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Violin music in mid-18th-century Madrid: Contexts, genres, style

Tesis doctoral

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ABSTRACT

The 18th century was key for the dissemination and consolidation of a new way of playing and composing for the violin all over Europe. To date, research on specific composers and genres have been carried out, but global studies on the use of this instrument in specific cities are scarce. In the case of Madrid, some investigations in Spanish pay attention to the increase of violin compositions that took place around the 1750s, and some modern music editions exist. Nevertheless, neither the style of this music nor the process that led to its composition and consumption have been studied in depth. In addition, this repertoire is virtually invisible in the international literature.

This study offers for the first time a global view of the violin repertoire composed and performed in Madrid between ca. 1730 and ca. 1776, discussing its relative importance in national and international contexts. Departing from over 170 musical sources, of which over forty were virtually unknown to date, three main lines of research are combined: the composition and performance contexts, the shaping of musical genres and the analysis of the style. The study is completed with three appendices that include descriptions of the located musical sources, the critical edition of eight unpublished works and a video showing the recuperation of one of them for performance nowadays.

In the period studied here, the most popular violin genres in Madrid were the violin sonata and the trio for two violins and accompaniment. There was also demand for violin duets, small-ensemble overtures, solo concertos and ensemble concertos. The located works, which amount to 163 in total, were composed by twenty different composers. This includes roughly the same number of Italians (such as Mauro D'Alay and Francesco Montali) and Spaniards (such as José Herrando), among other nationalities. These musicians worked for prestigious institutions (e.g. the Royal Chapel) and private patrons, including members of the royal family (e.g. Elisabetta Farnese), other members of the royal court (e.g. Farinelli), aristocrats (e.g. the XII Duke of Alba) and foreign diplomats (e.g. the Swedish Baron Carl Leuhusen).

The systematic analysis of these 163 works (which contain over 400 movements in total) shows the assimilation in Madrid of pan-European compositional trends, such as the use of standardized multi-movement cycles, dance topics, an idiomatic instrumental technique and a melodic writing in the galant style. The main models for these compositions seem to have been Italian, as was usual in other European capitals. Parallels are detected not only with Arcangelo Corelli, whose reception in Spain was already known to some extent, but also with other composers whose impact in this country had not been researched before, such as Antonio Vivaldi, Giuseppe Tartini, Pietro Antonio Locatelli and Giovanni Battista Sammartini. This stylistic similarity confirms that the repertoire that was in fashion internationally was introduced in Madrid shortly after its composition, as the inventories of local private libraries show since the 1730s.

The dance music that was performed on the violin in mid-18th-century Madrid is also studied. Its models were mainly French: minuets and contredanses predominate. This repertoire, normally left in a secondary position in the studies on instrumental music, had, however, a great social importance at the time. In fact, dance music was very demanded both in public and private contexts, and it was central for the dissemination of violin performance among the middle classes. In

1760, the buyers of violin publications in the city were around 200 people that consumed not only dance pieces, but also didactic treatises and chamber works. Before 1776 fifteen collections of sonatas, duets and trios for violins were published in Madrid, despite the scarce printing of instrumental music in Spain. Moreover, some collections of violin music by composers based in the Spanish capital were published in London and Paris.

This intense assimilation of new styles, genres and music-consumption practices paved the way for a deeper integration of the Spanish capital in the European music market, which was intensified from 1770 onwards. Thus, violin music played a central role in the updating of the instrumental music cultivated in Spain during the so-called 'central 18th century', and portrays Madrid as a dynamic musical centre, aware of the latest international trends. In addition, this study sheds new light on the circulation of violin repertoire between Spain and other European countries, especially Italy, but also Germany or Sweden, further away from its scope of political-cultural influence. The violin music composed in Madrid also relatively quickly reached some countries of Latin America, such as Bolivia and Mexico; this opens up new avenues of research.

RESUMEN

El siglo XVIII fue clave para la consolidación de una nueva forma de componer para el violín en toda Europa. Hasta ahora, se han realizado investigaciones sobre compositores y géneros determinados, pero los estudios globales sobre el uso de este instrumento en ciudades concretas son escasos. En el caso de Madrid, algunas investigaciones en español prestan atención al incremento de composiciones para violín ocurrido hacia la década de 1750, y existen algunas ediciones musicales. Sin embargo, no se ha profundizado en el estilo de esta música ni en el proceso que condujo a su composición y consumo. Además, este repertorio es prácticamente invisible en la literatura internacional.

Este estudio ofrece por primera vez una visión global de la música para violín compuesta e interpretada en Madrid entre ca. 1730 y ca. 1776, discutiendo su relativa importancia en los contextos nacional e internacional. Partiendo de más de 170 fuentes musicales, de las cuales más de 40 eran prácticamente desconocidas hasta la fecha, se combinan tres líneas de investigación principales: los contextos de composición e interpretación, la configuración de géneros musicales y el análisis del estilo. El estudio se completa con tres apéndices que incluyen descripciones de las fuentes musicales localizadas, la edición crítica de ocho obras inéditas y un vídeo mostrando la recuperación práctica de una de ellas en la actualidad.

En el periodo estudiado, los géneros para violín más populares en Madrid eran la sonata para violín y acompañamiento y el trío para dos violines y acompañamiento. También tenían demanda el dúo de violines, la obertura para pequeño conjunto, el concierto a solo y el concierto para conjunto. Las obras localizadas, que ascienden a un total de 163, fueron compuestas por una veintena de compositores, incluyendo aproximadamente el mismo número de italianos (como Mauro D'Alay y Francesco Montali) y españoles (como José Herrando), entre otras nacionalidades. Estos músicos trabajaban para prestigiosas instituciones (como la Real Capilla), y mecenas privados, incluyendo a miembros de la familia real (como Elisabetta Farnese), otros miembros de la corte (como Farinelli), aristócratas (como el XII Duque de Alba) y diplomáticos extranjeros (como el barón sueco Carl Leuhusen).

El análisis sistemático de estas 163 obras (que contienen más de 400 movimientos en total) muestra la asimilación en Madrid de tendencias compositivas paneuropeas, como son el uso de ciclos de movimientos estandarizados, formas de sonata, tópicos de danzas, una técnica instrumental idiomática y una escritura melódica al estilo galante. Los principales modelos para estas composiciones parecen haber sido italianos, como era habitual en otras capitales europeas. Se detectan paralelismos no sólo con Arcangelo Corelli, cuya recepción en España era ya algo conocida, sino también con compositores cuyo impacto en este país no había sido abordado anteriormente, como Antonio Vivaldi, Giuseppe Tartini, Pietro Antonio Locatelli y Giovanni Battista Sammartini. Esta similitud estilística confirma que el repertorio que estaba de moda internacionalmente fue introducido en Madrid relativamente pronto, como muestran los inventarios de bibliotecas privadas locales desde la década de 1730.

También se estudia la música de danza interpretada con violín en el Madrid de mediados del XVIII, cuyos modelos eran principalmente franceses, predominando los minués y las contradanzas. Este repertorio, normalmente

relegado a una posición secundaria en los estudios sobre música instrumental, tuvo, sin embargo, una gran importancia social en la época. De hecho, era muy demandada tanto en ámbitos públicos como privados. La música de danza resultó fundamental para la difusión de la interpretación del violín entre las clases medias. En 1760, los compradores de publicaciones violinísticas de la ciudad eran unas 200 personas que consumían no sólo piezas de danza, sino también tratados didácticos y obras de cámara. Antes de 1776 se habían publicado en Madrid quince colecciones de sonatas, dúos y tríos para violines, pese a la escasa impresión de música instrumental en España. Además, algunas colecciones de música para violín de compositores activos en la capital española fueron publicadas en Londres y París.

Esta intensa asimilación de nuevos estilos, géneros y prácticas de consumo musicales sentó las bases para una integración más profunda de Madrid en el mercado musical europeo, que se intensificó a partir de 1770. Así, la música para violín jugó un papel central en la actualización de la música instrumental cultivada en España durante el llamado “siglo XVIII central”, y retrata a Madrid como un centro musical dinámico y al día de las últimas tendencias internacionales. Además, este estudio aporta nueva luz sobre la circulación de repertorio para violín entre España y otros países europeos, en especial Italia, pero también Alemania o Suecia, más alejados de su ámbito de influencia político-cultural. La música para violín compuesta en Madrid alcanzó también relativamente rápido países de Hispanoamérica como Bolivia y Méjico, lo que abre nuevas vías para la investigación.

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INTRODUCTION

The approximate period 1650-1750 was key for the dissemination and consolidation of a new way of playing and composing for the violin in most European countries. In the first half of the 17th-century two new genres related to a more idiomatic instrumental technique were developed in Northern Italy: the violin sonata and the trio sonata (or 'sonata for small ensemble').¹ These novelties were gradually disseminated to the rest of the continent, as part of the so-called 'diaspora of Italian music and musicians'.² In the current territory of Austria, native violinists-composers were already writing virtuosic violin sonatas before 1700, and shortly later this occurred in France, Germany and England.³ By the 1740s the publication of violin tutors and sonatas was a thriving business in such cities as Paris, London and Amsterdam, from where these publications were disseminated throughout Europe.⁴

To date, Spain has been virtually neglected in this historical discourse, even if in such centuries it was the metropolis of an empire that included a large part of Southern Italy and was governed by the Bourbon dynasty. Therefore, Madrid's court had close diplomatic connections with relevant European musical centres, such as Naples, Rome and Paris, and this circumstance fostered the hiring of foreign instrumentalists in Madrid.⁵ Both foreign and native Spanish musicians composed violin music in the city at least since the 1690s, and this compositional activity increased notably from ca. 1740 onwards. The role of these musicians in the assimilation of novel violin genres and styles has been hardly investigated. Filling this lacuna and integrating Spain into current discussions of instrumental music in 18th-century Europe, thus completing the known map with an additional area, has been precisely one of the main stimuli for this research.

¹ For an overview of the early development of the solo sonata, see Stowell, 1992; Allsop, 1992. As Allsop argues, 'trio sonata' is an imprecise term that can be misleading regarding the number of instrumental parts of each work; in Italy, it was preferred to speak of 'sonata a 2', 'sonata a 3', etc. The neutral term 'sonata for small ensemble' is used in recent literature; see, for example, Schmidt-Beste, 2011: 194-95.

² On the diaspora of Italian musicians in the 18th-century, see Strohm (ed.), 2001.

³ In the Southern German-speaking territories, such composers as Heinrich I. Biber and Johann H. Schmelzter composed virtuosic violin works before 1700; see Stowell, 1992: 172-75; Drescher, 2004. In Paris, some of the first composers who published violin sonatas were the Italian Michele Mascitti and the French Jean-Marie Leclair l'Ainé; see Pincherle, 1974 [1911]; Walls, 2004. In Great Britain, the influx of Italian violinists-composers was intense in the early 18th century; this included, among others, Francesco Geminiani, teacher of the native English violinist-composer Michael Festing; see Stowell, 1992: 171-72; Kotska, 2014.

⁴ See the list of 'Principal violin treatises' in Stowell (ed.), 1992: 257-60. Most of the treatises in this selection are dated after 1738, and six out of the eight earliest ones were published in Paris and London. Another main publishing centre of instrumental music at that time was Amsterdam, where Roger and Le Cène published before 1740 numerous violin works by Italian composers, such as Antonio Vivaldi and Pietro Antonio Locatelli.

⁵ Revealing testimonies in this sense are the lists of members of Madrid's Royal Chapel in the 17th and 18th centuries. See Robledo, Luis, 'Capilla Real', in *DMEH*: III, 119-32; Rodríguez, 2003; Morales, 2007; Ortega, 2010.

Object of study

The title of this dissertation encapsulates its object of study, *Violin music in mid-18th-century Madrid*, and the questions in which it focuses, *contexts, genres and style*. Each of the concepts in this title is understood in a specific sense. ‘Violin music’ is understood broadly, as all types of music in which this instrument plays a leading role, either as a soloist or in a small ensemble (generally including up to four instrumental parts).⁶ This includes relatively complex music from the standpoints of formal structures and instrumental technique, generally considered ‘art music’, but also other kinds of music in which the violin was central, such as functional dance music and didactic works. Likewise, attention is paid both to anonymous works and to those by more or less prolific composers, regardless of the dimensions of each individual output. That is, the focus is put not only on ‘relevant figures’, but also on ‘average composers’, so to speak. The latter constitute the largest part of the music professionals active at any time, and thus their output is telling about the actual degree of assimilation of international musical trends in specific local contexts. By embracing this ample variety of repertoire and composers, this study aims to provide a comprehensive view of the role of the specific repertoire for violin in a given temporal and geographical frame. This implies widening the focus of usual scholarship on 18th-century violin music, which tends to concentrate on the repertoire of ‘art music’ by specific composers with a broad output, paying little attention to average composers and to the dance and didactic repertoires.⁷

The geographical frame is encapsulated in the words ‘in Madrid’. These words are a simplification: the musical life of the Spanish capital extended to a number of nearby cities and towns that made part of its orbit. This includes Toledo, venue of the ‘Catedral Primada’ (i.e. the top ecclesiastical institution in the national hierarchy after Madrid’s Royal Chapel), Alcalá de Henares, venue of a prestigious university, the secondary residences of the royal family (i.e. the so-called ‘Sitios Reales’ in El Pardo, Aranjuez, La Granja de San Ildefonso) and the residences of members of the royal and aristocratic families in other nearby towns, such as Boadilla del Monte. The composers, performers, music patrons, music publishers and retailers that stimulated musical life in these places throughout the 18th century came from all over Europe. Most of them were Spanish and Italian, but there were also French, Portuguese, Flemish, Swedish and Polish people (mostly men) involved in some way in the composition, performance and consumption of violin music. All of them are protagonists in the following pages. Consequently, this study is not just about violin music in Spain, but also about violin music in Europe, and how it was integrated into the specific context of Madrid and its surroundings.

As for the chronological frame, it is inspired on recent periodizations of the 18th-century based on musical genres and styles, both from a European

⁶ This general rule is derived from the nature of the genres cultivated in Madrid during the selected period (see below). As an exception, some of the located concertos for soloist and ensemble have more than four instrumental parts.

⁷ Examples of studies on prolific composers are the monographs on Francesco Geminiani and Carlo Tessarini: Careri, 1999 (which pays some attention to Geminiani’s minuets and tutor); Besutti et al., 2013 (which pays some attention to Tessarini’s didactic works). An exception to this general tendency is the recent study on Pedro Antonio Avondano, a successful composer of minuets based in Lisbon: De Sá, 2009. There are also some studies that focus on specific genres in a specific frame, such as the global study of the violin duet in Vienna between ca. 1760 and ca. 1800: Mazurkiewicz, 1982.

perspective and from a Spanish or even Madrilenian one. In Europe as a whole, such scholars as James Webster and Daniel Hertz coincide in considering the decades between ca. 1720 and ca. 1780 as a distinct music-historical period, the 'central 18th century' or the 'galant-style period'. It is characterized by the cultivation of specific genres, such as Italian opera seria, and the triumph of a specific musical style, the so-called 'galant style'.⁸ In Webster's view, this is the central period of a tripartite 'long 18th century' that, for a large part of Europe, goes from ca. 1670 to ca. 1830, including the 'late Baroque' (ca. 1670 to ca. 1720), the 'central 18th century' (ca. 1720 to ca. 1780) and the 'Viennese modernism' (ca. 1780 to ca. 1830) —formerly known as the Classical period. However, Webster acknowledges the need for adapting this general periodization to regional and generic particularities.⁹ In the recent synthesis about music in 18th-century Spain and Spanish America, *La música en el siglo XVIII*, José Máximo Leza considers 1700 and 1808 as appropriate limits for the 'long 18th century' in these areas, based on political events that had a relevant impact on cultural policies.¹⁰ In this book the period between ca. 1730 and ca. 1760 is considered key for the 'asimilación del escenario europeo' (assimilation of the European scene).¹¹ It was then, for example, when Italian opera seria was consolidated in the Spanish capital.¹²

In the case of violin music in 18th-century Madrid, the two existing studies on this topic, respectively by Lothar Siemens and Miguel Ángel Marín, propose a division of the century in three roughly equal periods. In his seminal article on the violinists of Madrid's court during that century, Siemens detects turning points ca. 1720-24 and ca. 1766-68, taking into account the biographies of composers and patrons.¹³ In the chapter on violin repertoires included in *La música en el siglo XVIII*, Marín detects turning points ca. 1730 and ca. 1770, taking into account what musical genres were cultivated and the general formal features of the compositions.¹⁴ These two chronological divisions are complementary: they are based on different criteria, but have a similar result. Furthermore, both authors coincide in the importance of the central decades of the 18th century for the assimilation of idiomatic violin music in Spain, bearing in mind that native composers started publishing violin sonatas and tutors in the 1750s. Both Siemens and Marín consider Luigi Boccherini and Gaetano Brunetti, who wrote most of their abundant output for bowed instruments in Madrid after 1770, as key representatives of a new musical style in the last third of the century.¹⁵ The recent book *Instrumental music in late 18th-century Spain* supports this view. It shows that the instrumental works composed and consumed in Madrid between ca. 1770 and 1808 were stylistically integrated into pan-European stylistic trends and

⁸ See Webster, 2004; Hertz, 2003. Webster's periodization is nourished by previous reflections by Carl Dahlhaus and Leonard Rattner, among others. On the musical features of the galant style, see Gjerdingen, 2007. Most of the music examples analysed in this book are excerpts of instrumental works; see the index of music sources in Gjerdingen, 2007: 501-08

⁹ For example, in the case of the German Protestant tradition the period 1675-1750 is coherent, according to Webster, 2004: 59.

¹⁰ Leza, 2014a.

¹¹ This is stated in the title of Chapter III. See Leza (ed.), 2014.

¹² Leza, 2014c.

¹³ Siemens, 1988.

¹⁴ Marín, 2014a. The author comments on the number and types of movements of some violin works, but does not include a comprehensive analysis of all the compositions cited.

¹⁵ See especially Siemens, 1988: 738-39; Marín, 2014a: 306.

market dynamics.¹⁶ As for the possible turning point for violin music in Madrid ca. 1730, recent studies on the Royal Chapel indirectly support this view. In his institutional and sociological research on the musicians of Felipe V's court, Nicolás Morales concludes that the 1730s marked the consolidation of the secularisation of the Royal Chapel, which had incorporated numerous Italian and French instrumentalists from secular ensembles in the preceding decades. Moreover, in 1734 the court returned to Madrid after a five-year stay in Seville, and in the subsequent years were hired new chamber musicians, such as the singer Carlo Broschi 'Farinelli' and the violoncellist Domenico Porreti.¹⁷ As will be shown, both of them were involved in the composition of violin music in Madrid in the subsequent decades.

Bearing all this in mind, the present study takes the period between ca. 1730 and ca. 1770 as its chronological frame, although with some flexibility depending on the examined corpuses of musical and documentary sources. For example, the violin sonatas by Francesco Corselli are dated from 1760 to 1776, the violin publications printed in Madrid are dated until 1775, and one of the most relevant music inventories (which is a retrospective source) is dated 1777.¹⁸ Moreover, the process of assimilation of new violin genres in Madrid since ca. 1680 is discussed, with the aim of explaining the antecedents of the mid-century events. Some attention is also paid to the final decades of the century in order to obtain sufficient information for assessing the relative importance of the mid-18th century regarding the three main issues indicated in the title: (1) the social contexts where violin music was performed and/or composed, (2) the genres of violin music that were cultivated in the city, and (3) the style of the located works. These three issues are intimately interrelated, and their conjoint study requires the combination of historical and analytical methodologies.

