

# *Viva, viva la Tirana:* Clarifying an Elusive Spanish Dance Song

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**T**he late eighteenth century witnessed an increased permeability between elite and popular culture as upper-class entertainments took inspiration from vernacular cultural manifestations. We find excellent examples in Spanish music and dance, with the rise of many popular genres such as fandangos and seguidillas that crossed social boundaries and became widely popular in theaters and even salons as one-off songs. In fact, some of these genres, which were highly stylized, constitute the basis of classical Spanish dance—much later termed the “Bolero School”—that also became the typical and topical musical image of Spain abroad, as we can see in the famous fandangos inserted in scenic works by Gluck and Mozart, or the seguidillas in Giovanni Paisiello’s and Vicente Martín y Soler’s operas, to mention only a few eighteenth-century theatrical examples.

The eighteenth-century fandango has already received notable attention from scholars,<sup>1</sup> and now seguidillas are gaining increased

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<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Judith Etzion, “The Spanish Fandango: From Eighteenth-Century ‘Lasciviousness’ to Nineteenth-Century Exoticism,” *Anuario Musical* 48 (1993): 229–50;

recognition as well.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding these efforts, an important oversight remains: the *tirana*, a dance song that became popular during the last third of the century onward, even inspiring foreign composers such as Luigi Boccherini, Ludwig van Beethoven, and Saverio Mercadante. There has yet to be a substantial study of the musical characteristics of the *tirana*.<sup>3</sup> On the contrary, it has been thought that the *tirana* was, in reality, a general name for Andalusian songs, without clear typologies or concrete identifying musical characteristics. For example, the flamenco specialist Arcadio Larrea affirmed: “When I think of that multitude of songs called *tiranas*, so very musically diverse, there is no end to the difficulty I find in understanding the *tirana* as an independent and

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Peter Manuel, “From Scarlatti to ‘Guantanamera’: Dual Tonicity in Spanish and Latin American Music,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55 (2002): 311–36; Pompeyo Juan Pérez Díaz, “Los fandangos de Boccherini y de Dionisio Aguado: ¿Dos propuestas a partir de una fuente de inspiración común?,” in *Luigi Boccherini: Estudios sobre fuentes, recepción e historiografía*, ed. Marco Mangani, Elisabeth Le Guin, and Jaime Tortella (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 2006), 135–42; Norberto Torres, “La evolución de los toques flamencos: Desde el fandango dieciochesco ‘por medio,’ hasta los toques mineros del siglo XX,” *Revista de Investigación sobre Flamenco “La madrugá”* 2 (2010): 1–87; K. Meira Goldberg and Antoni Pizà, eds., *The Global Reach of the Fandango in Music, Song and Dance: Spaniards, Indians, Africans and Gypsies* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2016); and Ana Lombardía, “From Lavapiés to Stockholm: Eighteenth-Century Violin Fandangos and the Shaping of Musical ‘Spanishness,”” *Eighteenth-Century Music* 17 (2020): 177–99.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Adela Presas, “Aproximación a la forma literario-musical de las seguidillas en la tonadilla escénica,” in *Teatro y música en España: Los géneros breves en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII*, ed. Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos and Begoña Lolo (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid–CSIC, 2008), 149–64; Elisabeth Le Guin, *The Tonadilla in Performance: Lyric Comedy in Enlightenment Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 108–28; Aurèlia Pessarrodona, “Il ritorno di Figaro in patria: Some Comments on the Reception of Paisiello’s *Il barbiere di Siviglia* in Madrid,” *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 56 (2021): 95–142, at 129–36; and Elvira Carrión, “La danza en España en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII: *El bolero*” (PhD diss., Universidad de Murcia, 2017). For a more general overview, see *Una mirada al patrimonio cultural inmaterial. La seguidilla: Expresión de una cultura* (Ciudad Real: CIOFF, 2020).

