

MUSIC IN SPAIN IN THE 1670s THROUGH THE EYES OF SÉBASTIEN CHIÈZE AND CONSTANTIJN HUYGENS

Rudolf RASCH

Resumen:

Este artículo trata de las diversas observaciones a propósito de la música en España, que se encuentran en la correspondencia entre Sébastien Chièze (embajador del Príncipe de Orange en Madrid) y Constantijn Huygens (La Haya), entre 1672 y 1679. Huygens pidió a Chièze que le encontrara un ejemplar del *De musica* de Salinas (1577), así como tonadas españolas y piezas para guitarra. A Chièze le llevó dos años hallar una copia del *De musica* en territorio español y hacer que el libro llegara a Holanda sano y salvo. Las tonadas remitidas por Chièze (de compositores tales como Juan del Vado, José Marín, Cristóbal Galán y Juan Hidalgo), no gustaron nada a Huygens, que las halló demasiado “africanas”. Como tampoco le gustaron las tabulaturas españolas para guitarra, anotadas al revés (boca abajo) de las tabulaturas francesas a las que Huygens estaba acostumbrado. Chièze consiguió también una guitarra -hecha para Huygens- en Madrid, pero este instrumento también se topó con su desaprobación. Al final, Chièze hubo de pedir a dos conocidos suyos boloñeses, Giulio y Guido Bovio, que le buscaran en Bolonia un laúd que fuera adecuado para Huygens. Le encontraron dos, pero se desconoce si llegaron alguna vez a Holanda. Este trabajo muestra la importancia de los contactos extranjeros (diplomáticos) para la adquisición de objetos musicales, tales como libros de música, composiciones musicales, e instrumentos.

Palabras Clave:

Huygens, Constantijn; Chièze, Sébastien; Música en España (siglo XVII); Tablatura española para guitarra (siglo XVII); Juan del Vado; José Marín; Cristóbal Galán; Juan Hidalgo.

Abstract:

In this contribution the various remarks about music in Spain that can be found in the correspondence between Sébastien Chièze (envoy on behalf of the Prince of Orange in Madrid) and Constantijn Huygens (The Hague) from 1672 to 1679 are discussed. Huygens asked Chièze to find for him a copy of Salinas's *De musica* (1577), as well as Spanish airs and pieces for guitar. It took Chièze two years to find a copy of *De musica* in Spain and have it sent safely to Holland. Huygens did not like the Spanish airs sent by Chièze, by composers such as Juan del Vado, José Marín, Cristóbal Galán, and Juan Hidalgo. He found them too “African”. Nor did he like the guitar tablature, which turned the notation as he was used to seeing it upside down. Chièze also had a guitar made for Huygens in Madrid, but this instrument also met with disapproval. In the end, Chièze asked two Bolognese acquaintances, Giulio and Guido Bovio, to search for a suitable lute for Huygens in Bologna. They found two, but it is unknown whether these ever arrived in Holland. The contribution shows the importance of foreign (diplomatic) contacts in the acquisition of musical articles, such as books about music, musical compositions and musical instruments.

Key Words:

Huygens, Constantijn; Chièze, Sébastien; Music in Spain (17th century); Spanish guitar tablature (17th century); Juan del Vado; José Marín; Cristóbal Galán; Juan Hidalgo.

Introduction¹

On a certain day in August 1670 45-year old Sébastien Chièze set out on a journey from Orange in the South of France to Madrid, as an envoy on behalf of the Prince of Orange, William III, then not yet twenty years old. William's father, grandfather, great-uncle and great-grandfather had been stadtholders of the Dutch Republic from 1572 to 1650². But after the death of the last of them, his father William II, the various provinces that constituted the Dutch Republic had decided to govern their territories without a stadtholder. The period from 1650 to 1672 is known in the history of the Dutch Republic as the "First Stadtholderless Period". (From 1702 to 1747 there would be a "Second Stadtholderless Period"). Therefore, Prince William was just a civil person in 1670, and not in a position with any political power in the Dutch Republic. In consequence, Chièze's mission to Madrid cannot be termed a real diplomatic mission: he was not representing a state or a government but went on behalf of a noble family, the House of Orange.

Chièze's mission to Madrid had its origins in unfinished business from before the Stadtholderless Period. At the Peace of Münster of 1648 the House of Orange ceded certain territories in the Spanish Netherlands to the Spanish crown, for which the Spanish crown would financially compensate them³. Although the Dutch Republic and the Kingdom of Spain were now on friendly terms, only a very small portion of the debt was actually paid in the years following the Peace of Münster. Constantijn Huygens (born 1596, died 1687), former Secretary to the Stadtholders Frederic Henry and William II and now President of the Council of the Prince and the Council of the Domains of the House of Nassau, the body that guarded the possessions and the income of the House, had been to Brussels already in 1656 to negotiate about the debts with Leopold William of Austria, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands from 1647 to 1656, and with John Joseph of Austria, Governor from 1656 to 1658, but to no avail⁴. The question was also part of the diplomatic mission sent to Spain by the States General of the Dutch Republic in 1660, but with equal lack of success⁵. Therefore the debts, which had increased through unpaid interest to around 1,500,000 Dutch guilders, were still outstanding in 1670. Since the household of the Prince experienced a continuous shortage of means, the Council of the Prince thought it wise to send an envoy to Madrid to suggest or even to insist on payment of the debt.

Little imagination is necessary to realize that willingness from the side of the Spanish crown to pay these debts was at a minimum in 1670. The House of Orange was not in power in the Dutch Republic, so there was little to fear from not paying. The Spanish crown itself lived in a state of a continuous financial crisis, so that even if there was a willingness to pay, it would have been very difficult. And, unfortunately (from the standpoint of Prince William III) there was a counter-claim, not from the Spanish crown, but from a noble lady from the Spanish Netherlands, Marguerite-Isabelle de Mérode,

1 I want to thank Theodor Dumitrescu (Utrecht) for his kind willingness to correct the author's non-native English of this contribution.

2 William the Silent from 1572 to 1584, his sons Maurice and Frederic Henry from 1585 to 1625 and from 1625 to 1647 respectively, and the latter's son William the Second from 1647 to his premature death in 1650 only.

3 About the Spanish debts see Bouwe Jan VEEZE: *De Raad van de prinsen van Oranje tijdens de minderjarigheid van Willem III, 1650-1668*. Assen, Van Gorcum, 1932, pp.70-72.

4 See H. A. HOFMAN: *Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687)*. Utrecht, Hes, 1983, pp.258-266.

5 Maurits EBBEN, ed.: *Lodewijck Huygens' Spaans journaal*. Zutphen, Walburg Pers, 2005, p.30.

Countess of Isenghien. Her forebears had bequeathed certain territories to the House of Orange under the condition that these would be given back in case of death of a heir without offspring. This had happened with the death of Prince Philip William in 1618⁶; Philip William had, however, sold the properties. The Countess now wanted the sum received by Prince Philip William and had brought the case before the Feudal Court of Brussels. The sum was considerable and lack of money made it necessary for the Council of the Prince to postpone as much as possible condemnation by the Court or any payment at all, or to have the sum paid by the Spanish crown and subsequently deducted from the Spanish debt. Chièze's mission therefore included two tasks: to try to move the Spanish crown towards payment of the debt to the House of Orange and to try to have the Spanish crown stop the process against the House of Orange in Brussels by paying the requested sum to the Countess of Isenghien.



Figure 1. Sébastien Chièze. See note 7.

Sébastien Chièze, later also “de Chièze” (born 1625, died 1679), came from a family that traditionally fulfilled public positions in the Principedom of Orange⁷. His father, Jérôme Chièze (born c.1597, died 1664), had first been Solicitor of the Parliament (=Court of Justice) of Orange. In 1658 he was

⁶ Prince Philip William (1554-1618) was the elder son of Prince William I (the Silent) and therefore his official heir as far as the title of Prince of Orange was concerned, but he lived in Spanish custody until 1596 and in the Spanish Netherlands thereafter. He bore the title of Prince of Orange from 1584 to 1618. He died without offspring.

⁷ No biographical study about Sébastien Chièze is available to date. Brief notices can be found in W. F. LEEMANS and Elisabeth LEEMANS-PRINS: *La noblesse de la principauté d'Orange sous le règne des Nassau et ses descendants aux Pays-Bas*. The Hague, Koninklijk Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Geslacht en Wapenkunde, 1974, pp.381-383 (below quoted as “LEEMANS & LEEMANS, 1974”); O. SCHUTTE: *Repertorium der Nederlandse vertegenwoordigers, residerende in het buitenland, 1584-1810*. The Hague, Nijhoff, 1976, p.392; and Rudolf RASCH: *Driehonderd brieven over muziek van, aan en rond Constantijn Huygens*. Hilversum, Verloren, 2007 (below quoted as “RASCH, 2007”), p.165. A portrait of Chièze was painted by François de Troy (1645-1730), presumably in the early 1660s, when Chièze was in Paris. Apparently it has not been preserved, but a copy of this painting exists in a private collection. It is reproduced in Jacques de COURSAC: *Choses et gens du Parlement d'Orange*. Paris, Firmin-Didot, 19234, frontispiece, and Leemans & Leemans, 1974, p.382, and as Figure 2 (after Coursac).

appointed Councillor in the Parliament and *amodiateur* (lessor, that is, receiver of the rents of leased lands) of Orange, a rather important position for the House of Orange. Sébastien had the right to succeed him at his death, but he worked already with his father from the late 1650s onwards. Constantijn Huygens met Sébastien Chièze for the first time in 1661 in Tubise (Hainaut), when he (Huygens) was on his way to Paris, to negotiate the restitution of the Principedom of Orange to the Prince of Orange, after it had been occupied by French troops in 1661. Chièze went with Huygens to Paris. In 1662, he was in Holland for some time. In 1664, he succeeded his father as a Councillor in the Orange Parliament. In the same year he was appointed member of the Council of the Domains and Finances of the Prince in Orange (22 August) and Intendant (Supervisor) of the possessions of the Prince in Burgundy and Franche-Comté (3 December)⁸. He also spent some time that year in Franche-Comté, where he married Claude-Marie de Lapie (9 September). By the end of 1664 or early in 1665 he was in The Hague again, before joining Huygens in Paris and travelling with him to Orange. Huygens undertook this journey to re-establish the sovereignty of the Prince in Orange. From 1665 to 1670 Chièze lived in Orange, but visited the Franche-Comté several times. He was in The Hague when he was appointed an envoy of the Prince of Orange at the Spanish court, on 28 February 1670⁹. He left The Hague on 7 April and first travelled via Paris, Dijon, Besançon and Lyon to Orange, where he arrived early June¹⁰. He stayed for some weeks in Orange before leaving for Madrid. He was in Bayonne on 31 July 1670 so that we may assume that he arrived in Madrid at some point in August 1670¹¹.

It is not known why exactly Chièze was chosen for the mission to Madrid in 1670. It may be assumed that Constantijn Huygens, President of the Council of the Prince, recommended him for the mission. Perhaps it was significant that he belonged to a family that had always been loyal to the House of Orange, while he was a Catholic at the same time.