As regards the first issue, three main types of social contexts are considered, nearly following the classification of the time into church, chamber and theatre contexts.¹⁹ Firstly, attention is paid to the role of violin music in religious institutions, which were simultaneously the main education centres for musicians in 18th-century Spain (leaving aside private teaching). Secondly is explored the role of this repertoire in the 'cámaras' or 'cuartos' (both translatable as 'chamber') of the social elite, that is, the private spaces to which only the closest circles of acquaintances and servants had access. Likewise, the role of violin music in the private spaces related to members of lower social classes is investigated as far as the located musical and documentary sources allow for. Thirdly, attention is paid to the contexts where dance music was performed on the violin. This includes courtly and public theatres, public balls, and private or semi-private parties for different social classes. For all three types of contexts, the focus is put on the profiles of the agents involved (composers, performers, patrons, publishers and consumers) and the relationships between them.

As regards the second issue, one of the main objectives of this research is to determine the defining features, chronology and function of each of the types of violin music cultivated in the Spanish capital. As is well known, the definition of a

¹⁶ Marín & Bernadó (eds.), 2014.

¹⁷ Morales, 2007: 577-80.

¹⁸ That inventory is the one of the XII Duke of Alba's library, transcribed in Truet Hollis, 2004.

¹⁹ This classification is explicit in Mattheson's writings from the period 1710-1740; cited in Webster, 2004: 54.

musical genre is not only determined by the nature of the composition itself (scoring, number of movements, technical standard, etc.), but also by contextual aspects (function, performance spaces, performers, listeners, performance practice, etc.) that change through time.²⁰ Terminological changes are particularly telling in this sense. During the process of assimilation or configuration of a new genre or repertoire, generic labels are often misleading and not standardised (this was the case, for example, with the string quartet until its clear shaping around 1770).²¹ Moreover, composers sometimes use questionable or problematic generic labels on purpose, creating a dialogue with performers and listeners (this was the case, for example, with Chopin's early piano nocturnes).²² Therefore, in order to establish criteria to differentiate musical genres it is necessary to analyse the terminology used in titles and writings of the time, and to contrast this information with the analysis of the music itself.

The analysis aimed at the definition of musical genres goes hand in hand with the third main issue explored in this research: style analysis. As stated above, attention is paid both to functional dance music and to art music. In the 18th century some of the standardized schemata of dance music, such as the minuet, transformed into a musical topic, permeated genres aimed primarily at being listened to, both vocal and instrumental.²³ This study considers firstly the functional dance repertoire and secondly the other types of violin music. These are studied in groups according to scoring: on the one hand, the solo repertoire; on the other, the ensemble works for two, three and four instruments. Different analytical methodologies used in recent international scholarship are applied to each of these repertoires: general organisation features, movement types, formal structures of individual movements (paying particular attention to binary forms, including sonata form), the use of musical topics, textures and technical standard. The conjoint study of these factors allows for comparing this repertoire with international violin music of the time, and to reflect on the stylistic labels that are more appropriate for this particular case.

Other questions lay beyond the scope of this research, for example the physical features of the performance spaces and those of the violins and bows used at the time in Madrid. These questions would be no doubt essential for reconstructing performance practice, which is not an objective of this research. Likewise, investigating the biographies of composers and other agents implied in violin music (such as patrons and publishers) has not been a priority, although some new data have been discovered. Ultimately, the aim of this investigation is to provide a global view of the contexts, genres and style of this violin repertoire, studying long-term processes and establishing connections with other European countries. The combination of historical and analytical approaches has proved useful in previous studies on violin music in other times and places, such as the English court in the 16th and 17th-centuries and the Southern German-speaking regions in the late-17th century.²⁴ Moreover, these approaches have been

²⁰ On the classification of 18th-century vocal and instrumental music, see the essays in Del Donna (ed.), 2008.

²¹ Wyn Jones, 2003.

²² Kallberg, Jeffrey, 'Understanding Genre: a Reinterpretation of the Early Piano Nocturne', Id., 'The Rhetoric of Genre: Chopin's Nocturne in G minor', papers in the AMS conference 1986; cited in Samson, Jim, 'Genre', in *GMO* 40599.

²³ 'Musical topic' is used here in the sense defined in Agawu, 1991; Mirka (ed.), 2014.

²⁴ Holman, 1993; Drescher, 2004.

combined in the belief that music analysis and historical musicology should not be regarded as separate disciplines, but are compatible and nourish each another.

State of the art

Until very recently, for most international readers ‘music for bowed instruments in 18th-century Madrid’ was virtually a synonym of ‘Boccherini’s music’, although with some doubts about whether it should be considered Italian or Spanish music, even if this composer spent thirty-seven years in Madrid and nearby (from 1768 to 1805). Similar situations occur with Domenico Scarlatti and Carlo Broschi ‘Farinelli’, whose names are frequently found next to Boccherini’s in the brief sections about Spain included in general discussions about 18th-century music.²⁵ Scholars interested in violin music were, at best, familiar with José Herrando’s tutor *Arte y puntual explicación del modo de tocar el violín* (1757), already briefly mentioned in Robert Eitner’s *Quellen-lexicon* (1901), in Gilbert Chase’s *The music of Spain* (1941), and, later on, in general studies on the history of the violin.²⁶ An English translation and study of this tutor from the standpoint of performance practice was made as early as 1974. The author, Mark H. Jasinski, considers that Herrando had a relatively advanced violin technique for his time, but assumes that he was an isolated figure in a culturally underdeveloped country.²⁷ This vision, hard to believe, is symptomatic of the scarce knowledge of music in 18th-century Spain that existed in the 1970s. This area of research has made great advances since then, but Madrid, and Spain in general, is still virtually invisible in the scholarly literature about 18th-century violin music. Two main reasons explain this situation. Firstly, this topic has been hardly studied specifically, not only outside Spain, but also inside it. Secondly, a scarce number of musical sources with this repertoire have been located to date, especially sources

²⁵ Scarlatti was a member of the Spanish court from 1729 to 1757, and Farinelli from 1737 to 1759. These three figures are highlighted in Craig H. Russell’s essay ‘Spain in the Enlightenment’ in the volume on *The Classical Era* of the series *Man and Music*. This essay, together with Louise K. Stein’s contribution on ‘The Iberian Peninsula’ in the volume on *The late baroque era* of the same series, constituted some of the earliest attempts to integrate Spain in general histories about 18th-century Western music. See Russell, 1989; Stein, 1994. In Daniel Hertz’s *Music in the European capitals* Madrid is not studied specifically, but attention is paid to Boccherini, Scarlatti and Farinelli; see Hertz, 2003. In John Rice’s recent handbook on the 18th century, the section on ‘Instrumental music in Italy and Spain’ devotes some pages to Scarlatti and Boccherini, mentioning Farinelli in passing; see Rice, 2012: 66-72. Spain is virtually neglected in Mark Evan Bonds’ handbook on Western music, where Scarlatti and Boccherini make part of the ‘Major composers of the Classical era’ in Italy; see Bonds, 2006: 376.

²⁶ Herrando’s tutor is mentioned in Eitner, 1900-1904, vol. V (1901): 125; Chase, 1941: 80; Boyden, 1990 [1965]: 240; Stowell (ed.), 1992: 257. It is discussed more deeply in Jasinski, 1974. These authors take the date of the engraving, 1756, as the publication date. However, the tutor was not published until 1757, as argued in Siemens, 1988.

²⁷ [Compared to Francesco Geminiani and Leopold Mozart] Herrando’s work must remain a localized effort of a lesser known, but not necessarily inferior musician to raise the musical standards of his particular sphere of activity. Although this is probably the most significant difference between Herrando and the two other violinists, it is a reflection of the late entry of the Enlightenment with its accompanying emphasis on education of the masses into Spain. Considering the difficult circumstances in which Herrando lived and worked, his treatise is a remarkable effort [,] and given a more congenial atmosphere he may have made a much more significant contribution to the whole area of European music history’. Jasinski, 1974: 80-81. Jasinski’s work is a master’s dissertation presented in the Brigham Young University (USA).

from before 1750. However, as will be shown in this research, the number of preserved sources is much higher than previously thought.

As observed above, only two specific studies about violin music in mid-18th-century Madrid have been published so far. The earliest is Lothar Siemens' lengthy article on 'The violinists-composers in the Spanish court during the central period of the 18th century'.²⁸ It focuses mainly on the biographies of fifteen different violinists who worked for Madrid's royal court from 1720 to ca. 1768, departing from a broad selection of documentary sources. It also describes relevant musical sources with this repertoire. This includes the earliest printed publications for violin issued in Madrid (ca. 1753-1761) and the undated manuscript *26 Sonatas de varios autores* (discovered by Siemens), which contains violin sonatas by composers based in Madrid from ca. 1740 to ca. 1770. Siemens detects three stages in the assimilation of Italian-style violin playing in the Spanish royal court, based on the following criteria: the biographies of violinists and music patrons, the publications by native composers, and political events. From 1720 to 1746, coinciding roughly with Felipe V's second kingdom, Italian virtuosos such as Giacomo Facco and Michele Geminiani arrived in Madrid and, presumably, taught to play Italian violin music to native Spaniards. From 1746 to ca. 1768, coinciding with Fernando VI's kingdom and the beginning of Carlos III's, native Spanish violinists such as José Herrando and Francisco Manalt composed and published works for this instrument. Around 1768 a generational renewal marked the beginning of a new period, when Luigi Boccherini and Gaetano Brunetti started working for the Spanish royal family and other native Spanish violinists-composers, such as Juan Oliver and Jaime Rosquellas, entered the scene. The facts highlighted by Siemens are no doubt relevant for the history of violin music in Madrid, but it leaves aside the discussion of musical genres and style, and pays little attention to the cultivation of violin music beyond the royal court. Therefore, for a periodization of violin-music genres and styles in Madrid and its surroundings, this chronological division is just illustrative.

Miguel Ángel Marín's book chapter 'A la sombra de Corelli: componer para el violín' (In the shade of Corelli: composing for the violin) has a broader scope: the assimilation of new violin genres in 18th-century Spain, paying special but not exclusive attention to Madrid. It provides an overview of the reception of Italian violin music, the spaces where this repertoire was performed, the social contexts that fostered the composition of new works, and the main composers of violin music based in Spain, paying particular attention to violin sonatas and trio sonatas.²⁹ Marín emphasizes the early and intense dissemination of Corelli's output in the country, based on his previous article on this matter in the temporal frame ca. 1680-ca. 1810. That study shed light on over thirty sources with this repertoire preserved in cities and towns featuring various urban profiles, and showed that Corelli was praised in Spanish theoretical writings until the early-19th century.³⁰ In the book chapter, Marín pays some attention to the reception of violin music by other Italian composers, such as Vivaldi, Locatelli and Tartini, mentioning telling documentary sources discovered by other researchers. This is the case with the inventories specifying the contents of two large music libraries: the one

²⁸ Siemens, 1988.

²⁹ Marín, 2014a.

³⁰ Marín, 2007. The appendix lists thirty-one different musical sources, including sixteen manuscripts and fifteen printed copies.

belonging to the violinist José Peralta, who owned numerous collections of Italian violin music in 1734;³¹ and the one belonging to the XII Duke of Alba, who owned over 1000 chamber works by international composers in 1776.³² Marín compiles relevant information about the circulation and performance of violin music in ecclesiastical institutions, but argues that the main stimulus for the composition of this repertoire in Spain were the private spaces related to the royal family and the aristocracy, as the dedications of the located works show. However, as he argues, this repertoire was demanded by a relatively numerous group of amateurs by the 1750s, when violin publications (the ones described by Siemens) were issued in a context of scarce music printing.³³ Marín enumerates the main violin sonatas and trios located until 2013, commenting on some formal features that differentiate the works written before and after 1770 (e.g. afterwards Francesco Corselli abandoned the four-movement sonata cycle). In contrast, Marín makes little comments about other genres, such as the violin duet, the solo concerto and the dance pieces. He leaves open to future research a deep stylistic analysis that explains the connections between the international violin works that circulated in Spain and those composed in the country.

Besides these two investigations, there is an abundant scholarly literature on other topics that touches on violin playing in Madrid between ca. 1730 and ca. 1770. Most of it has to do with the contexts that stimulated the composition and performance of violin music, especially the royal and aristocratic courts. The better-known case is that of Madrid's Royal Chapel. Among the numerous researches on this institution, Luis Robledo's and Pablo Rodríguez's studies on the 17th-century provide relevant information about the antecedents of the rise of interest in violin playing that took place in 18th-century Madrid.³⁴ Nicolás Morales' sociological study on Felipe V's musicians provides detailed information about the increasing presence of the violin at court, the biographies of numerous musicians and some library inventories with violin works dated from as early as 1737.³⁵ In addition, an article by Juan José Carreras shows the continuity in the reception of French instrumental music in the courts of Carlos II and Felipe V.³⁶ As for music in Fernando VI's court, no global study has been published to date, but Siemens' article of 1988 focuses especially in this period. Moreover, some telling primary sources from this period have been published. This is the case with Farinelli's manuscript book about the musical activities he organised for the court (1758)³⁷ and the inventory of his music library, which includes the collection that the singer inherited from Maria Bárbara de Bragança.³⁸ Regarding Carlos III's kingdom (in the chronological limit of this investigation) Judith Ortega's comprehensive study on music in the courts of Carlos III and Carlos IV provides useful biographical information on musicians that were also active in the previous decades and

³¹ Peralta was a violinist of Toledo Cathedral since 1716, and had previously worked in Madrid. His music library's inventory was discussed for the first time in Martínez Gil, 2003: 353-70, 429.

³² Truett Hollis, 2002; published in Spanish in Truett Hollis, 2004.

³³ On this issue, see Bernadó & Marín, 2012.

³⁴ Robledo, 1987; Robledo, Luis 'Capilla Real, in *DMEH*: III, 119-32; Rodríguez, 2003.

³⁵ Morales, 2007.

³⁶ Carreras, 2000a.

³⁷ Broschi, Carlo: *Fiestas reales en el reinado de Fernando VI* (1758); preserved in Madrid's Biblioteca Real; facsimile edition in Bonet & Gallego (eds.), 1991.

³⁸ *Inventarium Legale Bonorum Haereditariorum bonae memoriae D. Equitis Don Caroli Broschi nuncupati Farinello* (Bologna, 2-5-1783), transcribed in Cappelletto, 1995: 209-21.

includes music editions of violin sonatas by members of the Royal Chapel, eight of them composed until 1776.³⁹ There are also studies on the music patronage of particular members of Carlos III's family, such as the Infante Don Gabriel.⁴⁰

Regarding the patronage of violin music on the part of Madrid's 18th-century aristocracy, the existing studies on the House of Alba and the House of Osuna-Benavente are particularly revealing. As early as 1927, José Subirá published *La música en la Casa de Alba*, a source-based study on the music library preserved in the Palace of Liria (Madrid) by then, which contained numerous mid-18th-century musical sources.⁴¹ At a time when that century was marginal in the agenda of Spanish musicology due to nationalistic prejudices against the alleged 'invasion' of Italian music, Subirá's study was pioneer.⁴² And, yet, this musicologist did not escape completely from the nationalistic prejudices that prevailed in his lifetime: he studies separately the composers born in Spain and those born elsewhere, and declares feeling 'very happy' to discover works by native Spanish composers, such as José Herrando's *Doze toccatas* for violin and bass.⁴³ In any case, the descriptions and images of musical sources included in this book are particularly valuable for the study of violin music in Madrid, especially after the Palace of Liria's library was destroyed in 1936, during the Spanish Civil War. Subirá even transcribed some of the destroyed compositions, namely eight of Herrando's *Tocatas*. Moreover, this was the first researcher to approach the violin sonatas and trio sonatas composed in Madrid from an analytical standpoint, describing the general formal features of the compositions he located. Subirá's findings are complemented by the discovery of the XII Duke of Alba's music inventory (1776), mentioned above.⁴⁴ Another deep study on aristocratic patronage is Juan Pablo Fernández-Cortés' global view on music in the House of Osuna-Benavente from 1733 to 1844. It provides useful information about the participation of two violinists-composers in chamber music, Francisco Manalt and Salvador Rexach.⁴⁵ Moreover, Fernández-Cortés proposes an updated stylistic analysis of Manalt's violin sonatas searching features of the galant style, comparing these works with Locatelli's.⁴⁶

In general, analytical studies of the instrumental repertoire composed in mid-18th-century Madrid are very scarce, excepting some of the keyboard sonatas.⁴⁷ The cases of Subirá and Fernández-Cortés just mentioned make part of a number of summary analyses that have focused mainly on collections of violin sonatas. A large proportion of these analyses, in turn, have been made after modern editions of these works were published. This process started already in the 1930s, and has fostered the recuperation of this repertoire through concerts

³⁹ Ortega, 2010. Ortega's music editions were also published in Ortega & Berrocal (eds.), 2010.

⁴⁰ Martínez Cuesta & Kenyon, 1988; Martínez Cuesta, 2003.

⁴¹ Subirá, 1927. Seven out of the eleven chapters (Part II, chapters 1-7) are devoted to the 18th century.

⁴² On early Spanish musicology and its prejudices against this century, see Carreras, 2001.

⁴³ Subirá, 1927: 170. Subirá studies separately the instrumental music by foreign musicians based in Spain (Chapter III) and the instrumental music by native composers (Chapter IV).

⁴⁴ Truett Hollis, 2002; published in Spanish in Truett Hollis, 2004.

⁴⁵ Fernández-Cortés, 2007.

⁴⁶ Fernández-Cortés, 2007: 361-67. The author departs from the discussion of Locatelli's sonatas in Heartz, 2003: 208-29.

⁴⁷ The main analytical studies about keyboard sonatas discuss the output by specific composers, such as Domenico Scarlatti, Vicente Rodríguez and Antonio Soler. See respectively Sutcliffe, 2003; Pedrero-Encabo, 1997; Igoa, 2014.

and recordings. However, the 'recuperation' of this music has not always been understood in the same way; in fact, this process has gone through three stages, separated by turning points around 1980 and 2001.

Before 1980, the music editors and performers of these sonatas reinterpreted them according to aesthetic criteria of their own time. In the 1930s the composer and pianist Joaquín Nin made a re-composition of ten movements of Herrando's *Tocatas*, based on Subirá's transcription, and performed it in numerous concerts.⁴⁸ Between 1955 and 1966, José A. Donostia published a transcription of Francisco Manalt's printed collection *Obra harmónica* (1757) with an added piano accompaniment.⁴⁹ Similarly, in 1962 Vicente Asencio transformed Herrando's *Sonatinas* for five-string violin and unfigured bass, preserved in a manuscript dedicated to Farinelli in 1754, into sonatas for a normal four-string violin and piano.⁵⁰ The violinist Josefina Salvador made a sound recording of this new version in 1976, which is the earliest commercial recording with this kind of repertoire.⁵¹ The dissemination of Manalt's sonatas and Herrando's sonatinas reached the United States, where Richard Xavier Sánchez's made the music-analysis dissertation *Spanish chamber music of the Eighteenth Century* (1975).⁵² Sánchez's analyses these two collections, together with the collection of violin sonatas published by the Spaniard Nicolás Ximénez in London ca. 1772,⁵³ with the aim of ascribing their features to the Baroque or the Classical styles. This analysis is rather superficial and little rigorous: for Manalt's sonatas is used Donostia's re-composition, and despite the title of the dissertation there is no reflection about musical style in Spain or its relationship with Ximénez's compositions for the English market. No doubt, for the scholars and performers of the middle decades of the 20th century, the main interest of this music was the 'unusual' origin of its composers, an allegedly idiosyncratic quality that provided new and potentially appealing concert repertoire and study topics, but that alleged idiosyncrasy was not supported by a solid historical discourse.

