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## Santiago de Murcia (1673–1739): new contributions on his life and work

SANTIAGO de Murcia is undoubtedly one of the most important figures in the field of Baroque guitar music, in the sense that his work is well known and appreciated by contemporary musicologists and guitarists. The significant studies and editions by Monica Hall, Neil Pennington, Craig Russell and Robert Stevenson,<sup>1</sup> and the important number of recordings devoted exclusively to his music, by Rolf Lislevand, Paul O'Dette and others,<sup>2</sup> prove this assertion.

Nevertheless, till now he has been unknown as a subject of history, a sort of phantom, in a manner of speaking, since no information about his life was known aside from his own claim of being guitar teacher to Queen Marie Louise of Savoy (Philip V's first wife) on the cover of his *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra*.<sup>3</sup> Hence the adjectives such as 'enigmatic' or 'intriguing' frequently used with reference to his biography, which is summarized here in a brief survey.<sup>4</sup>

The earliest known source of his music is the *Resumen de acompañar*, printed in 1714, very possibly in Antwerp. This book includes a treatise on guitar accompaniment, which is perhaps the most important for that instrument together with Nicola Matteis's *The False Consonances...* (1682).<sup>5</sup> Murcia explains here, with great detail and clarity, how to accompany a figured bass both in natural and high clefs, as well as the precise execution of the suspensions, including a selection of music examples in different metres and modes.<sup>6</sup> The second section of the book is an anthology of pieces in guitar tablature, mostly French dances such as 'La Mariée' and 'La Bretagne', some of which were apparently taken from the anthologies published by Raoul Auger Feuillet in Paris from 1700.<sup>7</sup> The *Resumen de acom-*

*pañar* is the first Spanish source for the guitar that shows such a predominance of French repertory, and this feature is undoubtedly related to the cultural and political context in which it was produced. Queen Maria Luisa had in her service the French dance-master Nicolas Fonton, who definitely must have known Feuillet's anthologies.<sup>8</sup> Besides, at least since 1713 the account books of Madrid public theatres—La Cruz and El Príncipe—customarily ended some plays with a *contredanse* in French style.<sup>9</sup>

Until very recently, only two other sources related to Santiago de Murcia were known. The first is the manuscript 'Passacalles y obras de guitarra', dated 1732 and preserved in the British Library.<sup>10</sup> Unlike his previous book, this one combines mainly French and Italian suites with Spanish *pasacalles*.<sup>11</sup> Although lacking specific attributions, some of its pieces in French style belong to other composers such as François Campion, Francesco Corbetta and the Belgian François Le Cocq, as demonstrated by Hall and Russell. But the only composer mentioned by Murcia is Arcangelo Corelli, some of whose sonata movements are transcribed in 'Passacalles y obras'.<sup>12</sup> In contrast, the Spanish pieces were apparently written by Murcia himself. The second is the so-called 'Códice Saldívar N.º.4', a manuscript discovered by the Mexican musicologist Gabriel Saldívar in León (Guanajuato) in 1943.<sup>13</sup> In fact, it lacks any indication of author, title or date, but Michael Lorimer has shown that it has to be related to Santiago de Murcia since its format and copyist are very similar to those of 'Passacalles y obras'.<sup>14</sup> Despite this resemblance, the music in the 'Códice Saldívar' mainly includes Spanish *bailes* and *danzas* such as the *jácaras*, *marionas* and *españoletas*, along with some French dances and a sonata in three movements, of which the

second is clearly written in Corelli's style. The whole is completed with some *bailes* apparently related to America—such as the *cumbé* and *zarambeques*—which were also cultivated in Portugal and Spain from the 17th century onwards.<sup>15</sup>

But the 'Código Saldívar' is not the only source related to Mexico: 'Passacalles y obras' was purchased there by its previous owner, Julian Marshall.<sup>16</sup> Additionally, a copy of the *Resumen de acompañar* now belonging to the Los Angeles Public Library was probably acquired in Mexico by Cornelius F. Borton;<sup>17</sup> Ms.1560 of the Biblioteca Nacional de México has some concordances with the *Resumen de acompañar*;<sup>18</sup> and the latter is also cited by Juan Antonio de Vargas y Guzmán in his guitar book, of which two copies are dated Veracruz (Mexico), 1776.<sup>19</sup> Supported by this information, Hall and Russell have conjectured that Murcia might have travelled to Mexico and even died there, which would explain the total absence of information about his professional activity in Madrid after 1717.<sup>20</sup>

Despite the lack of any other supporting evidence, this hypothesis seemed reasonable; however, the recent discovery of a manuscript by Santiago de Murcia in Chile, entitled 'Cifras Selectas de Guitarra', substantially weakens it.<sup>21</sup> Whilst this discovery does not necessarily negate the idea of Murcia's trip—he could have sent the manuscript from Mexico to Chile, or even have travelled to both countries—the alternative, that he sent all these sources from Spain to different places in the Americas, seems more feasible. Be that as it may, a closer examination of 'Cifras Selectas' indicates that it was produced in Madrid, though not conceived for this city or the surrounding area. In the *Resumen de acompañar*, Murcia had declined to explain the ornaments and notational signs used in his pieces, stating that all amateurs would know the preface of Guerau's *Poema harmonico*, printed in Madrid in 1694, where those signs were described in detail. Therefore, when he decided to offer such an account at the beginning of 'Cifras Selectas', he was likely to be considering a very different recipient—probably the Americas. Besides, Murcia was acquainted with Jacome Francisco Andriani, a nobleman who lived in Madrid in the first half of the 18th century and, very possibly, helped Murcia to print his book in 1714. Andriani had close contacts with the Americas, and particu-

larly Mexico, so Murcia arguably had opportunities for sending the music without travelling himself. I shall return to this point later.

