From Theory to Practice:
Reflections of Juan Bermudo and Francisco Salinas
in Francisco Guerrero’s *Canciones y villanescas espirituales*

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Abstract

In his *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* (1589), Francisco Guerrero demonstrates sensitivity to the writings of Spanish music theorists in the late Renaissance by setting sacred Spanish poetry to polyphonic vocal music that reinforces the meter, meaning, and emotional content of each poem. Guerrero ubiquitously conveys specific phrases through descriptive music in accordance with the precepts Juan Bermudo develops in *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (1555) [Declaration of Musical Instruments]. In addition, the rhythm of Guerrero’s music stems from the inherent accents of the Spanish language, as Francisco Salinas recommends in *De musica libri septem* (1577) [Seven Books on Music]. This essay will analyze two of the *Canciones*, “Ojos claros, serenos” and “¿Qué te daré, Señor,” which aptly demonstrate Guerrero’s practical application of these theoretical ideals regarding the relationship between music and poetry.
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Francisco Guerrero (1528-1599) composed the madrigals and villancicos collected in *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* (Venice, 1589) during his tenure as chapel master of the Cathedral of Seville (1554-1599). Many of these pieces are associated with two distinct Spanish texts, one secular and the other sacred. In the autobiographical Prologue to *El Viage de Hierusalem* (Valencia, 1590), Guerrero’s account of his voyage to Jerusalem in 1588 and 1589, he describes his primary duties as chapel master:

> And as those of us in this occupation have as a very principal obligation the composition of *chançonetas*, and villancicos, in praise of the most holy birth of our savior and God Jesus Christ, and of his most holy mother our lady the virgin Mary….1

This description suggests that Guerrero considered these vernacular works to be sacred compositions. In the Prologue to the Venice edition of *Canciones*, Cristóbal Mosquera de Figueroa (1547-1610) claims that many churches performed the pieces in this collection during the Divine Offices and as devotional music in honor of the Virgin Mary and certain saints.2 This performance practice as a vernacular addition to the Latin liturgy reinforces Guerrero’s view that these pieces were sacred. Figueroa also recounts that as a stipulation for printing the collection,

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1 “Y como tenemos los deste officio por muy principal obligacion componer Chançonetas, y Villancicos, en loor del sanctissimo nascimiento de Iesu Christo nuestro salvador y Dios, y de su sanctissima madre la virgen Maria nuestra señora….” Francisco Guerrero, *El Viage de Hierusalem*, ed. R. P. Calcraft (Exeter: Short Run, 1984), 11. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

Guerrero required all the poems to be “a lo divino,” or with divine subject matter, a decision that confirms Guerrero’s religious intentions in composing these pieces.

In his Canciones, Guerrero employs compositional devices such as word painting (hypotiposis), imitative counterpoint (fuga realis), and chordal declamation (noema), to enliven and depict the emotional and religious content of his songs’ sacred poetic texts. Furthermore, the metric structures and rhythms of Guerrero’s compositions stem from the rules of accentuation and syllabification of the Spanish language, meaning that the rhythms approximate the spoken cadence of poetry. These compositional devices reflect the ideas developed by Juan Bermudo and Francisco Salinas, two Spanish music theorists of Guerrero’s time. The earlier theorist, Juan Bermudo (1510-1565), wrote Declaración de instrumentos musicales [Declaration of Musical Instruments] (1555), which addresses the similarities between reciting and singing poetry, describing the art of word painting with musical devices in order to connect words and notes. In addition, Bermudo emphasizes the need for “decorum and elegance,” or concordance between the emotions contained in the text and those evoked by the music. Likewise, Bermudo requires stylistic agreement between a composition’s musical and poetic genres. Guerrero’s compositions also reflect the ideas of Francisco Salinas (1513-1590), professor of music at the University of Salamanca. In De musica libri septem [Seven Books on Music] (1577), Salinas calls for the derivation of musical rhythms from poetic meter and the rules for the accentuation

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3 Ibid.
of syllables in the Spanish language. By setting sacred Spanish poetry to polyphonic music that reinforces each poem’s meter, meaning, and emotional content, Guerrero demonstrates sensitivity to the rules expounded by music theorists of his time. Two of the Canciones, “Ojos claros, serenos” and “¿Qué te daré, Señor,” aptly demonstrate Guerrero’s practical application of the theoretical ideals regarding the relationship between music and poetry set forth by Spanish music theorists in the late Renaissance.