In contrast, in the 1980s the editions and performances of this repertoire made a move towards the sources of the composers' time, thanks to the assimilation in Spain of historically informed performance and new trends in musicology.⁵⁴ Between 1987 and 2001, Lothar Siemens published transcriptions of

⁴⁸ Modern edition in Nin (ed.), 1937-38. On this issue, see 2.2.

⁴⁹ Modern edition in Donostia, José A. (ed.), 1955-1960-1966. Subirá wrote the introduction to this edition.

⁵⁰ This arrangement was made in 1962, but published over twenty years later in Asencio (ed.), 1983. On Farinelli's manuscript, see 2.2.

⁵¹ Salvador & Puig, 1976. This edition in LP was reissued in cassette in 1981, and in CD in 1990.

⁵² Sánchez, 1975.

⁵³ Ximénez, Nicolás: *Six solos for a violin* (London, Welcker, ca. 1772). Copy in GB-Lb.

⁵⁴ The oldest institution dedicated to the discipline of musicology in Spain is Instituto Español de Musicología, founded in 1943 and publisher of the journal *Anuario Musical* since 1946. This discipline did not enter Spain's universities until 1984 (firstly in Universidad de Oviedo). The Sociedad Española de Musicología (Sedem) and its journal *Revista de musicología* were created in 1977. Between 1983 and 1985 was published the first comprehensive *Historia de la música española (History of Spanish music)*: López de Osaba (coord.), 1983-85. The first *Diccionario de la música Española e Hispanoamericana (Dictionary of Spain and Spanish-American music)* was published some year later: Casares (coord.), 2002. For a reflection on Spanish musicology in the 1980s, see Carreras, 1990.

The integration of studies about music in Spain into international debates was fostered by such conferences as *España en la Música de Occidente* (Spain in Western Music), held in Salamanca in 1985, which proceedings were published in Casares Rodicio & Fernández de la Cuesta & López-Calo,

twenty-three violin sonatas and two trios by native Spanish composers: José Herrando, Francisco Manalt, Juan de Ledesma, Salvador Rexach, Juan Oliver and Luis Misón.⁵⁵ These transcriptions, although they are not critical editions, constitute a step beyond the editions published before: they respect the figured bass of the original sources (most of which are *única*) and contain some comments on the original notation in the introductions. These preliminary comments also include summary formal analysis along the lines of Kirkpatrick's studies on Scarlatti and Newman's sonata theory.⁵⁶ Siemens' music editions fostered a new revival of these violin sonatas, this time performed on period instruments. Emilio Moreno, one of the introducers of baroque violin playing in Spain, recorded a selection of these sonatas in 2000 applying his knowledge of Herrando's violin technique.⁵⁷ In fact, Moreno had previously published an essay on Herrando's tutor, shedding new light on its connections with contemporary tutors such as Francesco Geminiani's, and on its dissemination in Europe and Spanish America.⁵⁸

After 2001 have been published some critical editions of this repertoire, generally accompanied by a preliminary study. Notably, some of them pay attention not only to native Spanish composers, but also to foreign composers active in Madrid. This is the case with the compilation of sonatas (mostly for violin, but also for other instruments) composed for the auditions of Madrid's Royal Chapel from 1760 to 1819, published by Judith Ortega and Joseba Berrocal.⁵⁹ It includes a comment on this music's compositional context and performance practice. Besides the violin sonata, other related genres have attracted the attention of music editors in the last years. This is the case with José Herrando's unaccompanied violin duets, printed in 1760,⁶⁰ and Vicente Basset's overtures in three and four parts, copied in a set of manuscripts in 1753.⁶¹ The edition of these overtures, by Raúl Angulo, includes new evidence on this composer and the music library where it comes from, belonging to the Swedish diplomat Carl Leuhusen in Madrid during the 1750s. Furthermore, a recent article on the instrumental music by José Castel, based in Madrid, until the mid 1770s, includes an updated biography and an analysis and edition of two movements from his violin duets and string trios (published in the 1770s and 80s).⁶² This analysis focuses on the formal

(eds.), 1987. In the particular case of 18th-century studies, an important milestone was the conference *Music in Spain during the 18th century*, held in Cardiff in 1993; it generated the collective volume with this title, published in English and Spanish: Boyd & Carreras (eds.), 1998; Boyd, Carreras & Leza (eds.), 2000. On the renovation of 18th-century studies, see Carreras, 2000b; Carreras, 2010; Leza, 2014a; Marín & Bernadó, 2014.

⁵⁵ Modern editions in Siemens (ed.), 1987; Id., 1989; Id., 1990; Id., 1991; Id., 2001. Siemens' editions contain violin sonatas for the most part, but Misón's sonata was presumably written for oboe, as Siemens argues. The volume containing Rexach's only known violin sonata also contains two trios preserved in the same archive, in Aránzazu Monastery.

⁵⁶ For example, in the introduction of Siemens' edition of Juan de Ledesma's violin sonatas, from 1989, the following books are taken as methodological models for the analysis: Bukofzer, 1947; Newman, 1963. See Siemens (ed.), 1989: 7.

⁵⁷ Sound recording by Moreno et al. (perfs.), 2000.

⁵⁸ Moreno, 1988.

⁵⁹ Modern edition in Ortega & Berrocal (eds.), 2010, partially based on the appendices of Ortega, 2010.

⁶⁰ Modern edition in Pons (ed.), 2011.

⁶¹ Modern edition in Angulo (ed.), 2013.

⁶² Fernández-Cortés, 2006.

structure of individual movements, using stylistic labels that have become obsolete, such as 'sonata preclásica' (pre-Classical sonata).⁶³

In addition to these new editions and analysis, in the first years of the 21st century there has been a rise of interest in the performance of this repertoire with period instruments and the related subjects of performance practice and organology. Two new sound recordings with period instruments have been made. One of them includes Juan de Ledesma's five located violin sonatas with different accompaniment instruments, such as the guitar, which use at the time is questionable, as will be shown below.⁶⁴ The other recording includes Herrando's *Sonatinas* played with viola d'amore, an instrument that Farinelli played and that allows for performing the music of the manuscript with virtually no modifications.⁶⁵ Continuing with the trend started by Jasinski (1974) and Moreno (1988), the violinist Juan Bautista Llorens carried a more complete study of violin technique in 18th-century Spain. It compares three tutors published in Madrid and Málaga between 1753 and 1771 (the ones by Minguet, Herrando and Ferandiere, already mentioned in previous studies) with contemporary European violin tutors.⁶⁶ In the field of organology, Elsa Fonseca has published a research on the violins and bows owned by Carlos IV in the last third of the 18th century. These instruments went through important transformations, presumably due to the search of new sonorities in the violin music of the time.⁶⁷

As regards dance music, Craig H. Russell's and Maurice Esses' investigations on the repertoire for plucked instruments in the 17th and 18th centuries provide some relevant information on the violin repertoire and on relatively early musical sources for its study.⁶⁸ In addition, more recent studies on choreographic and social aspects of dance in Spain have proved useful to understand the contexts in which violin music was involved.⁶⁹ However, the violin plays a secondary role in this bibliography, and the specific studies on violin music overlook the importance of the numerous dance handbooks that include violin melodies for researching into the history of this instrument in Spain.

Research questions and structure

The existing studies provide some useful points of departure for a global research on the contexts, genres and styles of the violin repertoire cultivated in Madrid from ca. 1730 to ca. 1770. However, there are several lacunae to fill in regarding the three issues indicated in the title of this investigation. From the standpoints of compositional contexts and music dissemination, it has not been researched if the dynamics of the Ancient Regime prevailed absolutely in mid-18th-century Madrid, or else if they coexisted with more modern practices. It is known that private patronage was relevant for the composition of new violin works, but other issues have been hardly investigated, for example domestic music making on the part of middle-class violin amateurs, self-publication on the part of violinists-composers or the crucial role of the violin in dance contexts. In addition, no global

⁶³ Fernández-Cortés, 2006: 527.

⁶⁴ Sound recording by Justo et al. (perfs.), 2009.

⁶⁵ Sound recording by Rônez et al. (perfs.), 2006.

⁶⁶ Llorens, 2011.

⁶⁷ Fonseca, 2009.

⁶⁸ Russell, 1981; Esses, 1992-94

⁶⁹ Mera, 2008; Rico, 2009; Ruiz Mayordomo, 2012.

analysis of the different profiles of violin players active in the city has been carried out, but the existing studies have focused almost exclusively on the royal and aristocratic courts. Furthermore, little attention has been paid to the international dissemination of the violin music composed in Madrid beyond the Iberian Peninsula.⁷⁰

The genres and style of the violin works composed in Madrid are the least developed research lines in the existing scholarly literature. It focuses only on a small part of the available repertoire, mainly on the violin sonatas and, to some extent, on the trios. Many issues remain to be explored, such as what violin genres were the most demanded in Madrid and in what specific periods, if the works of each genre share similar stylistic traits, if they feature sophisticated formal structures such as sonata form, what international repertoire could have inspired the composers based in Madrid, and whether the local repertoire is stylistically updated with respect to pan-European trends of the time. Some of the collections of solo sonatas have been analysed, but generally using little updated methodologies; for example, the analytical labels ‘pre-Classical’ and ‘monothematic sonata’, which have become obsolete, are still used in some recent publications.⁷¹ Moreover, these analyses tend to pay attention only to each particular case, hardly making connections with other works of the same genre composed in Madrid or beyond. Some studies assume that the main models for the composition of violin music in Madrid were Italian, in particular Corelli.⁷² And, yet, Corelli was just one of the numerous composers mentioned in the located inventories of music libraries, such as the above-mentioned ones belonging to José Peralta and the XII Duke of Alba. The latter contains not only collections by Italian composers, but also by French ones (e.g. Guillaume Navoigille, composer of violin duets). Furthermore, the models for Madrid-based composers were probably different in each genre.

Answering to these questions could allow for integrating the violin repertoire composed in 18th-century Madrid into international debates about this instrument’s repertoire. Moreover, it would enlarge current knowledge on the style changes that took place in instrumental music of the time, such as the development of sonata forms and the dissemination of the galant style. Thus, deepening into this repertoire could enrich international debates about music periodization, stimulating the integration of Madrid in histories of ‘Music in the European capitals’.⁷³ Conversely, if the compositional strategies and music-consumption patterns detected in Madrid during the ‘central 18th century’ matched

⁷⁰ As an exception, Josep Dolcet’s catalogue of sources containing music by the Pla brothers pays attention to the works by Manuel Pla (based in Madrid until his death in 1766), observing for example, that his duets were printed in London; see Dolcet, 1987.

⁷¹ On analysis methodologies, see also the introduction of Chapter 4.

⁷² Maurice Esses states that ‘The Italian influence is strikingly shown by the dissemination of Corelli’s violin works’, assuming that the preservation of a relatively high number of Spanish Corellian sources is sufficient proof of an actual ‘influence’; Esses, 1992-94: I, 329. Miguel Ángel Marín is more cautious when he observes that the degree of Corelli’s influence on that repertoire ‘está por determinar’ (remains to be determined), although the title of his chapter on violin music in 18th-century Spain suggests that the Italian cast a shadow on local composers: ‘A la sombra de Corelli: componer para el violín’ (In the shade of Corelli: Composing for the violin); Marín, 2014a.

⁷³ As observed above, Daniel Hertz does not study Madrid in *Music in the European capitals*, despite the attention paid to Boccherini, Scarlatti and Farinelli and the inclusion of chapters on Spain in the two volumes about the 18th century of the series *Man & Music*, published roughly ten years earlier. See Hertz, 2003; Russell, 1989; Stein, 1994.

pan-European trends, this periodization label could be used for this particular case.

Given the paucity of located sources with violin music clearly linked to Madrid between 1730 and 1770, one of the preliminary tasks of this investigation has been to carry out systematic searches for this kind of sources. To date, only three catalogues of the works by the composers involved in this dissertation have been published, namely those by Luigi Boccherini, Manuel Pla (actually, a collective catalogue of the Pla brothers) and Gaetano Brunetti.⁷⁴ These catalogues mention only 10 sources dated until 1770 that are relevant for this study (3 by Boccherini, 4 by Manuel Pla and 3 by Brunetti).⁷⁵ In previous studies and music editions on violin music in mid-18th-century Madrid were made known the following sources: the lost sources described in 1927 by Subirá (12 sources),⁷⁶ the printed sources preserved in Biblioteca Nacional de España (8 sources),⁷⁷ the ones containing the sonatas and concertos composed for the Royal Chapel's auditions until 1770 (6 sources),⁷⁸ the sources made known through Siemens' publications (5 sources)⁷⁹ and three other sources surviving in international libraries that were used for making modern editions of the works they contain, such as the sonatinas by Herrando, the duets by Bucquet and the overtures by Basset (3 sources).⁸⁰ Overall, the total located corpus amounted to 44 sources, but only 32 were still extant.

Taking into account that the music produced and consumed in 18th-century Madrid circulated widely throughout Spain, as previous studies show,⁸¹ a search for composers' names and keywords in the available catalogues of the country's civil and ecclesiastical music archives of Spain has been carried out.⁸² Furthermore, a similar search has been made in the catalogues of major international libraries and databases, such as Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale (Italy), the British Library, Musik- och

⁷⁴ Gérard, 1969; Dolcet, 1987; Labrador, 2005.

⁷⁵ For details, see the sources by these three composers dated until 1770 included in Appendix I, where catalogue numbers are provided.

⁷⁶ Subirá, 1927: Part II, chapters 1-7. In Appendix I, these are the sources with the class mark 'E-Mca'.

⁷⁷ Most of these sources are mentioned in Anglés & Subirá, 1951, and all of them appear in the electronic catalogue of Biblioteca Nacional de España. In Appendix I, these are the sources with the class mark 'E-Mn' and the specification 'pr.' (printed).

⁷⁸ This includes seven sonatas and a concertino by Corselli, and a sonata by Rexach. All of them are included in the catalogue of E-Mp: Peris (ed.), 1993. Critical editions are provided in Ortega & Berrocal (eds.), 2010.

⁷⁹ Siemens discovered the compilation *26 Sonatas de varios autores* and Christiano Reynaldi's printed collection of sonatas (2 sources), both of them discussed in Siemens, 1988. He published some of the works in the compilation just mentioned and in the printed copies of E-Mn. He also published the trios by Rexach preserved in Aránzazu (2 sources) and a sonata by Herrando preserved in Santa Cruz de Tenerife (1 source).

⁸⁰ Modern editions published respectively in Asencio (ed.), 1983; Pons (ed.), 2011; Angulo (ed.), 2013.

⁸¹ For example, an ample compilation of opera arias was sent from Madrid to Pamplona (in Northern Spain) ca. 1758-1760; see Gembero, 2001. Similarly, Rexach's violin sonata was composed for the auditions of Madrid's Royal Chapel in 1768, but the copy preserved in Aránzazu Monastery was made in 1775, most likely there; see Bagüés, 1979: 287.

⁸² RISM only contains a small part of the sources preserved in Spanish archives and libraries, so it has been necessary to consult individual catalogues, taking into account those published until 2013.

teaterbiblioteket (Stockholm), and the Library of Congress.⁸³ In addition, the consideration of over 20 sources containing dance music, together with 3 relevant sources located by other researchers, contributed to enlarge this study's corpus.⁸⁴ Actually, the search brought to light not only sources datable from ca. 1730 to ca. 1770, but also some earlier and later sources that allow for evaluating the historical importance of the mid-century corpus. Therefore, the chronology of the sources considered in this study was enlarged to the period ca. 1680-ca. 1780.⁸⁵ As for documentary sources, most of the ones employed for this investigation were already published before, as is indicated throughout this text. In future, a promising line of research could be the systematic search for documentary sources about the patronage of violin music in the archives related to Madrid's aristocracy, such as Archivo Histórico Nacional - Nobleza (Toledo).

This study is in two parts. Part I, *Contexts and sources*, discusses the performance contexts of violin music in mid-18th-century Madrid (Chapter 1) as well as the main features of the located musical sources and their dissemination channels (Chapter 2). Part II discusses *Genres and style*, focusing separately on dance music (Chapter 3), sonatas for violin and accompaniment (Chapter 4) and ensemble works in two, three and four parts (Chapter 5). Each chapter contains an introduction about its scope and organisation, as well as partial conclusions. All chapters include reflections on the importance of the issues discussed in relation to their antecedents before 1730 and their continuation after 1770. In some sections the time frame is slightly expanded forward in order to deepen into processes that started in the middle decades of the century, as is the case with the exportation of violin music publications (2.3) and the composition of violin duets (5.1). After the general conclusions are included three appendices. Appendix I contains a whole list of the located musical sources and detailed descriptions of the most relevant ones. Throughout the dissertation, tables focusing on the sources that share specific features or contain works of the same genre illustrate different aspects. Appendix II contains a critical edition of eight of the located works, providing a selection of dance and chamber music for one or two violins (with or without accompaniment), mainly minuets and violin sonatas. One of the sonatas, José Herrando's *Tocata 3* (which critical edition has been particularly problematic, as explained in Section 2.2), has been recently recuperated for the concert repertoire. In particular, it has been performed in a baroque music competition, as the video of Appendix III shows.

The main reason why this research has been written in English, which is unusual in Spanish musicology and, in general, in the humanistic studies produced in Spain, is its vocation for integrating historical accounts about Spain into the narratives about Europe as a whole. Using this language became essential for discussing preliminary versions of some parts of this investigation in international conferences, such as the *VII European Music Analysis Conference* (Rome, 2011), the *19th International Musicological Society Congress* (Rome, 2012) or the *III*

⁸³ Fieldwork was carried out in most of the international libraries cited above, except for Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris) and Musik- och teaterbiblioteket (Stockholm).

⁸⁴ The dance music sources are the ones indicated with letter D in Appendix I. I am grateful to Álvaro Torrente, Miguel Angel Marín and Lluís Bertran for informing me about the existence of these three sources respectively: the *Gusarañas ms.*, the volume of Montali's sonatas preserved in Zaragoza and the duets by Antonio Montoro preserved in Washington.

⁸⁵ On the selection criteria of the sources, see 2.1 and Appendix I.