<sup>3</sup> The only articles specifically on the *tirana* are José Subirá, “La *tirana* poético-musical,” *Segismundo* 3 (1967): 161–78; José Antonio Morales, “La *Tirana del trípili* en el repertorio tonadillesco,” *Música de Andalucía en la Red* (2017, unpublished); and Sara Navarro, “Tiranas y polacas en la tonadilla escénica: Poesía, música y baile en los escenarios teatrales de la corte madrileña,” *Revista de Humanidades* 41 (2020): 37–60. There are no systematic analyses of the musical characteristics of the *tirana* besides some entries in specialized dictionaries, such as Antonio Fargas y Soler, *Diccionario de la música* (Barcelona: Imprenta de Joaquín Verdaguer, 1852), 207; Carlos José Melcior, *Diccionario enciclopédico de la música* (Lérida: Imp. Barcelonsa de Alejandro García, 1859), 416; Felipe Pedrell, *Diccionario técnico de la música*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona: Isidro Torres Oriol, 1894), 457; Luisa Lacál, *Diccionario de la música: Técnico, histórico, bio-bibliográfico*, 3rd ed. (Madrid: Est. tip. de San Francisco de Sales, 1900), 538; Jaime Pahissa, dir., *Diccionario de la música ilustrado* (Barcelona: Central Catalana de Publicaciones, ca. 1929), 1146; Joaquín Pena and Higinio Anglés, *Diccionario de la música Labor* (Barcelona: Labor, 1954), 2:2121; and, more recently, Mariano Pérez Gutiérrez, “*Tirana*,” in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, dir. Emilio Casares (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 1999–2002), 10:304–5. On this topic, see Navarro, “Tiranas y polacas,” 45–46.

unique form.”<sup>4</sup> Following this line, Celsa Alonso, in her study on nineteenth-century Spanish art song, contended that the *tirana* “simply would make reference to a song that sets a quatrain to music.”<sup>5</sup> In his investigations of the *jaleo* dances,<sup>6</sup> Miguel Ángel Berlanga similarly considers the *tirana* to be the general name of songs made for dancing *jaleos*.<sup>7</sup>

These assertions are not based on systematic analyses of eighteenth-century *tiranas*, and they ignore the rich contemporary sources available, above all those from the old public theaters of Madrid, now held in the Biblioteca Histórica Municipal de Madrid (hereafter E-Mm). The objective of this article is to examine and analyze the eighteenth-century *tirana* in order to determine its main characteristics, which would allow us to define it and study its likely impact abroad. Although this article deals primarily with *tiranas* in the context of Madrid’s theaters, the influential and representative testimonies discussed here may also shed light on the main characteristics of the dance song more broadly. Given the sizable number of pieces held in the E-Mm, this research has focused on repertoire of the 1770s and 1780s, a period of development and consolidation of the *tirana* in the Madrilenian context.<sup>8</sup> For this reason, the majority of the works discussed here were composed by Pablo Esteve (ca. 1730–94) or Blas de Laserna (1751–1816), official composers of the two theatrical companies of Madrid in 1778 and 1779 respectively,<sup>9</sup> or by other related

<sup>4</sup> See Arcadio Larrea, *El flamenco en su raíz* (1974; repr. Seville: Signatura Ediciones, 2004), 120; quoted in Celsa Alonso, *La canción lírica española en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 1998), 65.

<sup>5</sup> See Alonso, *La canción lírica española*, 65.

<sup>6</sup> *Jaleo* is a generic name for Andalusian dances typically performed solo and accompanied by hand-clapping; *jaleo* dances, according to Berlanga, are the direct antecedents of flamenco dances. See Miguel Ángel Berlanga, “Los bailes de jaleo, precedentes directos de los bailes flamencos,” *Anuario Musical* 71 (2016): 179–95, at 180–81.

<sup>7</sup> See Berlanga, “Los bailes de jaleo,” 191.

<sup>8</sup> The period with the greatest presence of *tiranas* in *tonadillas* was the 1780s. See Navarro, “*Tiranas y polacas*,” 42.

<sup>9</sup> See José Subirá, *La tonadilla escénica* (Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1928–30), 1:171–72. Accurate and up-to-date monographs on these relevant and prolific composers are lacking. On Pablo Esteve, see, for instance, Juan Pablo Fernández, *El mecenazgo musical de las Casas de Osuna y Benavente (1733–1844): Un estudio sobre el papel de la música en la alta nobleza española* (PhD diss., Universidad de Granada, 2005), 1:207–13, 450–68. On Blas de Laserna, see the classic essay by Julio Gómez, “Don Blas de Laserna: Un capítulo de la historia del teatro lírico español visto en la vida del último tonadillero” [1925–26], in *Escritos de Julio Gómez: Recopilación y comentarios*, ed. Antonio Iglesias (Madrid: Alpuerto, 1986), 71–165; or, more recently, Andrés Gámez, “Blas de Laserna (1751–1816), una biografía marcada por el teatro,” *Quodlibet: Revista de Especialización Musical* 70 (2019): 140–65.

musicians, such as Antonio Rosales (1740–1801)<sup>10</sup> and Jacinto Valledor (1744–1809).<sup>11</sup>