The Canciones are the creation of a multifaceted musician for an audience of clergymen and churchgoers. In his childhood and teenage musical training, Guerrero studied with his older brother Pedro and later with Cristóbal de Morales (c1500-1553). Guerrero also developed skill as a contra alto singer and gained proficiency on the vihuela, harp, and cornett. Moreover, Guerrero amassed experience in training, leading, and composing for singers during his tenure as chapel master at the Cathedral of Seville. Thus, Guerrero drew on a wide range of personal experiences when composing the polyphonic music for three to five voices contained in the Canciones. Both the Canciones and El Viage de Hierusalem are humbly dedicated and offered up to Cardinal Don Rodrigo de Castro, Archbishop of Seville from 1582-1600 and Guerrero’s supervisor and patron. The dedication of these sacred compositions to a religious superior indicates that Guerrero expected a clerical audience to receive his works. Guerrero’s accountability and vulnerability to Castro also provides motivation for all the poetic texts in the

6 Guerrero, El Viage, 9-10.
9 Guerrero, Canciones, 10; Guerrero, El Viage, 3, 83.
collection to be religious, not secular, as Guerrero stipulated during the printing process. These sacred works represent Guerrero’s musical and spiritual contribution to his church and to the wider religious community.

The “a lo divino” texts of “Ojos claros, serenos” and “¿Qué te daré, Señor” are examples of Spanish mystic poetry. The secular version of “Ojos claros, serenos” is a madrigal by Gutiere de Cetina (c1516-c1555), a poet from Seville. The anonymous sacred version of this madrigal shares with its secular sibling the same rhyme scheme (abbcddccaa), the same number of syllables per line (alternating between seven and eleven), and several key phrases, including the beginning and the end:

Ojos claros, serenos, que vuestro apóstol Pedro an ofendido, mirad y reparad lo que é perdido. Si, atado fuertemente, queréis sufrir por mí ser açotado, no me miréis ayrado, porque no parezcáis menos clemente; pues lloro amargamente, bolved, ojos serenos, y, pues morís por mí, miradme al menos. 10 and, since you die for me, at least look at me.

The sacred version contains apostrophe, in which the poetic voice, a human soul, pleads with the eyes of Jesus Christ, lamenting his sacrifice and imploring him to look at the speaker. In the second line, an allusion to the apostle Peter’s denial of Christ after the Crucifixion reinforces the biblical atmosphere. The theme of the anonymous “¿Qué te daré, Señor” is similarly centered on the Passion of Christ:

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¿Qué te daré, Señor, por tantos dones
que mandas a montones cada hora
al alma pecadora? ¡O, quién me diese,
Jesús mío dulce, que por ti muriese!
Sangre me as dado y sangre querría darte: 5
poco’s dar parte a quien á dado´l todo.
No á d’aver modo, no á d’aver medida,
Christo `n amarte, y poco’s dar la vida.

Un grande abismo otro abismo llama;
y assí la llama de tu amor inmenso,
10
quando’n él pienso, me arrebata y prende
y un gran deseo de morir m’enciende.
Muera, y no biva, por tu amor, o vida,
que, por dar vida a quien te avia ofendido,
de lança herido d’amor fuerte,
15
sufriste acerba y dolorosa muerte.

What will I give you, Lord, for so many gifts
that you pour down every hour
on the sinning soul? Oh, that I could give myself,
my sweet Jesus, that I could die for you!
You have given me your blood, and blood I would give you:
it is little to give part to him who has given all.
There does not have to be a way, there is no method,
Christ, in loving you, and it is little to give one’s life.

A great chasm calls to another chasm;
and thus is the call of your immense love,
when I think of it, it carries me away and holds me,
and a great desire to die inflames me.
May I die, and not live, for your love, oh life,
because, for giving life to him who has injured you,
wounded by the lance of fierce love,
you suffered bitter and painful death. 12

This two-stanza madrigal expresses a key mystical tenet, the desire of a human soul,
overwhelmed by love for Christ, to unite with Christ in death, sacrificing life as Christ sacrificed
for humanity. In a similar example of apostrophe, the poetic voice addresses Jesus Christ
directly, meaning that the singers, by extension, are also addressing God. The Spanish mysticism
developed in these madrigals further confirms their sacred nature.