Performance Studies Network International Conference (Cambridge, 2014). Attending these and other conferences made me aware of what analytical and historical questions could be of interest for an international readership, which, in turn, could be much larger if the vehicle of communication is a language that nearly everyone in the scholarly world understands. Moreover, during my stays in English-speaking research institutions, such as the University of North Carolina (USA) and Cardiff University (UK), I had the opportunity to deepen into methodologies of music analysis that have been developed in this language. Italian musicology also contributed to enlarge my vision of the discipline, in particular in the fields of music editing and reception, during my stays in Università di Bologna, Università di Pavia (Cremona), Centro Studi Santa Giacinta (Vignanello) and Fondazione Cini (Venice). Ultimately, the interdisciplinary and international atmosphere of these institutions made me aware of the need for bridging different research methodologies and traditions, one of the challenges of musicology in the 21st century.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

This study offers for the first time a global view of the violin repertoire composed and performed in Madrid between ca. 1730 and ca. 1776, discussing its relative importance in national and international contexts. Departing from over 170 musical sources preserved in more than twenty international archives, including over forty sources that were virtually unknown to date,¹ three main lines of research are combined: the composition and performance contexts, the shaping of musical genres and the analysis of the style. These last two aspects had been hardly researched before, since, in general, the instrumental music cultivated in Spain during the 18th century had been very little studied from an analytical perspective, excepting some compositions for keyboard.² That situation prevented from integrating the instrumental repertoire composed in Madrid in the international debates about musical styles and music-historical periods. However, this investigation has shown that, at least as regards violin music, Madrid took part in the important stylistic and productive changes that characterize the ‘central 18th century’, as it is defined in recent periodizations of the history of music in Europe.³ On the one hand, this repertoire contributed to the assimilation in Spain of the galant style, sonata forms and fashionable dance topics. On the other, it gave a boost to the printed publication of scores, to domestic music making and to the exchange of music with other European countries. These aspects allow for explaining the gradual integration of the Spanish capital in the international market of instrumental music, an integration that was consolidated around 1770, as recent studies point out.⁴

Contexts and functions: a versatile instrument

In the period studied here, violin music was cultivated in a wide variety of spaces and social contexts that can be classified according to the traditional division between church, chamber and theatre and/or dance contexts. However, the permeability of these spaces to different violin repertoires is notable, and this is directly related to the versatility of their performers. To date the biographies of some violinists that were active in mid-18th-century Madrid were known, but an overall picture of the main roles played by these musicians was lacking. As has been shown, most of them combined a stable post in a religious *capilla* (i.e. ensemble) with collaborations in religious feasts, balls and stage-music

¹ The list of Appendix I includes 171 musical sources. Of them, the twenty-five ones highlighted with an asterisk were virtually unknown, since they are not discussed in previous studies (at best, they appear in library catalogues or are mentioned in passing in studies on specific composers, such as Basset and Montali). The appendix also includes nine choreographic sources with violin melodies (nos. 14, 17, 56, 84, 85, 93, 94, 109, 126) that had not been taken into account in previous studies on instrumental music, and two sources from Latin America that had not been taken into account in previous studies on Madrid (nos. 59 and 106). In addition, this dissertation sheds light on other little-known sources that do not appear in Appendix I, such as the twenty-two early manuscripts from Mediterranean Spain discussed in 1.1 (see Table 1.1.3).

The musical sources are preserved in B-MA, BOL-Cha, D-B, D-KA, E-AR, E-Bbc, E-J, E-Mc, E-Mn, E-Mp, E-OV, E-ROrc, E-SC, E-SE, E-Tp, E-Zac, F-Pc, F-Pn, GB-Lam, GB-Lbl, I-Bc, I-Fc, I-Tn, I-UDricardi, NL-DHk, S-Skma, US-LAum, US-Wc and five archives that are not in RISM (see Appendix I).

² Sutcliffe, 2003; Pedrero-Encabo, 1997; Igoa, 2014.

³ Webster, 2004.

⁴ Marín & Bernadó (eds.), 2014; Marín, 2005.

performances. Therefore, these musicians were familiar with a wide repertoire that included recent Italian operas performed in the royal court and other vocal works with Italianate traits, such as sacred cantatas, in which interventions for one or two violins were often inserted.

Roughly from 1740 onwards, to the functions of church violinist (*violín de capilla*), dance violinist (*violín de danza*) and what may be termed 'theatre violinist' (*violín de teatro*, in stage shows) were added the functions of chamber violinist (*violín de cámara*) and violin teacher (*maestro de violín*). The last two functions are documented not only in the royal and aristocratic courts (e.g. in the houses of Alba and Osuna, cases that had already been investigated), but also in the private residences of foreign diplomats, such as the Swedish Baron Carl Leuhusen, a case that is studied in this dissertation and was virtually unknown to date. The figure of the violin teacher is closely linked to that of the violin amateur, documented in elitist spaces since the 1730s. This is shown by the inventory of Sebastián Christiani de Scío (1737), unperceived from this point of view so far. In the early '50s the violin was already popular among amateurs of the middle classes, as the self-instruction handbook by Pablo Minguet (ca. 1752) shows. All these evidences let deduce that by the 1750s Madrid offered violinists-composers professional opportunities that were similar to those of other European musical centres (such as Paris or Rome), although in the Spanish capital the musical activity was less intense, the publication of printed music was scarce and the public concert was not usual yet. In fact, most of the located sources containing violin music linked to Madrid are manuscripts and come from religious, chamber and dance contexts.

The first known testimonies about the performance of idiomatic violin music in Madrid are related to religious institutions, in particular to the Royal Chapel, where, as is well known, since 1677 the number of violinists, above all Italian, increased notably. To the evidences known so far can be added now a musical source of great relevance, the *Gusarañas ms.* (ca. 1680-1700), studied here for the first time. It seems to contain the repertoire of one of Carlos II's *Violones del Rey*, that performed both in the Royal Chapel and in dance and theatre contexts (in which the violin was already a usual instrument during previous kingdoms). This manuscript contains above all dances, but also a religious litany and several *Sonadas* for solo violin, most likely extracted from sonatas for violin and accompaniment (see the modern edition in Appendix II, nos. 1-2). By the 1720s, the performance of violin works (or fragments of them) in religious ceremonies was consolidated in Madrid and nearby cities, such as Salamanca. This is attested by Benito G. Feijoo's and Juan F. Corominas' essays, well known in music scholarship, both of them dated 1726. Violinists linked to religious institutions such as Corominas and José Peralta, ascribed to Toledo Cathedral, were familiar before 1734 with violin sonatas and string concertos by recent or coetaneous Italian composers, such as Corelli, Mascitti, Albinoni and Vivaldi. The fact that few Spanish sources from that time containing violin music are preserved is due, no doubt, to preservation problems, and not to a lack of cultivation (see 2.1). That scarce preservation of musical sources is one of the main causes of the little visibility of Spain in studies about the violin in the 18th century, which this dissertation aspires to repair.

Presumably, in religious centres of Madrid and nearby cities violin music was also used for teaching this instrument's technique to the choirboys, judging from the testimonies from other areas of Spain. Even the dance repertoire was

used for learning to play the violin in Madrilenian religious institutions, such as San Norberto Monastery. This is attested by Manuel de Paz's tutor on singing and violin playing, *Médula del canto llano* (1767), virtually unknown to date (see 3.3). Moreover, the leaders of the violinists of religious *capillas* used to perform solos in specific sections of vocal works. A revealing example is *Verso solo para violín [...] de Herrando* (ca. 1750), unperceived so far; it can be attributed to José Herrando, violinist of La Encarnación Monastery in Madrid (see 1.2).

No doubt, the most propitious context for the composition and performance of violin music was the private one, in particular the chambers of the social elite and the domestic spaces linked to the middle classes. Before 1750, this activity has been documented mainly in the royal court, while in the aristocratic courts a deep study remains to be carried out. Around 1720, ensemble works with violin (such as trio sonatas and string concertos) may have been performed in the chamber of the Prince Luis, where Giacomo Facco, violinist of the Royal Chapel, organised 'conciertos' with performers of keyboard and bowed instruments. This practice no doubt existed in the '30s, when the above-mentioned dance master Sebastián Christiani de Scío owned recent violin works, such as Vivaldi's concertos op. 9 (1727), identified in this research (see 2.5). In the '40s there is evidence of the performance of violin solos in the royal court on the part of the virtuoso Mauro D'Alay, chamber violinist of the king Felipe V. D'Alay probably composed in Madrid the ten violin sonatas that are preserved only in the manuscript *26 Sonatas de varios autores* (ca. 1760-1770). This fundamental compilation, already known, is studied thoroughly in this thesis. It is taken as a case study to deepen into the features of the commercial manuscripts, and the sonatas it contains are analysed; this has allowed for deepening into its chronology (see 2.2 and 4.2).

During Fernando VI's kingdom (1746-1759), the performance of violin music in chamber music *academias* was usual both in the royal court and in aristocratic houses. In the royal court, Farinelli and Maria Bárbara de Bragança owned music libraries containing a large number of violin works. The queen had, for example, duplicated and triplicated copies of violin sonatas by Porpora and string concertos by Zavateri, which may have been performed by a relatively large number of instrumentalists, an aspect that had remained unperceived so far (see 2.5). A probable participant in the music gatherings organised for Farinelli and Maria Bárbara, besides Domenico Scarlatti, could have been the Neapolitan violoncellist Domenico Porretti, composer of undated trio sonatas and mentioned in the singer's music inventory. In the 1750s, Farinelli and the Mother Queen Elisabetta Farnese sponsored the composition of sonatas for violin and accompaniment. In that same decade, several members of the local aristocracy not only sponsored this music, but they also performed it. This is the case with the Duke of Arcos and the Duke of Huéscar (Duke of Alba since 1755), who were violin amateurs.

The Duke of Huéscar/Alba (a single person instead of two, as Subirá interpreted) and the already-mentioned diplomat Carl Leuhusen probably organised music *academias* regularly in their palaces, judging from their ample chamber music collections, which include a high proportion of violin works by composers based in Madrid. This investigation has shed light on unknown musical sources linked to both patrons. Most likely, the manuscript collection of sonatas by Montali located recently belonged to the Duke of Alba. In addition, José Subirá's transcriptions of José Herrando's *Tocatas* (little known before) have allowed for

reconstructing some of the works of Alba's collection that were lost in the Spanish Civil War (see 2.2 and 2.5). As for Leuhusen, over twenty musical sources copied for him during his stay in Madrid (1752-1755) have been located; most of them were unperceived so far (see 2.5). One of the musicians linked to Leuhusen, Vicente Basset, exemplifies the versatility of Madrid's violinists-composers, who could alternate performances in the theatre with chamber music. Another musician linked to the Swedish diplomat, Christiano Reynaldi (Polish of Italian origin), participated both in the *academias* of Rome in the '40s and in those of Madrid in the '50s. This is a paradigmatic example of the assimilation of pan-European musical practices in Madrid (see 1.2).

Chamber music with violin was soon disseminated to the middle classes. The first clear evidence in this sense continues being the above-mentioned simplified violin tutor by Pablo Minguet, datable around 1752 through the study of several exemplars and commercial advertisements (see 3.3). It makes part of the series *Reglas y advertencias generales para tañer* (completed in 1754), which initial illustration, despite being an idealised image, is revealing about how the bourgeoisie imitated the upper classes through music performance. The violin was precisely one of the first instruments that became popular in Madrid, together with plucked stringed instruments, in part because they were the usual instruments for the performance of dance music. In fact, this repertoire is abundant in the simplified violin tutors by Minguet and De Paz (see 3.3). By 1757 Madrid's bourgeoisie also consumed chamber violin music, not conceived for dancing but for listening. This is shown by the publications that started being printed in the city that year, which are relatively numerous in the national context (see below). In 1776 the chamber music *academias* that were open to the bourgeoisie could gather around twenty amateurs, as Tomás de Iriarte's poem-essay *La música* states. Ramón de la Cruz's *sainete La academia de música* (1776), in which an ample group of amateurs performs an overture, seems to confirm such statements (see 1.2).

Furthermore, the violin was central to perform fashionable dances in various types of social events, such as courtly balls, theatrical shows, private or semi-private domestic gatherings (such as the 'saraos') and, since 1767, the public balls fostered by the Count of Aranda imitating those of Paris. The most fashionable dances, such as the minuet, the passepied and the contredanses, were introduced from France. Before 1730 they had been already assimilated in the royal and aristocratic courts, where there used to be specialized dance violinists (*violines de baile*). Gradually, these dances were disseminated among the middle classes, as shown by over twenty self-instruction choreographic manuals published between 1737 and 1775, most of which contain violin melodies. These manuals, which chronology has been clarified for the first time—including the complex case of Minguet's publications (see 2.4)—, despite having been ignored in previous studies on the violin are central for understanding the process of popularisation of this instrument in Madrid. This aspect could perhaps be extrapolated to other European cities, such as Lisbon, where a translation of Minguet's *Arte de danzar a la francesa* was published in 1760 and the composer Pedro A. Avondano wrote minuets that were printed in London in the '60s and '70s.⁵ This case is analogous to that of the *Eighteen Spanish minuets* by Herrando and other composers. It was also published in London, at least twice (ca. 1758 y ca.

⁵ Minguet, 1760. On Avondano's publications in London and the importance of the minuet for the cultivation of chamber music in Lisbon, see De Sà, 2009.

1762), as the documents located in this investigation show. This publication, no doubt commercial in the English capital, constitutes an early case of the international dissemination of violin music composed in Madrid (see 2.3).

As a preparation for the balls, the dances were rehearsed in lessons in which violinists were essential, both in courtly and urban spaces. For example, Joseph Rattier advertised his school of French dancing in the city in 1763 (see 2.4). The so-called 'petimetres' (members of the bourgeoisie that followed French fashion) also rehearsed the fashionable dances in private contexts, as represented in Ramón de la Cruz's *sainete El Sarao* (1764). In this work appears a group of blind musicians specialized in dance music, a kind of musician that is also documented in the palaces of the upper classes; this illustrates the fluid circulation of dance music among different social contexts. These evidences, little known to date, allow for understanding why the minuets and contredanses, in arrangements for one or two violins (instead of the numerous orchestra of the balls) were so commercial in Madrid, as the high proportion of advertisements of this music makes evident.⁶ Furthermore, the great social importance of dance music at the time confirms the need to include it in global studies about violin music, one of the premises of this dissertation.

In local bookshops, amateurs could purchase copies of dance music choosing from sample books, such as two important anthologies studied in detail for the first time here. They are the *Ensenada ms.* (ca. 1770), which contains over 300 minuets and contredanses for one or two violins, and *Varias contradanzas nuevas* (ca. 1770), which contains nearly 100 contredanses (see 2.2 and 3.2). Most of these works are anonymous, although some of them are copied from French compilations. Furthermore, there is evidence that some local composers wrote minuets (e.g. Herrando and Rexach). As regards the dances considered 'Spanish' (although their actual origin is questionable), in this period were performed with violin fandangos and seguidillas, which passed gradually from popular contexts to the balls of the upper and middle classes. This is shown by the so-called *contradanzas misceláneas*, included in the annual compilations of the public balls. The fandango even reached the residence of the diplomat Leuhusen, who owned two fandangos for violin and accompaniment datable around 1755 that feature some technical difficulty. This is a hitherto unknown antecedent of the integration of Hispanic-origin dance topics in chamber music for bowed instruments. Although fandangos and seguidillas already appear in some keyboard works by Scarlatti before 1757,⁷ in the violin repertoire the earliest cases known so far are dated in the '80s and '90s, when Luigi Boccherini integrated the schemata of these dances in string quartets and quintets, such as the quintet G341 (1788).

An expanding market

Violin music, both for the chamber and for dancing, played a relevant role in the expansion of Madrid's music market from 1750 onwards. Despite the scarce printing of instrumental music in 18th-century Spain, between ca. 1753 and 1775 were printed in the capital fifteen collections of sonatas, duets and trios for violin,

⁶ Sustaeta, 1993: I, 180-90.

⁷ Scarlatti, who passed away in 1757, composed a well-known fandango for keyboard, and in his sonatas there are rhythms of Spanish popular dances, such as boleros, seguidillas and fandangos. However, the identification of such rhythms is problematic, presumably because the composer modified them on purpose; this is suggested in Sutcliffe, 2003: 110-11.

as well as three pedagogical treatises on this instrument (see 2.3). In 1760 the potential buyers of printed violin publications were around 200 people, including both professionals and amateurs. These are modest figures in comparison with major music publishing centres (such as Paris and London), but this publication rise constituted a great novelty in Madrid, where the selling of manuscript music continued throughout the rest of the century (as happened also in Vienna and Leipzig, for example). The graphic simplicity of violin music most likely favoured a higher publication activity than in the case of guitar and keyboard music, for example, but there is no doubt of the early popularity of this bowed instrument in Madrid.

The violin publications printed in the city were already known, but several questions remained to be explored, namely the process that generated a sufficient demand for these publications, the commercial strategies that they reveal and their similarity with coetaneous manuscript sources. As this research shows, nearly all the violin publications printed in Madrid before 1770 are dedicated to members of the upper class and share some features with the manuscripts dedicated to private patrons (see 2.2 and 2.3). Both types of copies usually include symbolic representations of the relationship between the composer and his patron, both iconographic and verbal. Often, codes that are only understandable for connoisseurs are used. It seems no coincidence that nearly all the musical sources of this kind contain violin sonatas, a genre that is strongly associated with exclusivity (works composed *ex profeso* for specific patrons and listened to in their private chambers). In Madrid, these practices, typical of the Ancient Régime, coexisted with more modern music-dissemination and -consumption practices, such as the commercial publishing of printed music. In this context, a pioneer figure was Pablo Minguet, who published manuals on dancing since ca. 1733 and on musical instruments (including the violin) since ca. 1752, offering personalized editions (see 2.4 and 3.3).

The increasing demand for violin music in the Spanish capital was covered to a great extent by the importation of music composed abroad. Dance music arrived above all from Paris, which court, closely connected to Madrid's through dynastic ties, was the epicentre of the international trends of courtly dance. Also following pan-European trends, most of the chamber music consumed in Madrid was by Italian composers. This music arrived both in printed and manuscript copies, which places of origin have been documented with some precision through the analysis of private libraries' inventories, commercial advertisements and preserved sources (see 2.5). The printed copies came to a great extent from the main music publishing centres of the time, such as Paris and Amsterdam (the latter in the case of string concertos). This is evident, for example, in the library owned by the XII Duke of Alba, who had been ambassador in Paris in the '40s and kept in touch with that city in the subsequent decades. As regards manuscript copies, their circulation seems to have been very intense among the violinists themselves since early dates, as José Peralta's music inventory (1734) —not analysed thoroughly before— strongly suggests. Many copies of recent violin music arrived most likely from Italy, above all from cities that had fluent diplomatic relations with Madrid, such as Naples, Parma, Rome and Milan. This is suggested, for example, by the right attributions of sonatas by Giuseppe Tartini, Stefano C. Arena and Carlo Zuccari in the manuscript *26 Sonatas de varios autores* (see 2.2). Another significant case is that of the overtures by Giovanni B. Sammartini and other composers active in

Milan in the '40s that survive in copies of the '50s in Leuhusen's collection (see 2.5). This sheds light on the importance of alternative channels for music circulation, besides those of the printed publications' trade.

Despite this intense publication of violin music, the local elite demanded works composed *ex profeso* for their musical gatherings and even, in the case of amateur performers such as Alba, adapted to their technical level. All this provoked a boom in the composition of violin music in the Spanish capital. From 1740 to 1776 were based in Madrid over twenty composers of this repertoire. Most of them were violin virtuosos, and roughly half of them were foreigners, above all Italians. Among them were the chapel master Francesco Corselli (from Piacenza but of French origin), the cellist Domenico Porretti (from Naples), Mauro D'Alay (from Parma), Francesco Montali (from Naples), the multi-instrumentalist Mathias Boshoff (from Flanders), Christiano Reynaldi (from Cracovia but of Italian origin), Gaetano Brunetti (from Fano), the cellist Luigi Boccherini (from Lucca) and Carlo Canobbio (from Venice).

As for Spanish composers, most of them were educated in Madrid or in Mediterranean Spain (mainly in Catalonia, Valencia and Murcia), where the reception of Italian violin music is documented particularly early, as attested by over twenty musical sources discussed in this investigation (see 1.1). These composers were José Herrando, Francisco Manalt, Juan de Ledesma, Manuel Pla, Vicente Basset, Salvador Rexach, Manuel Canales, Juan Oliver, Manuel Mencía, Jaime Rosquellas and Antonio Montoro (unknown to date). Even amateurs of the aristocracy took part in this compositional boom, for example the Duke of La Conquista, who wrote a lost collection of violin sonatas dated 1754 that lets suspect his involvement in the Duke of Alba's music academies (see 2.2). Furthermore, some works presumably written for flute or oboe were performed on the violin. This is the case with the sonata by Luis Misón (a Spaniard of French origin) copied in *26 Sonatas de varios autores*. It is also likely that the Italians Francesco Landini and Filippo Sabatini composed non-located violin works, taking into account that in the 1760s they were teachers of this instrument respectively for the Infante Don Luis and the Prince Carlos.