Apart from the Mexican connection, some hypotheses have been put forward about his possible relatives and date of birth. The most significant of these is that he was the son of Gabriel de Murcia, a *violero* of the queen's household towards the end of the 17th century, and *guitarrero* of the Royal Chapel.<sup>22</sup> Since Gabriel de Murcia married Juliana de León c.1682, Russell proposed that year as the possible date of birth of the composer.<sup>23</sup> There was also another *violero* who entered in the queen's household in 1704 who seems to be related to Gabriel de Murcia: Antonio de Murcia. Additionally, Juliana de León was the daughter of the *violero* Francisco de León and succeeded her father for some time after his death, and Gabriel de Murcia was the nephew of the famous composer Juan Hidalgo.<sup>24</sup> It has been thought that this is quite likely to be Santiago de Murcia's family though the evidence is insufficient to be presented as fact, as has been claimed in some recent studies.<sup>25</sup>

Another convincing proposal about Murcia's life, advanced by Russell, is that he worked as a musician in the theatre. In fact, some of the pieces included in his books seem to be connected with stage works performed in Madrid, especially by Francisco de Castro and Antonio de Zamora.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, a study of concordances between 'Cifras Selectas de Guitarra' and other sources demonstrates that the anonymous 'Libro de diferentes cifras de guitarra' of 1705, preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, might be more connected to Murcia than previously thought.<sup>27</sup> It is interesting that this manuscript includes a secular song beginning 'Ay engañoso amor', arranged for guitar tablature, since this piece was probably performed in Zamora's 'Baile de la gitanilla', as Louise Stein has shown.<sup>28</sup>

Finally, Nicolás Morales has recently discovered two documents about Santiago de Murcia in the Archivo General del Palacio Real in Madrid. The first of these is a list of the payments he received from the queen's household between September 1704 and 1706. The second, dated 31 July 1708, hints at a letter he wrote requesting his salary for the first semester of 1706, when he served as guitar teacher. Morales believes that this request suggests that he was employed by the queen only until June 1706.<sup>29</sup>

However, the queen responded by specifying that he had to be paid 'only for the six first months of 1706 as was done with his partner Mr. Diego Jaraba' ('solo de los seis meses primeros del 706 como se ejecutó con su compañero Don Diego Jaraba'),<sup>30</sup> which makes it possible that his service continued after June. In fact, Murcia's teaching seems to have been interrupted by the War of Spanish Succession,<sup>31</sup> though the interruption could have been brief. The decision to pay only a portion of that year might be explained by the economic difficulties which delayed payments during Philip V's reign. In any case, this document adds significant information about his personal life: he was married and had a large family to maintain,<sup>32</sup> though neither his wife nor his relatives are named.

Even though the documents discovered by Morales are significant for our knowledge of the composer, they essentially confirm his claim in the *Resumen de acompañar* to have been guitar teacher to the queen. This article intends to go a step further by exploring other aspects of Murcia's life based on a wide range of archival documents, before proceeding to explore the way in which the new evidence questions some of the assumptions regarding Murcia's work.

### Santiago de Murcia: a biography

Contrary to the generally held belief, Santiago de Murcia was not the son of Gabriel de Murcia and Juliana de León, but rather the son of Juan de Murcia and Magdalena Hernández, according to his baptism certificate. This document also proves that he was born in 1673, a decade earlier than previously thought:

En la iglesia parroquial de San Sebastián de esta villa de Madrid, en nueve días del mes de agosto de mil seiscientos y setenta y tres años, yo el Dr. D. Sebastian de Soto, teniente de cura de esta dicha iglesia, bapticé [*sic*] a Santiago, que nació en veinte y cinco de Julio de dicho año, hijo de Juan de Murcia y de Magdalena Hernández, su mujer, que viven en la calle de Las Huertas...<sup>33</sup>

In the parish church of San Sebastián of this town of Madrid, on 9 August 1673, I, Dr Mr Sebastián de Soto, deputy parish priest of this church, baptized Santiago, who was born this year on 25 July, the son of Juan de Murcia and Magdalena Hernández, his wife, who live in Las Huertas street...

The guitarist himself confirms and expands these facts in the record of his marriage, dated 17 May 1695:

dijo que se llama Don Santiago de Murcia y que es natural de esta villa, hijo de Juan de Murcia y doña Magdalena

Hernández; y que es parroquiano de San Martín de cinco años a esta parte, por vivir calle del Escorial en casas de Francisco Aspuri; y antes lo fue de San Luis nueve años, viviendo calle de Santa Brígida en casas de don Joseph de Ley[ba]; y que siempre ha sido libre y soltero, no casado ni velado, ni tiene dado palabra de casamiento a persona alguna, ni hecho voto de castidad ni de religión, ni tiene parentesco ni impedimento que le impida el casarse con Doña Josefa García, con quien se casa de voluntad; y que no ha usado de otros nombres ni apellidos más de los que lleva declarado; todo lo cual dijo ser la verdad, so cargo de juramento que lleva fecho en que se afirmó y firmó; y que es de edad de veinte y dos años.<sup>34</sup>

he said that he is called Santiago de Murcia and was born in this town, being the son of Juan de Murcia and Magdalena Hernández; and he has been a parishioner of San Martín for the last five years, living in El Escorial street in houses owned by Francisco Aspuri; and before this he was a parishioner of San Luis for nine years, living in Santa Brígida street, in houses owned by Joseph de Ley[ba]; and he has always been free and a bachelor, not married nor veiled, nor has he given his word of marriage to any person; nor has he made a vow of chastity or religion, nor has he any kinship or impediment to marry Josefa García, which he does by his own will; and he has not used any names nor surnames aside from that he declared; all of which he said to be the truth under oath; and that he is 22 years old.

Although there were about two months to go before Murcia's birthday, he was not mistaken about his age, since the custom at that time was to estimate it including the first year of life.<sup>35</sup> His wife, Josefa García, was a parishioner of San Luis and was 30 years old. She was born in Valdemoro and her parents were Joseph García and Isabel Pérez de la Parra. The wedding took place in that parish church, certainly in 1695, though the precise date is unknown.

