio Coloma, *Obras posthumas de poesía* (Madrid: Imprenta de Música, 1702). Madrid, Universidad Complutense, Biblioteca Histórica. Used by permission



he acted as literary editor (an unusual role for an organist).⁴³ As the dedication usually required the authorization of the dedicatees, it is worth exploring their cultural and political profiles. In the case of Coloma's edition, it was Josefa Álvarez de Toledo (1681–1754), the daughter of a key political figure at Charles II's court: the Count of Oropesa, Manuel Joaquín Álvarez Toledo y Portugal, royal favourite, prime minister and notorious supporter of the anti-French party at court. In 1697 she had married Manuel Gómez de Sandoval (the future Fifth Duke of Uceda), who also ended up on the Austrian archduke's side as a result of the sudden change to Habsburg support by his father, Juan Francisco Pacheco, ambassador to Philip V in Rome (1701–1709) and a great patron of arts and music.⁴⁴ Eugenio Martín Coloma y Escolano (1649–1697) also engineered a political career under the Habsburg administration. His father had been secretary of state under Charles II, and Eugenio rose to the position of minister of the Consejo Real de Hacienda, whereas his brother Manuel Coloma, Marquis of Canales, carved out a diplomatic career under Charles II (he was appointed ambassador to London and The Hague) and ended up a powerful minister of war under Philip V.⁴⁵

Equally significant in terms of political connections is Torres's dedication in his 1700 edition of Nassarre's *Fragmentos Músicos*. As the dedication states, Torres was teaching music to Manuel de Silva Mendoza y Cerda (1677–1728), Count of Galve and husband of the Eleventh Duchess of Alba, María Teresa Álvarez de Toledo. Torres writes about his student with the accustomed hyperbole: 'to see him accompany a part at the harpsichord causes admiration, and it seems less an acquired skill than a God-given knowledge. And so I live in trepidation, for being justly proud of having Your Excellency as my pupil, your knowledge gives me cause to doubt that I could have been your teacher.'⁴⁶ The same Silva Mendoza also supported the Habsburg cause and was among the nobles who in the spring of 1706 moved over to the Austrian pretender's side.⁴⁷ As is well known, Torres, together with other members of the Royal Chapel, was temporarily suspended from duties between 1706 and 1708 under the accusation of high treason on the basis of alleged Habsburg sympathies.⁴⁸

43 'Sácalas a la luz y las dedica a la excelentísima señora Doña Josepha Álvarez de Toledo ... marquesa de Belmonte y Menas-Albas, don Joseph de Torres, organista principal de la Real Capilla' (from the title-page). In the introduction *Al lector* Torres states that he contacted all the people who knew the poet in order to collect his poems, but that he was only partially successful: 'aunque conseguí algunas, me escondió muchas, o la codicia, o la mala intención' (even though I obtained some [poems], many were hidden from me out of greed or bad intentions). Coloma's book circulated also as a manuscript copy, as is proved by MS 4121 from the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. See Antonio Carreira, 'La obra poética de Damián Cornejo', *Criticón* 103–104 (2008), 42–43.

44 See Anna Tedesco, 'Juan Francisco Pacheco V duca di Uceda, uomo politico e mecenate tra Palermo, Roma e Vienna nell'epoca della Guerra di Successione Spagnola', in Álvarez-Ossorio, García and León, eds, *La pérdida de Europa*, 491–548; Margarita Martín Velasco, *La colección de libros impresos del IV Duque de Uceda en la Biblioteca Nacional de España: estudio y catálogo* (Madrid: Calambur, 2009).

45 On Eugenio Coloma see Jose Antonio Álvarez y Baena, *Hijos de Madrid, ilustres en santidad, dignidades, armas, ciencias y artes: diccionario histórico por el orden alfabético de sus nombres que consagra al Ilmo. y Nobilísimo Ayuntamiento de la Imperial y Coronada Villa de Madrid* (Madrid: 1789–1791), volume 1, 414–415.

46 'Causa admiración verle en el clavicordio acompañar un papel, y no parece tanto habilidad adquirida como infusa ciencia. Y así vivo temeroso, pues estando con la justa vanidad de ser Vuestra Excelencia mi discípulo, me da su ciencia fundamento para dudar si he sido su maestro.' *Fragmentos*, dedication. The *Diccionario de Autoridades*, volume 1 (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1726), 377, recalls the general Spanish use of the term *clavicordio* as harpsichord ('otros le llaman clavicymbalo').

47 See Manuel de Herrera, *Carta y compendio de lo que sucedió en España desde el diez de marzo de 1706 hasta el 18 de mayo 1707* [MS], 9 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, R 60361/30). See also Jose Antonio Álvarez y Baena, *Hijos de Madrid ilustres*, volume 4, 22–23, and Juan Antonio Sánchez Belén and Juan C. Saavedra Zapater, 'La Capilla Real de Felipe V durante la Guerra de Sucesión', in *Homenaje a Antonio de Béthencourt Massdiou* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo de Gran Canaria, 1995), volume 3, 381.

48 See Lolo, *La música*, 79–81. On the political background of this process see Morales, *L'artiste*, 74–94.



The dedication to Philip V of Torres's *Missarum liber* strongly emphasized the authorial status of the composer on the title page ('dicatus et consecratus ab auctore'), with special accent on his profile as a composer of sacred music of which he was 'semper ... studiosissimus'. With political opportunism, the Latin text evokes the images of Mars and Apollo to represent the king, 'magnanimum in praeliis Martem, suavissimum quoque imitatur Apollinem'.⁴⁹ One year earlier, the first edition of Torres's *Reglas* was dedicated to Pedro Portocarrero y Guzmán, political head of the Royal Chapel between 1691 and 1706.⁵⁰ In the case of the dedication of the passion choirbook from 1702, specific mention is made of the act of printing on the front page: 'Turba de la Passión ... que dedica en su impresión, a la excelentísima señora Sor Ana Agustina de Santa Teresa ... su obsequioso súbdito Don Manuel Ordóñez de la Puente'. Ordóñez was also the author of one of the encomiastic sonnets in the editions of the *Reglas de acompañar* by Torres, where he appears as 'amigo y compañero' of the author.⁵¹ Both the *Missarum liber* and the *Turba* print on the front page the royal arms of Philip V, underlining the institutional status of the editions (see Figures 3 and 4).

Almost all the music books include the relevant printing privilege on the title page, while some, such as Nassarre's *Fragmentos*, mention the privilege for the single book 'and for everything pertaining to music for the time of ten years'.⁵² In Huete's *Compendio* the privilege from 25 February 1698 was granted to the author for that specific work. The exceptions that do not include a privilege are *Destinos vencen finezas* (published with *licencia* around November 1699, some months before the concession of the music printing privilege), Guzmán's *Curiosidades* (a treatise limited to plainchant) and *Los desagravios de Troya* (as already discussed, a highly political score).

In terms of classification as cultural objects, the division of the music books from Torres's press that I have suggested above is fundamentally pragmatic and may seem somewhat arbitrary. Indeed, the category *book* is materially unambiguous in legal terms, being a print identified by a whole set of formal paratexts such as dedications or approvals, and these also apply to substantial scores such as *Destinos vencen finezas*, *Los desagravios de Troya* and the *Missarum liber* of 1703. But problems arise with titles like Ambiola's *Disceptacion* or Roque Lázaro's *Tratado*; these are texts produced as booklets and do not fulfil all the formal requirements of a book. Ambiola does not identify the press nor its publisher (but the typography of its music examples is undoubtedly that of the Imprenta); Lázaro gives Madrid and the Imprenta de Música as his publisher, but does not present approbations or meet any of the necessary legal requirements. Both prints are texts relating to a famous polemic about the use of an unprepared dissonance in a polychoral mass by the Catalan composer Francisco Valls: as pamphlets they are adapted to the sort of flexible and rapid exchange of texts that often escaped administrative control. Scores such as the *Turba* settings by Matías Ruiz or the enigmatic collection of *Canciones francesas de todos los ayres*, a reprint of André Danican Philidor's 1699 *Suite de dances pour les violons et hautbois*, fall midway between the standard music edition and sheet music. It is still not known for whom and for which use the work was reprinted, as it did not pass the censor. However, a direct connection with the court can be excluded since the distinctive marks of the

49 On the first images of Philip as warrior-king printed in the same year in France see Margarita Torrione, 'La imagen de Felipe V en el grabado francés de la Guerra de Sucesión', in Álvarez-Ossorio, García and León, eds, *La pérdida de Europa*, 38–41; see also José Miguel Morán Turina, *La imagen del rey Felipe V y el arte* (Madrid: Nerea, 1990).