Genres and functions

Up to 1776 (date of the latest musical sources consulted in this investigation), the above-mentioned composers cultivated five main genres of violin music. The most demanded were the violin sonata (at least 165 compositions, 62 of them located) and the trio for two violins and accompaniment (at least 224 compositions, 54 of them located). There was also demand for violin duets (41 located works), small-ensemble overtures (11 located works), solo concertos (2 located works) and ensemble concertos (1 located work). These figures show that the cultivation of violin music in Madrid was much more intense and varied than hitherto imagined. Leaving aside the exceptional case of the works composed for the examinations to enter the Royal Chapel, all this repertoire can be considered chamber music, that is, works for a reduced number of instruments conceived for being performed by professionals or amateurs in private or semi-private spaces. This music responds to three main functions: attentive listening, learning the violin technique and socialising through music performance. Depending on the genre, one or more of these functions prevail, as this thesis shows.

The sonata for violin and accompaniment was the main solo genre in fashion at the time, and thus constituted the favourite vehicle for virtuosic display. Most of the located sonatas have a high technical difficulty, so they were presumably performed by professionals (see 4.2). The prestige of this genre was such that in the auditions to enter the Royal Chapel each candidate had to perform a sonata composed by himself; an example is the virtuosic work with which Rexach obtained the post in 1768. Notwithstanding, simple sonatas were also composed; this is the case with the *Sonatinas* for five-string violin (1754) that Herrando dedicated to Farinelli, an amateur performer. In this case the use of the diminutive 'sonatina', instead of 'sonata', does not seem to be a coincidence. In contrast, the term 'tocata', employed to designate violin sonatas in Madrid up to roughly 1760, does not seem to denote any particular compositional feature that can be related to the keyboard 'toccas'; on the contrary, it was used as a synonym of 'sonata' (see 4.1). Remarkably, the composition of other genres for soloist, such as the violin concerto, has been hardly documented in Madrid for this period. In fact, while coetaneous violinists-composers such as Tartini wrote over 100 concertos,⁸ only two concertos by composers active in Madrid have been located, namely those by Manuel Pla and Francesco Montali. Both works were copied for flute, so they are not particularly idiomatic for the violin, but they were probably performed with this instrument as well, especially the one by the violinist Montali, as the study of the copies that arrived in Germany at the time shows (see 5.3).

In contrast with the solo sonata, the trio (also called 'sonata' until roughly 1760, abridging the formulae 'sonata en trío' and 'sonata a tres') had mainly an entertainment function. That is why the technical difficulty and formal complexity of these works is not overly high, but appropriate for amateurs. The same can be said of the unaccompanied violin duets, a genre that has been very little researched in the international context and that is studied here for the first time in the case of Spain. Nowadays, it is generally assumed that the duet was only a didactic genre, but there are duets that feature a high technical standard, such as the preserved ones by Herrando and Brunetti's op. 3, presumably performed by professionals (see 5.1). Similarly, Rexach wrote two so-called 'tríos brillantes' for a solo violin and two accompanists. Although they are undated, they could be from the 1760s or early '70s, thus constituting an early case of this compositional option in Europe (see 5.2).

As for works for larger ensembles, Corselli's ensemble concerto (the only located one) was composed for the Royal Chapel's auditions, but it can be deduced that this genre was also performed in chamber spaces, judging from the inventories of the private collections mentioned above. A similar function can be deduced for the overtures in three or four parts by Vicente Basset that were copied for Leuhusen; they have been published recently but are analysed stylistically here for the first time (see 5.2). The fact that few works for ensembles of four or five instruments have been preserved is most likely due to the high importation of concertos by Italian composers, which is clear in the inventories and advertisements of the time (ver 2.5 y 5.3).

⁸ Updated catalogue in Canale, 2010.

The assimilation of the international style

The music analysis is one of the most innovating elements of this thesis, because the violin repertoire discussed here had been hardly studied from a stylistic perspective so far, and the few existing studies employed methodologies that have become out of date. In general, the 163 located works, which contain over 400 movements in total, reflect the stylistic trends that were in fashion in other European capitals. This shows that Madrid was an updated city in this specific field, even if it is usually omitted in the international literature on 18th-century instrumental music. This generates a false idea of the isolation of Spain with respect to the rest of the continent (see the Introduction). Until 1770 the main models for the composition of violin music were Italian, and this was also the case with Madrid, where, as observed above, roughly half of the violinists-composers came from Italy.

In the genre of the violin sonata, the works composed in Madrid resemble formally those by Tartini and Locatelli. Only some exceptional examples resemble Corelli's op. 5. In previous studies, this collection is considered a probable model for Madrid's composers due to its high dissemination in Spain. However, that high dissemination seems to have been due mainly to a didactic use, which would explain the existence of a sufficient demand for the publication of a printed edition in Madrid as late as 1772. Regarding the duet for violins or flutes, the earliest collection that has been documented in Spain, dated 1734, contains French suites, a type of composition that does not seem to have had followers in the capital. From 1760 onwards, the main model in Madrid was the duet in three movements, which was also in fashion in Paris. An example is Boccherini's collection op. 3, published in Madrid around 1772 and seemingly imitated in later collections. Regarding the trios, the works composed in Madrid from 1750 onwards remind of the collections published since ca. 1739 by Giovanni B. Sammartini and the Besozzi brothers. It seems no coincidence that copies of these works made in Spain at the time are preserved in various archives (see 5.2). In the solo concerto, the three-movement structure and the ritornello form, popularized by Vivaldi's works, continued being imitated in Madrid around 1760. As regards the small-ensemble overtures by Vicente Basset (1753), they reflect the characteristic formal features of the coetaneous opera overture. Not by chance, Basset was precisely one of the violinists that took part in the opera performances of Fernando VI's court.

The five genres that have been analysed here —violin sonata, duet, trio, concerto and small-ensemble overture— share five general formal traits. Three of them could be expected, since they are conventional in the instrumental repertoire of the time. Firstly, home keys are predominantly major, and their signatures go from three flats (E flat major) to four sharps (E major). Secondly, many of the located works are grouped in collections of six works or, less frequently, three or twelve works. However, doubts remain about whether the works copied in anthologies made part of collections (e.g. the five sonatas by Ledesma), and there are also works that survive in spare copies (e.g. the two located solo concertos). Thirdly, the analysed compositions are divided into several movements, almost always three, although there were also works in two or four movements, depending on the genre. In all the genres is detected the concept of cycle, at different levels: the different movements of a work and the different works of a collection are conceived as a whole; for this reason, the movement types and keys are combined according to premeditated plans.

The other two general formal features are more interesting, because they reveal the updating of the compositional strategies that were employed in Madrid, in particular the movements' formal structures and the melodic writing. In all five genres, over half of the analysed movements (that is, over 200 movements) respond to one of the following binary forms: the simple binary, the balanced binary, the rounded binary, standard or type-3 sonata form and type-2 sonata form.⁹ Standard sonata forms are already used in works of the 1750s, such as Herrando's *Sonatina 1* (1754). As regards melodic writing, it reflects the characteristic features of the galant style: rhythmic-melodic motives are generally varied, they are very often repeated consecutively, and some of them include typically galant Lombard rhythms and two-note 'sighs'. The phrasing is more or less regular depending on the composer; this has allowed for detecting some individual traits. For example, Manalt is keen of *fortspinnung*, while Herrando, his contemporary, is more keen of regular phrasing. In general the melodic discourse is fluid and good-humoured, with scarce dramatic contrasts, save for Basset's overtures (close to the symphony in this respect). Galant-style schemata are detected, e.g. the Prinner that appears in the minuet with variations of Ledesma's *Sonata 5*, so it seems that the analysis of schemata is a promising research line for future investigations. Musical topics of the time are also employed, for example the siciliano (normally in slow movements) and several dance topics, such as the minuet, the allemande and the gigue (normally in last movements).

Besides these general features, in some works there are elements that reinforce the coherence of the cycle, both within each work and within each collection. This is more frequent in the violin sonata, no doubt the most sophisticated genre in formal terms. In it, a global 'opus' concept is sometimes detected. For example, some collections of sonatas by Herrando and Montali reflect a conscious distribution of home keys and the use, in the last work, of unusual movement types within the collection. Other traits of cyclic composition, such as the use of run-on movements, are detected in works of various genres, for example Manalt's *Sonata 3* (1757), Basset's overtures (1753) and Boccherini's trios op. 14 (1772).

The analysis of movement types, hardly employed in previous studies about instrumental music in 18th-century Spain, has been particularly useful for comparing these five genres. In general, the same movements types are used in all five genres, and the chronology of their use is also similar, although there are some differences regarding their combinations in cycles. In the sonata predominate two different three-movement cycles that Heartz considers typical of the 'galant chamber sonata':¹⁰ *slow-main fast-light fast* and, increasingly since 1755, *main fast-slow-light fast* (where the middle movement is in a neighbouring key). Exceptionally, there are four-movement sonatas that follow the early-18th-century model *slow-fast-slow-fast*. This is the case with some sonatas by D'Alay and Corselli, respectively from the '40s and '60s; Corselli's are outmoded with respect to the trends that predominated in Madrid by then.

In the remaining four genres, the three-movement cycles that predominate in the sonata are also used. Nevertheless, roughly half of the trios datable before 1765 feature the two-movement cycle *moderate-light fast*, in which a moderate-tempo movement (e.g. *Andante*) replaces the main fast movement of the sonatas.

⁹ The classification of sonata forms is based on Hepokoski & Darcy, 2006.

¹⁰ Heartz, 2003: 208-19.

Furthermore, in the three-movement trios of that time the middle movement normally remains in the home key. In other words, the structures of the violin sonata are simplified in the trio, no doubt addressed mainly to amateur performers. In the violin duets are detected cycles in two and three movements that are similar to those of the trio. However, there are more complex duets both formally and technically, e.g. the ones by Herrando (1760) and Canobbio (1771), which organisation is similar to that of the sonatas: they contain some multi-sectional movements and fugues. In overtures and concertos, as usual, the predominant cycle is *main fast-slow-light fast*.

The main fast movement, placed in the first or second position within each work, is generally cast in a more or less elaborate binary form (such as sonata form and the rounded binary form) and concentrates the most difficult technical gestures. The slow movements, in contrast, are generally written in the minor mode and feature freer formal structures. Some of them are markedly lyrical, for example the ones based on the siciliano topic (e.g. Ledesma, *Sonata 2/ii*). The closing movements are the most varied in all the genres, and changes in the use of different types are detected around 1760 and, again, around 1770. The 'light closing' type predominates, and it is often dance-like; therefore, it features clear-cut structures and a regular phrasing. The favourite dance topic was the minuet; in the solo sonata, there are some minuets with variations, used for virtuosic display, as galant music composers active abroad used to do (e.g. Locatelli). Other topics were virtually abandoned after 1760: the gigue, the allemande and the pastoral. From 1770 onwards were usual the minuet-and-trio and the rondo. Alternatively, a work could end with a weighty movement, such as a fast binary movement, a multi-sectional one or a fugue. Closing fast binary movements are used mainly in solo sonatas, in order to enhance virtuosity, e.g. in Rexach's sonata (1768). Multi-sectional movements are used in sonatas and some duets, above all until 1760; they can reach some complexity, e.g. in Manalt's *Sonata 2/iii* (1757). Fugues are detected in works of various genres, such as the solo sonata (Manalt and Herrando in the mid 1750s), the duet (Herrando in 1760) and, as a tardive exception, in Corselli's *Concertino a quattro* (1770).

Another revealing aspect about the stylistic changes of the five genres studied here is the analysis of texture. Until ca. 1770, the bass part is generally a mere accompaniment. Consequently, in violin sonatas predominates the melody-versus-accompaniment texture. This texture is also frequent in trios and duets, where the first violin generally stands out over the second violin, although in some excerpts the second violin plays the melody (exchanging roles with the first violin). In trios and duets, this basic texture is alternated with parallel motion (nearly always in thirds and sixths) and, in occasional excerpts, with counterpoint. The fact that the trio was deeply assimilated in Madrid by the 1750s most likely facilitated the rapid surge in popularity of the duet in the '60s. In this sense, the fact that trios were sometimes called 'duos' with accompaniment is telling; this is shown by sources related to Herrando and the Count of Fernán Nuñez (see 5.2). The use of counterpoint and totally independent parts is not frequent in the analysed works until ca. 1769, when this is detected in the string trios by Brunetti and Boccherini. Some of them have a viola part instead of a second violin part; this enhances the differentiation of three independent parts. Corselli's *Concertino a quattro* (1770) also has independent parts, in this case four. This work illustrates that the

composers based in Madrid, like those based in Vienna or Paris, took part in the experimentation that led to the shaping of the string quartet (see 5.3).

As regards the technical standard of these works, which is higher in the violin sonata (as mentioned above), it is not particularly high in comparison with the works by coetaneous virtuosos, such as Locatelli. For example, in minuets with variations Ledesma, Herrando and Montali employ simpler resources than Locatelli in his op. 6 (1737), even if this collection is addressed to the amateurs' music market (see 4.2). Similarly, the only located *Capricho* for solo violin preserved in a Spanish source from the mid-18th-century, *26 Sonatas de varios autores* (ca. 1760-70), is not overly virtuosic (see the critical edition in Appendix II, no. 4). In contrast, the *Capricci* of Locatelli's concertos op. 3 (1733), known in Spain before 1771 according to Fernando Ferandiere, contain extremely difficult passages, thus constituting a clear antecedent of Paganini's *Capricci*.¹¹ Despite these evidences, it is necessary to take into account that the available information on the performance practice of the violinists active in Madrid is limited. The treatises by Herrando and Ferandiere describe the improvisation of 'caprichos' in the cadences of violin works, but they do not explain how to perform them. In the located sources, cadenzas are marked with fermata signs, also in sources containing duets; this suggests that they could have even been improvised with two instruments (see 5.1). The detailed reconstruction of performance practice is beyond this thesis' scope, but recent investigations show that the *adagios glosados* of Brunetti's violin sonatas, copied from 1776 onwards, are a valuable source for deepening into this aspect.¹²

For the time being, what this investigation has clarified about performance practice is that the choice of accompaniment instruments was flexible, depending on the performance context and the genre. Very few sources with chamber violin music have figured basses, in part due to notation practices, but also because accompanying this music with melodic instruments was not rare. This is particularly clear in the case of the violin sonata, as the study of titles and bass parts shows (only around 20% of the bass parts are figured). In this sense, Madrid's performance practice resembles that of Berlin, where the use of *bassetto* (as Tartini called it) was normal in the 1740s. However, the accompaniment with polyphonic instruments was also normal in Madrid. In fact, the four examined violin tutors mention the following options: harpsichord, organ, guitar and even another violin. The musical sources that have been studied allow for associating these instruments respectively to chamber, church, dance and didactic contexts (see 3.3).

As for particular traits of the repertoire composed in Madrid, some of the works by native Spanish composers are stylistically unusual with respect to international trends. These works feature an eclectic style that reveals the composers' experimentation with strategies learnt from different musical genres, and even from works written in different periods. This reveals that between 1750 and 1770 the compositional conventions of the violin genres were not strict, but there was room for experimentation. It seems no coincidence that, in those years,

¹¹ Locatelli's output was protagonist in the recent conference on violin music *P. A. Locatelli and J. M. Leclair: Their legacy in the 19th century* (Bergamo, Italia, 2014). Selected papers have been published in Morabito (ed.), 2015.

¹² Josep Martínez Reinoso, 'Cómo cadenciar según Gaetano Brunetti', paper in the conference *Interpretar la música ibérica del siglo XVIII* (Barcelona, Julio 2014). See also Berrocal, 2014.

Madrid's music libraries contained varied works, both older and more recent (see 2.5), and that in the early 1770s were published almost simultaneously sonatas by Corelli and trios by Cramer (see 2.3). Examples of eclectic works are Basset's overtures for three or four instruments (1753), Herrando's sonata for violin and accompaniment *El Jardín de Aranjuez* (ca. 1761) and Manuel Pla's solo concerto (before 1767). Basset's overtures feature traits of the opera overture (three-movement cycle *fast-slow-fast*, dramatic effects and compact textures), the violin sonata (movement types such as the fugue and the pastoral) and the solo concerto (solo-tutti alternation). This example shows that, despite the seemingly scarce composition of solo concertos in Madrid before 1770, local composers had assimilated the essential compositional strategies of this genre by the mid 1750s. In this sense, another significant example is Herrando's sonata *El jardín de Aranjuez*, datable ca. 1761 based on contextual evidence (see 4.2). It bears clear parallels with Vivaldi's concerto *La primavera* op. 8 no. 1 (1725). More specifically, Herrando transfers to the genre of the violin sonata the solo-tutti alternation (leaving the bass in silence in some excerpts) and, more evidently the imitation of specific elements of nature that appear in Vivaldi's *La primavera*. Furthermore, the first and third movement of this sonata are cast in formal structures that synthesize the ritornello form, typical of the concerto, and the rounded binary form, typical of the violin sonatas composed in Madrid in Herrando's lifetime. Manuel Pla's solo concerto also synthesizes elements of the solo sonata and the concerto. It features the cycle *fast - slow - minuet*, rare in concertos, and its movements are not cast in ritornello form (as in Francesco Montali's located concerto), but, instead, the solo-tutti alternation marks the structure.

Other stylistic elements that could be considered idiosyncratic, such as the use of schemata of popular Spanish music, have not been detected in the analysed violin works. Nevertheless, no detailed analysis of melodic, harmonic and rhythmic structures has been carried out. Future studies may reveal if these compositions hide some hitherto unperceived connections with that popular repertoire, but in the current state of research it seems that this trend was not fashionable in music for bowed instruments until the 1780s and 90s, coinciding with the rise of the cultural current known as 'majismo'. It was then, for example, when Boccherini composed the above-mentioned quartets and quintets that incorporate the schemata of the fandango and the seguidillas. Although some recent performances propose to accompany the violin sonatas by Ledesma (most likely from the '60s) with guitar, it seems little probable that such performance option took place at the time of the composition.

Actually, the violin-music output by the composers based in Madrid before 1776 seems to be more connected to Europe as a whole than only to Spain. These works not only reflect a pan-European style and were consumed by a cosmopolitan public in the city, but some of them were even disseminated to other countries, both in manuscript copies and in publications printed abroad. A pioneer case is that of Herrando, who, in the late '50s, had his violin tutor and his violin duets engraved in Paris, as well as his minuets published in London. Around the '60s, Montali's concerto arrived in Germany, possibly through Juan Bautista Pla and José Pla. They could have also taken copies of the concerto and the duets by their brother Manuel Pla respectively to Northern Italy and to London, where the duets were published around 1773 (see 2.3 and 5.3). The publication in other countries of violin works composed in Madrid was more frequent from 1769

onwards. Leaving aside the case of Boccherini (already well-known), in the 1770s collections of duets and trios by composers based in Madrid, such as Gaetano Brunetti, José Castel and Manuel Canales, were published in such cities as London, Paris, Leipzig, Lyon and Liège.

The chronology of this timid publishing activity abroad reinforces the idea that the 1770s marked a turning point for the consumption and composition of chamber music in Madrid, as recent studies point out.¹³ By then the Spanish capital was fully integrated into international compositional trends and trade webs. Madrid even took the initiative in specific genres, such as the string quintet and the string sextet, in which Brunetti and Boccherini made relevant contributions to the international literature. The increasing importation of music from abroad since 1770, reflected by the local press (e.g. Antonio del Castillo's advertisements of instrumental duets of the '70s, analysed in 5.1), did not prevent the composers based in the Spanish capital from continuing to write violin music. Brunetti and Boccherini were particularly prolific, and their works reflect the gradual assimilation of central-European compositional styles. For instance, their trios from the late '60s feature some similarities with those by Stamitz, and from the '70s onwards they also imitated Haydn, one of the most demanded composers by then. Furthermore, in the '70s the sonata for keyboard and violin accompaniment was introduced in Madrid, and local composers such as Vicente Adán experimented with varied combinations of wind and bowed instruments. All this contributed to a greater diversification of the violin repertoire that was available to the city's amateurs that had a sufficient purchasing power. This was a much wider public than the reduced group of amateurs belonging to the social elite that collected violin music in the '30s, '40s and '50s.