Several documents concerning Santiago de Murcia's relatives demonstrate that he was from a humble family. His father, Juan de Murcia, made a declaration of poverty in 1715, in which he mentioned Santiago as the oldest of his three children; the other two were Bartolomé and Matías de Murcia.<sup>36</sup> The latter lived with his parents and wife—María del Campo—in a rented house owned by the Carmelite Convent (Carmen Calzado) in 'calle del Candil' in 1721, according to the documents of the parish church of San Ginés.<sup>37</sup> That year both Juan de Murcia and Magdalena Hernández died;<sup>38</sup> Matías died the following year (1722) after an extended sickness, also leaving a declaration of poverty.<sup>39</sup> Bartolomé de Murcia was born in Madrid in 1682 and married Francisca García—possibly a relative of Santiago de

Murcia's wife—in 1705.<sup>40</sup> He claimed to have been a parishioner of San Martín 'throughout his life', living in La Chinchilla Street. This would imply that Santiago was separated from his parents early on, since, as we have seen, in the record of his wedding he declared himself to have been a parishioner of San Luis from c.1681 to 1690. If true, it seems likely that he was under the guidance of a music (or guitar) master.<sup>41</sup> Bartolomé de Murcia's statement also makes it possible that Andrea de Murcia, who lived in the same street and died in 1705,<sup>42</sup> was a relative—perhaps a sister—of the guitarist. Unfortunately, her declaration of poverty, indicated in her death certificate, is not preserved,<sup>43</sup> which makes it difficult to confirm.

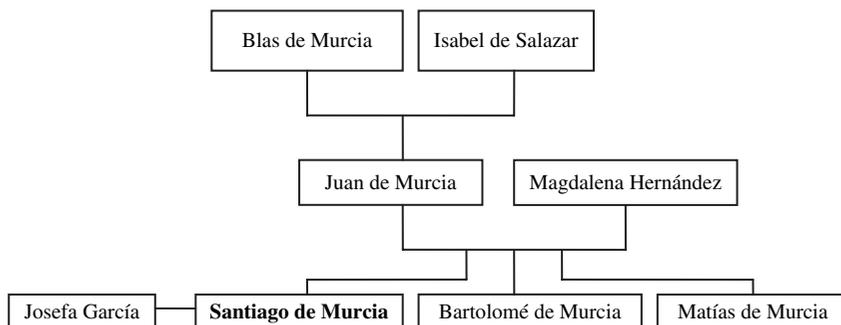
Given that Juan de Murcia came from Guadalajara,<sup>44</sup> Antonio de Murcia, the aforementioned *violero* and native of that city as well,<sup>45</sup> may have been related to Santiago, as several scholars have previously surmised, which would explain, as Morales states, his entry into the queen's household a few months after the guitarist.<sup>46</sup> His marriage certificate, dated 1702, indicates that he was born c.1669, a few years before Santiago.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that he was Santiago's brother as has been suggested, since he was born in Guadalajara and, in all likelihood, Juan de Murcia married Magdalena Hernández in her native city of Madrid. I have been unable to find any connection between Santiago's family and Gabriel de Murcia. A son of the latter indicated in 1760 that both he and Juliana de León were born in Madrid,<sup>48</sup> which might indicate that they belonged to another branch of Murcias, but conclusive evidence is lacking.

I have found almost no information about the professional activity of Santiago de Murcia's parents and brothers. Bartolomé de Murcia is mentioned as a witness in the will of a trumpeter of the king, Juan Jorge Galaz, in January 1712, which might indicate that he was connected in some way to music.<sup>49</sup> In contrast, the declaration of poverty of Juan de Murcia is a rich source of information, stating that his parents were Blas de Murcia and Isabel de Salazar, both from Guadalajara. Documents in the Archivo General del Palacio Real in Madrid mention a Blas de Murcia who was a court surgeon ('*cirujano sangrador*') at the end of the 17th century.<sup>50</sup> On 29 June 1692 he claimed to have worked as surgeon in Madrid

for 15 years, and was granted the post of '*sangrador supernumerario*' to the king. On 18 April 1698 he was included among the staff of '*sangradores*' of the chamber of the king, but his official appointment was delayed because there were only two available places for that office, and they were already filled by Juan Bautista Legendre and Antonio de Torres. This is the last information included in his personal record.

It would seem that we have found the connection between the guitarist and the court: such a relative would have facilitated Santiago de Murcia's admission as guitar teacher to the queen. Nevertheless, the puzzle is not as simple as that. There was in Madrid, during the same period, a Blas Martínez de Murcia, who married his second wife, Francisca Francés, on 22 March 1701. He came from Guadalajara, but had been living in Madrid for 28 years.<sup>51</sup> The surnames '*Martínez de Murcia*' and '*Murcia*' were interchangeable, as demonstrated by his appearance as Blas de Murcia both in his baptism certificate and a later document relating to his daughter.<sup>52</sup> Nonetheless, as surprising as it may seem, it is impossible that he was Santiago's grandfather, since he was born in 1653, only 20 years before Santiago. Additionally, his first wife was not Isabel de Salazar but Antonia Fernández de Lunar, and in contrast to the humble status of Santiago's family, he owned a house in the street of Las Aguas (parish of San Andrés). Therefore, it is uncertain whether the '*cirujano sangrador*' was one Blas or the other, though it seems more likely that he may be identified with Blas Martínez de Murcia, given the epoch in which he lived. All of the above information results in a new family tree for the composer (illus.1).

I have found no further information relating to Santiago de Murcia until 1704, when he apparently entered the queen's household, as Morales has pointed out. According to the documents mentioned above, he was 31 years old. That is to say, when he served as guitar teacher to the queen he was a mature professional and certainly not a beginner, a point significant for the next section of this study. Likewise, he was 41 years old in 1714 and certainly enjoyed considerable renown as a guitarist in Madrid, which makes it easier to understand why he was able to publish his *Resumen de acompañar*, in addition to the support that he



1 Santiago de Murcia's family tree

probably received from Jacome Francisco Andriani and other patrons, such as Francisca Chavarrí. It has been suggested that Murcia was living with Andriani in his house at that time,<sup>53</sup> because of the end of the dedication in his treatise: 'From this your house' ('De esta su casa'). Nevertheless, there is in Spanish a current expression very similar to that one, which might help us to interpret better its sense: 'My house is yours' ('Mi casa es su casa'; or 'ésta es su casa'). Alternatively, the *Planimetría general de Madrid* indicates that Andriani owned at least three plots with houses in the town.<sup>54</sup> Hence the possibility that Murcia was renting a house belonging to Andriani, which does not contradict the idea that Andriani benefited from Murcia's service as guitarist.