50 On the Portocarrero's political profile see Antonio R. Peña Izquierdo, *La casa de Palma: la familia Portocarrero en el gobierno de la monarquía hispánica (1665–1700)* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba/CajaSur, 2004). The second edition of the *Reglas* in 1736 was dedicated to Álvaro de Mendoza, who had been appointed head of the Royal Chapel two years earlier.

51 Manuel Ordóñez appears as a poet associated with the Royal Chapel and excluded from it in May 1701; see Nicolás Morales, 'L'exil d'Henry Desmarest à la cour de Philippe V, premier Bourbon d'Espagne: 1701–1706', in *Henry Desmarest (1661–1741): exils d'un musicien dans l'Europe du Grand Siècle*, ed. Jean Duron and Yves Ferraton (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2005), 71. He also took part in poetical academies, for instance the 'Academia que se celebró en el convento de los Padres clérigos regulares' in Madrid in 1681.

52 'Para todo lo perteneciente a música, por tiempo de diez años'; Nassarre, *Fragmentos Músicos*, 'Suma del Privilegio'.

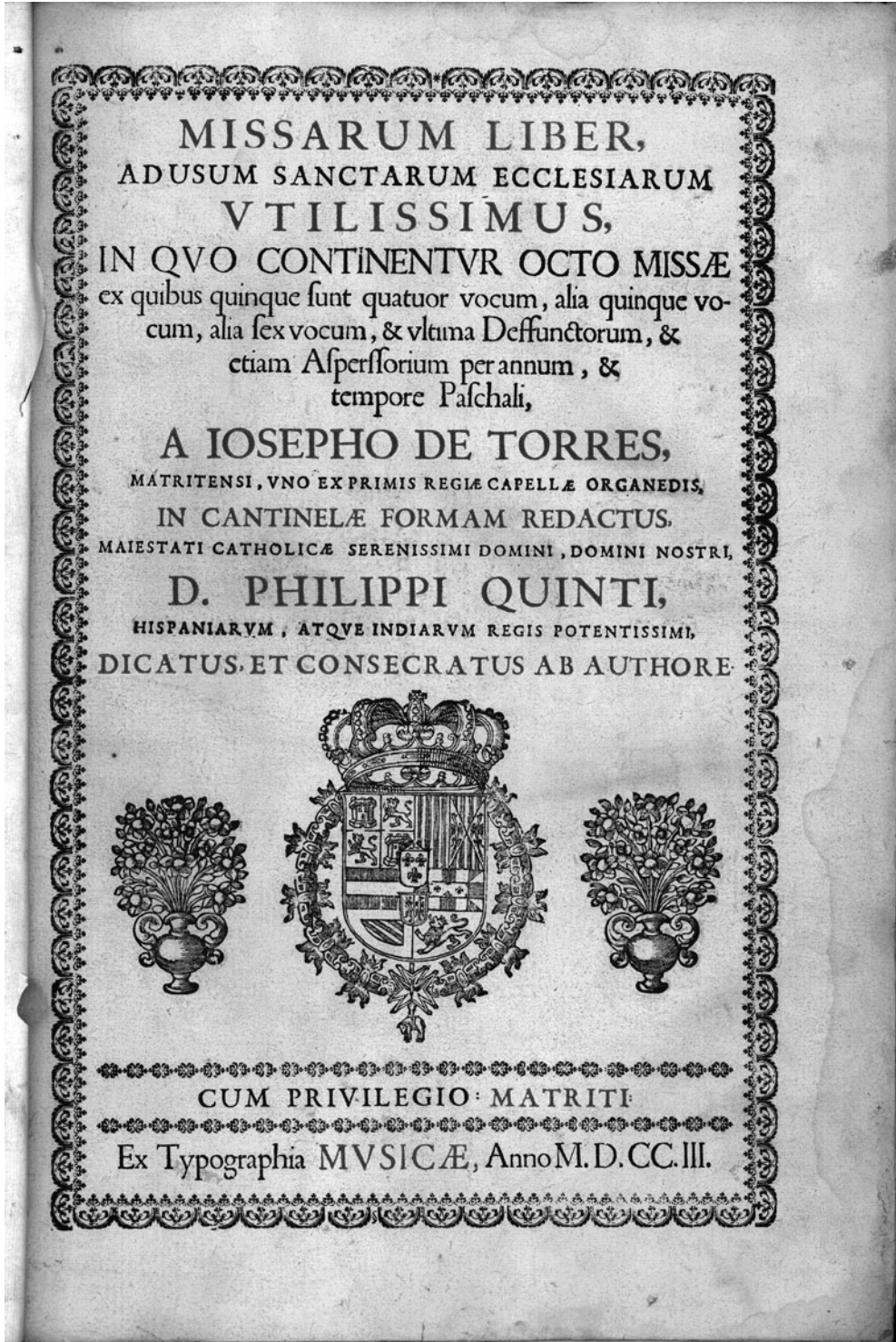



Figure 3 José de Torres, *Missarum Liber* (Madrid: Imprenta de Música, 1703). Madrid, Real Biblioteca de Palacio, Cantoral 103. Used by permission



TURBA DE LA PASSION,
DE LA DOMINICA IN PALMIS,
PUESTA EN MUSICA.
POR DON MATIAS RVIZ ; MAESTRO DE
Capilla del Real Convento de las Señoras
de la Encarnacion,

Año  de 1702:

QUE DEDICA
EN SU IMPRESION,
A LA EXCELENTISSIMA SEÑORA
SOR ANA AGUSTINA
DE SANTA THERESA.
PRIORA DE DICHO CONVENTO REAL,
SU OBSEQUIOSO SUBDITO.
DON MANVEL ORDOÑEZ DFLA PVFENTE

CON PRIVILEGIO.
EN MADRID: En la Imprenta de Musica.

Figure 4 Matías Ruiz, *Turba de la Passión* (Madrid: Imprenta de Música, 1702). Cordoba, Archivo catedralicio. Used by permission



original edition are erased: no dedication or prologue was included in the Spanish edition, nor is reference made to original publisher Philidor.⁵³

Very little is known about the actual production of books and scores by the Imprenta de Música. Interestingly, some of the statements made in Díaz de Guitián's lawsuit confirm the general assumption that the production of music prints was more or less the same as for the literary editions. It is assumed that the author will pay the press and afterwards will take care of arranging the distribution of the edition:

Cuando quiera que se le concediese licencia para que use de él, debe ser haciendo la impresión en la imprenta de mi parte manteniéndole y conservándole su privilegio, pues pagándole los derechos de la impresión tendrá la otra parte [Díaz de Guitián] la utilidad de la venta de sus obras como la tienen los autores de los libros que pagado el impresor los recogen para venderlos como les conviene y tiene mejor cuenta, y con especialidad cuando mi parte tiene los números y caracteres de que la contraria quiere usar y ha de correr por él la impresión y corrección de sus obras para que salgan a la luz como desea.

Whenever a licence is granted to him for his use it should be for printing at my [Torres's] press, maintaining and conserving his privilege, for in paying the rights of print, the other party [Díaz de Guitián] will have the utility of the sale of his works in the same way as do the authors of books, who collect them once the printer has been paid to sell at their convenience, and they benefit from this, especially since my party has the figures and characters which the other party wishes to use, and he will be responsible for the print and correction of his works so that they see the light as he wishes.

The last statement about the disposal of the desired 'figures and characters' seems to be bluff on the part of Torres's defence, since in all its known editions the Imprenta de Música used only three kinds of music type: plainchant square notation, *stile antico* polyphonic types or, in most cases, standard modern notation. Special emphasis is given by Torres to the fact that correction of proofs is the responsibility of the composer, who is expected to fulfil his duty at the press: 'it would be not fair that the other party could own a press, for in my press he will be able to make the print, correcting the misprints before the final print run, and take it home afterwards, and enjoy the benefit that he would get from its sale, as frequently happens with the authors of books'.⁵⁴

Marketing, distribution and sales had been a problem for the Spanish book trade throughout the modern era. Little is as yet known about sales of the editions produced by the Imprenta de Música. There is interesting evidence for Torres having sent, with special permission of the Royal Council, four chests of the *Reglas* and the *Missarum liber* to Cartagena (probably Cartagena de Indias, today Colombia) and New Spain (Mexico) in 1704, about a year or two after the printing of both books.⁵⁵ With the exception of Ulloa's

53 See Paul-Marie Masson, 'Le recueil madrilène des "Canciones Francesas . . . para todos los instrumentos" (1701)', *Acta musicologica* 10 (1938), 174–189; Juan José Carreras, 'L'Espagne et les influences européennes: la musique française à la cour d'Espagne (1679–1714)', in *Échanges musicaux franco-espagnols XVIIe–XIXe siècles*, ed. François Lesure (Paris: Klincksieck, 2000), 80–81.