Significance of the study and future perspectives

In sum, considering all the evidence just discussed, there is no doubt that the violin repertoire composed in Madrid between ca. 1740 and 1776 was involved in the important stylistic changes that took place in the 'central 18th century', tending to a marked internationalisation of the style. Thus, this study constitutes a step forward towards the integration of Spain in the global discussions on mid-18th-century instrumental music. The results of the music analysis strongly suggest that including the works composed in Spain in future studies on the sonata forms, galant schemata and movement types employed in the instrumental music of this period would contribute to achieve a more complete view. Moreover, from the standpoint of the international circulation of music, the patronage of foreign diplomats opens up promising lines of research, as the case of Leuhusen has shown.¹⁴

In the context of Madrid, it remains to be determined if the stylistic traits detected in the violin repertoire were generalised in the instrumental music of the time. It would be necessary to carry out a global analysis of the keyboard sonata and the operatic overture, among other genres. Furthermore, research on the connections between the theatre and chamber repertoires cultivated in the city,

¹³ Marín & Bernadó (eds.), 2014; Marín, 2005; Sustaeta, 1993: I, 180-90.

¹⁴ Leuhusen's collection contains not only instrumental works composed in Madrid, but also some vocal ones. Some examples are mentioned in the introduction of Angulo (ed.), 2013. Moreover, as has been shown, this collection reflects the participation of different copyists, most likely Spanish and Italian (see 2.5).

shown here through Basset's overtures, could also be expanded. Another suggesting aspect is the musical activity of the members of the prestigious Calatrava Order, of which several patrons, amateur performers and even composers of violin music made part in the 1750s (e.g. Farinelli, the XII Duke of Alba and the Duke of La Conquista). Considering Spain as a whole, this study opens up other research lines, such as the assimilation of violin music in Mediterranean Spain, where over twenty early manuscript with this repertoire have been located (see 1.1). In such cities as Barcelona some violin works composed in Madrid were commercialized (e.g. Manalt's sonatas); this suggests that the methodologies of this study could also be applied to that city.

From a wider perspective, such methodologies could also be applied to the case of Latin America. Throughout this thesis are mentioned some sources containing violin works and treatises by composers active in mid-18th-century Madrid that are preserved in Bolivia, Guatemala and Mexico. This suggests that the violin music that was cultivated in the Spanish capital could have had a relatively rapid impact in the New World. Most of the known Latin-American sources are preserved in archives of religious institutions, such as the Jesuit mission of Chiquitos (Bolivia) and Durango Cathedral (Mexico). This shows that the performance of ensemble works with violins (such as trios and overtures) in religious institutions, normal in peninsular Spain, was transferred to the colonies. In the future, it would be interesting to deepen into this transfer of practices taking into account not only religious contexts, but also chamber ones, a field that has been hardly explored to date.¹⁵ That would contribute to a better knowledge of the role of the Hispanic world in the history of the violin repertoire, which was no doubt more relevant than hitherto believed.

¹⁵ Among the scarce investigations about chamber music in Latin America, there are some about Mexico: Russell, 1997; Díez-Canedo, 2007.

CONCLUSIONES GENERALES (ESPAÑOL)

Este estudio ofrece por primera vez una visión global del repertorio para violín compuesto e interpretado en Madrid entre ca. 1730 y ca. 1776, discutiendo su relativa importancia en los contextos nacional e internacional. Partiendo de más de 170 fuentes musicales conservadas en una veintena de archivos internacionales,¹⁶ de las cuales más de cuarenta eran poco o nada conocidas hasta ahora,¹⁷ se combinan tres líneas de investigación principales: los contextos de composición e interpretación, la configuración de géneros musicales, y el análisis del estilo. Estos dos últimos aspectos apenas habían sido abordados hasta la fecha, pues, en general, la música instrumental cultivada en España durante el siglo XVIII había sido muy poco estudiada desde una perspectiva analítica, exceptuando una parte de la música para teclado.¹⁸ Ello impedía integrar el repertorio instrumental compuesto en Madrid en los debates internacionales sobre estilos y periodos histórico-musicales. Sin embargo, a través de esta investigación se ha mostrado que, al menos en el ámbito de la música para violín, Madrid participó de los importantes cambios estilísticos y productivos que caracterizan al “siglo XVIII central”, tal y como lo definen recientes periodizaciones de la historia de la música en Europa.¹⁹ Por un lado, este repertorio contribuyó a la asimilación en España del estilo galante, las formas de sonata y los tópicos de danza de moda. Por otro, impulsó la edición impresa de partituras, la práctica de música doméstica y el intercambio de música con otros países europeos. Estos aspectos permiten explicar la progresiva integración de la capital española en el mercado internacional de música instrumental, consolidada hacia 1770, como señalan investigaciones recientes.²⁰

Contextos y funciones: un instrumento versátil

En el periodo estudiado, la música para violín era cultivada en una gran variedad de espacios y contextos sociales que se pueden clasificar según la tradicional división entre contextos de iglesia, de cámara y de teatro y/o danza. Sin embargo, llama la atención la permeabilidad de estos espacios a diferentes repertorios para violín, que está directamente relacionada con la versatilidad de los intérpretes de este instrumento. Hasta ahora se conocían las biografías de algunos violinistas activos en Madrid a mediados del siglo XVIII, pero no se tenía una visión de conjunto sobre los principales roles desempeñados por estos músicos. Como se ha mostrado, casi todos ellos combinaban un puesto estable en

¹⁶ Las fuentes musicales se conservan en B-MA, BOL-Cha, D-B,D-KA, E-AR, E-Bbc, E-J, E-Mc, E-Mn, E-Mp, E-OV, E-ROrc, E-SC, E-SE, E-Tp, E-Zac, F-Pc, F-Pn, GB-Lam, GB-Lbl, I-Bc, I-Fc, I-Tn, I-UDricardi, NL-DHk, S-Skma, US-LAum, US-Wc y cinco archivos que no están en RISM (ver Apéndice I).

¹⁷ La lista del Apéndice I incluye 171 fuentes musicales. Las veinticinco señaladas con asterisco eran prácticamente desconocidas, pues no son analizadas en estudios anteriores (a lo sumo, aparecen en catálogos de bibliotecas o son mencionadas de pasadas en estudios sobre determinados compositores, como Basset y Montali). El apéndice también incluye nueve fuentes coreográficas con melodías para violín (nos. 14, 17, 56, 84, 85, 93, 94, 109, 126) que no habían sido tenidas en cuenta en estudios sobre música instrumental, y dos fuentes hispanoamericanas que no habían sido tenidas en cuenta en estudios sobre Madrid (nos. 59 y 106). Asimismo, esta tesis ha aportado luz sobre otras fuentes poco conocidas que no aparecen en el Apéndice I, como los veintidós manuscritos tempranos de la España mediterránea discutidos en 1.1 (ver Tabla 1.1.3).

¹⁸ Sutcliffe, 2003; Pedrero-Encabo, 1997; Igoa, 2014.

¹⁹ Webster, 2004.

²⁰ Marín, 2005; Marín, 2014b.

una capilla religiosa con colaboraciones en fiestas religiosas, bailes y “funciones” de música escénica. Por lo tanto, estos músicos estaban familiarizados con un amplio repertorio, que incluía recientes óperas italianas interpretadas en la corte real y otras obras vocales con rasgos italianizantes, como cantadas sacras, en las que a menudo se insertaban breves intervenciones para uno o dos violines.

A partir de 1740 aproximadamente, a las funciones de “violín de capilla”, “violín de baile” y lo que se podría llamar “violín de teatro” (en espectáculos escénicos) se suman las de “violín de cámara” y “maestro de violín”. Estos últimos se documentan no sólo en las cortes reales y aristocráticas (p. ej. en las casas de Osuna y Alba, casos ya investigados), sino también en las residencias privadas de diplomáticos extranjeros, como la del Barón Carl Leuhusen, de Suecia, en los años 50, un caso estudiado en esta tesis y prácticamente desconocido hasta la fecha. La figura de “maestro de violín” está muy vinculada a la del violinista aficionado, cuya existencia en ámbitos elitistas se puede documentar ya desde los años 30, como muestra el inventario de Sebastián Christiani de Scío (1737), que había pasado inadvertido desde este punto de vista. A principios de los años 50, el violín ya era popular entre aficionados de las clases medias, como muestra el tratado de auto-aprendizaje de Pablo Minguet (ca. 1752). De todas estas evidencias se puede deducir que para la década de 1750 Madrid ofrecía a los violinistas-compositores oportunidades profesionales similares a las de otros centros musicales europeos (como París o Roma), si bien en la capital española la actividad musical era menos intensa, la publicación de música impresa era escasa y el concierto público no era aún habitual. De hecho, la mayor parte de las fuentes localizadas con música para violín vinculada a la capital española son manuscritas y proceden de contextos religiosos, de cámara y de danza.

Los primeros testimonios conocidos sobre la interpretación de música idiomática para violín en Madrid se relacionan con instituciones religiosas, en concreto la Capilla Real, donde, como es bien sabido, desde 1677 se incrementó notablemente el número de violinistas, sobre todo italianos. A las evidencias ya conocidas se suma ahora una fuente musical de gran relevancia, el *Manuscrito Gusarañas* (ca. 1680-1700), estudiado aquí por primera vez. Parece contener el repertorio de uno de los *Violones del Rey* de la época de Carlos II, activos tanto en la Capilla Real como en contextos de danza y teatro (en los cuales el violín ya era un instrumento habitual en reinados anteriores). En este manuscrito predominan las danzas, pero también contiene una letanía religiosa y unas *Sonadas* para violín solista, seguramente extraídas de sonatas para violín y acompañamiento (véanse las ediciones modernas en el Apéndice II, nos. 1-2). Para la década de 1720 la interpretación de obras violinísticas (o fragmentos de ellas) en ceremonias religiosas se había consolidado en Madrid y ciudades cercanas como Salamanca. Así lo testimonian los ensayos de Benito G. Feijoo y Juan F. Corominas, bien conocidos por la musicología, ambos de 1726. Violinistas vinculados a instituciones religiosas como Corominas y José Peralta, adscrito a la Catedral de Toledo, estaban familiarizados antes de 1734 con sonatas para violín y conciertos para cuerdas de compositores italianos recientes o coetáneos, como Corelli, Mascitti, Albinoni y Vivaldi. El hecho de que se conserven pocas fuentes españolas de esa época con música para violín se debe sin duda a problemas de conservación, y no a la falta de cultivo (ver 2.1). Esa parca conservación de fuentes musicales es una de las causas principales de la escasa visibilidad de España en estudios sobre el violín durante el siglo XVIII, la cual esta tesis aspira a subsanar.

Presumiblemente, en centros religiosos de Madrid y ciudades cercanas, la música para violín también se utilizaba para enseñar la técnica de este instrumento a los niños de coro, a juzgar por los testimonios de otras zonas de España. Incluso el repertorio de danza fue utilizado para aprender a tocar el violín en instituciones religiosas madrileñas, como el Monasterio de San Norberto. Así lo demuestra el tratado de canto y violín de Manuel de Paz, *Médula del canto llano* (1767), prácticamente desconocido hasta la fecha (ver 3.3). Asimismo, los “primeros violines” de las capillas de música religiosas solían interpretar solos en determinadas secciones de obras vocales. Un ejemplo revelador es el *Verso solo para violín [...] de Herrando* (ca. 1750), hasta ahora desapercibido, que se puede atribuir a José Herrando, violinista del Monasterio de la Encarnación de Madrid (ver 1.2).

Sin duda, el ámbito más propicio para la composición e interpretación de música violinística era el privado, en concreto las cámaras de la élite social y los espacios domésticos vinculados a las clases medias. Antes de 1750, esta actividad ha sido documentada principalmente en la corte real, mientras que en las cortes aristocráticas está pendiente un estudio en profundidad. Hacia 1720 debieron de interpretarse obras de conjunto con violines (como sonatas en trío o conciertos para cuerdas) en la cámara del Príncipe Luis, donde Giacomo Facco, violinista de la Capilla Real, organizaba “conciertos” con intérpretes de instrumentos de teclado y arco. Esta práctica existía sin duda en la década de 1730, cuando el mencionado maestro de danza de la familia real Sebastián Christiani de Scío poseía obras para violín recientes, como los conciertos de Vivaldi op. 9 (1727), identificados en esta investigación (ver 2.5). En los años 40 ya hay constancia de la interpretación de solos para violín en la corte real por parte del virtuoso Mauro D’Alay, “violín de cámara” de Felipe V. D’Alay debió de componer en Madrid las diez sonatas para violín conservadas únicamente en el manuscrito *26 Sonatas de varios autores* (ca. 1760-1770). Esta fundamental compilación, ya conocida, se estudia a fondo en esta tesis, tomándola como caso de estudio para profundizar en las características de los manuscritos comerciales y analizando el estilo de las sonatas que contiene, lo que ha permitido precisar su cronología (ver 2.2 y 4.2).

Durante el reinado de Fernando VI (1746-1759), la interpretación de música para violín en academias de música de cámara era habitual tanto en la corte real como en las casas aristocráticas. En la corte real, Farinelli y Maria Bárbara de Bragança poseían bibliotecas musicales con un buen número de obras para violín. Por ejemplo, la reina poseía copias duplicadas y triplicadas de sonatas para violín de Porpora y conciertos para cuerdas de Zavateri, los cuales debieron de ser interpretadas por un grupo relativamente numeroso de instrumentistas, un aspecto que había pasado desapercibido hasta la fecha (ver 2.5). Un probable participante en las veladas musicales de Farinelli y Maria Bárbara, además de Domenico Scarlatti, pudo haber sido el violonchelista napolitano Domenico Porretti, compositor de sonatas en trío no fechadas y mencionado en el inventario del cantante. En la década de 1750, Farinelli y la Reina Madre Elisabetta Farnese patrocinaron la composición de sonatas para violín y acompañamiento. En esa misma década, varios miembros de la aristocracia local no sólo patrocinaban esta música, sino que también la interpretaban. Es el caso del Duque de Arcos y el Duque de Huéscar (Duque de Alba desde 1755), violinistas aficionados.

El Duque de Huéscar/Alba (una sola persona y no dos, como interpretó Subirá) y el mencionado diplomático Carl Leuhusen debieron de organizar

academias musicales regularmente en sus palacios, a juzgar por la amplitud de sus colecciones de música de cámara y la elevada presencia de obras para violín de compositores activos en Madrid. Esta investigación ha aportado luz sobre fuentes musicales desconocidas vinculadas a ambos mecenas. A la biblioteca del Duque de Alba debió de pertenecer la colección manuscrita de sonatas de Francesco Montali localizada recientemente. Además, las *Tocatas* de José Herrando que José Subirá transcribió en 1928 (poco conocidas anteriormente) han permitido reconstruir algunas de las obras perdidas durante la Guerra Civil (ver 2.2 y 2.5). En cuanto a Leuhusen, han sido localizadas más de veinte fuentes con música para instrumentos de arco copiadas para él durante su estancia en Madrid (1752-1755), casi todas ellas desapercibidas hasta ahora (ver 2.5). Uno de los músicos vinculados a Leuhusen, Vicente Basset, ejemplifica la versatilidad de los violinistas-compositores de Madrid, que podían compaginar las funciones teatrales con la música de cámara. Otro de los músicos vinculados al diplomático sueco, Christiano Reynaldi (polaco de origen italiano), pasó de las academias de Roma en los años 40 a las de Madrid en los años 50. Este es un ejemplo paradigmático de la asimilación en Madrid de prácticas musicales pan-europeas (ver 1.2).

La música de cámara con violín pronto se extendió a las clases medias. La primera evidencia clara en este sentido sigue siendo el mencionado tratado de violín de Pablo Minguet, fechable hacia 1752 gracias al estudio de distintos ejemplares y anuncios publicitarios (ver 3.3). Pertenece a la serie *Reglas y advertencias generales para tañer* (completada en 1754), cuya ilustración inicial, pese a ser una imagen idealizada, resulta reveladora sobre cómo la burguesía imitaba a las clases altas mediante la interpretación musical. El violín fue precisamente uno de los primeros instrumentos que se popularizaron en Madrid, junto a los instrumentos de cuerda pulsada, en parte debido a que eran los instrumentos habituales para interpretar música de danza. De hecho, este repertorio abunda en los métodos simplificados de auto-aprendizaje de Minguet y De Paz (ver 3.3). Para 1757 la burguesía de Madrid consumía también música para violín de cámara, no concebida para la danza sino para la escucha. Así lo muestran las publicaciones que comenzaron a imprimirse en la ciudad dicho año, relativamente numerosas en el contexto nacional (ver más abajo). En 1776 las academias de música de cámara abiertas a la burguesía podían reunir a unos veinte aficionados, como afirma el poema-ensayo *La música* de Tomás de Iriarte. El sainete *La academia de música* (1776) de Ramón de la Cruz, donde un grupo amplio de aficionados interpreta una obertura, parece confirmar dichas afirmaciones (ver 1.2).

Asimismo, el violín era fundamental para interpretar las danzas de moda en diversos tipos de eventos sociales, como bailes cortesanos, espectáculos teatrales, reuniones domésticas privadas o semi-privadas (como los “saraos”) y, desde 1767, los bailes públicos promovidos por el Conde de Aranda a imitación de los de París. Las danzas más populares, como el minué, el paspié y las contradanzas, fueron introducidas desde Francia. Antes de 1730 ya habían sido asimiladas en las cortes real y aristocráticas, donde solía haber “violines de baile” especializados. Progresivamente estas danzas fueron difundidas entre las clases medias, como muestran más de veinte manuales coreográficos de auto-aprendizaje publicados entre 1737 y 1775, la mayoría de los cuales incluyen melodías para violín. Estos manuales, cuya cronología ha podido ser precisada por primera vez — incluyendo el complejo caso de las ediciones de Minguet (ver 2.4)—, pese a haber sido

ignoradas en estudios anteriores sobre el violín son fundamentales para comprender el proceso de popularización de este instrumento en Madrid. Este aspecto quizá podría extrapolarse a otras ciudades europeas, como Lisboa, donde se publicó una traducción del *Arte de danzar a la francesa* de Minguet en 1760 y el compositor Pedro A. Avondano escribió minués para violines impresos en Londres en los años 60 y 70.²¹ Este caso es análogo al de los *Eighteen Spanish minuets* de Herrando y otros autores, también publicados en Londres, al menos dos veces (ca. 1758 y ca. 1762), como muestran los documentos localizados en esta investigación. Esta publicación, sin duda comercial en la capital inglesa, constituye un caso temprano de la difusión internacional de música para violín compuesta en Madrid (ver 2.3).