Constantijn Huygens, who supervised Chièze's mission in The Hague on the part of the Council of the Prince, was an avid musical amateur¹². Not only did he play various instruments, such as the lute, the theorbo, the viola da gamba, the harpsichord and later also the guitar, but he also composed for these instruments. One set of vocal compositions, 39 short pieces on Latin, Italian or French texts for voice and figured bass, was published in Paris in 1647 under the title *Pathodia sacra et profana*¹³. Huygens maintained contacts with many fellow musical amateurs of his time, as well as with professional musicians, both in the Dutch Republic and abroad. Most of the foreign "musical acquaintances"

8 Actually, Franche-Comté is the part of Burgundy that fell outside the Kingdom of France. It was part of the Holy Roman Empire and a possession of the King of Spain until the Peace of Nijmegen (1678).

9 LEEMANS & LEEMANS, 1974, p.381.

10 Chièze's departure from The Hague is mentioned in a letter by Constantijn Huygens Jr. to his brother Lodewijk of 10 April 1670; see Christiaan HUYGENS: *Oeuvres Complètes*. Vol.7. The Hague, Nijhoff, 1897, no.1797, pp.14-15. Chièze wrote letters from Paris dated from 17 to 30 April, from Dijon on 7 May, from Besançon on 21 May, from Lyon on 28 May and from Orange on 4 June.

11 Chièze wrote from Bayonne to Lodewijk Huygens on 31 July 1670 (Leiden, Univ. Libr., Cod. Hug 34).

12 See, for example FRITS NOSKE, "Huygens de musicus: Enkele aspecten", in: A.TH. VAN DEURSEN, E. K. GROOTES, P. E. L. VERKUYL, eds.: *Veelzijdigheid als levensvorm: Facetten van Constantijn Huygens' leven en werk*. Deventer, Sub rosa, 1987, pp.129-140; RUDOLF RASCH: "Constantijn Huygens: Een muzikale heer van stand", in *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 3 (1987), pp.99-114; RASCH, 2007, pp.118-134.

13 Modern edition: Constantijn HUYGENS: *Pathodia sacra et profana unae voci basso continuo comitante*. Frits Noske, ed., Amsterdam, North Holland Publishing, 1957.

lived in England, the Spanish Netherlands or France. Among the professional musicians of his network may be mentioned Jacques Champion de Chambonnières, Nicholas Lanier, Henry Dumont and Johann Jacob Froberger. Most often these contacts were maintained by exchanging letters¹⁴. Huygens had the habit of using his musical contacts —both amateur and professional— to acquire music from abroad, most often in the form of handwritten copies of airs or instrumental pieces.



Figure 2. Constantijn Huygens. Painting by Caspar Netscher, 1672, Huygens-Museum Hofwijck, Voorburg, Netherlands. (With kind permission).

Before 1670 Huygens had already made use of the services of Chièze in this respect, by asking him to order strings for him, probably in Italy¹⁵. Although Sébastien Chièze was not an amateur musician, let alone a professional one, Huygens thought it a good idea to use Chièze's being in Madrid as a means to acquire Spanish musical "materials" of various kind, notably pieces of music, books about music and musical instruments. These acquisitions constitute the main subject matter of this article.

¹⁴ The musical correspondence of Constantijn Huygens is available in three editions. W. J. A. JONCKBLOET and J. P. N. LAND: *Musique et musiciens au XVIIe siècle: Correspondance et oeuvre musicales de Constantin Huygens*. Leiden, Brill, 1882 (quoted below as "JONCKBLOET, 1882"), contains a series of letters about music, transcribed either completely or partially. J. A. WORP: *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens (1608-1687)*. Vols.1-6. The Hague, Nijhoff, 1911-1917 (quoted below as "WORP" plus volume number), contains the complete correspondence of Constantijn Huygens, but many letters are transcribed only partially or just summarized. Other letters are only mentioned in footnotes. RASCH, 2007 (see above), contains 300 letters about music, always transcribed completely and provided with a Dutch translation. Rasch maintains the numbers given to the letters by Worp. If a letter is not in Worp's edition or not in the right place, a "pseudo-Worp number" has been assigned by Rasch by taking the number of the letter that would immediately precede it in Worp's edition and appending A or B to the number. Thus "no.6912A" is a letter that is not in Worp's edition but would follow letter no.6912 in that edition.

¹⁵ See Huygens to Chièze, 17 October 1669: JONCKBLOET, 1882, no.59, pp.49-50 (incomplete); WOP, Vol.6, no.6726, pp.254-255 (incomplete); RASCH, 2007, no.6726, pp.1085-1088. The letters by Huygens quoted in this contribution survive as non-autograph copies, made on behalf of Huygens in The Hague before they were sent to Madrid. These copies are now to be found in The Hague, Royal Library, Ms.KA 49, Vol.3, among the original letters and copies of French letters written by Huygens from 1667 to 1687.

1670

As mentioned before, Chièze arrived in Madrid in August 1670. He stayed there until his death in 1679. During this period he wrote a long series of letters to Huygens, in order to inform him about the progress of his negotiations¹⁶. The dates of the letters make clear that there was a weekly mail service from Madrid to the Dutch Republic and although Chièze certainly did not write every week during these nine years, there are periods with letters almost every week or every two weeks. These letters include many personal matters as well. Chièze was not only well acquainted with Constantijn Huygens himself, but also, and perhaps even more, with Huygens's sons, who were in fact of his own generation: Constantijn Huygens junior (born 1628, died 1697), Christiaan Huygens (born 1629, died 1695, the famous physicist and astronomer), and Lodewijk Huygens (born 1631, died 1699). To these may be added Huygens's son-in-law Philips Doublet (born 1633, died 1707), husband of Huygens's only daughter Susanna (born 1637, died 1725).

Chièze soon found out that it would be no easy job to move the Spanish crown towards payment. Procedures at the court were complicated and Chièze had to do his business through a Spanish solicitor¹⁷. It took ages before memoranda were discussed by the relevant ministers and several ages more before they were answered, if at all. Any hopes, either on the side of the Council of the Prince of Orange or Chièze himself that the matter would be settled within a reasonable space of time, proved to be in vain. The letters that Chièze sent to The Hague during these years very clearly reflect the diminishing expectations Chièze had about the possible success of the undertaking.

1672

Perhaps Huygens thought that Chièze would, in the absence of progress of his mission, have time for other occupations, among them looking out for him for Spanish music and other musical products such as books about music or musical instruments. The first request of Huygens to Chièze to procure something musical for him is to be found in his letter of 14 January 1672¹⁸. He wondered if Chièze could find for him a copy of Francisco Salinas's *De musica libri septem*: "de me trouver un livre du nommé Salinas, grand docteur en théorie de musique". Salinas's *De musica* had been published in Salamanca in 1577 but was still quite well known among musical *literati* during the seventeenth century. Huygens's letter is in a somewhat jesting tone: he not only wishes Chièze a Happy New Year, but threatens that he will not be allowed to set foot in Holland again if he cannot find him a copy of Salinas's *De musica*.

¹⁶ They are preserved, seemingly complete, or at least nearly complete, as original, autograph letters in Codex Hugenianus 34 of the University Library of Leiden.

¹⁷ In the first years this was the diplomat Gaspar de Teves y Tello de Guzmán, marquis de la Fuente.

¹⁸ Huygens to Chièze, 14 January 1672: JONCKBLOET, 1882, nr.67, p.58 (complete); WORP, Vol.6, no.6820, pp.296-297 (complete).

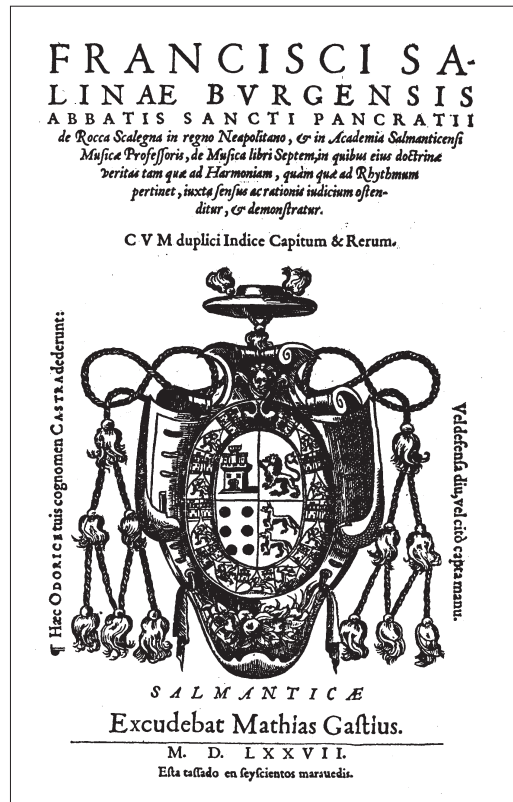


Figure 3. *De musica libri septem*, by F. Salinas (title page)

Huygens had known of the existence of Salinas's work at least from the 1640s, perhaps first because of the references to it in the *Kort Sangh-bericht* (Amsterdam, 1643) by Joan Albert Ban, one of Huygens's Dutch musical acquaintances¹⁹. Ban was a Catholic priest in Haarlem with a vivid interest in music, which had made him write and publish a set of three-part Dutch songs, the *Zangh-bloemzel* (Amsterdam, 1642) and a book on the theory of music, the *Kort Sangh-bericht* just mentioned. Ban had made use of a copy of Salinas's *De musica* he had borrowed from Jacob Golius (born 1596, died 1667), Professor of Oriental languages in Leiden, in 1640²⁰. Huygens must also have had a copy of Salinas's *De musica* in his house for

19 About Joan Albert Ban see J. P. N. LAND: "Ban en de theorie der toonkunst", in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 1 (1883), pp.95-111 and 3 (1891), pp.204-210; D. P. WALKER: "Mersenne's Musical Competition of 1640 and Joan Albert Ban", in D. P. WALKER: *Studies in Musical Science in the Late Renaissance*. London, Warburg Institute, 1978, pp.75-99; Rudolf RASCH: "Ban's Intonation", in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 33 (1983), pp.75-99; Rudolf RASCH: "Descartes en de Ban-Boësset-controverse", in W. KOOPS, L. DORSMAN, Th. VERBEEK, eds.: *Née Cartésienne? Cartesiaansch Gebooren: Descartes en de Utrechtse Academie 1636-2005*. Assen, Van Gorcum, 2005, pp.178-195.