In order to emphasize the sacred elements of these madrigals, Guerrero employs musical
devices to word paint specific phrases from the poems, following the recommendations
concerning composition that Juan Bermudo offers in the fifth book of Declaración de
Instrumentos Musicales. After describing word painting as a general principle, Bermudo
illustrates the process with various examples:

The last piece of advice is that everything the words say, that with the singing one can
imitate, one should imitate in the composition. Composing Clamavit Jesus voce magna, the
melody should rise where it says Voce magna; Martha vocavit mariam sororem suam silentio, where it says silentio, the singing should descend so much that one hardly hears it.

12 Guerrero, Canciones y villanescas espirituales: Segunda parte, 11. Translation by King,
Descendit ad infernos, descend; ascendit ad celus, rise. Also, where there is a sad word, one must put a B-flat. If it were a doctrine, to be upheld: one must write notes that completely and absolutely conform to the lyrics. A grammarian, poet, or orator would understand more of what I say in this matter.  

With this advice, Bermudo recommends that composers employ hypotiposis, the art of word painting, as frequently as possible in order to create onomatopoetic music. By suggesting that masters of literature and rhetoric would grasp the subtleties of word painting, Bermudo hints that composers, too, should seek knowledge of literary devices in order to connect them to musical techniques.

Guerrero’s “¿Qué te daré, Señor” contains three examples of word painting in which the direction of an action or the character of a subject expressed in the poetry dictates the direction of melodic motion in the music. In measures 6-8 (Figure 1), parallel rising scales in quarter notes in the upper three voices and a rising line with leaps in the tenor accompany the phrase “que mandas a montones.” The ascending homorhythmic lines drive to a peak on “montones,” depicting the piling up of gifts from God. An agogic accent further emphasizes the “D” climax tone in the first treble part in measure 8, as does the subsequent descent to the cadence point in measure 11. Just as Bermudo counsels, the music ascends where the text speaks of growth and heights.

Figure 1. Francisco Guerrero, “¿Qué te daré, Señor,” mm. 6-11.  

Guerrero, Canciones y villanescas espirituales: Segunda parte, 16.
The second example of Bermudo’s directional word painting occurs in the opening of the second stanza of “¿Qué te daré, Señor,” to the text “Un grande abismo un otro abismo llama” in measures 59-67 (Figure 2). Unlike the homorhythmic texture of the previous example, this word painting involves an imitative texture that mimics the act of calling from afar described in the text. A falling G minor arpeggio appears first in the alto and later in the tenor, with the first and second treble entering in succession with a slight variation of the original motive. Both the octave descent in this three-bar motive and its relatively long note values evoke the depths of “un grande abismo,” the first large abyss. A second motive containing an octave descent in just three beats portrays the other abyss, “un otro abismo,” in the lower three parts in measures 64-66. Guerrero’s setting of the word “abyss” parallels Bermudo’s suggested treatment of “infernos,” with nouns that connote profundity set to music that descends by an octave, a large interval in vocal music.

Figure 2. Francisco Guerrero, “¿Qué te daré, Señor,” mm. 59-68.15
“¿Qué te daré, Señor” closes with an imitative contrapuntal treatment of the phrase “sufriste acerba y dolorosa muerte,” meaning that the approach to the final cadence becomes a descent to death. The complete final phrase of text is repeated three times in the alto voice, and repeated with fragmentation in the other voices, creating layered, independent musical lines, simultaneously singing different words from the same phrase. The most notable falling line appears in the alto in measures 112-118 (Figure 3), which, after an upward octave leap, descends an octave through an Aeolian scale transposed to G. This phrase is the final statement of the original motive from the point of imitation at measure 101. The contours of the other three parts in the closing measures also follow a downward trajectory, with numerous 4-3 and 7-6 suspensions occurring in the upper three voices. The obscured text, falling melodic lines, and tragic suspensions all resolve in the final measure to the last syllable of “muerte” on a consonant G-D chord. Guerrero’s construction of a fuga realis at the end of “¿Qué te daré, Señor” follows
Bermudo’s word painting principle by descending to the final cadence, providing a powerful aural realization of the poetic voice’s desire to finally unite with Christ in death.