Como preparación para los bailes, las danzas se ensayaban en lecciones donde no faltaban los violinistas, tanto en espacios cortesanos como urbanos. Por ejemplo, Joseph Rattier anunciaba su escuela de danza francesa en la ciudad en 1763 (ver 2.4). Los llamados “petimetres” (miembros de la burguesía seguidores de las modas francesas) también ensayaban las danzas de moda en contextos privados, como representa el sainete *El Sarao* (1764) de Ramón de la Cruz. En esta obra aparece un grupo de violinistas ciegos especializados en música de baile, un tipo de músico que se ha documentado también en los palacios de las clases altas; ello ilustra la fluida circulación de la música de danza entre distintos ámbitos sociales. Estas evidencias, poco conocidas hasta ahora, permiten comprender por qué los minués y contradanzas, en arreglos para uno o dos violines (en lugar de la amplia orquesta de los bailes), eran tan comerciales en Madrid, como evidencia la elevada proporción de anuncios publicitarios de este repertorio.²² Asimismo, la enorme importancia social de la música de danza en la época confirma la necesidad de incluirla en estudios globales sobre la música para violín, una de las premisas de esta investigación.

En las librerías locales, los aficionados podían adquirir copias de música de danza escogiendo desde libros de muestras, como dos importantes fuentes musicales estudiadas en detalle por primera vez aquí. Se trata del *Manuscrito Enseñada* (ca. 1770), que contiene más de 300 minués y contradanzas para uno o dos violines, y de *Varias contradanzas nuevas* (ca. 1770), que contiene casi 100 contradanzas (ver 2.2 y 3.2). Casi todas estas obras son anónimas, aunque algunas proceden de compilaciones francesas. Además, hay constancia de que algunos compositores locales escribieron minués (p. ej. José Herrando y Salvador Rexach). En cuanto a las danzas consideradas “españolas” (aunque su verdadero origen es cuestionable), en este periodo se interpretaban con violín fandangos y seguidillas, que paulatinamente pasaron del contexto popular a los bailes de las clases medias y altas. Así lo testimonian las llamadas “contradanzas misceláneas” incluidas en las compilaciones anuales de los bailes públicos. El fandango llegó incluso a la residencia del diplomático sueco Leuhusen, poseedor de dos fandangos para violín y acompañamiento fechables hacia 1755 que presentan cierta dificultad técnica. Este es un antecedente hasta ahora desconocido de la integración de tópicos de danza de origen hispano en música de cámara para instrumentos de arco. Aunque fandangos y seguidillas ya aparecen en algunas obras para teclado de Scarlatti

²¹ Minguet, 1760. Sobre Avondano, véase De Sá, 2009.

²² Sustaeta, 1993: I, 180-90.

antes de 1757,²³ en el repertorio para violín los primeros casos conocidos hasta ahora datan de los años 80 y 90, cuando Luigi Boccherini integró los esquemas de estas danzas en cuartetos y quintetos de cuerda, como el quinteto G341 (1788).

Un mercado en expansión

La música para violín, tanto de cámara como de danza, desempeñó un papel relevante en la expansión del mercado musical de Madrid a partir de 1750. Pese a la escasa impresión de música instrumental en España durante el siglo XVIII, entre ca. 1753 y 1775 se imprimieron en la capital quince colecciones de sonatas, dúos y tríos para violín, así como tres tratados didácticos para este instrumento (ver 2.3). En 1760 los potenciales compradores de publicaciones impresas para violín eran unas 200 personas, incluyendo tanto a profesionales como a aficionados. Son cifras modestas en comparación con grandes centros de publicación de música (como París o Londres), pero este auge editorial supuso una gran novedad en Madrid, donde la venta de música manuscrita continuó durante todo el siglo (como también ocurrió en Viena o Leipzig, por ejemplo). La sencillez gráfica de la música para violín seguramente favoreció una publicación mayor que la de la música para guitarra o teclado, por ejemplo, pero no hay duda de la temprana popularidad de este instrumento de arco en Madrid.

Los impresos para violín mencionados ya eran conocidos, pero no se había profundizado en el proceso que condujo a una demanda suficiente para su publicación, las estrategias comerciales que revelan o su similitud con las fuentes manuscritas coetáneas. Como muestra esta investigación, casi todas las publicaciones para violín impresas en Madrid antes de 1770 están dedicadas a miembros de la clase alta y comparten algunos rasgos con los manuscritos dedicados a patrones privados (ver 2.2 y 2.3). Ambos tipos de copias suelen incluir representaciones simbólicas de la relación entre el compositor y su mecenas, tanto iconográficas como verbales. A menudo, se utilizan códigos sólo comprensibles para entendidos. No parece casualidad que casi todas las fuentes musicales de este tipo contengan sonatas para violín, un género fuertemente asociado con la exclusividad (obras compuestas ex profeso para mecenas concretos y escuchadas en sus cámaras privadas). Estas prácticas, propias del Antiguo Régimen, convivían en Madrid con formas de difusión y consumo de música más modernas, como la edición comercial de música impresa. En este ámbito, una figura pionera fue Pablo Minguet, quien publicó tratados didácticos sobre danza desde ca. 1733 y sobre instrumentos musicales (incluyendo el violín) desde ca. 1752, ofreciendo ediciones personalizadas (ver 2.4 y 3.3).

La creciente demanda de música para violín en la capital española era cubierta en gran medida con la importación de música de autores activos en el extranjero. La música de danza llegaba sobre todo desde París, cuya corte, que tenía estrechos vínculos dinásticos con la española, era el epicentro de las tendencias de danza cortesana. También siguiendo modas pan-europeas, la música de cámara consumida en Madrid era mayoritariamente de autores italianos. Esta música llegaba tanto en copias impresas como manuscritas, cuyos lugares de origen se han podido documentar con cierta precisión mediante el análisis de

²³ Scarlatti, que falleció en 1757, compuso un conocido fandango para teclado, y en sus sonatas hay elementos de danzas populares españolas como el bolero, la seguidilla o el fandango. Sin embargo, su identificación es problemática, probablemente porque el compositor los modifica a propósito, como se sugiere en Sutcliffe, 2003: 110-111.

inventarios de bibliotecas privadas, anuncios publicitarios y fuentes conservadas (ver 2.5). Los impresos procedían en gran medida de los principales centros de publicación musical de la época, como París y Amsterdam (este último en el caso de los conciertos para cuerdas). Esto es evidente, por ejemplo, en la biblioteca del XII Duque de Alba (1776), quien había sido embajador en París en los años 40 y mantuvo el contacto con dicha ciudad en las décadas subsiguientes. En cuanto a las copias manuscritas, su circulación debió de ser muy intensa entre los propios violinistas desde fechas tempranas, como sugiere el inventario de José Peralta (1734), no analizado en profundidad anteriormente. Muchas copias de música para violín reciente llegaron seguramente desde Italia, sobre todo de ciudades que mantenían fluidas relaciones diplomáticas con Madrid, como Nápoles, Parma, Roma y Milán. Así lo sugieren, por ejemplo, las atribuciones correctas de sonatas de Giuseppe Tartini, Stefano C. Arena y Carlo Zuccari en el manuscrito *26 Sonatas de varios autores* (ver 2.2). Otro caso significativo es el de las oberturas de Giovanni B. Sammartini y otros autores activos en Milán en los años 40 que se conservan en copias fechadas en los años 50 en la colección de Leuhusen (ver 2.5). Esto pone de manifiesto la importancia de canales de circulación de música instrumental alternativos a los del comercio de publicaciones impresas.

A pesar de esta intensa importación de música para violín, la élite local demandaba obras compuestas ex profeso para sus veladas musicales, e incluso, en el caso de intérpretes aficionados como Alba, adaptadas a su nivel técnico. Todo ello provocó un “boom” en la composición de música para violín en la ciudad. Entre 1740 y 1776 se establecieron en Madrid más de veinte compositores de este repertorio. Casi todos eran virtuosos del violín, y aproximadamente la mitad eran extranjeros, predominantemente italianos. Entre ellos estaban al maestro de capilla Francesco Corselli (de Piacenza pero de origen francés), el chelista Domenico Porretti (de Nápoles), Mauro D’Alay (de Parma), Francesco Montali (de Nápoles), el multi-instrumentista Mathias Boshoff (de Flandes), Christiano Reynaldi (de Cracovia pero de origen italiano), Gaetano Brunetti (de Fano), el chelista Luigi Boccherini (de Lucca) y Carlo Canobbio (de Venecia).

En cuanto a los compositores españoles, casi todos fueron educados en Madrid o en la España mediterránea (principalmente en Cataluña, Valencia y Murcia), donde precisamente se documenta la recepción de música para violín italiana en fechas tempranas, como testimonian más de veinte fuentes musicales evidenciadas en esta investigación (ver 1.1). Estos compositores eran José Herrando, Francisco Manalt, Juan de Ledesma, Manuel Pla, Vicente Basset, Salvador Rexach, Manuel Canales, Juan Oliver, Manuel Mencía, Jaime Rosquellas y Antonio Montoro (desconocido hasta ahora). Incluso aficionados de la aristocracia escribieron obras para violín, como el Duque de La Conquista, compositor de una colección perdida de sonatas para violín fechada en 1754 y que hace suponer su participación en las academias musicales del Duque de Alba (ver 2.2). Además algunas obras presumiblemente escritas para flauta u oboe se tocaban con violín. Es el caso de la sonata de Luis Misón (español de origen francés) recogida en *26 Sonatas de varios autores*. También es probable que los italianos Francesco Landini y Filippo Sabatini compusieran obras para violín no localizadas, teniendo en cuenta que en la década de 1760 fueron maestros de este instrumento respectivamente del Infante Don Luis y del Príncipe Carlos.

Géneros y funciones

Hasta 1776 (fecha de las fuentes musicales más tardías consultadas en esta investigación), los compositores mencionados cultivaron cinco géneros principales de música para violín. Los más demandados eran la sonata para violín y acompañamiento (al menos 165 composiciones, 62 localizadas) y el trío para dos violines y acompañamiento (al menos 224 composiciones, 54 localizadas). También tenían demanda el dúo de violines (41 obras localizadas), la obertura para pequeño conjunto (11 obras localizadas), y los conciertos a solo (2 obras localizadas) o para conjunto (1 obra localizada). Estas cifras muestran que el cultivo de la música para violín en Madrid fue mucho más intenso y variado de lo que se imaginaba hasta ahora. Dejando aparte el caso excepcional de las obras compuestas para las oposiciones de ingreso a la Real Capilla, todo este repertorio puede considerarse música de cámara, esto es, obras para un número reducido de instrumentos concebidas para ser interpretadas por intérpretes profesionales o aficionados en espacios privados o semi-privados. Esta música responde a tres funciones principales: la escucha atenta, el aprendizaje de la técnica del violín, y la socialización a través de la interpretación musical. Dependiendo del género prevalecen una o varias de estas funciones, como se ha mostrado en esta tesis.

La sonata para violín y acompañamiento era el principal género a solo de moda en la época, y por lo tanto constituía el vehículo favorito para el lucimiento virtuosístico. La mayoría de las sonatas localizadas presentan una dificultad técnica elevada, por lo que serían interpretadas por profesionales (ver 4.2). El prestigio de este género era tal que en las oposiciones de la Real Capilla los candidatos tenían que interpretar una sonata de su propia composición; un ejemplo es la obra virtuosística con la que Rexach obtuvo el puesto en 1768. No obstante, también se componían sonatas sencillas, como las *Sonatinas* para violín de cinco cuerdas (1754) que Herrando dedicó a Farinelli, un intérprete aficionado. En este caso el uso del diminutivo “sonatina” en lugar de “sonata” no parece casual. En cambio, el término “tocata”, empleado para denominar sonatas para violín en Madrid hasta aproximadamente 1760, no parece denotar ningún rasgo compositivo en particular ni tener relación con las “tocatas” para teclado, sino que se usaba como un sinónimo de “sonata” (ver 4.1). Es llamativo que la composición de otros géneros para solista, como el concierto a solo, apenas se ha documentado en Madrid en este periodo. De hecho, mientras que violinistas-compositores coetáneos como Tartini escribieron más de 100 conciertos,²⁴ sólo han sido localizados dos conciertos a solo de autores activos en Madrid, Manuel Pla y Francesco Montali. Ambos fueron copiados para flauta, por lo que no son particularmente idiomáticos para el violín, pero seguramente fueron interpretados también con este instrumento, en especial el del violinista Montali, como indica el estudio de las copias que llegaron a Alemania en la época (ver 5.3).

Por contraste con la sonata a solo, el trío (también llamado “sonata” hasta aproximadamente 1760, abreviando las fórmulas “sonata en trío” y “sonata a tres”) desempeñaba principalmente una función de entretenimiento. Por ello, la dificultad técnica y complejidad formal de estas obras no es excesivamente elevada, sino adecuada para aficionados. Lo mismo se puede decir de los dúos para violines sin acompañamiento, un género muy poco investigado en el marco internacional y estudiado aquí por primera vez en el caso de España. Actualmente,

²⁴ Catálogo actualizado en Canale, 2010.

se tiende a asumir que el dúo fue solamente un género didáctico, pero existen dúos con una dificultad técnica elevada, como los de Herrando y el op. 3 de Brunetti, presumiblemente interpretados por profesionales (ver 5.1). De modo similar, Rexach escribió dos “tríos brillantes” para un violín solista y dos partes acompañantes. Aunque no están fechados, podrían ser de los años 60 o inicios de los 70, constituyendo un caso temprano de esta opción compositiva en Europa (ver 5.2).

En cuanto a obras para agrupaciones mayores, el concierto para conjunto de Corselli (el único localizado) fue compuesto para los exámenes de la Real Capilla, pero se puede deducir que este género se interpretaba en espacios de cámara, a juzgar por su presencia en los inventarios de las colecciones privadas mencionadas. Una función similar se puede deducir para las oberturas a tres o cuatro partes de Vicente Basset copiadas para Leuhusen, publicadas recientemente pero analizadas aquí por primera vez (ver 5.2). El hecho de que se conserven pocas obras para conjuntos de cuatro o cinco instrumentos seguramente se deba a la elevada importación de conciertos de autores italianos, clara en los inventarios y anuncios de la época (ver 2.5 y 5.3).

La asimilación del estilo internacional

El análisis musical es uno de los elementos más innovadores de esta tesis, pues hasta la fecha apenas se había investigado el repertorio para violín discutido aquí desde una perspectiva estilística, y los pocos estudios existentes empleaban metodologías que han quedado desactualizadas. En general, las 163 obras analizadas, que contienen más de 400 movimientos en total, reflejan las tendencias estilísticas que estaban de moda en otras capitales europeas. Esto muestra que Madrid era una ciudad actualizada en este ámbito concreto, pese a que suele ser omitida en la literatura internacional sobre la música instrumental del siglo XVIII, lo que da una falsa idea de aislamiento de España respecto al resto del continente (ver la Introducción). Hasta 1770 los principales modelos compositivos en la música para violín eran italianos, y no fue de otro modo en Madrid, donde, como se ha dicho, aproximadamente la mitad de los violinistas-compositores procedían de Italia.

En el género de la sonata para violín, las obras compuestas en Madrid se asemejan formalmente a las de Tartini y Locatelli. Sólo algunos ejemplos excepcionales se asemejan a la colección op. 5 de Corelli, considerada un modelo probable en estudios anteriores dada su elevada difusión en España. Sin embargo, esa difusión parece haberse debido sobre todo a un uso didáctico, el cual explicaría la existencia de una demanda suficiente para la publicación de una edición impresa en Madrid aún en 1772. En cuanto al dúo para violines o flautas, la colección más temprana documentada en España, de 1734, contiene suites francesas, un tipo de composición que parece no haber tenido seguidores en la capital. A partir de 1760, el principal modelo en Madrid fue el dúo en tres movimientos, que también estaba de moda en París. Un ejemplo es la colección op. 3 de Boccherini, publicada en Madrid hacia 1772 y aparentemente imitada en colecciones posteriores. En cuanto a los tríos, las obras compuestas en Madrid a partir de 1750 recuerdan a las colecciones publicadas desde ca. 1739 por Giovanni B. Sammartini y los hermanos Besozzi. No parece casualidad que se conserven en diversos archivos copias manuscritas españolas de estas obras realizadas en la época (ver 5.2). En el género del concierto para solista y orquesta, la estructura en tres movimientos y la forma

ritornello popularizadas por las obras de Vivaldi seguían siendo imitadas en Madrid hacia 1760. En cuanto a las oberturas para pequeño conjunto de Vicente Basset (1753), reflejan los rasgos formales característicos de la obertura de ópera coetánea. No parece casual que Basset fuera precisamente uno de los violinistas participantes en las “funciones” operísticas de la corte de Fernando VI.

Los cinco géneros analizados aquí —sonata a solo, dúo, trío, concierto y obertura para pequeño conjunto— comparten cinco rasgos formales generales. Tres de ellos eran de esperar, pues son convencionales en el repertorio instrumental de la época. En primer lugar, las tonalidades principales son predominantemente mayores, con armaduras que oscilan entre tres bemoles (Mi bemol Mayor) y cuatro sostenidos (Mi Mayor). En segundo lugar, muchas de las composiciones localizadas están agrupadas en colecciones de seis obras, o, menos frecuentemente, de tres o doce obras. No obstante, existen dudas sobre si las obras copiadas en antologías formaban parte de colecciones (p. ej. las cinco sonatas de Ledesma), y también hay obras que sobreviven en copias individuales (p. ej. los dos conciertos para solista localizados). En tercer lugar, las composiciones analizadas están divididas en varios movimientos, casi siempre tres, aunque también hay obras en dos o cuatro movimientos, dependiendo del género. En todos los géneros se detecta el concepto de ciclo, a distintos niveles: los diferentes movimientos de cada obra y las diferentes obras de cada colección son concebidos como un todo, por lo que los tipos de movimientos y tonalidades son combinados según planes premeditados.

Los otros dos rasgos formales generales resultan de mayor interés, pues revelan la actualización de las estrategias compositivas empleadas en Madrid, en particular las estructuras formales de los movimientos y la escritura melódica. En los cinco géneros, la mayoría de los movimientos analizados (esto es, más de 200 movimientos) responden a una de las siguientes formas binarias: la binaria simple, la binaria rimada (*balanced binary*), la binaria reexpositiva (*rounded binary*), la forma sonata estándar o tipo 3 y la forma sonata tipo 2.²⁵ La forma sonata estándar es empleada ya en obras de los años 50, como la *Sonatina 1* de Herrando (1754). En cuanto a la escritura melódica, refleja los rasgos característicos del estilo galante: en general los motivos rítmico-melódicos son variados, a menudo se repiten de forma consecutiva, y algunos incluyendo ritmos lombardos y “suspiros” de dos notas, típicamente galantes. El fraseo es más o menos regular dependiendo del compositor, lo que ha permitido detectar rasgos individuales. Por ejemplo, Manalt tiende a un estilo *fortspinnung*, mientras que su contemporáneo Herrando tiende más al fraseo regular. En general, el discurso melódico es fluido y de tono alegre, con pocos contrastes dramáticos, salvo excepciones como las oberturas de Basset (cercanas a la sinfonía). Se detectan incluso *schemata* del estilo galante, como el Prinner que aparece en el minué con variaciones de la *Sonata 5* de Ledesma, por lo que parece que el análisis de *schemata* es una prometedora línea de estudio futura. También son empleados tópicos musicales de la época, como el

²⁵ Las traducciones de los distintos nombres de las formas binarias en inglés están basadas en publicaciones anteriores, como la versión española del diccionario Harvard, traducida por Luis Gago: Randel, Don Michael (ed.), 2009. La traducción de “balanced binary” como “binaria rimada” es propuesta en esta tesis teniendo en cuenta el paralelismo entre los principios y finales de las dos partes de esta forma. Los tipos de formas de sonata están basados en la clasificación de Hepokoski & Darcy, 2006.

siciliano (normalmente en movimientos lentos) y varios tópicos de danzas, como el minué, la alemanda y la giga (normalmente en últimos movimientos).