20 See Joan Albert BAN: *Kort Sangh-bericht*. Amsterdam, Lodewijk Elsevier, 1643, pp.18-19. Ban spends a full page on Salinas's works and quotes him with agreement. Salinas had already been mentioned by Ban in an appendix to a letter to Mersenne of 17 April 1639, in a synopsis of a book he (Ban) intended to write. See C. de WAARD, ed.: *Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne, religieux minime*. Vol.7. Paris, CNRS, 1963, pp.397-401. Ban also mentioned Salinas in letters to Huygens of 18 January 1641 (RASCH, 2007, no.2513, pp.479-488) and 7 December 1643 (RASCH, 2007, no.3434, pp.680-683).

some time in the 1640s, a copy obviously borrowed from Frans van Schooten Jr. (born 1615, died 1660), the mathematics teacher to Huygens's sons and from 1645 Professor of Mathematics in Leiden. This is apparent from a letter of Adolphus Vorstius to Huygens of 10 May 1645, in which Huygens was asked to return the copy to Leiden²¹. Since then, Huygens must have known rather well what kind of book Salinas's *De musica* was. When he wrote to Chièze in 1672 that the book was not available in Holland ("qui ne se trouve pas icy"), he cannot have been totally sincere. But since both Golius and Van Schooten had died in the meantime, probably no copy was available to him²².

Perhaps it was on the instigation of Christiaan Huygens, who had been in The Hague from 1670 to 1671, that Huygens wanted to have a copy of Salinas's book for himself. Christiaan Huygens had a definite interest in music theory, in fact more than his father²³. Chièze's direct reply to Huygens's request, a letter of February 1672, has been lost. Huygens replied to this letter on 17 March: he hoped that Chièze would soon succeed in finding a copy of Salinas's book²⁴.



Figure 4. Christiaan Huygens. Engraving by Gerard Edelinck.

Although Salinas's book had been published in Spain, Chièze experienced more difficulties in finding a copy of the book than he had expected. On 4 August he wrote to Huygens that he despaired of ever finding one ("Je commence à desespérer de pouvoir trouver vostre Salinas")²⁵. On 12 October he wrote that nobody in the bookshops of Madrid, Alcalá or Barcelona had ever heard of the work, while he

21 Vorstius to Huygens of 10 May 1645: WORP 4, no.3947, p.147.

22 The only copy in the Netherlands today, in the University Library of Leiden, is neither Golius's nor Van Schooten's (nor Huygens's). It was acquired in 1690 as part of the library of Isaac Vossius.

23 See Rudolf RASCH, ed.: *Christiaan Huygens: «Le cycle harmonique» (Rotterdam 1691), «Novus cyclus harmonicus» (Leiden 1724) with Dutch and English translations*. Utrecht, Diapason, 1986 (quoted below as "RASCH, 1986"), pp.30-40.

24 Huygens to Chièze, 17 March 1672: WORP, Vol.6, no.6834, p.301 (incomplete, remainder summarized).

25 Chièze to Huygens, 4 August 1672: WORP, Vol.6, no.6850, pp.308-309 (complete).

was still waiting for an answer from Zaragoza²⁶. His last resort was the library of the Escorial where he hoped to be able at least to find the exact title; he only needed a trustworthy person to do that for him. He thought of Adriaen Paets, who had just arrived in Madrid as an envoy of the States General of the Dutch Republic and would visit the Escorial soon. No news yet on 25 October: no Salinas in Toledo, where he had been the week before, and no information yet from Barcelona, Zaragoza or the Escorial²⁷. He feared that Salinas “had been condemned by the Inquisition for having set some psalms of Marot to music”.

In a letter of 9 November Chièze could then report the exact title and date of the publication as told to him at the Escorial²⁸. He also wrote that he had first followed a wrong track by believing that the book was in Spanish. But there was good news too: a friend of his had seen the book in possession of a musician this friend knew. If he could not buy this copy, he would have it copied (!). He was waiting for answers from Barcelona and Zaragoza and would also write to Salamanca to find out if there were still heirs of Matthias Gastius, the publisher of the 1577 edition, who could provide the book. In addition, he had written to Christiaan Constantijn Rumph, representative of the States General and of Prince William III in Paris, to look out for a copy there and to ask Huygens’s son Christiaan, who was then living in Paris, to do the same.

No news in Chièze’s letter of 21 December 1672²⁹. Rumph had, however, found a copy in a second-hand bookshop in Paris, where he had to pay 6 or 7 écus, as Huygens could write to Chièze on 27 December³⁰. He had asked his son Christiaan to negotiate over the price: 1 écu can be set to about *f* 2:10³¹, so that 6 or 7 écus would make *f* 15 of 17:10, indeed a high price.

1673

Not only was Rumph succesful in Paris, Chièze got hold of a copy in Spain, as he wrote on 4 January 1673: “Albricias, Señor, pues ha amanecido Don Francisco Salinas”³². The copy was sent to him from Zaragoza by “the Secretary to John Joseph of Austria”. This must be Francisco Fabro (de) Bremundans, who had acquired it from “an old musician”³³. Since Fabro came from Franche-Comté, it is certainly possible that Chièze knew Fabro from before he went to Spain. Chièze now advised Huygens to cancel the acquisition in Paris. On 1 March 1673, Chièze wrote that his friend (Fabro) had bought the book from the musician for some bottles of muscatel only, certainly less than the price the

26 Chièze to Huygens, 12 October 1672: Leiden, Univ. Libr., Cod. Hug 34 (unedited).

27 Chièze to Huygens, 25 October 1672: Leiden, Univ. Libr., Cod. Hug 34 (unedited).

28 Chièze to Huygens, 9 November 1672: WORP, Vol.6, no.6864, p.314 (summary).

29 Chièze to Huygens, 21 December 1672: Leiden, Univ. Libr., Cod. Hug 34 (unedited).

30 Huygens to Chièze, 27 December 1672: The Hague, Royal Library, Ms.KA XLIX, Vol.3, pp.473-474 (copy; unedited). No letters between Huygens and Rumph about this question are known to exist.

31 This notation should be read as “two guilders and ten *stuivers*”. Twenty *stuivers* (“*sous*”) make one Dutch guilder.

32 Chièze to Huygens, 4 January 1673: Leiden, Univ. Libr., Cod. Hug. 34 (unedited).

33 It is not explicitly said that it is the same copy as the one referred to in Chièze’s letter of 9 November 1672, but we assume so. Fabro, originally François Fèvre, was born in Besançon (or Bremondans, a little east of Besançon?) in 1621 and had been Juan José’s Secretary from about 1660 onwards. In 1677 he became Cronista of the Aragonese Court. He died in 1698. He published *Historia de los hechos del Serenissimo Señor Don Juan de Austria en el Principado de Cataluña* (Zaragoza, Diego Dormer, 1677) and *Viaje del Rey nuestro Señor Don Carlos Segundo al Reyno de Aragón* (Madrid, Bernardo de Villa-Diego, 1680; facsimile reprint Zaragoza, Gráficas San Francisco, 1985). About him: Maria Pilar LAMARQUE: “Algunas noticias sobre Francisco Fabro Bremundans”, in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 73 (1966), pp.237-244 and Eulogio VARELA HERVIAS: *Francisco Fabro Bremundans (1621-1698): Conferencia* (Madrid, Artes Gráficas Municipales, 1968; not consulted).

bookseller in Paris was asking³⁴. Chièze would give the book to a jewel merchant from Rotterdam, named Van Son, who would soon leave Madrid for Holland, to bring the book to Huygens.

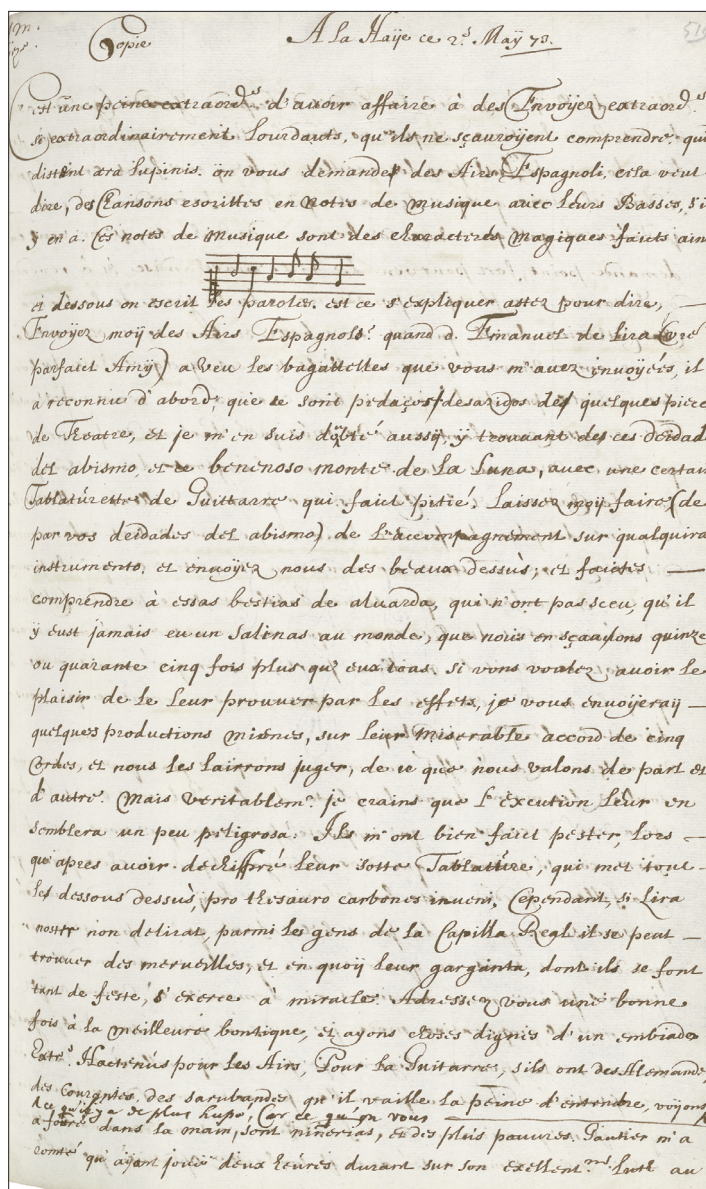


Figure 5. Copy by a clerk of Constantijn Huygens's letter to Sébastien Chièze of 2 May 1673, made before it was sent to Madrid. The Hague, Royal Library, Ms. 49, Vol. 2, p. 519. (With kind permission).

³⁴ Chièze to Huygens, 1 March 1673: WORP, Vol.6, no.6881, p.320 (incomplete, remainder summarized).

Now that Chièze had found a copy of Salinas's *De musica*, Huygens decided he could ask for more. In a letter of 7 March 1673 he expressly asked for "a large fistful of Spanish airs" and as many pieces in guitar tablature, since recently he had become a guitar player, "after having spent so many hours with his lute, theorbo, harpsichord and viol". He suggested that Chièze look for a guitar for him in Madrid too³⁵: Chièze answered promptly to these requests, on 28 March 1673, promising as many Spanish airs as Huygens wanted, pieces in tablature, a guitar and whatever else Huygens would ask³⁶.

Already with his next letter, that of 12 April 1673, Chièze sent some pieces in Spanish guitar tablature³⁷. He warned Huygens that the tablature was different from what he (Huygens) was used to, even opposite: the highest string was represented by the lowest line, according to the Spanish (and Italian) system, and contrary to French tablature, where the highest line represents the course the highest in pitch. In addition the Spanish tablatures used figures instead of letters. Chièze also promised to find a vihuela for Huygens.