From the end of the 1720s comes the most significant document that I have found relating to Santiago de Murcia: his declaration of poverty (illus.2). His wife had made her own declaration on 27 May 1729 and died the following day, which apparently urged him to compile his will on 2 July of that year.<sup>55</sup> Despite the brevity of this document, it affords important details about Murcia. He resided in Madrid and was a parishioner of San Martín (his wife's death certificate indicates specifically La Salud Street, in houses owned by the Carmelite convent, like his brother Bartolomé some years earlier). He had no children, given that he designated as unique heir his niece, Josefa Palacios, who had lived with him from childhood and made her declaration the same day.<sup>56</sup> The next fragment is significant, continuing:

y así mismo lo suplica a los señores Pedro Juan y don Íñigo de Garay y Cochea, don Joseph de Quesada y don

Manuel de Pereda, a quienes pide que por amor de Dios hagan por su alma el bien que pudieren, *y se le entreguen a los susodichos los papeles de música que el otorgante tiene*, in conmemoración [*sic*] del mucho amor que a los susodichos ha tenido.

and likewise he begs Pedro Juan and Íñigo de Garay y Cochea, Mr Joseph de Quesada and Mr Manuel de Pereda, whom he asks for God's sake to intercede for the good of his soul all they can, *and the music papers owned by the maker of this will be handed over to them*, in commemoration of the great love he has had for them [my italics].

The significance of knowing the heirs of Murcia's music is clear. So far I have not been able to identify Joseph de Quesada,<sup>57</sup> but there is one Manuel de Pereda who in 1709 requested a certificate of his having accompanied Marie Louise of Savoy to Burgos.<sup>58</sup> Arguably the document hints at the above-mentioned removal of the court to that city in 1706 for the entry into Madrid of the Archduke Carlos. According to Morales, Murcia did not go with the queen, unlike her singing teacher, Francisco Larraz, and the dance-master, Nicolas Fonton.<sup>59</sup> But it seems likely that he knew this Manuel de Pereda, since they worked in the same location in c.1706. Regarding Pedro Juan and Íñigo de Garay y Cochea, I have found more precise and interesting information which will be described in the next section.

It is striking that Murcia had no children, since about 1708, as we have seen, he claimed to have a large family to maintain. Perhaps he was referring to his niece, parents or brothers, who might have been supported by him because of his relatively privileged position as a court musician. However, another possibility is that he had children in that year and they later died. In that case the allusion to his 'adverse luck' ('adversa suerte') in the dedication



it demonstrates that the guitarist died in Madrid, not in Mexico. Moreover, since he still resided in La Salud Street, in the same houses where he lived with his wife and niece ten years earlier, it seems very unlikely that he was in Mexico in 1732, when 'Pasacalles y obras de guitarra' is dated. This weakens the hypothesis of a trip to the New World to a much larger extent than the above-mentioned appearance of the manuscript 'Cifras Selectas de Guitarra' in Chile. It seems that these manuscripts do not reflect the circulation of a composer but of his work, which leads us to the final section.

### Revisiting Murcia's music in the light of the new evidence

Apart from the interest of Murcia's biography itself, the implications these discoveries have for our understanding of his music and sources are considerable. The first of these relates to his position in Madrid. If he was born about 1682 as previously

thought, he would have been at the very beginning of his career when he entered the queen's household in 1704. However, the fact that he entered her service at the age of 31 suggests that he would already have had a reputation as a guitarist, without which his admission as guitar teacher to the queen would be hard to explain. Undoubtedly his renown was enhanced by his time in royal service.

As I have already mentioned, in a previous study I identified some new concordances between Murcia's sources and the 'Libro de diferentes cifras de guitarra', dated 1705.<sup>62</sup> The most significant of these is perhaps a 'Pasacalle de 2 tono', also included in 'Cifras Selectas' (1722) and 'Passacalles y obras' (1732). Despite some variants, more important in the 'Libro de diferentes cifras', the three versions correspond to the same work (ex.1). I previously stated that it was difficult to be certain whether the concordant pieces belonged to other composer(s) and were collected by Murcia later, or whether they were

Ex. 1 Opening of the *pasacalle* in 'Cifras Selectas de Guitarra' (f.54), 'Passacalles y obras' (f.45v) and the 'Libro de diferentes cifras' (p.48). The numbers indicate correspondences between the variations.

The image displays a musical score for three variations of a piece, arranged in two systems. The first system contains the first two variations, and the second system contains the last two variations. Each variation is represented by three staves: CSG (Cifras Selectas de Guitarra), PO (Passacalles y obras), and LDC (Libro de diferentes cifras). The music is in 3/4 time and features various ornaments, including trills (tr) and mordents (w). The variations are numbered 1 through 4, with the numbers placed above the first staff of each variation to indicate correspondences between the different sources. The first variation (1) is shown in the first system, the second (2) in the second system, the third (3) in the first system, and the fourth (4) in the second system.

composed by him before 1705 and included in the 'Libro de diferentes cifras'.<sup>63</sup> Both the documents discovered by Morales and the information supplied here tip the scales in favour of the latter. Moreover, this manuscript is an anthology of pieces by 'the best authors' ('escogidas de los mejores autores'), as stated on the cover, and the copyist certainly would have included music by the guitar teacher to the queen.

The 'Libro de diferentes cifras' demonstrates not only that Murcia's work was known at the beginning of the 18th century, but also that he composed some of the pieces gathered in his manuscripts many years before. The manuscripts currently known were compiled late in his life (the first of them is dated 1722, when he was about 50 years old), perhaps after the heyday of his career, when he had worked for the queen, published his accompaniment treatise and composed his main works. It even seems likely that when he wrote (or had copied) these sources he was less active as a performer, and they may have been an attempt to sustain his reputation.