54 'No fuera justo se permitiera el que la otra parte tuviese imprenta, pues en la de la mía pudiera hacer la impresión corrigiendo las erratas antes de tirarla en limpio, y después llevarse a casa y gozar de la ganancia que tuviera en la venta, como se practica con los autores de los libros frecuentemente.' On proof corrections by literary authors see Trevor J. Dadson, 'La corrección de pruebas (y un libro de poesía)', in *Imprenta y crítica textual en el Siglo de Oro*, ed. Francisco Rico (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid/Centro para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, 2000), 118–119.

55 See Alejandro Vera, 'Santiago de Murcia (1673–1739): New Contributions on His Life and Work', *Early Music* 36/4 (2008), 605. For an updated list of surviving copies and manuscript concordances, and a full description of the copy preserved in Mexico Cathedral of the *Missarum liber*, see Javier Marín López, *Los libros de polifonía de la Catedral de México: estudio y catálogo crítico* (Jaén-Madrid: Universidad de Jaén/Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2012), volume



Música universal, no music book was advertised in the *Gaceta de Madrid*. Booksellers (*mercaderes de libros*) are named in some of the editions: Manuel Balaguer, for instance, appears as a book merchant in Madrid in Huete's *Compendio* (only in the second part). The four editions of Montanos/Torres were also distributed by Madrilenian merchants: Diego Lucas Ximenez (1705), Juan Estevan Bravo (1712), Francisco Laso (1728) and Juan Antonio López (1734).⁵⁶ In contrast, both editions of Torres's *Reglas* seem to have been sold by the author himself: a post-mortem inventory of his possessions lists '507 libros de Reglas Generales de Acompañar, cuarto de marca mayor cada uno a 6 reales', which surely refers to a substantial part of the 1736 edition. Another item in the same document details '111 libros Pasionarios, Oficios de Semana Santa papel de marquilla a 24 reales cada uno', which corresponds to the *Officium* printed in 1702; it represents the remainder of the agreed print run of 550 copies.⁵⁷

Almost nothing is known about the financial aspects of Torres's music editions. In the case of the *Missarum liber*, the composer asked in August 1703 for a payment of four hundred ducats 'because of having contracted other debts for the printing of the book of masses which he has dedicated to His Majesty'.⁵⁸ For the printing of Nassarre's *Fragmentos*, on 6 February 1700, Torres contracted Fray Martín García de Olague, 'religioso de la Santísima Trinidad y organista principal' in Cuenca Cathedral, to buy in that town or district about five hundred reams of paper.⁵⁹ But this quantity seems to cover more than a single title, as it would have resulted in the astronomical amount of more than six thousand copies.⁶⁰ Three months later, Nassarre's *Fragmentos* was already in print, as is proved by the *Fe de erratas* dated 21 April.

Huete's harp tutor offers a special case, as it did not use movable type but engravings for its tablature pieces. As a harpist at Toledo Cathedral, Huete asked for financial help from the cathedral chapter to support the printing expenses.⁶¹ But the most interesting information comes from Huete's will, which shows that he preserved at home around one hundred engraving plates of both parts of his *Compendio*. He also states that the book merchant Manuel Balaguer has 'about one hundred books of the second

1, 639–664. A general overview by Alejandro Vera of the reception of music prints in Latin America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can be found in the third volume of the forthcoming *Historia de la música en España e Hispanoamérica*, ed. Álvaro Torrente (Madrid-Mexico Distrito Federal: Fondo de Cultura Económica).

56 As in other towns, book merchants in Madrid were organized as a brotherhood from 1611 in order to protect their privileges. See Javier Paredes Alonso, *Mercaderes de libros: cuatro siglos de historia de la Hermandad de San Gerónimo* (Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 1988).

57 Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid, Eugenio Alonso de Monje, protocolo 15755, fols 280–283 (Madrid, 4 May 1745), cited by Morales, *L'artiste de cour*, 480. The quantity of 550 copies of the 1702 print is given in the approbation signed by Sebastián de Cotes.

58 'Por haber contraído diferentes empeños para dar a la estampa el Libro de Misas que tiene dedicado a VM.' Archivo General de Palacio (Madrid), Real Capilla, Caja 126. For a complete transcription of this document, dated 8 August 1703, see Lolo, *La música*, 217–218. On the *Missarum liber* see John Edward Druessedow, 'The *Missarum Liber* (1703) of José de Torres y Martínez Bravo (1665–1738)' (PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1972), and 'Aspectos teóricos modales de un libro español de misas de principios del siglo XVIII de José de Torres y Martínez Bravo', *Revista musical chilena* 29 (1975), 40–55.

59 'Hasta la cantidad de quinientas resmas o más o menos.' Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid, Joseph de Eguiluz, protocolo 12584, fol. 10, cited by Louis Jambou, 'Documentos relativos a los músicos de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII de las Capillas Reales y Villa y Corte de Madrid sacados de su Archivo de Protocolos', *Revista de musicología* 12/2 (1989), 508–509.

60 With one ream being equivalent to five hundred sheets of paper, the total amount of the purchase would have been around 250,000 sheets. Nassarre's *Fragmentos* in quarto is 304 pages long. If each exemplar required forty sheets, accommodating eight pages per sheet, the total extent of the edition would be 6,250 copies.

61 'Representando haver dispuesto y dado a la estampa un *Livro de Cifras de Arpa* muy concernientes para el culto divino, y los excesivos gastos y empeños que le ha ocasionado.' Archivo Catedralicio de Toledo, Actas capitulares 48 (1702–1704), fol. 290r, cited by Louis Jambou, 'Arpistas en la Catedral de Toledo. Del testamento de Diego Fernández de Huete a su música: *Zien Láminas de Bronce poco mas o menos*', *Revista de musicología* 13/2 (2000), 570.



part', mentioning another ten copies 'in possession of Don Joseph de Torres, organist of the Royal Chapel in Madrid' and a 'little box with twenty-four of the books mentioned' which was the property of Juan Bezerrol from Toledo.⁶²

SHEET MUSIC: SCRIPT AND PRINT

While the powerful symbolic function of the *Missarum liber* or the theatrical scores from 1699 and 1712 that were dedicated to politically important people should not be overlooked, these music books were but a minor part of the production of the Imprenta de Música. Ultimately the main impact of the press derived from best-sellers like Montanos and Torres's *Arte de canto llano*, with its four editions in less than thirty years.⁶³ But any view of the secondary importance of music editions has to be further reconsidered when we take into account a product peculiar to the press: sheet editions of single vocal works in separate parts in oblong format. Many of these were for reduced ensembles of one or two voices, with an accompaniment suited to domestic use or for academies. But bigger ensembles can also be found in sacred pieces such as the double-choir Christmas villancico 'Ya empieza el rumor' in ten parts, which includes, in addition to the choir, two different figured-bass accompaniments (one of them for the organ). In any case, the use of these sheets is likely to have been flexible, given that the use of secular music in sacred contexts, and sacred in secular, was a well-established practice in the Iberian world.⁶⁴

The ephemeral modesty of this loose sheet format has made it almost invisible to research, which has taken little notice of its existence. Information about the extant sheet music prints (often incomplete and sometime anonymous) is scattered and difficult to locate in catalogues. No previous comprehensive list has been made of these prints, which are presented here as an open list, to which one hopes additions will be made in the near future. As the evidence gathered here shows, these forty-two pieces form a highly significant part of the press's musical activities and should therefore not be neglected (see Tables 2 and 3).⁶⁵

62 'Zien láminas pocas más o menos de Bronze que se abrieron p^a para el primero y segundo libro de zifra para arpa y órgano con sus adornos.' Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Toledo, Testamento de Diego Fernández de Hueté, Protocolo 487 del escribano Gabriel Ruiz de Arrieta del 1.11.1709. The whole document has been reproduced by Louis Jambou, 'Arpistas', 576–577.