In his letter to Chièze of 2 May 1673, Huygens protested vehemently against the pieces written down in tablature³⁸. Huygens's indignation makes, however, a somewhat insincere impression, because after all he had asked for pieces in tablature notation himself. He had shown the pieces that he had received to Don Manuel de Lira, Spanish Ambassador in The Hague, who recognized the pieces as coming from some theatre plays. According to Lira, there should be wonderful voices in the Royal Chapel and Huygens now asked Chièze to go there. As far as instrumental pieces were concerned, he asked for allemandes, courantes, sarabandes, and the like, if these could be found. Finally he told an anecdote about the visit to Madrid by the French-English lute player Jacques Gaultier many years before, around 1630, who had found a greater interest in the guitar than the lute. A vihuela he did not need, since he could borrow a guitar from a lady in The Hague, Catharina Smith.

Here is Huygens's commentary on Chièze's first dispatch of Spanish music:

"C'est une peine extraordinaire d'avoir affaire à des envoyez extraordinaires si extraordinairement lourdeauts, qu'ils ne sçauroyent comprendre *quid distent æra lupinis*. On vous demande des airs Espagnols, cela veut dire des chansons escrites en notes de musique avec leurs basses, s'il y en a. Ces notes de musique sont des caractères magiques faicts ainsy:



35 Huygens to Chièze, 7 March 1673: JONCKBLOET, 1882, no.68, pp. 9-60 (incomplete); WORP, Vol.6, no.6886. pp.321-322 (incomplete, remainder summarized); RASCH, 2007, no.6886, pp.1120-1123.

36 Chièze to Huygens, 28 March 1673: RASCH, 2007, no.6890A, pp.1127-1130.

37 Chièze to Huygens, 12 April 1673: RASCH, 2007, no.6891A, pp.1130-1131.

38 Huygens to Chièze, 2 May 1673: JONCKBLOET, 1882, no.69, pp.60-61 (incomplete); WORP, Vol.6, no.6895, pp.325-326 (incomplete); RASCH, 2007, no.6895, pp.1131-1136.

et dessous on escrit les paroles. Est-ce s'expliquer assez pour dire 'Envoyez-moy des airs Espagnols?' Quand *Don Emanuel de Lira* (vostre parfait amy) a veu les bagatelles que vous m'avez envoyées, il a reconnu d'abord que ce sont *pedaços desazidos* de quelque pièces de théâtre, et je m'en suis douté aussy, y trouvant de ces *deidades del abismo*, et ce *benenoso monte de la luna*, avec une certaine tablature de guitarre qui faict pitié. Laissez-moy faire (de par vos *deidades del abismo*) de l'accompagnement sur *qualquiera instrumento*, et envoyez nous des beaux dessus et faictes comprendre à *essas bestias de alvarda*, qui n'ont pas sçeu qu'il y eust jamais eu un Salinas au monde, que nous en sçavons quinze ou quarante cinq fois plus qu'eux tous. Si vous voulez avoir le plaisir de le leur prouver par les effets, je vous enverray quelques productions mienes, sur leur misérable accord de cinq cordes, et nous les lairrons juger de ce que nous valons de part et d'autre. Mais véritablement, je crains que l'exécution leur en semblera un peu *peligrosa*. Ils m'ont bien faict pester, lorsqu'après avoir déchiffré leur sottte tablature, qui met tous les dessous dessus, *pro thesauro carbones inveni*³⁹. Cependant, *si Lira noster non delirat*, parmi les gens de *la Capilla Real* il se peut trouver des merveilles, et en quoy leur *garganta*, dont ils se font tant de feste, s'exerce à miracle. Adressez-vous une bonne fois à la meilleure boutique, et ayons choses dignes d'un *embiado extraordinario*. *Hactenus* pour les airs pour la guitarre; s'ils ont des allemandes, des courantes, des sarabandes, qu'il vaille la peine d'entendre, voyons ce qu'il a de plus hupé. Car ce qu'on vous a fouré dans la main, sont *niñerías*, et des plus pauvres. Gautier m'a conté qu'ayant joué deux heures durant sur son excellentissime luth au Cabinet du Roy à Madrid, *los grandes d'España* (*grandes aselli*) dirent: '*Gran lastima es que no tañe la guitarra,*' qui le tenta de leur donner de son luth par les oreilles, et cecy me faict croire qu'encor y doibt il avoir quelque sçavant qui sçait faire dire à cest instrument quelque chose de bon".

"It is an extraordinary trouble to have to do business with extraordinary envoys who are so extraordinarily stupid that they do not understand the difference between the genuine and the fake. You were asked for Spanish airs, that is, songs written with musical notes and their basses, if there are any. These musical notes are magical signs, which look like this:



And the words are written underneath. Is this enough to explain the meaning of "Send me Spanish airs"? When Don Emanuel de Lira (your great friend) saw the trifles that you sent me, he immediately recognized them as some miserable pieces taken from some theatre plays, and I thought that too, seeing in them "the gods of the underworld" and the "poisonous mountain of the moon", with a certain kind of guitar tablature that makes one feel sorry. Let me make (on behalf of your gods of the underworld) the accompaniment for some kind of instrument, and send us beautiful melodies and let

39 After PHAEDRUS: *Fabulae*, V, 6, 6: '*Carbonem, ut aiunt, pro thesauro invenimus*'.

those idiots, who do not know that there once lived a Salinas on earth, understand that we know fifteen or forty-five times more about it than them all. If you would like to have the pleasure of proving this to them by examples, I will send you some of my compositions, for their simple tuning with five strings, and we shall let them judge what we are able to do here and there. But really, I fear that performing them will seem somewhat dangerous to them. They have irritated me by sending me worthless things instead of worthy things, which I found out after having deciphered their tablature, which puts everything upside down. Yet, if our friend Lira is not just delirious, there must be wonderful musicians among the people of the Royal Chapel, whose throats, which they celebrate so much, work wonders. Visit the best shop at some point, and let us have things that are worthy to an ambassador extraordinary. Enough about the guitar airs. If they have allemandes, courantes or sarabandes that are worth the trouble of listening to, let us see what better there is. For what they have given to you are childish pieces, and of the poor kind. Gautier had told me that after having played for two hours on his excellent lute in the Cabinet of the King in Madrid, the Spanish *grandes* (*grandi aselli*) said: “It is a pity that he does not play the guitar”, which almost made him hit them with his lute, and this makes me believe that there must be some connoisseur who knows how to make this instrument produce something good”.

Huygens did not fully specify which airs he received but he said that they were borrowed from theatre plays and he provided the phrases “*deidades del abismo*” and “*benenoso monte de la luna*”. Fortunately, these phrases suffice to identify the airs. The first phrase matches the first words of the air *Deidades del abismo* to be found in Antonio de Solís’s *Eurídice y Orfeo* (1654)⁴⁰. It is sung by Orfeo approaching Hades:

“Deidades del abismo
Si en vuestro ardiente reino
Tiene amor otras llamas
Con que se abrasa el fuego”

“Gods of the underworld
If in your torrid reign
Love keeps other flames,
Which the fire embraces”

The other phrase, “*benenoso monte de la luna*”, almost certainly refers to the air *Ya que aqueste peñasco*, the quite popular *tono* which opens the “Jornada III” of Calderón’s *Celos aun del aire matan*, premiered in 1660 with music reportedly by Juan Hidalgo⁴¹. The words quoted by Huygens assume an important position at the end of the first stanza:

40 The song is not in the printed text of the play, but in manuscript versions. See Louise K. STEIN: *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain*. London, Oxford University Press, 1993, pp.320, 374. A musical setting, for voice and guitar chord accompaniment in numbers, found in Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Mus. MS 759/8, is transcribed on p.527.

41 See STEIN, 1993, p.234, 252, 255 (note 138), 320, 407, 495. The air is transcribed on pp.495-496 after Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Mus. MS 753/24; with harp tablature in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. M 2478, reproduced in Rita GOLDBERG: *Tonos a lo divino y lo humano*. London, Tamesis, 1981, p.33. The phrase “*venenoso monte de la luna*” occurs in other plays by CALDERON, notably in *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo* and *El jardín de Falerina*, but not in lines that have been used for airs.

“Ya que aqueste peñasco
 Cuya esmeralda bruta
 Pedazo desasido
 Del *venenoso monte de la luna*”
 [...]

“Because this rock
 Of which the rough emerald,
 A loose piece
 Of the poisonous mountain of the moon”
 [...]

We assume that Huygens received these airs (and possibly others) written as guitar tablature with text. That he received guitar tablature—and not chord notation in letters or numbers—is clear from his response and that there was text is clear from his citing the final words of the first stanza of *Ya que aqueste peñasco*. Moreover, he is not saying that he did not receive airs, only that he did not receive them with music.

Before Huygens’s answer reached Chièze, the latter had to break bad news. On 10 May he wrote that the boat that was carrying the copy of Salinas’s *De musica* to Holland had been captured by the French—who were at war with both Spain and the Dutch Republic at that time—and that everything on the boat should be considered lost⁴². He advised Huygens to accept the high price of the copy for sale in Paris. Nevertheless he would try again with his friend in Zaragoza (Fabro de Bremundans) to find a copy, now that both Salamanca and Alcalá (de Henares) had failed to provide one.

After having written and sent the letter just cited, Chièze received Huygens’s letter of 2 May, to which he responded on 24 May⁴³. He reminded Huygens that he (Huygens) himself had asked him to send pieces in tablature, in which he was right. This time Chièze sent—after “he had climbed the mountains of the moon and descended to the Gods of the Underworld”—airs in ordinary notation, found in the real world, by composers such as the “Maestros de la Capilla” “Marino”, “Osorio”, “Juan Sanchez” and “Maestro Galán”. “What objection could the illustrious Don Emanuel de Lira have against such famous authors?” he wondered. He would also send pieces for the viol, if he would succeed in getting them from an unnamed musician of the Royal Chapel, who owed him something in compensation for a personal service.

It is the first time that names of composers are mentioned in the correspondence. Cristobal Galán (born c1625, died 1684) was certainly the foremost composer of airs living in Madrid at that time⁴⁴. In 1673, he was music director of the Descalzas Reales, not yet director of the Royal Chapel. The other references to composers are not very exact. “Marino” is probably José Marín (born 1618/19?, died 1699), member of the Royal Chapel from 1644 to 1649, but exiled because of an accusation of criminal activities in 1654⁴⁵. He might have been back in Madrid later, perhaps working for monasteries. He was a prolific composer of *tonos*. “Osorio” must be Miguel Ossorio, who was maestro of the Iglesia Colegial de San Salvador in Sevilla in the early 1670s⁴⁶. “Juan Sanchez” must be Juan [Miguel] Sanz (died 1674?), maestro de capilla and organist in Calatayud, Seville and possibly Toledo⁴⁷.

42 Chièze to Huygens, 10 May 1673: RASCH, 2007, pp.1136-1138; summarized in WOP, Vol.6, no.6896, p.326.

43 Chièze to Huygens, 24 May 1673: WOP, Vol.6, no.6900, pp.327; RASCH, 2007, no.6900, pp.1139-1142.

44 See Begoña LOLO: “Galán, Cristóbal”, in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*. Madrid, Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 1999-2002, Vol.5, pp.317-319.