Figure 3. Francisco Guerrero, “¿Qué te daré, Señor,” mm. 110-118.16

In addition to word painting based on melodic contour, Bermudo recommends setting sad words to chromatic tones (b-mol or B-flat). Guerrero employs this type of chromatic inflection to emphasize the word “herido” [wounded], in measures 97-100 of “¿Qué te daré, Señor” (Figure 4). In measures 97-98, the bass moves from D to E-flat to D on the three syllables of “herido.” This motion creates an abrupt harmonic progression that catches the listener’s attention by “wounding” the ear just as Christ is wounded in the text. Similar half-step inflections occur in all four voices as “herido” reappears in an imitative double duet texture, which reinforces the rhetorical emphasis and emotional pangs this device produces in the listener.

16 Ibid., 21.
The madrigal “Ojos claros, serenos” contains a vivid example of Guerrero’s careful preparation of a chromatic inflection to set the desolate words “pues lloro” [since I weep] in measures 26-27 (Figure 5). Rests isolate these two words from the surrounding music, emphasizing their unity as a single musical gesture and highlighting their importance for the listener. After the first rest, the predominant rhythm slows from quarter note to half note, and the texture shifts from contrapuntal to homorhythmic, changes that further differentiate this phrase from the preceding one. This half-step inflection takes the form of a 4-3 suspension in the first treble, with the syncopated resolution of the dissonant fourth poignantly imitating the weeping poetic voice.

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17 Ibid., 20.
18 Ibid., 2.
Guerrero’s compositional decisions concerning the direction of melodic motion, the choice of rhythms, the type of texture, and the placement of half step inflections purposefully depict the content of the poetry that is set to music. In faithfully composing notes to serve the words, Guerrero consistently applies Bermudo’s compositional guidelines in a variety of situations.

Later in the fifth book of *Declaración de Instrumentos Musicales*, Bermudo describes the need for music to follow the text in matters of genre and character. Bermudo also calls for composers to “follow in your composition the style of the genre in which you compose. The villancico has one style, the chançoneta another, and each one retains its style and profundity.”

Thus, composers should derive the form of their texted compositions from the form of the poetry they are setting. As described previously, the poems “Ojos claros, serenos” and “¿Qué te daré, Señor” are madrigals. In describing the madrigal as a musical form, Samuel Rubio highlights the composition of new music for the entire text, the lack of any refrain, and the optional division of the piece into multiple parts. Neither “Ojos claros, serenos,” nor “¿Qué te daré, Señor” contains a refrain, and Guerrero’s settings supply new musical material for each line of poetry. Guerrero separated the two stanzas of “¿Qué te daré, Señor” into two musical parts, divided by a clear

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19 “Seguid en vuestra composicion el estylo del genero que componeys. Un estilo tiene el villancico, y otro la chançoneta, y cada cosa guarde su estilo y profundidad.” Bermudo, *Declaración*, fol. 135r.
cadence and fermata. Based on these characteristics, Guerrero follows the madrigal as a musical form in setting both poems to music, thereby adhering to Bermudo’s recommendation that musical and poetic genres should agree. Regarding the madrigal genre, Rosanne Cecilia King notes that “the through-composed approach presented an opportunity for specific text-expression.” As discussed above, Bermudo’s compositional guidelines seek to exploit this very opportunity, which is realized in the ubiquitous word painting in Guerrero’s madrigals.

In addition to connecting literary and musical genres, Bermudo establishes the principles of “decorum and elegance,” which arise from agreement between the character of the music and the meaning and emotion of the text. Just as music should illustrate the text wherever possible through word painting, the music’s character should convey the literary devices contained in the poetry. As previously observed, apostrophe is a prominent literary device in “Ojos claros, serenos,” occurring thrice, first in measures 1-4 with the title phrase (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Francisco Guerrero, “Ojos claros, serenos” mm. 1-4.