63 On the different editions of Francisco de Montanos's *Arte de música* (Valladolid, 1592) see Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita, 'Artes de canto (1492–1626) y mujeres en la cultura musical del mundo ibérico renacentista' (PhD dissertation, Universidad de Barcelona, 2012), volume 1, 259–262.

64 On the performing contexts for secular and sacred cantatas see Juan José Carreras, 'La cantata española', in *Historia de la música en España e Hispanoamericana*, volume 4: *El siglo XVIII*, ed. J. M. Leza (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, forthcoming).

65 José Subirá described the sheets preserved in the Alba collection in Madrid in his *La música en la casa de Alba: estudios históricos y biográficos* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneira, 1927), 261–266; for the correct identification of the 1721 Facco fragments (which I suggest were presented as a single cantata) see Sergi Casademunt i Fiol, 'Aportació a la història de la impremta a la península: *Las Amazonas de España* de Jaime Facco', *Revista catalana de musicologia* 1 (2001), 223–225. The Latin American loose sheets were catalogued by Robert Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington, D. C.: Organization of American States, 1970), 65–106, 130, 178–179. My thanks to Juan Carlos Estenssoro for his help in locating the Peruvian copy of Torres's cantata *Por el tenaro monte*. Durón's undated sheet print *Negliya que quiele* corresponds to the sixth Epiphany villancico for the 1704 celebrations at the Royal Chapel of the Monastery of La Encarnación (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, VE 531/11). See also *La música en la catedral de Segovia*, ed. José López-Calo (Segovia: Diputación Provincial, 1988–1989), volume 2, 220; *Catálogo del archivo de música de la catedral de Salamanca*, ed. Dámaso García-Fraile (Cuenca: Instituto de Música Religiosa, 1981); *Catálogo de impresos musicales del siglo XVIII en la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1989), núms 200, 733 bis. For information on the location of the Madrid Conservatory copies I am grateful to Luis Robledo and José Carlos Gosálvez. The printed *tonada* 'Pues me pierdo' by Sebastián Durón preserved at Segovia Cathedral has been edited by John H. Baron, *Spanish Art Song in the Seventeenth Century* (Madison: A-R



Table 2 Dated sheets

Year	Composer	Genre	Incipit	Location
1703	Torres	Dúo al Santísimo	Aves, luces, cristales	Salamanca Cathedral
1704	Torres	Lamentación	Ego vir videns	Guatemala
[1704]	Durón	Cuatro de Navidad	Negliya que quiele	Guatemala
1706	Torres	Cuatro al Santísimo	Aumente la llama	Madrid Real Conservatorio [I]
1706	Torres	Ocho de Navidad	Ya empieza el rumor	Salamanca Cathedral
1706	Durón	Minué humano	Hermosa fuente pura RISM D9378	London British Library
1707	Durón	Tonada humana	Qué es esto alevoso RISM D3979	Madrid Biblioteca Nacional
1708	Literes	Cantada humana	Hijo de la espuma	Madrid Archivo Histórico Nacional
1709	Literes	Dúo de la comedia ... <i>Con música y por amor</i>	Rinda el mar	Madrid Archivo de los Duques de Alba [I]
1709	Torres	Cuatro al Santísimo	Un accidente	Salamanca Cathedral
1710	Literes	Tonada de la comedia ... <i>Acis y Galatea</i>	Divina Galatea	Guatemala
1711	[Durón]	Zarzuela ... <i>El imposible mayor</i>	Yo no puedo	Madrid Archivo de los Duques de Alba [I]
1711	Torres	Cantada humana	Ola pajarillos	Guatemala
1714	Torres	Cantada al Santísimo	Hermosa blanca nube	Guatemala
1715	Serqueira	Cantada humana	En la ribera verde	Madrid Real Conservatorio
1715	Torres	Tonada humana	Más de lo que quisiera	Guatemala [I]
1717	Torres	Solo al Santísimo	Ven a festejar postrado	Madrid Biblioteca Nacional [I]
1717	Torres	Cantada a Nuestra Señora	Ay qué favor	Guatemala
1717	Literes	Cantada al Santísimo	Alienta humano desvelo	Salamanca Cathedral
1719	Salas	Tonada humana	Si nací de nieve	Madrid Real Conservatorio [I]
[1720]	[Facco]		Yo lo diga	Madrid Archivo de los Duques de Alba
[1721]	Torres	Cantada de Navidad	Cielos, qué nuevas antorchas	Guatemala
1721	Torres	Cantada humana	Por el tenaro monte	Lima Arzobispado
1722	Torres	Cantada al Santísimo	Favor, gracia, pureza	Guatemala
1722	Torres	Cantada al Santísimo	Cercadme flores	Guatemala
1729	Torres	Cantada sola al Santísimo	Con afecto y armonía	Guatemala
1733	Porpora	Cantada al Santísimo	Al raudal	Guatemala [I]

[I] = Incomplete; *Incipit* refers to the text of the piece on the cover, if preserved; if not, the first words of the opening section are given. RISM numbers refer to the A I Series (*Einzeldrucke vor 1800*).

Editions, 1985), 44–45. See also Esses, *Dance*, 95–96. For an edition of the sheet prints from Guatemala see José de Torres, *Obras a solo y a dúo de la Imprenta de Música*, ed. Raúl Angulo Díaz (Santo Domingo de la Calzada: Fundación Gustavo Bueno, 2012). In spite of its questionable decision to ignore all previous research on the subject, Angulo's edition is useful in identifying two possibly previously unknown manuscript copies of sheet prints: the duo *Albricias, campañas* and the Christmas cantata *Cielos, qué nuevas antorchas*. The chronology of this last piece is known from a textual concordance with the 1721 chap-book corresponding to the Christmas Matins celebration at the Spanish Royal Chapel. See José de Torres, *Obras a solo*, 17.



Table 3 Undated sheets

Composer	Genre	Incipit	Location
Cabezudo	Cantada humana	Qué fiero rigor	Madrid Biblioteca Nacional = M 2618
Durón	Tonada humana	Pues me pierdo	Segovia Cathedral
Literes	Tonada humana	Me sobran	Guatemala
Literes	Cantada humana	Fieras que el monte	Madrid Biblioteca Nacional = M 2618
Navas	Dúo de Navidad	Zagalejo que naces	Guatemala
Serqueira	Cantada humana	Oh corazón amante	Madrid Biblioteca Nacional = M 2618
Torres	Dúo al Santísimo	Albricias, campañas	Guatemala
Torres	Tonada de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción	Luz de las luces	Mexico Distrito Federal, Sánchez Garza Collection
Torres		Matizadas flores	Mexico Distrito Federal, Sánchez Garza Collection
Torres		Miren qué flor	Guatemala
Torres		Un reloj	Guatemala
Torres	Cantada humana	Bellísima ocasión	Madrid Biblioteca Nacional = M 2618
		Músico ruiñeñor	Madrid Archivo de los Duques de Alba [I]
		Danae cuya belleza	Madrid Archivo de los Duques de Alba [I]
		Donde va la mariposita	Madrid Biblioteca Nacional [I]

[I] = Incomplete; *Incipit* refers to the text of the piece on the cover, if preserved; if not, the first words of the opening section are given. RISM numbers refer to the A I Series (*Einzeldrucke vor 1800*).

Interestingly, most of the surviving sheets (which are all *unica*, with the sole exception of a repeated printed copy in Guatemala) are dated at the corners of the decorative filigree of the first single page, which serves as a front page once the parts are folded. This peculiar type of single-page music edition seems to have begun in 1703, the year of the first known dated filigree.⁶⁶ All surviving title pages (dated or not) state that the given edition appears ‘con privilegio’, and many indicate the total number of sheets (*hojas*) of the piece, to which sometimes a publisher’s number is added (see Figure 5).

Produced over a span of roughly three decades, these sheet-music editions present many complementary aspects of continuity with extant scribal practices. Even if the uses of music copying and the mechanisms of circulation of musical manuscripts in seventeenth-century Spain remain to be explored in more detail, there is already enough evidence to give us an idea of the cultural context in which the *Imprenta de Música* emerged. For instance, several preserved collections of letters from different chapel masters of the second half of the seventeenth century afford a vivid picture of the active exchange of manuscripts of vocal sacred

66 It is clear that hard evidence for this particular means of dating prints can only be acquired through a systematic study of all the surviving sources and by reconstructing the chronological series of sheet prints by Torres, as shown in the present study, so as to exclude any coincidences. I first presented a reconstruction of the dated sheet series in order to prove my hypothesis in 2005 in Madrid (see note 9) and gave notice of the same in my essay ‘José de Torres (ca. 1670–1738)’, published in *Revista de la Fundación Juan March* 407 (December 2011), 2–7. Surprisingly, Begoña Lolo uses this evidence to date the Literes serenata of 1708 without acknowledgement and wrongly implies that sheet prints were always dated. See Lolo, ‘La Imprenta de Música’, 85–86.