45 See Javier GARBAYO: “Marín, José”, in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*. Vol.7, pp.184-185.

46 See Paul R. LAIRD: *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico*. Pinewood MI, Harmonie Park, 1997, p.56, note 24.

47 See Antonio EZQUERRO ESTEBAN: “Sanz, Juan [Miguel] (II)”, in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*. Vol.9, pp.811-812.

Huygens received this letter within a week, on 29 May; he responded the next day. He expressed his regret that the Salinas copy had got lost during its transportation, as well his gratitude for the airs recently sent⁴⁸:

“Je suis fort ayse de veoir ces airs Espagnols en notes de musique, y trouvant le véritable génie de la nation, fort Africaine, à mon advis, et qui jamais ne se despouillera bien de ce Punicum et Lybicum d’outre mer. Pour la tablature de la guitarre, il m’en coustera encor une fois (*y no mas*) la peine de traduire ceste sottte manière de *sotto sopra* en bonnes lettres d’alphabet, en espérance d’y rencontrer quelque-chose qu’il vaille la peine d’avoir éplusché. Vous diriez que c’est de la tablature pour le antipodes. Ces messieurs m’obligeroient fort de s’expliquer à la mode de deça des Pyrenées, ce qui leur seroit plus ayse qu’à moy. *Miraremos* si le jeu vaudra bien la chandelle”.

“I am very grateful to see these Spanish airs in musical notes, where I see the true genius of the people, very African, in my opinion, and it will never entirely free itself from that Punic and Libyan from overseas. As far as the guitar tablature is concerned, I will take one more time (*and not more*) the trouble of transcribing this funny *upside-down* method in good letters, hoping to find something that is worth the trouble of sifting out. One could say it is the tablature of the antipodes. These sirs would oblige me greatly if they would express themselves in the ways of this side of the Pyrenees, which would be easier for them than for me. *We will see* if the game is worth the candle”.

It is interesting to see that Huygens described the particular character of the Spanish airs he received as “African”, as a remainder of the Morish reign of Spain, later specified as Punic or Libyan. One might be tempted to believe that he received some *villancicos negros*, but that seems not to have been the case. He calls what he received simply “airs Espagnols”.

On 7 June Chièze sent some more airs, this time accompanied by a brief letter entirely written in Spanish⁴⁹. With his next letter, sent 20 June 1673, Chièze did not sent any new music, but he reported that he had written again to his friend in Zaragoza —certainly Francisco Fabro de Bremundans, the Secretary to John Joseph of Austria— to look out for another copy of Salinas⁵⁰.

Huygens responded to Chièze’s Spanish letter on 27 June. This is again a letter in which Huygens is very critical about the Spanish music sent to him, but his half-serious, half-sarcastic tone suggests that this is an indignation feigned rather than sincere⁵¹:

“Pour *los tonos*, Señor, qu’en fin vous avez fait *lloviznar* sur moy *accipio solutionem*, et cesse de vous en demander. Ἄλις δρυός. *Satis quercus Prisci mortales, simulatque Ceres risum frumenti monstravit, glandibus victitare desierunt, quamquam Plinius testatur suâ ætate glandem apud Hispanos etiam in deliciis habitam, adeò ut bellariorum vice secundis mensis inseretur*⁵². Ils chassent donc de race, vos *Don Diegos*, car véritablement au prix de beau froment musical de

48 Huygens to Chièze, 30 May 1673: JONCKBLOET, 1882, no.70, p.62; WORP, Vol.6, no.6901, p.327 (summarized); RASCH, 2007, no.6901, pp.1142-1145.

49 Chièze to Huygens, 7 June 1673: RASCH, 2007, no.6901A, pp.1145-1146.

50 Chièze to Huygens, 20 June 1673: WORP, Vol.6, no.6902, p.328 (summarized); RASCH, 2007, no.6902, pp.1147-1151.

51 Huygens to Chièze, 27 June 1673: JONCKBLOET, 1882, no.71, pp.62-63; WORP, Vol.6, no.6903, p.328 (summarized); RASCH, 2007, no.6903, pp.1151-1156.

52 After PLINY: *Naturalis historia*, XVI, 15.

France et d'Italie à peine est-ce du gland dont *essos animales se accuadan* [sic; =?]. Hastez-vous de revenir et nous en parlerons plus amplement. J'avoue que j'en avoy attendu toute autre chose, *mas saliome en blanco mi esperança*, et plus ne vous en importunerai ni ces beaux auteurs.

Pour la guitarre aussi j'ay fort regretté la peine d'avoir esté tourner le dessous dessus de leur tablature, n'ayant rien trouvé que je voulusse jouer deux fois. Je suis fort tenté de vous envoyer quelque bagatelle de ma façon pour faire un peu veoir à ces Messieurs à quels apprentis ils ont à faire, et, s'ils me veulent encor gratifier de quelque bonne estoffe d'élite, j'en seray fort ayse, mais que ce soit en tablature de lettres et non renversée, barbarie qui me faict raviar, *y me es por demas todo quanto se haze de esta otra manera*, ne voulant plus m'en rompre la teste pour si peu de fruit. Vous voylà bien délivré du costé enjoué, [...]”.

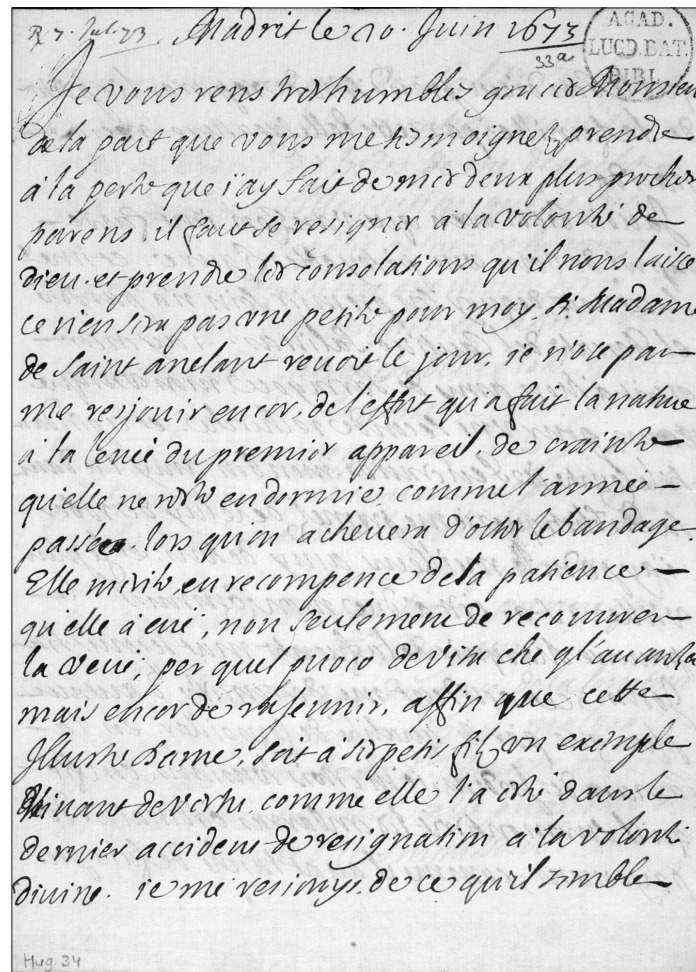


Figure 6: First page of an autograph letter by Sébastien Chièze to Constantijn Huygens, 20 June 1673. Leiden, University Library, Cod. Hug. 34. (With kind permission).

“As far as the airs (*tonos*) are concerned, Sir, that you have showered down upon me in the end, I accept the downward track, and will stop asking you for more. Enough of the oak. The oak sufficed for the people of the olden times, but as soon as Ceres had shown them the laughter of the grain, they stopped feeding themselves with acorns, although Pliny relates that in his time the Spaniards still took the acorn to be a delicacy, so that they were served as a delicious desert. They hunt therefore as they are, your Don Diegos, for, really, in comparison to the beautiful musical grain from France and Italy, they are beasts that feed themselves with nothing more than acorns. Come home soon, please, so that can we discuss this more elaborately. I admit that I had expected something else, so naive was my expectation, and I will no longer disturb you nor these fine composers.

Also as far as the guitar is concerned, I much regretted the trouble of having turned upside down their tablature, having found nothing that I would play a second time. I am tempted to send you some trifle of my composition, in order to show to these Sirs with what kind of pupils they have to do, and, if they want to give me some more elite things, I will be very pleased, but let it be in tablature with letters and not upside down, a barbarity which drives me mad, and nothing that has been made in that other way will suit me, because I do not want to rack my brains about things of such little value. You see yourself freed from this merry task, [...]”.

In this letter Huygens called what he received “*tonos*”, the normal Spanish equivalent of “airs” at that time. He also sent some pieces in tablature composed by himself, to be shown to the Spanish musicians. At the end of his letter, he mitigated his critic by admitting that among the *tonos* there were quite reasonable examples.

With his letter of 5 July 1673, Chièze sent more airs, both in guitar tablature and in staff notation⁵³. Chièze’s next letter, of 19 July, is again entirely in Spanish⁵⁴. He defended Spanish music against Huygens’s attacks:

“Los tonos, Señor, son muy Griegos, pero en la garganta de los músicos de aca, y en sus enredados parosismos, no les falta gracia, mayormente siendo ayudados de harpas, vihuelas y xirimias, aquí vienen unos muy celebrados. De la cifra de guitarra no hablaré mas palabra, y procuraré hallar algun discreto virtuoso, a quien se pueda enseñar la música que Vuestra Señoría fue serbida remitirme de su composición”.

“The *tonos*, Sir, are very Greek, yet in the throat of the musicians over here, with their confused and passionate outbreaks, they do not lack charm, especially if they are supported by players of the harp, the vihuela or the shawm, among whom there are some very famous ones. About the guitar tablature I will not say much. I will try to find a connoisseur to whom one can show the music of your composition that you have sent”.

Chièze called the *tonos* sent to Huygens “Griegos”. The qualification is not entirely clear. Is it meant to mean the same as African, Punic or Libyan? In addition, Chièze would continue to try to find another copy of Salinas’s book.

53 Chièze to Huygens, 5 July 1673: RASCH, 2007, no.6903A, pp.1156-1157.

54 Chièze to Huygens, 19 July 1673: WORP, Vol.6, no.6906, p.329 (summary); RASCH, 2007, no.6906, pp.1160-1162.

Huygens remained unsatisfied with what Chièze had sent him, as is clear from his letter of 11 August 1673⁵⁵. This letter must be the response to Chièze's letter of 5 July. The airs that were sent with that letter were obviously called *tonos humanos*, the normal designation of secular songs in seventeenth-century Spain, to distinguish them from the *tonos divinos* or sacred songs. Huygens did not hesitate to misunderstand the distinction and to call the songs bestial rather than human:

“*Los tonos humano-bestiados* me sont venus, et *ad nauseam* sufficit d'avoir veu à quoy est decheu le beau génie Espagnol, qui a autrefois inspiré les grandes ames des Seneques, des Lucains et du reste de ces demi-dieux que je vous ay nommez par le passé. Je ne comprends pas cependant que veult dire cest *humano* en musique; est-ce que les bestes chantent le reste? En fin, *claudite jam rivos pueri*⁵⁶, je tien ma curiosité abondamment satisfaite de ce costé-là, et, à vostre retour, vous en voulez faire autant”.