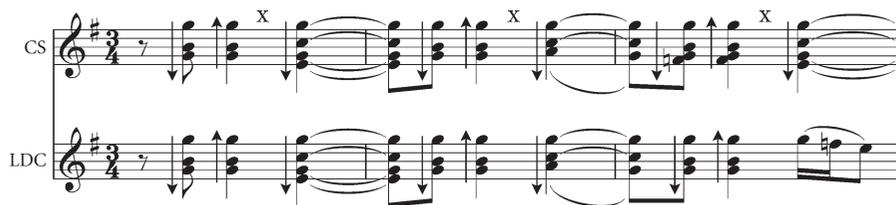
Another detail significantly modified by the new biographical data is Murcia's relationship to the New World. As I explained at the end of the previous section, it is almost certain that he was living in Madrid between 1729 and 1739. Therefore, the hypothesis that he produced 'Passacalles y obras' (1732) in Mexico or took it there himself should be discarded: the source was certainly copied in Spain and later sent to the Americas. This seems to be true for the 'Códice Saldívar' and 'Cifras Selectas de Guitarra' as well, given that they share the same general format, copyist and type of watermark. The description of the dances of African influence included in the 'Códice' and 'Cifras Selectas'—*zarambeques* and *cumbés*—as 'Mexican' or 'American' is therefore inappropriate, despite the interesting evidence gathered by Russell about their great popularity in Mex-

ico during the 18th century.<sup>64</sup> After all, as Rogério Budasz has pointed out, the appearance of those dances in coastal cities of the Congo-Angola, Iberian Peninsula and Latin America occurred almost simultaneously.<sup>65</sup> Indeed, it is possible to document the performance of such dances in Madrid from the 17th century on.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, there is a significant concordance between the *paracumbé* of the 'Libro de diferentes cifras' (p.46) and the famous *cumbé* included in the 'Códice Saldívar' (f.43), whose peculiar strummed introductions utilize the same chords (ex.2). Thus it appears that Murcia had written a first version of that dance c.1705, something very probable given its frequent presence in Spanish theatre during this period.<sup>67</sup> Granted, Murcia's versions of these dances certainly capture the rhythms and sonorities of their African or African-American models—perhaps satirizing or parodying them—but such models had been mediated by their cultivation in Spanish culture for many years before Murcia took up with them again. Thus, these dances appear to be the result of the multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism of early Bourbon Madrid, rather than direct contact between a Spanish composer and their original context; this may also be true for the French, Italian and Belgian pieces gathered by Murcia.

But, are we stealing from Mexico two of its more valued sources of Baroque music? I do not think so. Both 'Pasacalles y obras' and the 'Códice Saldívar' are Mexican sources, but at the level of reception, not production. Although the music seems not to have been composed or copied there, it was certainly taken to Mexico and incorporated into its own musical tradition.

This assertion leads us to the final question addressed in this article. Since Murcia's manuscripts have been found in the Americas and the new evidence makes it unlikely that he travelled there, there

Ex. 2 Opening of the *cumbés* in the 'Códice Saldívar' and the 'Paracumbé' in the 'Libro de diferentes cifras'. The 'X' indicates a percussive effect on the guitar soundboard.



seem to be two possibilities: either he sent them during his life, or they were sent after his death by another owner(s). As regards the first hypothesis, it is a commonplace that some Spanish composers had close contacts with the New World and took advantage of them, selling their music to ecclesiastical institutions or members of the aristocracy there. I can offer a further unknown example: in 1704 the organist Joseph de Torres sent to Cartagena and New Spain (Mexico) four chests with his Masses and treatise of accompaniment (*Reglas de acompañar*); and in 1730, a priest called Juan de Escobar took to America books of plainchant, polyphony, motets and different lessons from Torres as well.<sup>68</sup> The first consignment had permission from the royal council, which demonstrates the importance of having influential contacts in order to facilitate the sending of the music. In my earlier article about 'Cifras Selectas de Guitarra', I conjectured the role that Jacome Francisco Andriani might have played for Murcia in that regard, since he had an ongoing correspondence with several authorities and priests living in the New World, and his brother-in-law resided in Mexico at least between 1711 and 1719.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, on 26 August 1711 Esteban Ferrer, a knight of the Order of Santiago who lived in Lima, empowered Andriani and others with representing him in Madrid.<sup>70</sup> Therefore, if Andriani actually financed the publication of the *Resumen de acompañar* as its dedication suggests, Murcia had a contact for sending his music to the Americas.

Nevertheless, it is possible that we have overestimated Andriani's influence, since Murcia may have had other contacts in Spain who also had connections to the New World. At this point, we need to go back to Murcia's declaration of poverty, specifically to Pedro Juan and Íñigo de Garay y Cochea (or Garaicoechea), two of the heirs of his music papers. According to the documentation I have been able to find, the first was a knight of the Order of Santiago—a common status among Murcia's acquaintances, the significance of which remains to be explored—who was born in Manila (Philippines) in about 1690. His parents were General Juan de Garaycoechea, a knight of the same order who worked in Manila at the end of the 17th century, and María Magdalena de Villarreal, native of that city.<sup>71</sup> The second, Íñigo, was his half-brother. According to his personal record, prepared in 1711 for his admission

into the Order of Santiago,<sup>72</sup> he was born in Manila in 1695 and his mother was the second wife of Juan de Garaycoechea, Teresa María de Aróstegui, native of Cádiz. But this document contributes a much more important piece of information (f.10): from about 1700 until 1711 he lived in Mexico with his parents, who died in that city before 1714.

The precise date when Pedro Juan and Íñigo moved to Spain is not known. The former already resided there in 1714, since his permission for carrying goods to Honduras in that year stated explicitly that he was obliged to return the profits to Spain.<sup>73</sup> Nonetheless, they lived in Madrid when Santiago de Murcia made his declaration of poverty, given that Pedro Juan made his will there in 1727 and Íñigo gave him power of attorney the following year for making his will.<sup>74</sup> Although both were declared to be 'residents' in that city, Íñigo hinted at his estates 'in the Indies'. His half-brother was even more precise when he declared his capital on 17 July 1729,<sup>75</sup> stating that he was the owner of an *encomienda* in the Philippines,<sup>76</sup> and that he had a right to 463,500 *reales de vellón* in the house that his father owned 'in the city of Mexico'.