Figure 5 (Left) Juan de Lima Serqueira, front print sheet of the secular cantata ‘En la ribera verde’ (Madrid: Imprenta de Música, 1715). Madrid, Biblioteca del Real Conservatorio. Used by permission. (Right) Attributed to José de Torres, song from the zarzuela *El imposible mayor* (Madrid: Imprenta de Música, 1711). Madrid, Archivo de los Duques de Alba, Caja 174/22. Used by permission

music and poetic texts for villancico and cantata settings between different urban centres.⁶⁷ The cases of the letters of Miguel Gómez Camargo or of Miguel de Irizar, chapel masters from the second half of the seventeenth century, are indicative: their circulation of musical manuscripts suggests a similar scribal community to those described for England in the Restoration period, which were concerned with the scribal publication of political discourse, poetry or music.⁶⁸ In fact, this kind of evidence points to a general pattern also found in other parts of Europe, characterized by the circulation and exchange of manuscripts in a close network of

67 On copying music in late seventeenth-century Madrid see the path-breaking research by Pablo-L. Rodríguez, ‘Música, poder y devoción: la Capilla Real de Carlos II (1665–1700)’ (PhD dissertation, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2003), volume 1, 199–275. Next to paleographical evidence, the collected letters of various chapel masters are fundamental for tracing exchanges between music and poetry: see Carmelo Caballero Fernández-Rufete, *El Barroco musical en Castilla y León: estudios en torno a Miguel Gómez Camargo* (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2005); Pablo L. Rodríguez, “‘Sólo Madrid es Corte’: villancicos de las Capillas Reales de Carlos II en la catedral de Segovia”, *Artígrama* 12 (1996–1997), 237–255; Matilde Olarte Martínez, ‘Aportaciones de la correspondencia epistolar de Miguel de Irizar sobre música y músicos españoles durante el siglo XVII’, *Cuadernos de Arte* 26 (1995), 83–96. On copying practices in an eighteenth-century Spanish cathedral see the fundamental contribution by Miguel Ángel Marín, *Music on the Margin: Urban Musical Life in Eighteenth-Century Jaca (Spain)* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2002), 237–303. For a general overview see also Antonio Ezquerro Esteban, Luis Antonio González Marín and José Vicente González Valle, ‘The Circulation of Music in Spain 1600–1900’, in *The Circulation of Music in Europe 1600–1900: A Collection of Essays and Case Studies*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag, 2008), 9–31.

68 See Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 3–34. On the circulation of manuscripts in Spain see Fernando Bouza, *Corre manuscrito: una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001).



professional musicians. Chapel masters, singers and nun musicians wrote letters which – along with the communication of professional gossip and requests for poetical texts needed for the great quantity of new devotional pieces performed in different ceremonies – also included music. The material continuity between epistolary text and music, often inextricably intermingled in such collected manuscripts (preserved by users as folded sheets or *pliegos*),⁶⁹ corresponds to an economy of exchange in which basically one writes to perform and performs to write.

In a letter to Camargo dated January 1665, the organist Diego de Guevara y Andrada made this collegial network explicit when he introduced his petition of some devotional songs to help the sick Baezan chapel master with the following words:

Parece que sólo en ser todos de la misma facultad contraemos algún parentesco y por esta causa debemos valernos unos de otros en lo que tocara ser materia de ella misma. Dígoles porque aun no habiendo servido a Vmd. en nada ni conociéndole si no es por noticias, hoy me resuelvo a molestarle con mi carta, de que desde luego pido perdón y le suplico que atienda, que no puedo hacer otra cosa, que esta diligencia es una de las anexas a mi obligación y oficio.

It seems to me that merely by the fact of belonging to the same faculty [music] we gain a kind of kinship by which we are obliged to assist each other in matters related to the same. I say this because, not having served you in any way nor being acquainted with you except by reputation, I have decided to inconvenience you with this letter, for which I ask your forgiveness, and I beg you to consider it, because I cannot do otherwise, this mission being one that is proper to my duties and office.⁷⁰

As fascinating and informative as some of these letters may be, it is important to keep in mind that such sources afford only a limited glimpse into the practices of copying and sending manuscripts. In fact, these letters survived in cathedral musical archives like Segovia or Valladolid only by chance, as they were written on the back of the musical scores. Some hints in these letters, corroborated by the palaeographical evidence of musical scores and parts, point to the regular exchange of *originales* to be copied by the receiver and then returned, but also to the supply of music through professional copyists working on a commercial basis. An indicative case is that of Francisco Lizondo, a former choir boy of Segovia Cathedral, active in the 1670s in Madrid and nephew of the master of the Royal Chapel, Carlos Patiño. Lizondo supplied diverse Madrilénian monasteries with music, exported his copies to the New World to places such as Puebla Cathedral in Mexico and worked as ‘escritor de la Real Capilla’.⁷¹ A different case is that of José Guerra, an important court copyist without musical training who also occasionally copied music.⁷²

Torres’s profile as a major figure in Spain’s musical scene around 1700 presents some striking traits in this context, which may reflect some of his personal characteristics as well as specific aspects of Spanish musical culture at the time. In a trade such as printing, where the majority of the publishers were printers connected in different ways with the musical world, Torres is an example of the reverse situation. As one of the main composers of his time, from the 1720s he officially held one of the most influential musical positions of the kingdom as Maestro de la Capilla Real. He was not only promoting his own work (twenty-one

69 One of the definitions of ‘pliego’ in the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, volume 5 (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1737), 300, reads: ‘Por extensión se llama al envoltorio o cúmulo de cartas debajo de una cubierta. Y también se suele llamar así, aunque no sea más de una carta.’

70 Caballero, *El Barroco musical*, 254.

71 On Lizondo as a copyist see Rodríguez, ‘Música, poder y devoción’, 218–241; Pablo L. Rodríguez, ‘La librería del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial como museo musicale della corte spagnola’, in *Celesti Sirene: musica e monachesimo dal Medioevo all’Ottocento*, ed. Annamaria Bonsante and Roberto Matteo Pasquandrea (Foggia: Claudio Grenzi, 2010), 129–139.

72 See Álvaro Torrente and Pablo-L. Rodríguez, ‘The “Guerra Manuscript” (c. 1680) and the Rise of Solo Song in Spain’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 123/2 (1998), 147–189.



pieces are attributed to him) but also publishing the work of a significant group of composers active in Madrid such as Cabezedo, Durón, Facco, Literes, Navas and Serqueira. The local nature of these loose sheet-music editions is amplified by a piece by Porpora (dated 1733), an Italian cantata with a newly adapted Spanish sacred text.⁷³ As might be expected, the transfer from theatre to print of tunes or arias from plays and zarzuelas occurred in a relatively short space of time, exploiting the popularity of a given production. For example, the *tonada* from Literes's successful *Acis y Galatea* (first performed at court in December 1708 to mark a royal birthday and later performed as a commercial production) appeared as soon as 1710.

The dissemination of the extant sheet-music prints allows some general observations. First, excluding two locations (Madrid and London) that clearly correspond to the presence of collectors in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the rest may suggest a significant topography of early modern circulation. Spanish cathedrals such as Salamanca and aristocratic households such as that of the Duke of Alba are represented. Manuscript copies of unknown printed sheets from the press which appear in a miscellany of cantatas and songs compiled around 1725 (and related to the Madrilenian monastery of San Martín) hint again at a fluid continuity between manuscript publication and print.⁷⁴ Second, the presence of music sheets in Latin America (Guatemala and Peru, and in the Sánchez Garza Collection in Mexico) needs to be studied separately and is too complex to be developed here. The striking number of sheet prints in Guatemala is clearly related to the existence there of a wider manuscript repertory of cantatas and other sacred music from the Spanish Royal Chapel of the early eighteenth century.

The genres printed as sheet music by Torres are all vocal music in Spanish (the Lamentation of 1704 seems to be an experiment with no further consequences). The pieces are almost all for solo voice and accompaniment, with the addition in some cases of two violins. Following the designation on the front page of each sheet, the known production of the press comprises sixteen cantatas, eight solos or *tonadas* (strophic songs), four duos for solo voices and four choral pieces for four or eight voices. Fourteen pieces are explicitly labelled as secular (*humano*): this increases to eighteen (roughly the half of the known output) if one adds the four pieces related to theatre music (plays and zarzuelas). However, these figures can only be indicative, as the fragmentary pieces often do not allow a clear identification and the reconstructed series is obviously incomplete.