“The human-bestial *tonos* have arrived and they suffice *ad nauseam* to show how far the splendid Spanish genius has fallen, which used to inspire the great minds of Seneca, Lucan and the other half-gods whom I have mentioned to you before. Yet I do not understand what this *humano* means in music. Is it that the beasts sing the remainder? Please, “children, stop your flood”, my curiosity is satisfied enough from that side, and, at your return [to Holland], you will agree”.

In spite of Huygens's declaration that he had seen enough, Chièze continued to send airs, with letters of 30 August 1673⁵⁷, 13 September 1673⁵⁸ and 27 September 1673⁵⁹. He used the argument that he had received them and could do nothing else than to send them to Huygens:

“Que voulez-vous que je face, Monsieur, de *los tonos que me quedan*? Recevez donc, s'il vous plaît, celluy-cy de Juliano del Vado, duquel on fait beaucoup de cas. Et par le premier courrier je vous en enverroyeray un de Juan Hidalgo, *con que se acabara la fiesta*.”

“What do you want me to do, Sir, with the *tonos* that have been sent to me? Receive therefore, please, this one by “Juliano del Vado”, which is praised very much here. And with the next post I will send you one by Juan Hidalgo, with whom the party will come to an end.”

Again Chièze was not very accurate in writing the names of the composers. “Juliano del Vado” certainly is a mistake for Juan del Vado (y Gómez; born after 1625, died 1691), very well known as a composer of airs at that time⁶⁰.

Huygens wrote to Chièze on 3 October 1673⁶¹. Again, he expresses his wonder about the Spanish airs sent to him. From his answer it is clear that he received a *villancico al Santisimo*, to be sung at Corpus Christi, and obviously in a very secular style, with a *fa-la-la* refrain:

55 Huygens to Chièze, 11 August 1673: JONCKBLOET, 1882, no.73, p.64; WOP, Vol.6, no.6910 (summary); RASCH, 2007, no.6910, pp.1163-1166.

56 After VIRGIL: *Eclōgæ*, III, 111.

57 Chièze to Huygens, 30 August 1673: RASCH, 2007, no.6910B, pp.1166-1167.

58 Chièze to Huygens, 13 September 1673: WOP, Vol.6, no.6911, p.332 (incomplete), RASCH, 2007, no.6911, pp.1167-1171.

59 Chièze to Huygens, 27 September 1673: RASCH, 2007, no.6912A, pp.1171-1172.

60 See Begoña LOLO: “Vado [Bado], Juan Bautista del”, in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*. Vol.10, pp.623-624.

61 Huygens to Chièze, 3 October 1673: JONCKBLOET, 1882, no.74, p.65 (incomplete); WOP, Vol.6, no.6913, pp.333-334 (complete); RASCH, 2007, no.6913, pp.1172-1176.

“Vostre dernière du 13^e Septembre m’a porté le dernier de vos *tonos*, et je suis fort content que ce soit le dernier, jugeant de plus en plus, à quel point de bestialité ces mi-Africains sont parvenus. Qui a jamais ouy nommer un *villancico* - que je pourroy nommer une gigue ou vaudeville - *al santissimo Sacramento*? Et puis, au lieu d’un motet ou pièce d’église des plus graves, aller faire rouler cela sur un fa, la, la, la. Quel diable a tourné l’esprit de ces nepveux de Séneque, de Lucain et de tant d’autres lumières de l’antiquité?”

“Your letter of 13 September brought me the last of your *tonos*, and I am quite happy that this is the last, seeing better and better what point of bestiality these half-Africans have reached. Who has ever heard of a *villancico* (which I would call a gigue or a vaudeville) destined for the Holy Sacrament? And then, instead of a motet or a serious church piece, let it roll on *fa la la*? Which devil has turned around the minds of these nephews of Seneca, Lucan and so many luminaries of Antiquity?”

In addition, he asked Chièze to look out for a guitar, since his friend Catharina Smitz had changed the donation of her guitar to Huygens *inter vivos* into one *post mortem*. At the end of the letter, he asked why there was no response to the pieces sent by him to Madrid.

On 25 October, Chièze faithfully responded to all of Huygens questions⁶²: 1. He was sending the last air or airs, presumably one (or more) by Juan Hidalgo (born 1614, died 1675), as announced in the previous letter⁶³. 2. He did not know if he could find a second copy of Salinas. 3. He explained how Spaniards could feast on Corpus Christi:

“Si vous aviez veu icy *los autos, los gigantones, los baylarines, los ganqueos* [sic; =?] y *otra maquina de bateles en el Dia del Corpus*, toute une procession arrestée au soleil pour laisser achever ses tours de passe-passe à un harlequin, qui dance sur une crache d’eau et qui fait mille tours dans un cercle. Enfin, ce sont icy des Crestiens triez sur le volet, y *nosotros de alla y aun* sujet du Pape, *todos hereges*.”

“If only you had seen here the plays, the giants’ parades, the dancers, the nose-speakers [?] and the other carts on Corpus Christi, a whole procession, which halts in the sun to let a harlequin, who dances on a jet of water and who turns around one thousand times, finish his turns. In short, they are all exemplary Christians, and we foreigners, even if subjects to the Pope, are all heretics.”

4. He promised a guitar. 5. The Spanish guitar players could not transcribe Huygens’s tablatures. 6. He was not surprised about Catharina Smitz’s behaviour.

In his reply of 21 November, Huygens thanked Chièze again for the airs sent. He was not surprised that the Spanish guitar players could not, or, rather, did not want to transcribe his guitar pieces: they would only be confronted with their own inferiority⁶⁴:

“Grand et très-grand mercy, *caro Señor Embiadillo*, pour tous les régales que vous m’avez faicts, faictes et ferez. Le dernier de ces trois articles me resjouit plus que les deux autres, parce

62 Chièze to Huygens, 25 October 1673: RASCH, 2007, no.6917A, pp.1176-1179.

63 See Cristina BORDAS, et alii: “Hidalgo, Juan”, in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*. Vol.6, pp.282-286.

64 Huygens to Chièze, 21 November 1673: WORP, Vol.6, no.6297, pp.342-343 (summary); RASCH, 2007, no.6922, pp.1179-1182 (complete).

que je voy qu'il sera chargé de matières plus solides que me sont ces *tonos Africanos*, dont je ne puis assez admirer la bestise en une nation *abuella* des plus grands hommes de l'antiquité. Ils ont raison de ne vouloir pas traduire mes compositions. Je suis si vain, que je croy que, mesme au travers de ma tablature françoise, ils ont remarqué que ces lourdes mains Espagnoles ne pourroyent fournir à ce qu'ils perdroyent dans la traduction."

"Many and very many thanks, dear Sir Ambassador, for all the gifts you have given, give, and will give to me. The last of these three items I like more than the two other ones, since it will contain materials more solid than those *tonos Africanos*, in which I cannot wonder enough at the bestiality of a nation descending from the greatest men of Antiquity. They are right in not being willing to transcribe my compositions. I am so vain as to believe that they have noted, even through my French tablature, that their heavy Spanish hands would not be able to provide what they would lose in translation."

The gift that Huygens is expecting for the future is polyphonic music in a serious style, not unlike the pieces to be found in Pedro Rimonte's *El parnaso Español*, a collection of madrigals and villancicos on Spanish texts for four, five and six voices, published in Antwerp in 1614:

"S'il s'imprime par delà de la musique concertée en parties, soit pour le monde ou pour l'église, il ne se peut qu'à la messe et ailleurs il ne se produise quelque chose d'excellent. Nous avons icy des pièces imprimées, dont le titre est '*El Parnasio Español, madrigales y villancicos por Pedro Rimonte à 4, 5 y seis*', et sont compositions très-bonnes. Je m'imagine que depuis ce temps-là ils auront continué d'imiter les Italiens, et se seront avisés d'orner leur concerts de basses continues (un Alemand nommoit ceste partie selon son jargon: 'il pazzo continuo'), qui sont aujourd'huy partout, *pihule sine quibus non*. Si telles choses se trouvent en train, je seroy bien ayse d'y avoir un peu de part, *quod commodò tiro fiat*."

"If there is some polyphonic music in parts printed over there, be it for the world or for the church, something good must have been made for the mass or for another occasion. Here we have printed pieces, entitled *El Parnaso Español de madrigales y villancicos à quatro, cinco y seis*, by Pedro Rimonte, which are very good compositions. I imagine that since that time they will have continued to imitate the Italians, and will have decided to adorn their polyphony with figured basses—a German once called this part in his jargon *il pazzo continuo*—, which are everywhere today and without which nothing goes. If such things are going on, I would like very much to be a bit part of that, because I become a pupil easily."

1674

In the first letter written in the new year, 1674, on 2 January, Chièze could write that he had found another copy of Salinas's *De musica*⁶⁵. There is no information in the letter about how and

65 Chièze to Huygens, 2 January 1674: WORP, Vol.6, no.6927 (incomplete), RASCH, 2007, no.6927, pp.1183-1186.

66 Adriaen Paets had been an Envoy Extraordinary in Madrid on behalf of the States General of the Dutch Republic since 1672.

where he had found it. There was also a possibility to buy a guitar: the departing imperial ambassador, Franz Eusebius Count Pötting, would bring one into an auction. Finally, Chièze promised to look out for any music printed in Spain since Rimonte. There is no mention of the guitar in the further correspondence of 1674, so it does not seem to have been acquired by Chièze. Equally, there is no evidence that Chièze ever sent Spanish polyphonic music to Huygens, be it printed or in manuscript.

The copy of Salinas's *De musica* was given to the wife of the physician of the Dutch envoy in Madrid⁶⁶, to bring it to the Netherlands, as Chièze wrote in his letter of 25 April 1674⁶⁷. The book arrived safe and sound in Holland, and Huygens acknowledged receipt and thanked Chièze in a letter of 3 August⁶⁸. Chièze's reply to this letter, of 29 August 1674, closes the correspondence about this troublesome acquisition⁶⁹. In all, more than two and a half years had passed since Huygens's first request to Chièze to look out for the book.

It is interesting to have a look at the use that was made of Salinas's *De musica* in Holland. The book was not primarily used by Constantijn Huygens himself, but rather by his son, Christiaan Huygens, the physicist. An extract from Salinas's book is to be found in a series of notes written down by Christiaan probably in the years 1676-1678, when he stayed with his father in The Hague⁷⁰. (From 1671 to 1676 he had lived in Paris). The passage copied relates to the archicembalo and the 31-note division of the octave.