I think the point is clear enough. Murcia seems to have had a close relationship with Pedro Juan and Íñigo de Garaicoechea, if we believe his declaration of poverty ('in commemoration of the great love he has had for them'), and they had close connections with Mexico. This could well have been the Mexican connection of our guitarist, a clear way in which he could send some of his music to the viceroyalty of New Spain. And since the two half-brothers were younger than him and probably inherited his music, this could have occurred both during his life and after his death. On the other hand, the reference to them in Murcia's declaration of poverty makes it possible that, by that time, he was concentrating more on teaching the guitar to the aristocracy of Madrid than on performing it, for example, in the public theatre. Thus, with his activities centred on the private sphere, his name disappears from the public archives (Palacio, Archivo de Villa), thus hindering the discovery of information about his life. This would also coincide with his apparent intention to move away from the popular character of the guitar in favour of a more 'delicate' way of performance, as witnessed by the prologue to 'Cifras Selectas de Guitarra'.<sup>77</sup>

Yet despite the attraction of these hypotheses, they are no more than conjecture. And, at this level, anything seems to be possible: Santiago de Murcia could have had other contacts aside from Andriani and the Garaicocheas, and he might even have met Pedro Juan and Íñigo in Mexico. However, it seems that the evidence as a whole points more in the direction of Spain than the New World. We know that Murcia did not spend his last years in Mexico, nor did he die there. Many questions remain unanswered, and further questions have been raised. What did Murcia do as a guitarist in Madrid before 1704? Was he active as a performer after 1717? What sort of contact did he have with the people to whom he left his music? Were Pedro Juan and Íñigo de Garaicochea involved in the transmission of his music to Mexico? Are the French, Italian and Belgian pieces included in his manuscripts the result of his contacts or a sign of the cosmopolitanism of

Madrid in the early 18th century (or both)? From this viewpoint, this article represents only a beginning; but a significant new beginning. We imagined a composer related to an important family of musicians and instrument-builders in the court and we found instead that he had a humble family, apparently without these kinds of contacts (at least not at this level). We imagined a young musician entering the queen's household as the result of those contacts, and we found a relatively mature one. We imagined Santiago de Murcia triumphing in the capital of New Spain at the end of his life and instead we found him dying in poverty in the same city where he was born: Madrid. All this should encourage us to redouble our efforts to know and understand the history of this musician, the instrument he cultivated, the music and sources he produced and the way in which they were received in other contexts: a history which began on 25 July 1673, but did not finish on 25 April 1739.

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*This research was financed by the project FONDECYT 1071121. I am grateful to the staff of the main archives I visited: Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid, Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Madrid (particularly Mr Urbano Melendo) and Archivo Parroquial de San Sebastián. I am also indebted to Juan Jorquera, who kindly transcribed a document for me when I was back in Chile.*

1 See, among others, M. Hall, 'The guitar anthologies of Santiago de Murcia' (Ph.D. diss., Open University, 1983); N. D. Pennington, 'The development of Baroque guitar music in Spain, including a commentary on and a transcription of Santiago de Murcia's "Passacalles y obras" (1732)' (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1979); C. H. Russell, 'Santiago de Murcia: Spanish theorist and guitarist of the early eighteenth century' (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1981); and R. Stevenson,

'Santiago de Murcia: a review article', *Inter-American music review*, iii/1 (1980), pp.89–101.

2 R. Lislevand (dir.), *Santiago de Murcia Codex* (Paris, Astrée, 2000); P. O' Dette and A. Lawrence-King, *¡Jácaras! 18th century Spanish Baroque guitar music of Santiago de Murcia* (Harmonia Mundi, 1997). See also the recordings by W. Waters, *Santiago de Murcia: Passacalles y obras de guitarra* (Barcelona, La Mà de Guido, 1996) and C. Azuma: *Santiago de Murcia: A portrait* (Florence, Frame, 2007).

3 Santiago de Murcia, *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra*, facs. edn, intro. M. Hall (Monaco, 1980), and facsimile edition with an introduction by G. Arriaga (Madrid, 1984).

4 See also the syntheses by C. Russell, 'Murcia, Santiago de', *Grove music online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 11 March 2008), www.grovemusic.com; and

L. Gásser, 'Murcia, Santiago de', *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, ed. E. Casares (Madrid, 2001), pp.896–902.

5 J. Tyler and P. Sparks, *The guitar and its music from the Renaissance to the Classical era* (Oxford, 2002), p.159.

6 See the facsimile editions cited in note 3.

7 Regarding the importance of Feuillet's anthologies in Murcia's *Resumen de acompañar*, see Russell, 'Santiago de Murcia', pp.154–9.

8 Archivo General del Palacio Real de Madrid (hereafter AGPM), Registros, Libro 185, ff.198 and 285. There is more information about him in N. Morales, *L'Artiste de cour dans l'Espagne du XVIIIe siècle. Étude de la communauté des musiciens au service de Philippe V (1700–1746)* (Madrid, 2007), pp.162 and 199.