As suggested above, the production of printed sheet music shows clear connections to the established networks and transmission patterns of scribal publication. On the other hand, the technological transfer from manuscript to printed sheet did involve some noteworthy differences, as it brought about multiple identical copies of a piece destined for an imagined market of possible buyers. As we have seen, the exchange of manuscript copies as implied by surviving sources such as letters and scores clearly points to a prevalent closed circuit of user exchange and circulation in opposition to open commercial copying. More than one example can be found in these letters where the recipient of a *borrador* or *pliego* is requested not to allow the copying in any way of the music that had been sent. The fact that even a scribe known for his commercial disposition such as Lizondo (who nevertheless worked mainly for the Royal Chapel) was frequently paid in kind with live geese and turkeys by a customer like Miguel de Irizar hints at an economy based mainly on close contacts, which is quite different from the entrepreneurial model.⁷⁵ Surely it was on

73 On the circulation of Italian cantatas in Spain see Giulia Veneziano, 'Un corpus de cantatas napolitanas del siglo XVIII en Zaragoza: problemas de difusión del repertorio italiano en España', *Artígrama* 12 (1996–1997), 277–291, and José María Domínguez, '“Comedias armónicas a la usanza de Italia”: Alessandro Scarlatti's Music and the Spanish Nobility c. 1700', *Early Music* 37/2 (2009), 201–215.

74 See Juan José Carreras, 'La cantata de cámara', 83–90.

75 I take the term from Harold Love's proposed three modes of scribal publication (author, entrepreneur and user publication). See Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts*, 47. On commercial music copying in Europe during the eighteenth century see Devriès-Lesure, 'Technological Aspects', 64–66.



this mode of scribal publication, together with the prospects provided by an amateur market, that the idea of printing sheet music by the *Imprenta de Música* was at least in part based. On the other hand, surviving Spanish cantata anthologies – like the Mackworth manuscript, made up by an Italian copyist for a Welsh music collector, or a lost manuscript listed in the legacy of Michel-Charles Le Cène in Amsterdam, besides other anthologies found in Portugal and Spain – suggest a wider interest which may have stimulated the idea of printing precisely this genre of music.⁷⁶

The presence of modern genres such as the cantata in the production of sheet music shows clearly that the *Imprenta de Música* fulfilled the function of making available new music produced by musicians related to the court and the theatres of Madrid. Eloquent testimony to this is found in an observation made in 1726 by Benito Feijoo, one of the most influential intellectuals of the time. In his well-known *Discurso sobre la música en los templos* (translated into English in London 1778 as *Discourse on Church Music*) he passes a critical remark on the function of print in relation to musical practice. Speaking about the difficulty of melodic embellishments and vocal coloratura in Italian music and of finding adequate singers in the cathedrals of the different provinces in Spain, he wishes to restrict this style to the select circles of professionals. ‘If you compose in this style’, he says, ‘it should be only for an exceptional performer of one court or another, but it should not be given to the printing press so that it may be scattered around the provinces.’⁷⁷ This remark is very telling: first, because it is clear that it is not aimed at the music press in general, but at Torres’s *Imprenta de Música* and specifically at the modest sheets which were regularly published by the press and which could reach the ‘provinces’; second, because Feijoo, whose *Teatro crítico* was very influential in Spain, makes clear that this new mode of production was disrupting old patterns of transmission. Three years later, the *Diálogo Harmónico sobre el Teatro Crítico* – a polemical answer to Feijoo in the form of an enlightened discussion between several fictional characters, and signed by Eustaquio Cerbellón de la Vera (‘músico de la Real Capilla de su Majestad’) – opposed this restrictive view, defending the public musical sphere and the free market. Comments made by the character of Niciato, an ‘hombre maduro y prudente’ (wise older man) who served as organist in the Royal Chapel, and a figure with some notable traits in common with the reputed organist José de Torres, are enlightening. The following passage appears in a discussion in which ancient ecclesiastical music is pitted against modern Italian style, which has inevitably seduced the old Spanish gravity (*gravedad española*). Print is seen here as an essential aspect of the public sphere where ‘everyone buys at his convenience’ and where the category of the listener embodies the modern enlightened subject, free to communicate and use the diverse commodities offered to him by the market. Niciato is here responding explicitly to the remarks of Feijoo:

Niciato: Lo que más me agrada es aquello de que las tales obras se pongan en la imprenta donde qualquiera las pueda comprar y remitir donde gustase. Lo cual me parece una objeción ridícula porque a ninguno se le precisa que las compre, y además que si eso es delito, prívese al librero el que tenga libros en diversos idiomas y facultades, porque no sirven igualmente a todos. Pero si el proferir semejante proposición se tendría generalmente por disparate, pues cada uno compra lo que le conviene, ¿por dónde será delito en la música (habiendo la misma libertad en el que compra), el que se impriman y vendan de todo género de composiciones? Y lo mismo digo a la

⁷⁶ Le Cène’s legacy of 1743 lists as item number 73 ‘Un livre manuscrit de Cantade Spagnole’; see Rudolf Rasch, ‘I manoscritti musicali nel lascito di Michel-Charles Le Cène (1743)’, in *Intorno a Locatelli*, ed. Albert Dunning (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1995), 1069. On the copying of cantata anthologies see *El manuscrito Mackworth de cantatas españolas*, ed. Juan José Carreras (Madrid: Fundación Caja Madrid/Alpuerto, 2004), 18–21. For general overview of the main Spanish cantata sources see Juan José Carreras, ‘The Spanish Cantata to 1800’, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), volume 5, 37–40.

⁷⁷ ‘Caso de componerse así, habría de ser solamente para uno u otro ejecutor singularísimo, que hubiese en esta o aquella corte, pero no darse a la Imprenta para que ande rodando por las provincias.’ Benito Feijoo, *Teatro crítico universal* (Madrid: Lorenzo Francisco Mojados, 1726), volume 1, 285. On the indirect connection of Feijoo with the *Imprenta de Música* through the Spanish cantata manuscript M 2618 see Carreras, ‘La cantata de cámara’, 87–88.



objeción de que muchos cantores e instrumentistas que en cosas fáciles parecen bien, descalabran a los oyentes con las difíciles, ¿pues quién le mete en querer volar al que escasamente sabe correr? Cada uno se vista según su estatura, que el vestido no parece mal por ser grande o pequeño, sino por quererse poner el vestido que se hizo para un gigante el que sólo nació para pigmeo.⁷⁸

Niciato: What delights me more is that all these works are printed so that anyone may buy them and send them where he pleases. All this seems to me a ridiculous objection, because nobody is forced to buy them; furthermore, if this is a crime, then the bookseller should be forbidden from having books in different languages and subjects, since they will not be equally useful to everyone. If suggesting such a thing would generally be held as foolish, for everyone buys at his convenience, then how can it be a crime in music (given the same freedom on the part of the purchaser) to print and sell every kind of composition? And I would say the same to the objection that many singers and instrumentalists, who in easy pieces seem good, will give listeners a headache when executing more difficult works, for who forces one to fly when he is barely able to run? Everyone should dress according to his size, for the dress does not look bad because it is big or small, but because one who was born as a pygmy wants to put on a dress made for a giant.

CONCLUSION: EFFECTS OF THE PRINTING PRIVILEGE

Torres's defence of his privilege seems to have been very effective during his lifetime. Most of the music prints known to have been produced outside his press involve plainchant tutors that do not use modern music typography and therefore were not protected by the privilege. Martín y Coll's *Arte de canto llano* is a good example. The first edition was printed in 1714 in Madrid by the widow of Juan García Infanzón. Five years later, the second expanded edition, with a new section on polyphony (*canto de órgano*), was produced by Bernardo Peralta at the Imprenta de Música, using the modern music types to illustrate this new section. Another example of music print from these years, Nassarre's *Escuela música* (Zaragoza, 1723–1724), uses only very simple woodcuts for the short music examples. An interesting exception seems to be Santiago de Murcia's *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra*, probably published in 1714 in Madrid. At first sight, it could be considered an infringement of Torres's privilege given its guitar tablature engravings. Several aspects of this book are striking. First, we find a short approval signed by Antonio Literes dated 1 August 1717. This may be an error, as the dedication to Jacome Francisco Andriani (Extraordinary Envoy of the Swiss Catholic cantons) is signed 20 August 1714 in accordance with the frontispiece date of 1714.⁷⁹ Secondly, the book may not have passed the censor, since none of the usual legal texts appear, nor is there any reference to a press or a printer. The passing remark in Literes's approval that the engravings were made in Antwerp appears to suggest that the edition was made in such a way as to circumvent Torres's privilege.