In this first statement, three voices declaim the apostrophic phrase in a homorhythmic texture (noema), with a distinctive melisma the word “serenos” that contains syncopation and an incomplete 4-3 suspension. The defining musical characteristics of the first apostrophe intensify

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22 “Dechoro y hermosura.” Bermudo, Declaración, fol. 135r.
23 Guerrero, Canciones y villanescas espirituales: Segunda parte, 1.
in its second musical occurrence, in measures 5-9 (Figure 7). All four voices repeat the same text in homorhythm, with the melody transposed up a minor third in the first treble, new ornamentation in the bass in measure 6, and a lengthier melisma on “serenos” with syncopation and a complete 4-3 suspension in the first treble. The richer texture, expanded range, and greater embellishment reinforce the intensity of the reiterated apostrophe. The subsequent change to an imitative double duet texture in measure 9 indicates the end of the apostrophic phrase.

Figure 7. Francisco Guerrero, “Ojos claros, serenos” mm. 5-12.  

The reoccurrence of the shortened apostrophe “ojos serenos” in measures 30-32 (Figure 8), along with the trademark melisma, syncopation, and suspension, corresponds with the melodic and harmonic climax of the piece, with a powerful dominant to tonic progression that presages the advent of functional harmony in the next century. Through the consistent use of musical devices to illustrate a single literary device, Guerrero sets the apostrophe in “Ojos claros, serenos” to

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24 Ibid.
music that evokes an intoned prayer, solemnly addressed to the eyes of God. In keeping with Bermudo’s principles of decorum and elegance, the character of Guerrero’s music follows the intentions of the sacred poetry.

Figure 8. Francisco Guerrero, “Ojos claros, serenos” mm. 28-32.\textsuperscript{25}

At a more fundamental level than word painting or literary devices, the rhythms and metrical structures in Guerrero’s madrigals reflect the rules of Spanish pronunciation. In the Fifth Book of \textit{Siete Libros Sobre la Música}, Francisco Salinas hypothesizes that the closer the relationship between musical and poetic rhythm, the greater the emotional effect on listeners:

…some syllables become longer, others shorter, in song just as in speech. Therefore, there is almost no one who would not be moved by the sound of the verses, hearing them with great delight.\textsuperscript{26}

In order for listeners to readily comprehend sung text, it is logically necessary for the rhythm of the music to approximate the cadence of normal speech. Spanish poetry possesses a unique metrical structure, which can be converted into musical rhythms. In his commentary on Salinas’ ideas, Paloma Otaola González suggests that long and short syllables in Latin poetry correspond to

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., 2-3.

\textsuperscript{26} “…unas sílabas se hacen más largas, otras más breves, así en el canto como en el habla. Por eso, apenas hay nadie que deje de conmoverse por el sonido de los versos, oyéndolos con gran deleite.” Salinas, \textit{Siete Libros}, 415.
…accentuated and unaccentuated syllables in the vernacular languages. In a similar fashion, in musical discourse, rhythm is determined by the duration of the notes and their placement within the beats of the measure.27

Thus, a composer creating rhythms to set Spanish poetry to music must account for the type of accentuation for each syllable. The characteristic accentuation of Spanish words is determined by two general rules. The penultimate syllable of words ending with a vowel or the letters “n” or “s” is stressed, and the last syllable of words ending with a consonant other than “n” or “s” is stressed. If the stress does not follow these rules, then an acute accent mark appears above the accented syllable. These accentuation rules provide a source for rhythmic patterns and a determining factor for the placement of words within the meter of a musical composition.

Throughout “Ojos claros, serenos” and “¿Qué te daré, Señor” Guerrero’s rhythmic settings take into account Spanish pronunciation by placing accentuated syllables on metrically strong beats, and unaccentuated syllables on metrically weak beats.

The ubiquitous effects of these accentuation rules appear in the common time setting of the first treble in “Ojos claros, serenos.” Of the four beats in common time, the strong beats are beats one and three, while beats two and four are weak beats. Each of these quarter note beats is stronger than the intervening eighth note offbeats. A comparison of the syllabic and metric analysis below with the indicated measures of the first treble part reveals a close correspondence between accentuated syllables and metrically strong beats. In the following analysis, the numbered beat appears above the corresponding syllable, with eighth note offbeats indicated by a plus sign. Stressed syllables and their corresponding strong beats are bolded.