After the death of Constantijn Huygens in 1687, the Salinas copy clearly did not come into the possession of Christiaan, as one would expect, but of his elder brother, Constantijn Huygens Jr.⁷¹ In 1690 Christiaan wanted to consult the book. On 12 May he wrote to his brother, who was then in London as Secretary to Prince William III, at that time not only Stadtholder of the Dutch Republic but also King of England. Christiaan asked his brother for the shelfmark of the book in his library, so that he himself could find it⁷². He had obviously remembered by that time that Salinas had written something about the archicembalo and about the 31-note division of the octave⁷³. Christiaan probably did not get the information about the whereabouts of the book before February 1691. During the summer of 1690, William III campaigned in Ireland, and Constantijn Jr went with him there. Very few letters from Constantijn Jr to Christiaan are known from before his return to Holland early in 1691. Constantijn Jr arrived in The Hague on 3 February; Christiaan met him at his arrival⁷⁴. They had dinner together on 7 February. They also met with each other on 18 and 19

67 Chièze to Huygens, 25 April 1674: WORP, Vol.6, no.6938, p.348 (incomplete, remainder summarized).

68 Chièze to Huygens, 3 August 1674: JONCKBLOET, 1882, no.76, pp.66-67 (incomplete); WORP, Vol.6, no.6948, p.352 (summary).

69 Chièze to Huygens, 29 August 1674: WORP, Vol.6, no.6953, pp.354-356 (complete).

70 See Leiden, Univ. Libr., Cod. Hug. 27, fol.32r, reproduced in Christiaan HUYGENS: *Oeuvres complètes*. Vol.20. The Hague, Nijhoff, 1950, p.112. For the dating see RASCH, 1986, p.35. In Salinas's book, the text copied is to be found in Liber 3, Cap.27, pp.164-166.

71 It is listed in the catalogue of the auction of his library: *Bibliotheca Zuylichemiana Constantini Huygens*. Leiden, 1701, p.32, no.579.

72 Christiaan Huygens to his brother Constantijn, 12 May 1690: Christiaan HUYGENS: *Oeuvres complètes*. Vol.9. The Hague, Nijhoff, 1901, no.2591, p.423. He repeated his request in a letter of 16 May: no.2592, pp.424-425.

73 See RASCH, 1986, pp.62-63.

74 Constantijn HUYGENS Jr.: *Journal van 21 oktober 1688 tot 2 september 1696*. Utrecht, Historisch Genootschap, 1877; Nieuwe Reeks, Vol.25, p.395.

February⁷⁵. They probably located the Salinas copy in Constantijn's library on one of these occasions, since Christiaan wrote down a more comprehensive quotation in his so-called "Notebook G", which can be circumstantially dated March 1691⁷⁶. Details from this quotation are recognizable in a text that Christiaan Huygens wrote as a first draft of an article that would be published as "Lettre de Mr. Huygens à l'Auteur touchant le Cycle Harmonique" in the September-October 1691 issue of the scientific journal *Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans*, a journal edited by Henri Basnage de Beauval and published in Rotterdam by Reinier Leers⁷⁷. Salinas plays an important role in the introductory section of this brief text, for his invention of temperament, for his rejection of 31-tone temperament, and for his description of the archicembalo⁷⁸.

After the death of Constantijn Huygens Jr. the copy of Salinas's *De musica* was sold at the auction of his library in 1701 for 9 guilders and 5 stivers⁷⁹

1677

After the arrival of the Salinas copy in The Hague in 1674 there was a pause in the correspondence between Chièze and Huygens as far as music was concerned. Other business continued as usual. Adriaen Paets had been ambassador in Madrid on behalf of the States General of the Dutch Republic from 1672 to 1675⁸⁰. His presence was prompted by the outbreak of the "Dutch War", the war between the Dutch Republic on the one hand and France, England, Münster and Cologne on the other, in 1672: the Dutch Republic needed Spain as an ally more than ever. Also in 1672, William III had become Stadtholder of the Dutch Republic. Chièze had hoped that this would accelerate the negotiations around the Spanish debts to the Prince, but this hope proved vain.

After Paets had returned to Holland, Chièze received his commission. He was appointed an Extraordinary Envoy on behalf of the States General of the Dutch Republic on 12 November 1675⁸¹. Now he was at the same time a representative of the House of Orange and of the States General. Much to Chièze's distress, his negotiations concerning the Spanish debts to the House of Orange were not successful and nothing would have been accomplished at his death a few years later⁸².

The exchange of music and the correspondence about musical matters was picked up in 1677. Chièze had asked a guitar maker to make an instrument for Huygens. On 12 August 1677 he sent a

75 HUYGENS Jr.: *Journal*, p.400.

76 Leiden, Univ. Libr., Cod. Hug. 7, fol.92r; see Christiaan HUYGENS: *Oeuvres complètes*. Vol.20. The Hague, Nijhoff, 1940, pp.112-114.

77 Pp.78-88. Published in facsimile, with Dutch and English translations, in RASCH, 1986. The draft is in Leiden, Cod. Hug. 27, fols.16r-19v and has the title "Cycle harmonique par la division de l'octave en 31 dièses, intervalles égaux". See RASCH, 1986, p.61.

78 Christiaan HUYGENS: *Le cycle harmonique*. Rotterdam, 1691, pp.79-82.

79 The copy of the auction catalogue (see above) now of the University Library in Leiden has a handwritten note in the margin saying that it was sold for f9:5.

80 SCHUTTE, 1976, p.391.

81 SCHUTTE, 1976, p.392.

82 In the end, the debts were paid, but only several years after Chièze's death, in 1685.

sketch of the guitar, as well a number of pieces for the instrument⁸³. They were composed by a person not mentioned by name; this person had also mediated in the ordering of the guitar.

After some time, the guitar was sent to Holland. On 30 December 1677 Chièze wrote that the guitar was waiting in Bilbao for the first convoy of ships going to Amsterdam⁸⁴. In addition, he asked Huygens for comments upon the guitar pieces sent. He could easily send more, if desired.

1678

No response is known to Chièze's letter of 30 December 1677. On 25 February 1678 Chièze wrote that, if the guitar had not yet arrived, it would soon⁸⁵. The instrument is now called "a vihuela or a guitar". He did not intend to send other Spanish or Italian tablatures.

1679

It is not known when the guitar arrived in The Hague. It may have been only in the course of 1678, because the next piece of information about it that we have is from Chièze's letter to Huygens of 11 January 1679⁸⁶. Chièze responded to a (now lost) letter of Huygens of 8 December 1678⁸⁷. From Chièze's letter it becomes clear that Huygens had disapproved of the guitar, much to Chièze's regret, of course. It is, however, not known if and when the instrument was sent back to Spain.

Whereas the letter of 11 January closed a chapter of the musical correspondence between Huygens and Chièze, that of the guitar, it also opened a new one, that of the lute, which would appear to be the last. Chièze promised that he would write — on the next Wednesday, which was 18 January — to Bologna to give order to purchase "*le vieux luth*". He is writing as if referring to an instrument that had been mentioned in the correspondence before, but no such letter is known, if it ever existed. The name of Luca (Laux) Maler, the famous lute maker of Bologna of the first half of the sixteenth century, is mentioned, and this is the first time in the correspondence between Chièze and Huygens⁸⁸. Chièze's words suggest that he knew some person in Bologna who knew about an old lute by Maler, which was for sale. In his next letter, of 25 January, Chièze confirmed that he had written to Bologna on 18 January, with a memorandum about Luca Maler, and that he was soon expecting an answer from his Bolognese friends⁸⁹.

83 Chièze to Huygens, 12 August 1677: RASCH, 2007, no.7058A, pp.1216-1218. There must have been correspondence about the ordering of this guitar from before this letter, but it is not mentioned in Chièze's letter of 8 April 1677, while no letters are known from the time between 8 April and 12 August 1677.

84 Chièze to Huygens, 30 December 1677: Leiden, Univ. Bibl., Cod. Hug. 34 (unedited).

85 Chièze to Huygens, 25 February 1678: WORP, Vol.6, no.7078 (incomplete, remainder summarized).

86 Chièze to Huygens, 11 January 1679: WORP, Vol.6, no.7100 (incomplete, remainder summarized); RASCH, 2007, no.7100, pp.1221-1224.

87 No letters written by Huygens to Chièze in 1679 have survived, but there certainly was one and probably there were more than one.

88 Maler's lutes play an important role in the correspondence between Huygens and Jacques Gaultier, then in London, in 1645. See RASCH, 2007, pp.716-727.

The Bolognese friends wrote to Chièze on 23 February 1679⁹⁰. They had searched for an old lute in Bologna and could now give details on two instruments, which are described in an added memorandum. One of the instruments had eleven ribs and was signed “Laux Mouler”. The other had nine ribs; of the name of the maker only the syllable “ler” had remained. The owner of the instrument —probably a musician or an instrument maker, since he is referred to as “maestro”— could not tell whether this instrument was by Luca Maler of by “the other Maler”, whom he called “Cristoforo”. This must be a mistake for Sigismondo, the son of Luca. The maestro judged the eleven-rib instrument the best, and he awaited orders for how and where to send it. Since the instrument was without a neck (*manico*) he proposed to send it to Paris, probably to have a neck added to it. The Bolognese memorandum adds that at the time the instruments of Luca Maler were not appreciated so much any more. Instead, those by Hans Frey, another lute maker of German descent active in Bologna in the sixteenth century, received the most praise, as well as instruments by a maker of whom they could not remember the name right then. (Perhaps they had Nicola Sconvelt in mind, yet another German-born sixteenth-century Bolognese lute maker.)

A few words are in order about the identity of Chièze’s two Bolognese friends. The letter they sent to Chièze has been preserved, since Chièze forwarded it, with the memorandum, to Huygens⁹¹. The letter does not have a signature⁹², but Chièze has added to the memorandum the heading “Mémoire de Monsieur le Chevallier et l’abbé Bonis frères, touchant les luthz de Boloigne.” With the name Bonis it is, however, impossible to identify the two brothers. Chièze must have made a mistake for “Bovio” here, since two brothers Bovio (also Bovii or Bovi), both born in Bologna around 1640 and the one a Knight of Malta, the other an Abbot, can be identified. We are talking about Giulio Bovio, born in Bologna on 27 January 1640 and Guido Bovio, born on 11 November 1641, sons of Antonio Bovio and Lucrezia Vaini⁹³. They came from an old and important Bolognese family.

Giulio Bovio made a career in the Order of the Knights of Saint John (or of Malta). He became Prior of the English Priory of the Order and was Ambassador of the Order with the Holy See. He died in 1706 or 1707⁹⁴. His portrait, painted by an unknown artist, is in the Sala VIII del Rettorato of the University of Bologna⁹⁵. His brother Guido is called an Abbot, but I have not been able to establish to which abbey or office this title refers. Both brothers travelled extensively through Europe in the 1670s. In 1673 and 1674 they made a trip through Spain and Portugal and it must be assumed that they got to know Chièze during this trip⁹⁶. They travelled to the Dutch Republic from 1677 to 1678 and stayed in Nijmegen with Luigi

89 Chièze to Huygens, 25 January 1679: RASCH, 2007, no.7100B, pp.1124-1125.

90 Giulio and Guido Bovio to Chièze, 23 February 1679: RASCH, 2007, pp.1226-1229.

91 It is together with Chièze’s letters in Leiden, Univ. Libr., Cod. Hug. 34.

92 It may therefore be a copy, perhaps by a French translator, since the letter, as it is preserved, is in French.

93 See Baldassare CARRATI: “Cittadini maschi di famiglie bolognesi battezzati in S. Pietro come risultano dai libri dell’ Archivio Battesimile, dal 1459 al 1809”, Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell’ Archiginnasio, MSS. B 849-882, Ms. B 866 (Battesimi 1640-1649), pp.3 (Giulio) and 8 (Guido). Godfather to Giulio was Nicolò Lodovico Prince of Piombino and Venosa, and to Guido, Taddeo Barberini, nephew of Pope Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini). I owe these references to Mario Armellini (Bologna).