Besides this already known evidence, new information related to the Royal Chapel in these highly political years may well point in the same direction. As a result of the disruptions caused by the War of Succession, Torres and Literes were responsible for most of the new music needed in the Royal Chapel between 1709

78 Eustaquio Cerbellón de la Vera, *Dialogo Harmónico sobre el Theatro crítico universal en defensa de la Música en los templos. Dedicado a las tres Capillas Reales de esta Corte, la de Su Magestad, Señoras Descalças, y Señoras de la Encarnación* (Madrid, 1726), 50. On Cerbellón de la Vera see Antonio Martín Moreno, *El padre Feijoo y las ideologías musicales del siglo XVIII* (Orense: Instituto de Estudios Orensanos, 1976), 202–214. It has been suggested that Cerbellón could be the pen name of Pedro Cerbelloni, an Italian chaplain of the Royal Chapel in Madrid; see Morales, *L'artiste*, 321.

79 As suggested by Esses, *Dance*, 132. The reference by Literes to Queen María Luisa being deceased ('que Dios tiene') in August 1714 also makes sense, as she died on 14 February of the same year. For biographical detail in relation to the edition of the *Resumen* see Craig H. Russell, *Santiago de Murcia's 'Código Saldivar no. 4': A Treasury of Secular Guitar Music from Baroque Mexico* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), volume 1, 115–137. See also Carreras, 'L'Espagne', 78–80, for a musical borrowing from Murcia in the cantata 'Ah del rústico' (1710).



and 1712 for the main ceremonies such as Christmas, Holy Week or the Forty Hours. As an active supporter of the Habsburg cause, the chapel master Sebastián Durón, formerly responsible for these new compositions (which included sacred songs and cantatas for different forces), was exiled in 1706. During these years Torres and Literes shared the four hundred ducats set aside for this specific service. But suddenly in the spring of 1713 Torres began to claim the whole amount, arguing that he had done all the work the previous year. In an exceptional move, Literes presented a document signed by twelve musicians of the Royal Chapel who certified that during Holy Week in 1712 the Lamentations and the music for the Forty Hours had been composed by Literes himself.⁸⁰ Tensions between the two composers increased as Torres claimed, a few months later, the complete amount for 1712 for providing the music for Christmas, Epiphany, Corpus Christi and Holy Week. This conflict puts the approval signed by Literes for a book which was possibly breaking Torres's privilege in a new light. Even if the fragmentary evidence provided by the chronological series of loose sheets may be invalidated by further findings, it is still striking that the sequence of the known dated sheets shows a regular publication of music by Literes between 1708 and 1710, which appears to be interrupted around the time of the dispute between the two composers until 1717.

The eruption of music printing on the early eighteenth-century Madrid musical scene altered in subtle ways the established modes of composing, performing and hearing. It slowly introduced the new social and material economics produced by printing. On opposing sides, authors like Feijoo or Cerbellón de la Vera were acutely aware of the loss of control which public access in the form of print could offer. As I have observed, print also emphasized public display and gave a new dimension to dedication and patronage. In this sense, the editions of the Imprenta de Música are also representative of a promotional strategy that afforded Torres an exceptional social and professional profile. Torres was not born into a family of musicians, as was often the case in the ancien régime, but came from a literary background. His father was a modest court sheriff (*alguacil de corte*) and his brother Diego climbed the social ladder to reach the post of judge of the nunciature court and honorary chaplain (*capellán de honor*) at the Royal Chapel. His elder son, José de Torres Eguiluz, was a lawyer, and appears as translator of a legal text by the Sicilian Giovanni Battista Palermo published by the Imprenta de Música and dedicated by Torres to Queen Isabella de Farnesio.⁸¹ Dedications such as that for the *Missarum liber* (possibly emphasizing continuity with former polyphonic mass prints like those of Philippe Rogier or Alonso Lobo)⁸² or Nassarre's *Fragmentos* created a personal profile constructed through the public exposure made possible by print. The same can be said of Torres's published theoretical writings and his activity as translator. In 1736 he claimed to have translated Brossard's *Dictionnaire de Musique* into Spanish.⁸³ Torres's connections with the literary intelligentsia, as displayed in the Introduction to his edition of Coloma's poems, may be crucial for understanding his keen interest in the printing trade, and the transference of the symbolic value of the literary print to music.

It is interesting to compare Torres with the Catalan composer, instrumentalist and poet Jaime de la Tè y Sagau (1684–1736), who settled in Lisbon around 1707. His earlier stay in Madrid for a few years makes it possible that he could have worked at Torres's press. In any case, he was certainly aware of the existence

80 Archivo General de Palacio (Madrid), Reinados, Felipe V, Caja 340.

81 The dedication makes allusion to the father, speaking of 'la honra, y apreciable esmalte que me adorna, de ser hijo de un Criado antiguo y actual de Vuestra Majestad' (the honour and worthy gleam that embellishes me, being the son of a former and present servant of Your Majesty). On the front page Torres Eguiluz appears as doctor and 'Colegial en el insigne Colegio de Málaga de la Universidad de Alcalá, de su Gremio, y Claustro, y Opositor a las Cathedras de Canones, y Leyes de dicha Universidad'. See Giovanni Battista Palermo, *Alegación legal, canonica, theologica, política, y feudal* (Madrid: Imprenta Real de Música, 1734). Torres's younger son Manuel made a military career in a cavalry batallion of dragoons; see Morales, *L'artiste*, 565.

82 From 1705 onwards Torres published some mass fragments by these composers in the different editions of Montanos's treatise.

83 José de Torres, *Reglas generales de acompañar* (Madrid: Imprenta de Música, 1736), 98. Apparently the translation was never published.



of this press and its exclusive privilege. In Lisbon, de la Tê also founded an 'Imprenta de Música' and obtained a printing privilege for ten years in 1715 'para poder fazer impremir, e vender muzica como se fazia a la Corte de Madrid e em todas as mais partes da Europa, e que ninguem senao elle podesse ter a d^a impreçao'.⁸⁴ Contrary to the Spanish press, which did not produce collected editions, Tê published 253 sacred and secular cantatas in a number of volumes, apparently ending his printing activities in 1726 with Emanuele d'Astorga's *Cantatas humanas a solo*. Unfortunately, no trace seems to remain of the single prints of cantatas that he lists in a printed catalogue.⁸⁵ A different mode of authorial attribution operates in this case: only a proportion of the cantatas are ascribed to de la Tê, the rest appearing anonymously. This contrasts with Torres's approach, in which each sheet edition carefully exhibits the name of the composer.⁸⁶

EPILOGUE: THE END OF TYPOGRAPHY

In 1743, five years after Torres's death, José Vicente Hernández Illana asked for a new privilege to found a music press in Madrid. This time it was an engraving shop that was planned: 'establecer una estampa, a imitación de las de Italia, Francia, Olanda y otros Payses extrangeros'. As proof of his craftsmanship, he supplied two Madrilenian examples: one is an organ piece by José de Torres printed at the old Imprenta de Música using typography and score notation for the four parts of the piece, appearing on eleven vertically oriented pages. The print is undated, and since it is labelled *Obra Primera*, it was probably conceived as the first of a series (see Figure 6).⁸⁷ The composition is divided into four parts (*partidas*) in polyphonic style, the last section changing from C to C 6/4 and being labelled *Canción*.

The other sample was an elegant new engraving by Hernández Illana of two short pieces by Manuel José Marín, organist at Burgos Cathedral.⁸⁸ The two liturgical pieces elaborate three parts in imitative style on a

84 Ana Crisitina Gonçalves Torres, 'A *Officina da Musica*: uma oficina tipográfica portuguesa da primeira metade do século XVIII' (Master's dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2001), quoted by Gerhard Doderer, 'Jayme de la Tê y Sagáu e as suas Cantatas de câmara (1715–1725)', *Recerca musicologica* 19 (2009), 126.