Además de estos rasgos generales, en determinadas obras hay elementos que refuerzan la coherencia del ciclo, tanto dentro de cada obra como dentro de cada colección. Esto es más frecuente en la sonata para violín, sin duda el género más sofisticado formalmente, donde se detecta en ocasiones un concepto de “opus” global. Por ejemplo, algunas colecciones de sonatas de Herrando y Montali reflejan una distribución consciente de las tonalidades principales y el uso, en la última obra, de tipos de movimientos inusuales dentro de la colección. Otros rasgos de composición cíclica, como el encadenamiento de movimientos, se detectan en obras de diversos géneros, por ejemplo en la *Sonata 3* de Manalt (1757), las oberturas de Basset (1753) y los tríos op. 14 de Boccherini (1772).

El análisis de tipos de movimientos, apenas empleado en estudios sobre música instrumental en la España del XVIII, ha resultado particularmente útil para comparar estos cinco géneros. En general, los mismos tipos de movimientos se utilizan en los cinco géneros, y la cronología de su uso es similar, aunque hay algunas diferencias en cuanto a sus combinaciones en ciclos. En la sonata predominan dos ciclos diferentes de tres movimientos que Hertz considera típicos de la “sonata de cámara galante”:²⁶ *lento-rápido principal-rápido ligero* y, sobre todo a partir de 1755, *rápido principal-lento-rápido ligero* (donde el movimiento central está en una tonalidad vecina).²⁷ Excepcionalmente, hay sonatas en cuatro movimientos, siguiendo el modelo de principios del XVIII *lento-rápido-lento-rápido*. Es el caso de algunas sonatas de D’Alay y Corselli, respectivamente de las décadas de 1740 y 1760, siendo las de Corselli arcaizantes con respecto a las tendencias formales que predominaban en Madrid para entonces.

En los otros cuatro géneros, los ciclos de tres movimientos predominantes en la sonata también son utilizados. Sin embargo, aproximadamente la mitad de los tríos fechables antes de 1765 presentan el ciclo en dos movimientos *moderado-rápido ligero*, en el cual un movimiento en tiempo moderado (por ejemplo *Andante*) reemplaza al movimiento rápido principal de las sonatas. Además, en los tríos en tres movimientos de esta época el movimiento lento suele permanecer en la tonalidad principal. En otras palabras, las estructuras de la sonata para violín se simplifican en el trío, sin duda destinado principalmente a intérpretes aficionados. En los dúos para violines se detectan ciclos en dos y tres movimientos similares a los del trío. No obstante, hay dúos de mayor complejidad formal y de ejecución, como los de Herrando (1760) y Canobbio (1771), cuya complejidad formal y técnica se asemeja a la de las sonatas; por ejemplo, incluyen movimientos multi-seccionales y fugas. En las oberturas y conciertos, como es habitual, el esquema predominante es *rápido principal-lento-rápido ligero*.

El movimiento “rápido principal”, ubicado en primera o segunda posición dentro de cada obra, generalmente está en una forma binaria más o menos elaborada (como la forma sonata o la forma binaria re-expositiva) y concentra los gestos técnicos de mayor dificultad. Los movimientos del tipo “lento”, por contraste con los “rápidos principales”, suelen estar escritos en modo menor y presentan estructuras formales más libres. Algunos de ellos son marcadamente

²⁶ El término inglés es *galant chamber sonata*. Hertz, 2003: 208-19.

²⁷ Los tipos de movimientos son definidos en 4.2. Las traducciones “rápido principal” y “rápido ligero” se corresponden con “main fast” y “light fast”.

líricos, por ejemplo los movimientos basados en el tópico siciliano (p.ej. Ledesma, *Sonata 2/ii*). Los movimientos finales son los más variados en todos los géneros, y se detectan cambios en las tipologías hacia 1760 y, de nuevo, hacia 1770. Predomina el tipo “rápido ligero”, a menudo basado en tópicos de danza y, por lo tanto, con un fraseo regular y claramente estructurado. El tópico de danza favorito era el minué; en las sonatas a solo, hay algunos minuetos con variaciones, empleados para el lucimiento virtuosístico, como hacen otros compositores de música galante activos en el extranjero (p. ej. Locatelli). Otros tópicos fueron prácticamente abandonados después de 1760: la giga, la alemanda y la pastoral. A partir de 1770 se hicieron habituales el minué-trío y el rondó. Alternativamente, la obra podía terminar con un movimiento con peso, como un movimiento “rápido binario”, uno multi-seccional o una fuga. El movimiento rápido binario como cierre se detecta sobre todo en las sonatas a solo, con el fin de subrayar el virtuosismo (p. ej. en la sonata de Rexach, de 1768). Los movimientos multi-seccionales se utilizan en sonatas y dúos, sobre todo hasta 1760; pueden alcanzar cierta complejidad, por ejemplo en la *Sonata 2/iii* de Manalt (1757). Las fugas aparecen en diversos géneros: la sonata a solo (Manalt y Herrando a mediados de los años 50), el dúo (Herrando en 1760), y, como una excepción tardía, en el *Concertino a quattro* (1770) de Corselli.

Otro aspecto revelador sobre los cambios estilísticos de los cinco géneros estudiados aquí es el de la textura. Hasta ca. 1770, la parte de bajo es generalmente un mero acompañamiento. En consecuencia, en la sonata para violín predomina la escritura de melodía *versus* acompañamiento. La misma textura es también frecuente en tríos y dúos, donde el primer violín generalmente destaca sobre el segundo violín, aunque en algunos fragmentos este último toca la melodía (intercambiándose roles con el primer violín). En los tríos y dúos, esta textura básica es alternada con el movimiento paralelo (casi siempre en terceras y sextas) o, menos frecuentemente, con pasajes contrapuntísticos. El hecho de que el trío ya fuera profundamente asimilado en Madrid en los años 50 seguramente facilitó el rápido auge del dúo en los años 60. En este sentido es revelador que a veces el trío fuese denominado “dúo” con acompañamiento, como muestran fuentes relacionadas con Herrando y el Conde de Fernán Nuñez (ver 5.2). La textura contrapuntística y el uso de partes totalmente independientes no son frecuentes en el repertorio analizado hasta 1769, cuando esto se detecta en los tríos de Brunetti y Boccherini. Algunos de ellos tienen una parte de viola en lugar de un segundo violín, lo que acentúa la distinción de tres partes independientes. También hay partes independientes en el *Concertino* de Corselli (1770), una obra que muestra cómo los compositores activos en Madrid, al igual que aquellos activos en Viena o París, participaron en la experimentación que condujo a la configuración del cuarteto de cuerda (ver 5.3).

En cuanto a la exigencia técnica de estas obras, que como se ha dicho es generalmente mayor en la sonata a solo, no es especialmente elevada en comparación con las obras de virtuosos coetáneos, como Locatelli. Por ejemplo, en los minués con variaciones Ledesma, Herrando y Montali emplean recursos técnicos mucho más sencillos que los de las sonatas op. 6 de Locatelli (1737), incluso siendo esta una colección dirigida al mercado de aficionados (ver 4.2). Del mismo modo, el único *Capricho* para violín localizado en una fuente española de esta época, contenido en *26 Sonatas de varios autores* (ca. 1760-70) no es excesivamente virtuosístico (véase la edición crítica del Apéndice II, no. 4). En

cambio, los *Capricci* de los conciertos op. 3 de Locatelli (1733) conocidos en España antes de 1771 según Fernando Ferandiere, contienen pasajes de enorme dificultad, constituyendo un claro antecedente de los caprichos de Paganini.²⁸ A pesar de estas evidencias, es preciso tener en cuenta que la información disponible sobre la práctica interpretativa de los violinistas activos en Madrid es limitada. Los tratados de Herrando y Ferandiere describen la improvisación de “caprichos” en las cadencias de obras violinísticas, pero no explican cómo ejecutarlos. En las fuentes localizadas, las cadencias son marcadas con signos de calderón, también en el género del dúo, lo que sugiere incluso que se podrían hacer improvisaciones a dos partes (ver 5.1). La reconstrucción detallada de la práctica interpretativa ha quedado fuera de este estudio, pero recientes investigaciones muestran que los *adagios glosados* de las sonatas para violín de Brunetti, copiados a partir de 1776, son una rica fuente para profundizar en este aspecto.²⁹

Por el momento, lo que se ha podido clarificar sobre la práctica interpretativa en esta investigación es que la elección de instrumentos de acompañamiento era flexible, dependiendo del género y del contexto. Muy pocas fuentes con música de cámara para violín tienen el bajo cifrado, en parte debido a prácticas notacionales, pero también a que la práctica de acompañar esta música con instrumentos melódicos no era rara. Esto es especialmente claro en el caso de la sonata para violín, como ha mostrado el estudio de títulos y partes de bajo (cifradas sólo en el 20% de los casos). En este sentido, la práctica interpretativa de Madrid se parecía a la de Berlín, donde en la década de 1740 las sonatas para violín se solían acompañar con “basetto” (como lo llamaba Tartini). No obstante, en Madrid el acompañamiento con instrumentos polifónicos también era normal. De hecho los cuatro métodos de violín examinados mencionan las siguientes opciones: clave, órgano, guitarra e incluso otro violín. Las fuentes musicales estudiadas permiten asociar estos instrumentos acompañantes respectivamente a contextos de cámara, de iglesia, de danza y didácticos (ver 3.3).

En lo que respecta a características singulares del repertorio compuesto en Madrid, algunas de las obras de compositores españoles son estilísticamente inusuales con respecto a las tendencias internacionales. Estas obras presentan un estilo ecléctico que revela la experimentación del compositor con estrategias propias de diferentes géneros musicales y periodos. Ello revela que entre 1750 y 1770 las convenciones compositivas de los géneros violinísticos no eran estrictas, sino que había libertad para la experimentación. No parece casualidad que, en esos años, las bibliotecas musicales de Madrid contuvieran obras variadas, más antiguas y más recientes (ver 2.5), y que a principios de los 70 se imprimieran casi simultáneamente sonatas de Corelli y tríos de Cramer (ver 2.3). Ejemplos de obras eclécticas son las oberturas para tres o cuatro instrumentos de Basset (1753), la sonata para violín y acompañamiento *El Jardín de Aranjuez* (ca. 1761) de Herrando, y el concierto para solista y conjunto de Manuel Pla (anterior a 1767). Las oberturas de Basset presentan rasgos de la obertura operística (ciclo de tres movimientos *rápido - lento - rápido*, efectos dramáticos y texturas compactas), de la sonata para violín (tipos de movimientos como la fuga y la pastoral) y del

²⁸ La producción de Locatelli fue protagonista en el reciente congreso sobre música para violín *P. A. Locatelli and J. M. Leclair: Their legacy in the 19th century* (Bergamo, Italia, 2014), cuyos resultados han sido publicados en Morabito (ed.), 2015.

²⁹ Josep Martínez Reinoso, ‘Cómo cadenciar según Gaetano Brunetti’, ponencia en el congreso *Interpretar la música ibérica del siglo XVIII* (Barcelona, Julio 2014). Véase también Berrocal, 2014.

concierto a solo (la alternancia solo-tutti). Este ejemplo muestra que, pese a la aparentemente escasa composición de conciertos en Madrid antes de 1770, los compositores locales ya habían asimilado las estrategias compositivas esenciales de este género a mediados de los años 50. En este sentido, otro ejemplo significativo es la sonata *El Jardín de Aranjuez* de Herrando, fechable hacia 1761 partiendo de evidencias contextuales (ver 4.2). Presenta paralelismos claros con el concierto *La Primavera*, op. 8 no. 1 (1725) de Vivaldi. En concreto, Herrando traslada al género de la sonata el ciclo de tres movimientos *rápido - lento - rápido* (poco frecuente en las sonatas a solo), la alternancia solo-tutti (dejando el bajo en silencio en algunos pasajes), y, de modo más evidente, la imitación de determinados elementos de la naturaleza que aparecen en *La Primavera* de Vivaldi. Además, los movimientos primero y tercero de esta sonata presentan estructuras formales que sintetizan la forma ritornello, típica del concierto, con la forma binaria reexpositiva, típica de las sonatas para violín compuestas en Madrid en vida de Herrando. El concierto a solo de Manuel Pla también sintetiza elementos de la sonata y el concierto. Presenta el ciclo *rápido - lento - minué*, raro en conciertos, y sus movimientos no presentan la forma ritornello (que sí utiliza Montali en su concierto a solo), sino que la alternancia solo-tutti marca la estructura.

Otros elementos que podrían considerarse idiosincráticos, como el uso de esquemas de la música popular española, no han sido detectados en las obras para violín analizadas. Sin embargo, no se ha llevado a cabo un detallado análisis de estructuras melódicas, armónicas y rítmicas. Futuros estudios podrán revelar si estas composiciones esconden conexiones con ese repertorio popular, pero en el estado actual de la investigación parece que esa tendencia no se puso de moda en la música para instrumentos de arco hasta las décadas de 1780 y 90, coincidiendo con el auge de la corriente cultural conocida como “majismo”. Fue entonces, por ejemplo, cuando Boccherini compuso los mencionados cuartetos y quintetos de cuerda que incorporan ritmos de fandangos y seguidillas. Aunque algunas interpretaciones sonoras recientes proponen acompañar las sonatas para violín de Ledesma (seguramente de los años 60) con guitarra, parece poco probable que dicha práctica tuviera lugar en la época de composición.

En realidad, la producción de música para violín de los compositores activos en Madrid antes de 1776 parecen mirar más a Europa en su conjunto que sólo a España. Estas obras no sólo reflejan un estilo pan-europeo y eran consumidas por un público cosmopolita en la ciudad, sino que además algunas de ellas fueron difundidas a otros países, tanto en copias manuscritas como en publicaciones impresas en el extranjero. Un caso pionero es el de Herrando, quien a finales de los años 50 hizo grabar su conocido método de violín y sus dúos en París, al tiempo que sus minués eran publicados en Londres. Hacia los años 60, el concierto de Montali llegó a Alemania, posiblemente a través de Juan Bautista Pla y José Pla. Éstos debieron de llevar copias del concierto y los dúos de violines de su hermano Manuel Pla respectivamente al norte de Italia y a Londres, donde los dúos fueron publicados hacia 1773 (ver 2.3 y 5.3). La publicación en otros países de obras para violín compuestas en Madrid fue más frecuente a partir de 1769. Dejando de lado el caso de Boccherini (ya conocido), en los años 70 colecciones de dúos, tríos y cuartetos de compositores establecidos en Madrid, como Gaetano Brunetti, José Castel y Manuel Canales, fueron editados en ciudades como Londres, París, Leipzig, Lyon o Lieja.

La cronología de esta tímida actividad editorial en el extranjero refuerza la idea de que la década de 1770 supuso un punto de inflexión para el consumo y composición de música de cámara en Madrid, como señalan recientes estudios.³⁰ Para entonces la capital española estaba plenamente integrada en las tendencias compositivas y redes comerciales internacionales. Madrid incluso tomó la iniciativa en determinados géneros, como el quinteto y el sexteto de cuerda, en los que Brunetti y Boccherini hicieron contribuciones relevantes a la literatura internacional. La creciente importación de música desde el extranjero que refleja la prensa desde 1770 (p. ej. los anuncios de dúos vendidos por Antonio del Castillo en los 70, analizados en 5.1) no impidió que los compositores activos en la capital española continuaran escribiendo música para violín. Brunetti y Boccherini fueron especialmente prolíficos, y sus obras reflejan la asimilación gradual de estilos compositivos centro-europeos. Por ejemplo, sus tríos de finales de los años 60 ya presentan similitudes con los de Stamitz, y desde la década de los 70 imitarían también a Haydn, para entonces uno de los autores más demandados. Además, en los años 70 se introdujo en Madrid la sonata para teclado y acompañamiento de violín, y autores locales como Vicente Adán experimentaron con variadas combinaciones de instrumentos de viento y arco. Todo ello contribuyó a una mayor diversificación del repertorio para violín accesible a los aficionados de la ciudad con un poder adquisitivo suficiente. Este era un público mucho más amplio que el reducido grupo de aficionados de la élite social que coleccionaban música para violín en los años 30, 40 y 50.

Significación del estudio y perspectivas futuras

Por todo lo expuesto, no hay duda de que el repertorio para violín compuesto en Madrid entre ca. 1740 y 1776 estuvo involucrada en los importantes cambios estilísticos que tuvieron lugar en el “siglo XVIII central”, tendiendo a una marcada internacionalización del estilo. Así, este estudio constituye un avance significativo hacia la integración de España en las discusiones globales sobre la música instrumental de mediados del siglo XVIII. Los resultados del análisis musical sugieren que en futuras investigaciones sobre las formas de sonata, los esquemas galantes o los tipos de movimientos empleados en la música instrumental de este periodo incluir las obras compuestas en España contribuiría a lograr una visión más completa. Asimismo, desde la perspectiva de la circulación internacional de música, el mecenazgo de los diplomáticos abre prometedoras líneas de investigación, como ha mostrado el caso de Leuhusen.³¹

En el ámbito de Madrid, queda pendiente determinar si los rasgos estilísticos detectados en el repertorio para violín eran generalizados en la música instrumental de la época. Sería necesario realizar un análisis global de la sonata para teclado y la obertura orquestal, entre otros géneros. Asimismo, podría expandirse la investigación sobre las relaciones entre los repertorios instrumentales de cámara y teatro cultivados en la ciudad, mostrada aquí a través de las oberturas de Basset. Otro aspecto sugerente y desapercibido hasta ahora es la actividad musical de los miembros de la prestigiosa Orden de Calatrava, a la que

³⁰ Marín & Bernadó (eds.), 2014; Marín, 2005.

³¹ La colección de Leuhusen contiene no sólo obras instrumentales compuestas en Madrid, sino también algunas vocales. Algunos ejemplos son mencionados en la introducción de Angulo (ed.), 2013. Además, como se ha mostrado, esta colección refleja la intervención de diferentes copistas, seguramente españoles e italianos (ver 2.5).

pertenecían en los años 50 varios patrones, intérpretes aficionados e incluso compositores de música para violín (p. ej. Farinelli, el Duque de Alba y el Duque de La Conquista). Considerando España en su conjunto, este estudio abre otras líneas de investigación, como la asimilación de música para violín en la España mediterránea, donde se han localizado más de veinte manuscritos tempranos con este repertorio (ver 1.1). En ciudades como Barcelona se comercializaron en la época algunas obras para violín compuestas en Madrid (p. ej. las sonatas de Manalt), lo que sugiere que las metodologías de este estudio podrían ser aplicables a dicha ciudad.

Desde una perspectiva más amplia, dichas metodologías podrían ser extrapolables también a Latinoamérica. A lo largo de esta tesis se mencionan varias fuentes con música y tratados para violín escritos en Madrid a mediados del siglo XVIII que se conservan en Bolivia, Guatemala y Méjico. Ello sugiere que la música para violín cultivada en la capital española pudo haber tenido un impacto relativamente rápido en el Nuevo Mundo. La mayoría de fuentes latinoamericanas conocidas se conservan en archivos vinculados a instituciones religiosas, como la misión jesuítica de Chiquitos (Bolivia) y la Catedral de Durango (Méjico). Esto muestra que la interpretación de obras para conjunto con violines (como tríos y oberturas) en instituciones eclesiásticas, normal en la España peninsular, fue transferida a las colonias. En el futuro sería interesante profundizar en esta transferencia de prácticas teniendo en cuenta no sólo contextos religiosos, sino también de cámara, un campo apenas explorado hasta la fecha.³² Ello contribuiría a un mejor conocimiento del papel del mundo hispano en la historia del repertorio para violín, que fue sin duda más relevante de lo que se creía hasta ahora.

³² Entre las escasas investigaciones sobre la música de cámara en Hispanoamérica, existen algunas sobre Méjico: Russell, 1997; Díez-Canedo, 2007.