94 His tomb is in Saint John’s Cathedral in La Valletta, Malta. See:

<http://www.araldolucca.com/root/archivio/scheda.asp?img-575> , consulted 8 January 2007.

95 Oil on canvas, 95 x 76 cm. See:

http://www.archivistorico.unibo.it/template/detail/Quadreria.asp?IDFolder=311&IDOgett****

96 An account of this journey was in Rome, Biblioteca Ferraioli, Ms. 222. The present location is unknown (to me). See Gisbert BROM: *Archivalia in Italië belangrijk voor de geschiedenis van Nederland. Derde deel: Rome, Overige bibliotheken en archieven*. The Hague, Nijhoff, 1914, p.509.

Bevilacqua, envoy of the Holy See for the Peace Congress of Nijmegen⁹⁷. Considering their correspondence with Chièze, they lived in Bologna in 1679. No special musical interests of theirs are known. Nevertheless, they helped Chièze in his search for a lute for Huygens.

Chièze reported about his success to Huygens in a letter also dated 23 February, but this date must be a mistake, because the letter of the Bovios had that date⁹⁸. It may be assumed that the date was 23 March and that the letter was sent to Huygens together with another letter of 23 March, a business letter. Whatever the true date, Chièze wrote that he had written again to the Bovio brothers and had asked them to send the lutes as soon as possible to his representative in Lyon. He had equally written to this representative to forward the lutes to Christiaan Huygens in Paris, who could take care of the addition of necks to the lutes.

Things did not go very quickly, though. On 5 July 1679, Guilio Bovio wrote to Chièze that the two lutes had been found, as if their whereabouts were unknown at first⁹⁹. Apparently they had not yet been sent. But Bovio wrote that both of them had a neck “à la Française” so that they could be played as soon as they were provided with strings. They would be sent to Lyon. Chièze forwarded Bovio’s letter to Huygens on 10 August and added a letter of his own, mentioning that he had written to Milan and Besançon to procure the forwarding of the instruments to Paris¹⁰⁰.

Unfortunately, Chièze’s letter of 5 July 1679 is the last detail known about the purchase of the Maler lutes. Soon after, he fell ill. He signed his will on 19 August 1679 and died on 13 September¹⁰¹. His widow, Claude-Marie de Lapie, informed Huygens about her husband’s death in a letter that has not survived. Huygens answered on 10 October; Claude-Marie wrote again on 2 November. These letters have survived but they tell us nothing about the lutes¹⁰².

It is unknown what happened with the Bolognese lutes. It is uncertain whether they were ever sent, let alone whether they arrived in Paris or in The Hague. No mention of these instruments is made in any later letter to or by Huygens, nor are they mentioned in any letter to or by Christiaan Huygens written in 1679 or 1680. The silence makes us believe that the instruments remained in Bologna.

Conclusion

What can we learn from this brief overview of seven years of musical correspondence between Madrid and The Hague? First, that diplomatic contacts played a role in the dissemination of music in Europe in the seventeenth century. Much music was available in print and this was easily to be had

97 An account of this journey was in Rome, Biblioteca Ferraioli, Ms. 224. See BROM, 1914, pp.507-508 in Gisbert BROM: “Een Italiaansche reisbeschrijving der Nederlanden (1677-1678)”, in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 26 (1915), pp.81-230. In 1676-1677 the brothers travelled to England.

98 Chièze to Huyges, 23 February [=23 March?] 1679: WORP, Vol.6, no.7103, p.409, RASCH, 2007, no.7110A, pp.1229-1231.

99 Bovio to Chièze, 5 July 1679: RASCH, 2007, no.7124B, pp.1231-1233. Preserved is a copy in French sent by Chièze to Huygens, certainly a translation of Bovio’s original, Italian letter.

100 Chièze to Huygens, 10 August 1679: RASCH, 2007, no.7129A, pp.1233-1235.

101 SCHUTTE, 1976, p.392.

102 Huygens to Claude-Marie de Lapie, 10 October 1679: WORP, Vol.6, no.7138, p.427 (summary). Claude-Marie de Lapie to Huygens, 2 November 1679: WORP, Vol.6, no.7139, p.427 (summary).

where there was a suitable infrastructure for selling and buying music. Personal contacts could provide music from places where the printing and publishing of music was not so common or if music was sought that was not available in print. During the seventeenth century the grand tour, commercial travel and diplomatic travel provided opportunities for music lovers from Western, Middle and Northern Europe—that is, England, the Netherlands, the German-speaking countries and Scandinavia in the first place—to get to know music from Southern Europe, mainly France and Italy.

Huygens himself had visited Venice in 1620 and England in the early 1620s as a member of diplomatic companies, as a Secretary of the Ambassador. Through these visits, he got to know music in Venice and England respectively; he acquired music during these visits too. Later, in the years 1661-1665, he was in Paris as a negotiator for the House of Orange, and learned about French musical life of the 1660s as an eye (and ear) witness. This personal acquaintance with foreign musical cultures was complemented by information provided by correspondents. For Huygens, Chièze was one of them. Diplomatic contacts were especially useful because letters and other documents could be sent with the diplomatic mail.

A second element to be learned from the Chièze-Huygens correspondence is how people acquired books, music or instruments they were looking for. If one could not go to a music shop, there was no standard route to acquire the desired published or hand-written music. One had to choose between several alternative routes. First, one could try to purchase the music directly from the publisher, if he (or his heir) was still active in this capacity. Second, one could go to a bookseller, in the hope that he would have some printed (or manuscript) music. Third, one could ask a friend or an acquaintance (or perhaps a friend of a friend, and so forth) to copy certain music. And last, one could wait until some music showed up in an auction. Chièze used all these alternative routes to acquire music, books about music or musical instruments for Huygens. In the case of Salinas, he thought of writing to the heirs of Matthias Gastius in Salamanca. Also for Salinas, he addressed himself to booksellers in Madrid, Toledo, Alcalá, and elsewhere. He wrote to friends, such as Francisco Fabro de Bremundans in Zaragoza, to look out for the desired books, and in this way he was successful. One must assume that the airs and guitar pieces he sent to Huygens were copied for him by musicians whom he had approached. The possibility of buying something at an auction is mentioned in relation to the guitar, but obviously the sale did not materialize.

Let us turn from the dissemination of seventeenth-century music to its reception. Spanish music from the seventeenth century appears to have been virtually unknown in the Dutch Republic, as probably in Western and Middle Europe in general. This is easy to understand from the lack of printed—and therefore exportable—editions and the large differences between the musical styles practised in Spain and the rest of Europe, including the Dutch Republic. Constantijn Huygens's musical world was thoroughly shaped by French music of the first half of the seventeenth century, with a secondary role for Italian music of the same period. His frame of reference for vocal music was the French *air de cour*; for instrumental music, the French prelude and the dance movements for lute. Compared to these genres the Spanish airs, the *tonos* and *villancicos*, show an entirely different technique and atmosphere. Their more direct and simple but highly effective style with lively rhythms and small melodic ranges could not compare for Huygens with the refined and rhythmically ambiguous French vocal airs and

instrumental dances. It is interesting to see that Chièze sent pieces by composers that are generally considered the most important composers of airs of the time: Cristóbal Galán, José Marín, Juan del Vado and Juan Hidalgo. Names of lesser renown in this respect are Miguel Ossorio and Juan Sanz. Equally telling is the sending of airs that were related to theatre plays.

We have seen that Huygens reacted strongly against the “Spanish” —in his eyes: “African”— style of the airs sent to him by Chièze and against the Spanish way to write guitar tablature, with numbers instead of letters and upside down in the representation of the strings, but the impression that he was overstating his case can hardly be avoided. But it is clear that his French-Italian-shaped musical experience was not able to fully appreciate the specific traits of the Spanish airs.

It is topical in the judgment of Spanish culture outside Spain that the great Spaniards from Roman times are quoted as examples of Spain’s rich past: letters quoted have already provided references to Seneca (born in Cordoba, died 65 A.D.) and the poet Lucan (likewise born in Cordoba, died 65 A.D.); other letters by Huygens add to these men the poet Martial (born in Bilbilis, near present-day Calatayud, died c102 A.D.) and one “Claudianus”, the latter probably by mistake¹⁰³. (To these men of letters could have been added the “Spanish” emperors Trajan (born in Italica, near Seville, 53 A.D., died 117) and Hadrian (also born in Italica, 76 A.D., died 138), but they are not mentioned by Huygens).

Whereas Spanish music was largely unknown in Europe north of the Pyrenees in the seventeenth century, this does not apply to Spanish literature. The works of the great Spanish playwrights, from Cervantes to Calderón, were quite well known in the Dutch Republic and elsewhere and influenced the development of the theatre in these countries by translations and imitations. Especially the fantastic and the capricious elements were much admired and copied. In one of his letters to Huygens, Chièze promised to send him a 25-volume edition of the comedies of Calderon, the “Corneille of Madrid”¹⁰⁴. It is not known if this promised materialized. Chièze did honour Huygens’s request to send to him the works of Fray Luis de Granada¹⁰⁵.

A final aspect to be noted is that, although the correspondence allows us to draw a general picture of how music circulated among music amateurs in different European countries, the picture is far from complete. There are letters missing in the correspondence, and the music sent has not been preserved so that we do not know which pieces exactly were sent. We must be content if a composer’s name is given explicitly: even that is not always the case. We do not know what happened with the Spanish guitar or vihuela sent to Huygens by Chièze in 1678, nor with the Maler lutes sent by the Bovio brothers to France in 1679. Fortunately enough of the Chièze-Huygens correspondence has been preserved at least to give an outline of Huygens’s “musical questions” to Chièze and Chièze’s answers to the questions. The letters tell us how Spanish music of the 1670s was received and subsequently misunderstood by a *pur sang* musical amateur from the Dutch Republic.

103 If Huygens is referring here to the poet Claudius Claudianus (c400 A.D.), which is probable, he was mistaken about his origin: Claudianus is supposed to have been born in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire, possibly in Alexandria.

104 Chièze to Huygens, 13 September 1673: WORP, Vol.6, no.6911, p.332 (incomplete); RASCH, 2007, no.6911, pp.1167-1171. 25 October 1673: RASCH, 2007, no.6917A, pp.1176-1179.

105 See Chièze’s letters of 19 July 1673 and 13 September 1673 (see above).