85 See Gerhard Doderer, 'An Unknown Repertory: The Cantatas of Jayme de la Tê y Sagau (Lisbon, 1715–26)', in *Music in Spain during the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Malcolm Boyd and Juan José Carreras (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 80–107. The list is reproduced on pages 103–107.

86 There is one puzzling exception in the case of one of the 1711 sheets (see Table 2). The song 'Yo no puedo' is taken (as the cover rightly states) from the zarzuela *El imposible mayor*. Although the print attributes the song to Torres, this zarzuela was composed by Durón and was performed ten times at the Santa Cruz theatre between 24 July and 3 August 1710. See *Los libros de cuentas de los corrales de comedias de Madrid: 1706–1719: estudio y documentos*, ed. John E. Varey and Charles Davis (London: Tamesis, 1984), 168–169. I suggest that this exception is related to Durón's political exile, which would have made its appearance at the Imprenta de Música inappropriate. In this sense, it should not be considered simply as a question of illegal copying, as proposed by Antonio Martín Moreno; see Introduction to Sebastián Durón, *El imposible mayor en amor, le vence amor: zarzuela en dos jornadas* (Música Hispana Serie A53), ed. Antonio Martín Moreno (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores, 2005), xiii, where this print is mistakenly considered as lost. I am grateful to the Fundación Casa de Alba for its permission to consult the music print sheets preserved at the Archivo de los Duques de Alba (Palacio de Liria, Madrid), Caja 174/22. I also thank José Manuel Calderón, who is in charge of the library and archive, for his friendly assistance.

87 There is no concordance with the Torres organ manuscript in the Mexican Sánchez Garza Collection. An early significant example of this *partitura*, or score print, for keyboard may be found in Manuel Rodrigues Coelho's *Flores de Música* (Lisbon, 1620, printed by Pedro Craesbeeck). For a modern edition and study of this print see *Flores de Música: Manuel Rodrigues Coelho* (Portugaliae Musica, series A1 and 3), ed. Macario Santiago Kastner (Lisbon: Fundação Gulbenkian, 1959). For Torres's organ manuscript see Gustavo Delgado Parra, *Un libro didáctico del siglo XVIII para la enseñanza de la composición* (Valencia: Editorial Universitat Politècnica de València, 2010).

88 Coming from Madrid, Vicente Hernández Illana was admitted as a *bajón* player in Burgos cathedral in 1730, where he remained for a year. In December 1729 his brother Francisco Hernández Illana was named head of chapel music at the same cathedral. Manuel Marín was admitted as second organist and harpist of the chapel in 1724, where he was still active in 1775. See *La música en la catedral de Burgos*, ed. José López-Calo (Burgos: Caja de Ahorros del Círculo Católico, 1996), volume 6, 86, 116, 118, 130 and 369.



Obra primera.

Fol. 12



OBRA ORGANICA

DE MEDIO REGISTRO DE DOS TIPLES de Octavo Tono.

COMPUESTA POR DON JOSEPH DE TORRES.

Partida primera.



Figure 6 José de Torres, organ print (Madrid: Imprenta de Música, no date). Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Consejos 26565-12. Used by permission



Figure 7 Manuel José Marín, organ print (Madrid, c1743). Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Consejos 26565-12. Used by permission

cantus firmus based on a Vespers hymn: the first piece on *Veni creator spiritus* and the second on *Ave maris stella* (see Figure 7).⁸⁹ The earlier print by Torres and the Hernández Illana edition from 1743 are two scores which establish a new chronology for Spanish keyboard prints, filling the chronological gap between Correa de Araujo's *Facultad Orgánica* (1626) and Sessé's *Six Fugas* (1773).⁹⁰ Hernández Illana presented this precious organ print by Torres to show the painstaking notation on four independent staves that had to be used in order to print with movable types a complex imitative piece such as this *Medio registro para dos tiples*.

The new privilege was apparently conceded, even if no other prints by him are known. Some time later a Frenchman called Pierre Caillaux, a musician of the Valon Guards of the Spanish Royal Infantry, claimed to the king that he had been working on a similar project for years in Seville; he asked for compensation since the privilege that had been granted to Hernández Illana would not allow him to use his printing tools. He also criticized Illana's punch technique as opposed to his own finer chisel work.⁹¹ Such initiatives,

89 'Hernz. Sculpsit Matriti' at the end of the print provides information on the engraver. The print is undated, but the chronology has to be 1743 or close to it, as it accompanies the new application for a printing privilege.

90 See Almonte Howell, 'Spain's First Printed Keyboard Score: The Six Fugas of Juan Sessé', in *Essays on the Music of J. S. Bach and Other Divers Subjects: A Tribute to Gerhard Herz*, ed. Robert L. Weaver (Louisville: University of Louisville, 1981), 281–290.

91 'Aunque la estampa de mi parte es mucho mas primorosa y vistosa por ser abierta a buril y la de Don Joseph Vicente hecha a punzón.' Document dated Madrid, 17 February 1745. Caillaux appears as the engraver of a collection of duets by Pierre Bucquet, *Pièces à deux flûtes traversières sans basse divisées en quatre suites* (Seville, 1734). One copy of this edition is preserved at the Bibliothèque National de France under the signature RES 206. For a modern edition see Pierre Bucquet, *Pièces à deux flûtes traversières*, ed. A. Pons Seguí (Santo Domingo de la Calzada: Fundación Gustavo Bueno, 2011). On the family of oboists Bucquet or Bouquet see Morales, *L'artiste*, 267.



previously unknown, imply a demand for such prints in eighteenth-century Spain. On the other hand, the scarcity of known production argues against an optimistic view of the market of the time – a market which suffered, as we have seen, under the severe control of censorship and printing privilege.⁹²

As mentioned above, Torres had already exaggerated the typographical innovation of combining two or more notes per staff in his 1719 application for a tax exemption for his paper purchases. In the second edition of his *Reglas de acompañar* (1736) he modestly specifies that this new version appears ‘with the novelty of being printed in the method called *intavolatura* (as difficult for the press as it is easy for the stamp, or burin) [and] at the cost of my sleep, I have succeeded in executing [this work] in Spain, if not with the greatest beauty, then with sufficient clarity for understanding’.⁹³ In a way his melancholic statement about the difficulties of typography in the face of etching and engraving represents a final recognition that the old typographical regime had finally to give way to more flexible technologies. In a telling remark contained in his petition for a new printing privilege signed at the Buen Retiro Palace in Madrid on 25 July 1743, Hernández Illana pointed to the corruption and lack of clarity of print that even forced readers to copy out typographical scores by hand, thus underlining the complementary functions of print and script:

En consideración de [la] perfección que el Maestro Joseph de Torres dió a este establecimiento, se sirvió Vuestra Majestad de concederle demás del mencionado privilegio privativo, la facultad de entrar en esta corte treinta balones de papel de la calidad que eligiere libre de todo impuesto o derecho. Y teniendo observado el suplicante que esta imprenta esta sin ... desde la muerte de dicho Don Joseph de Torres, y que los Profesores, aficionados a la música desean se restableciese, y si fuesse posible, se llevase a tal perfección, que no les fuesse necesario hacer copias aun del mismo impreso a lo que se veían precisados por la mucha confusión que ocasionaba la transcripción de las líneas, la separación de las notas, obscura disposición de caracteres, y otros defectos considerables, que no se pueden evitar en una imprenta.

In consideration of the perfection that maestro Joseph de Torres accorded this establishment, Your Majesty decided to grant him, in addition to the exclusive privilege already mentioned, a licence to import into the court thirty *balones* of quality paper of his choice exempt from any taxes or rights. And the supplicant observes that this press [no longer functions] since the death of the said Don Joseph de Torres and that the experts who are knowledgeable on music wish to re-establish it, and, if possible, to increase this perfection, so that they do not have to copy out the very same print, this made necessary by the great confusion created by the transcription of the staves, separation of the notes, unclear layout of the characters, and other major defects that cannot be avoided in a press.

92 Against the simplifying myth of a progressive and enlightened period replacing the old baroque culture, the Spanish eighteenth century saw an effective increase of censorship, as pointed out by García Martín, *El juzgado de imprentas*, 30–32.

93 ‘Con la novedad de salir impreso en el modo que llaman *entablatura*, tan dificultoso para la prensa, como fácil para la estampa o buril, que acosta de mi desvelo he logrado se ejecute en España, aunque no con la mayor hermosura, sí con bastante claridad para la inteligencia.’ *José de Torres’s Treatise of 1736*, ed. P. Murphy (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 14. On the technical limitations of Torres’s press see Esses, *Dance*, 96–97.