- 9 For example, in 29 November 1713, in *La Cruz*, a *contredanse* from ‘Navas’ was performed for the zarzuela ‘No basta en amor lo fino’. Archivo de la Villa de Madrid, Secretaría, Sección 1, legajo 386, nº1 (no foliation). For *El Príncipe*, see Secretaría, Sección 1, legajo 402, nº1, 1 July 1713.
- 10 In addition to the dissertations by Hall, Pennington and Russell (see n.1), see Santiago de Murcia, *Passacalles y obras de guitarra por todos los tonos naturales y accidentales* (1732), complete facs. edn, intro. M. Macmeecken (Monaco, 1979). There also is a partial modern transcription: *Santiago de Murcia. Obras completas para guitarra*, iv, *Suites del libro ‘Passacalles y obras [sic] por todos los tonos naturales y accidentales’* 1732, ed. A. Company (Madrid, 1995).
- 11 On the *pasacalles* as a genre see, among others, Pennington, ‘The development’, i, pp.293-5, and Russell, ‘Santiago de Murcia’, i, pp.211-15.
- 12 See Hall, ‘The guitar anthologies’, i, pp.489-507, and C. H. Russell and A. K. Topp Russell, ‘El arte de recomposición en la música española para guitarra barroca’, *Revista de Musicología*, v/1 (1982), pp.15-18.
- 13 *Saldívar Codex No. 4*, facs. edn, ed. M. Lorimer (Santa Barbara, 1987) and Santiago de Murcia’s ‘Códice Saldívar No. 4’. *A treasury of secular guitar music from Baroque Mexico*, ed. C. H. Russell (Urbana, 1995).
- 14 *Saldívar Codex No. 4*, p.v.
- 15 For more considerations on these dances see the third section of this article.
- 16 Hall, ‘The guitar anthologies’, i, p.65.
- 17 Stevenson, ‘Santiago de Murcia’, pp.92-3.
- 18 See G. Arriaga, ‘Un manuscrito mexicano de música barroca’, *Revista de Musicología*, v/1 (1982), pp.115-21.
- 19 Hall, ‘The guitar anthologies’, i, p.93, and J. A. de Vargas y Guzmán, *Explicación de la guitarra* (Cádiz, 1773), ed. A. Medina Álvarez (Granada, 1994), pp.xiii-xiv.
- 20 See Hall’s Introduction in Santiago de Murcia, *Resumen de acompañar*.
- Russell expands her arguments in *Santiago de Murcia’s ‘Códice Saldívar No. 4’*, i, pp.133-6.
- 21 On this source, see my article ‘Santiago de Murcia’s *Cifras Selectas de Guitarra* (1722): a new source for the Baroque guitar’, *Early Music*, xxxv/2 (2007), pp.251-69.
- 22 This hypothesis was raised for the first time by E. M. Lowenfeld, ‘Santiago de Murcia’s thorough-bass treatise for the Baroque guitar (1714), introduction, translation and transcription’ (MA thesis, City University of New York, 1975), p.5.
- 23 Russell, ‘Santiago de Murcia’, i, p.63.
- 24 *Santiago de Murcia’s ‘Códice Saldívar No. 4’*, i, pp.122-7.
- 25 For example, see Morales, *L’Artiste de cour*, p.188.
- 26 *Santiago de Murcia’s ‘Códice Saldívar No. 4’*, i, pp.95-6, 98.
- 27 Vera, ‘Santiago de Murcia’s *Cifras Selectas de Guitarra*’, p.262.
- 28 Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, m.811, pp.91-3, and L. K. Stein, *Songs of mortals, dialogues of the gods: music and theatre in seventeenth century Spain* (Oxford, 1993), p.368.
- 29 Morales, *L’Artiste de cour*, p.188. These documents confirm that Murcia was the guitar teacher referred to by the queen in a letter from 1705, as conjectured by Lowenfeld, ‘Santiago de Murcia’s thorough-bass treatise’, p.4.
- 30 AGPM, Reinados, Felipe V, Legajo 220 (my italics). In the transcription of the original documents I modernize the spelling when it has no phonetic value, as well as the accents and punctuation.
- 31 The archduke Carlos entered Madrid in July 1706, and the court moved to Burgos. See Morales, *L’Artiste de cour*, pp.71-2.
- 32 ‘...hallarse el suplicante enfermo cinco meses, sucediendo lo mesmo a su mujer, por cuyo motivo se halla en el último estado de necesidad y mucha familia que mantener.’ AGPM, Reinados, Felipe V, Legajo 220.
- 33 Archivo Parroquial de San Sebastián (Madrid), ‘Libro de Bautismos de esta Parroquia de San Sebastián’ (28 July 1673 to 29 September 1679), f.4v.
- 34 Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Madrid (hereafter AHDM), Expedientes matrimoniales, caja 3395, notario Manuel de San Martín, año 1695.
- 35 In other words, Santiago de Murcia was 22 years old because he was already in his 22nd year of life. I wish to thank Álvaro Torrente for drawing my attention to this point.
- 36 Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid (hereafter AHPM), Protocolo 15294, ff.166-166v.
- 37 Archivo Parroquial de San Ginés (Madrid), ‘Matrícula parroquial de San Ginés’, 1721.
- 38 Archivo Parroquial de San Ginés (Madrid), Libro 14 de Defunciones, ff.380 (Juan de Murcia, 14 May 1721) and 381 (Magdalena Hernández, 2 June 1721).
- 39 *Ibid.*, f.415 (19 November 1722), and AHPM, Protocolo 14817, ff.404-404v. He does not mention his brother Santiago.
- 40 See AHDM, Parroquia de San Martín, ‘Índice de bautizados desde 1545 hasta 1682’, and AHDM, Expedientes matrimoniales, caja 3504, notario Manuel de San Martín, año 1705. In fact, Santiago’s godfather was Diego García, as stated in his above-mentioned baptism certificate. Be that as it may, Francisca García was not Josefa’s sister, since her parents were Gaspar García and Ana López.
- 41 Perhaps Francisco Guerau, if we follow Russell’s conjectures (see *Santiago de Murcia’s ‘Códice Saldívar No. 4’*, i, pp.120-2).
- 42 AHDM, Libro 11 de difuntos de la parroquia de San Martín (1697-1707), f.399. ‘Doña Andrea de Murcia, mujer de Eugenio de Yducar, parroquiana calle de Chinchilla. Recibió los santos sacramentos; murió en 5 de febrero de 1705; hizo declaración de pobre ante Tomás de Arberas, escribano real, en 10 de mayo de 1704.’
- 43 AHPM, Protocolo 13809 (scribe Tomás de Arberas, 1704-5).
- 44 As stated in his declaration of poverty. See AHPM, Protocolo 15294, f.166.