27 “…syllabes accentuées et non accentuées dans les langues vernaculaires. D’une façon similaire, dans le discours musical, le rythme est déterminé par la durée des notes et leur placement dans le battement de la mesure.” González, La Pensée Musicale, 212.
Figure 9. Syllabic and Metric Analysis of the First Tiple in Excerpts from “Ojos claros, serenos”

\[1\ 3\ 1\ 3\ 4\ 3\ 1\]

O-jos cla-ros, se-re-nos, cf. measures 1-4 in Fig. 6.

\[4\ 1\ +\ 3\ 4\ 1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 1\ 3\]

que vues-tro a-pós-tol Pe-dro an o-fen-di-do, cf. mm. 9-12 in Figure 7.

mirad y reparad lo que é perdido.

Si, atado fuertemente,
quéréis sufrir por mí ser açotado, 5

no me miréis ayrado,

+ 4 + 1 + 2 3 4 2 3 4

por-que no pa-rez-cáis me-nos cle-men-te; cf. mm. 24-25 in Figure 5.

4 1 + 3 4 1 3

pues llo-ro a-mar-ga-men-te,

4 1 3 1 2 3 3

bol-ved, o-jos se-re-nos, cf. mm. 26-27 in Fig. 5; 28-32 in Fig. 8.

y, pues morís por mí, miradme al menos. 10

In most of the words in the excerpts analyzed above, the accent occurs on the penultimate syllable, which predominantly falls on a strong beat. The command “bolved” (line 9) provides an example of the rhythmic setting of a word ending with a consonant and a stressed final syllable that falls on beat one. Unique in these excerpts are the words “apóstol” (line 3) and “parezcáis” (line 7), both of which break the normal accentuation rules. The accented second syllable of “apóstol” falls on strong beat three, as expected. The accented final syllable of “parezcáis,” however, falls on weak beat two. At this point, the text moves syllabically by eighth notes, so beat two is strong relative to the eighth note offbeats. As a quarter note following a series of eighth notes, the setting of this accented syllable is also strengthened by an agogic accent. The rules of Spanish pronunciation play a pivotal role in the rhythmic construction of Guerrero’s compositions, meaning that the inherent syllabic structure of each word becomes a measured part of the accompanying musical gesture.

By manipulating rhythm, melody, texture, and form, Francisco Guerrero derived the music in Canciones y villanescas espirituales directly from each poem’s literary content, emotional affect,
and metrical structure. In these compositions, Guerrero demonstrates sensitivity to theoretical concepts that two of his contemporaries, music theorists Juan Bermudo and Francisco Salinas, expounded in their respective treatises. This discovery provides insight into the musical and literary processes underlying the composition of sacred polyphonic vocal music in Renaissance Spain. Though separated by time and place, the ideas of these music theorists coincide in key ways with this composer’s work, creating a silent intertextual discussion that modern research makes audible. This study has also generated several similarities between the specific pieces “Ojos claros, serenos” and “¿Qué te daré, Señor,” including the technique of repetition and fragmentation of the poem’s last phrase to produce an echo effect in the approach to the final cadence. In addition, comparison of these two pieces reveals that Guerrero favors two textures: chordal homorhythm, in which all four voices declaim the text together, and imitative double duet counterpoint, in which the voices divide into joined pairs.

Logical continuations of the present study include research on the origins of the *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* and investigation of a possible populist purpose for these sacred vernacular compositions. Conducting a similar course of analysis as the present study on the rest of the works in this collection could result in other commonalities and patterns between pieces, as well as further correspondence between theory and practice. Aspects of modal harmony and contemporary theorists’ descriptions of the *ethos* of the modes could provide another perspective in analyzing the relationship between music and text in these compositions. As an even broader investigation, one could compare representative works by various composers in order to gauge each composer’s sensitivity to contemporary theoretical ideas. Hopefully, research that uncovers the complex beauty of these Renaissance Spanish works will allow modern composers to study the connections between music and text contained in these compositions and help modern
theorists to appreciate the practical relevance of their predecessors’ ideas. Most importantly, this research should encourage modern performers to perform these works for the public so that Guerrero’s intricately wrought union of word and sound may reach new ears and enliven new spirits.
Appendix B: “Qué te daré, Señor” Guerrero, Canciones: Segunda parte, 16-21.
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Bibliography

Primary Sources


Secondary Sources


Discography