- 45 According to his own statement in his marriage certificate, in AHDM, Expedientes matrimoniales, caja 3469, notario Manuel de San Martín, año 1702.
- 46 Morales, *L'Artiste de cour*, pp.188–9. On Antonio de Murcia, see also J. L. Romanillos Vega and M. Harris Winspear, *The vihuela de mano and the Spanish guitar: a dictionary of the makers of plucked and bowed musical instruments of Spain (1200 – 2002)* (Guijosa, Guadalajara, 2002), p.264.
- 47 See n.45.
- 48 AHPM, Protocolo 19125, f.13 of the section corresponding to 1760, declaration of poverty of Juan de Murcia. Despite the interest of this document, this information about Gabriel de Murcia and his wife may not be entirely reliable, both because of the age of the grantor and the occasional mistakes on that subject. For example, Matías de Murcia stated in his aforementioned declaration of poverty that his parents had been born in Madrid, which is untrue in his father's case, as we have seen.
- 49 AHPM, Protocolo 10571, f.8v of the section corresponding to 1712. Galaz is mentioned here as 'clarín de Su Majestad', but in a later document of the same year (f.55) he appears as 'trompeta'.
- 50 AGPM, Expedientes personales, caja 731/28.
- 51 AHDM, Expedientes matrimoniales, caja 3463, notarios Pardo y Campos, año 1701.
- 52 The first is located in the Archivo de la Parroquia de San Nicolás (Guadalajara), Libro de bautismos de la parroquia de San Gil (1621–1679), f.69. The second can be found in AHPM, Protocolo 15117, f.280 (Francisca de Murcia empowers her husband for making her will).
- 53 *Santiago de Murcia's 'Código Saldívar N.º. 4', i*, pp.116–17.
- 54 *Planimetría general de Madrid, i, Libro primero de los asientos de las Casas de Madrid que comprende cien manzanas desde el número primero hasta el ciento inclusive* [c.1750] (Madrid, 1988), pp.57, 59 and 288. The last reference does not mention Andriani, but the 'Envoy from the Catholic Cantons' (*Al Señor Embiado de los Cantones Catholicos*).
- 55 See AHPM, Protocolo 15582, ff.35–35v (declaration of poverty of Josefa García) and 58–58v (declaration of poverty of Santiago de Murcia). The death certificate of Josefa García is preserved in AHDM, Libro 15 de difuntos de la parroquia de San Martín (1725–1731), f.221.
- 56 *Ibid.*, ff.59–59v. She also named Santiago de Murcia as her unique heir.
- 57 Except for a scribe who lived in Seville in 1704. See AHPM, Protocolo 13809, f.78. There is no evidence that he corresponds to the Joseph de Quesada mentioned by Murcia.
- 58 AGPM, Registros, libro 144, f.171v. His surname appears both as Perea and Pereda in this document.
- 59 Morales, *L'Artiste de cour*, p.72.
- 60 Vera, 'Santiago de Murcia's Cifras Selectas de Guitarra', p.262.
- 61 AHDM, Libro 17 de difuntos de la parroquia de San Martín (1738–1743), f.100v.
- 62 See Vera, 'Santiago de Murcia's Cifras Selectas de Guitarra', pp.258–60.
- 63 Though I also said the latter alternative seemed 'more likely'.
- 64 *Santiago de Murcia's 'Código Saldívar N.º. 4', i*, pp.69–79.
- 65 R. Budasz, 'Black guitar-players and early African-Iberian music in Portugal and Brazil', *Early Music*, xxxv/1 (2007), p.5.
- 66 For example, the 'danza the negros' performed in 1669, during the festivities for the canonization of Saint Maria Magdalena de Pazzi. See A. Vera, *Música vocal profana en el Madrid de Felipe IV: el 'Libro de Tonos Humanos'* (1656) (Lleida, 2002), p.59, n.155.
- 67 This correspondence was also noticed by Budasz, 'Black guitar-players', p.15. The presence of the *cumbé* in the theater is mentioned, among others, by Morales, *L'Artiste de cour*, p.91 (the document of Pedro París y Royo) and *Santiago de Murcia's 'Código Saldívar N.º. 4', i*, p.72.
- 68 Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla (hereafter AGI), Contratación 674, ff.227 and 728v.
- 69 Vera, 'Santiago de Murcia's Cifras Selectas de Guitarra', pp.252–3, 265.
- 70 AHPM, Protocolo 14609, f.148.
- 71 AGI, Filipinas 58, N. 1. Available on <<http://pares.mcu.es>> (accessed 11 March 2008).
- 72 Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Órdenes Militares, Caballeros de Santiago, expediente 3260. Available on <<http://pares.mcu.es>> (11 March 2008).
- 73 AGI, Contratación 5468, N.1, R.1. Available on <<http://pares.mcu.es>> (accessed 11 March 2008).
- 74 AHPM, Protocolo 15102, ff.403–404v and 713–714.
- 75 *Ibid.*, ff.207–212.
- 76 Specifically on the island of Bohol, which he inherited from his maternal grandfather, Sebastián de Villarreal. See AGI, Filipinas 58, N. 1.
- 77 'El común estilo a todos los principiantes es: que pongan el dedo meñique fuera de la puente de la Guitarra, para que esté más firme la mano, porque muchos no pueden entonces herir las cuerdas puesta la mano en el aire, sino de la suerte dicha. Lo cual no se verá practicado en ningún diestro que trate a este instrumento con algún primor, mayormente cuando son obras delicadas y en ellas hay golpes rasgueados, pues debe en estos casos tocarse en el medio del instrumento, y solo usar de la mano puesta en la puentecilla cuando se necesita que suene más, como cuando se acompaña a otro instrumento.' 'The common style for all beginners is: that they put the little finger outside the bridge of the guitar, so that the hand will be firmer, and thus many cannot play the strings as the hand is in the air, but in the above mentioned way; which will not be seen in anyone accomplished who deals with this instrument with some exquisiteness, mainly when these works are delicate and there are strummed strokes, as in these cases the instrument must be played in the middle and the hand only rested on the bridge when it is required for it to sound louder, as when accompanying another instrument.' See Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Biblioteca Campus Oriente, Ms. 'Cifras Selectas de Guitarra', still uncatalogued.