*Historical and Contextual Background: The Tirana as a sonsonete popular*

In the popular culture of late eighteenth-century Spain, the word *tirana* was polysemic. Its primary meaning was “female tyrant,” used both as a noun and an adjective, but it referred also to both an actress and a dance song. The actress María del Rosario Fernández (1755–1803) was known as *La Tirana* because she was the wife of the actor Francisco Castellanos (*El Tirano*), who specialized in playing tyrants. Rosario Fernández was one of the most celebrated performers on Spanish stages during this period; however, although her name has been cause for confusion, she had no relationship with the *tirana* as a dance song; she specialized in tragic roles and sang only occasionally.<sup>12</sup>

At the same time, the dance song known as the *tirana* became very popular. The name was derived from expressions common to the refrains, such as “ay, tirana,” or from the typical reproaches addressed to a hypothetical unrequited female lover whose indifferent behavior resembles a “female tyrant”;<sup>13</sup> eventually *tirana* became a catchword for the genre. The most extensive contemporary description is by Juan Antonio de Iza Zamácola, writing under the alias “Don Preciso” in the prologue to the first volume of his *Colección de las mejores coplas de seguidillas, tiranas y polos que se han compuesto para cantar a la guitarra* (Collection of the best stanzas of seguidillas, tiranas, and polos composed to sing with the guitar, 1799). The intention of this work was to differentiate real and authentic Spanish songs from the “invasion” of foreign culture, above all Italian opera. Among the Spanish repertoire Iza Zamácola includes the *tirana*, which he explains as follows:

<sup>10</sup> Rosales collaborated often with the theaters of Madrid. See Begoña Lolo and Germán Labrador, *La música en los teatros de Madrid, I: Antonio Rosales y la tonadilla escénica* (Madrid: Alpuerto, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> Valledor was *músico* (a kind of composer’s assistant) to the theatrical companies of Madrid upon his return from Barcelona in 1785. See Pessarrodona, *Jacinto Valledor y la tonadilla*, chaps. 6 and 7.

<sup>12</sup> See Subirá, *La tonadilla escénica*, 2:268; and Subirá, “La tirana poético-musical,” 176–77.

<sup>13</sup> Exceptionally a *tirano* (male tyrant) is mentioned, normally in *tiranas* with a dialogue between a man and a woman, as, for instance, in *La peregrina y el payo* by Rosales (1783), *Aviso a los forasteros y mal uso del idioma* by Esteve (1784), and in the different versions of the last *tirana* from *Los majos de rumbo* by Valledor (1790–93). On this tonadilla see Aurèlia Pessarrodona, *Jacinto Valledor (1744–1809): Tonadillas*, vol. 2, *Obras a partir de 1785* (Madrid: CSIC, forthcoming).

Por este tiempo se veía ya en las provincias de Andalucía otro género de baile que llamaban de la *Tirana*, la cual, al paso que se cantaba con coplillas de a cuatro versos asonantados de ocho sílabas, se bailaba con un compás claro y demarcado, haciendo diferentes movimientos a un lado y otro con el cuerpo, llevando las mujeres un gracioso juguete con el delantal al compás de la música, al paso que los hombres manejaban su sombrero o el pañuelo a semejanza de las nociones que conservamos de los bailes de las antiguas gaditanas; pero el demasiado abuso que se iba notando en su ejecución llevó este baile a cierto libertinaje contrario a las buenas costumbres, de que resultó que le desterraron por fin de los saraos y funciones decentes.

Sin embargo bajo el nombre general de *tirana* siguieron los aficionados y músicos componiendo multitud de canciones para la guitarra, que a poco tiempo se cantaban por toda clase de personas con tanta afición, que pasaron a Petersburgo, Viena y otras Cortes de Europa, donde el célebre maestro español Don Vicente Martín hizo fanatismo insertándolas en sus óperas.<sup>14</sup>

By this time another dancing genre was already appearing in the provinces of Andalusia, called the *tirana*, which, while sung in stanzas of four assonant eight-syllabic verses, was danced in clear and demarcated measures, making different movements with the body from one side to the other, the women playfully waving their apron to the beat of the music, the men meanwhile using their hat or scarf, in the likeness of notions we maintain about the old dances of Cádiz; but the overuse of such gestures, which came to be noted in its performance, lent this dance to a certain licentiousness contrary to decency, causing its banishment from dancing parties and dignified performances.

Nevertheless, under the general name *tirana*, amateurs and musicians continued to compose many songs for guitar, which in no time were sung by all types of people with such passion that the songs circulated to Saint Petersburg, Vienna, and other courts of Europe, where the celebrated Spanish master Vicente Martín caused enthusiasm by inserting them into his operas.

Iza Zamácola establishes the *tirana*'s origins in Andalusia slightly earlier than the redaction of the text; the initial "by this time" refers to the 1780s, the period in which the bolero was created, as the author explains preceding his discussion of the *tirana*. Despite a meager description of the musical and textual characteristics of the *tirana*, Iza Zamácola is more lavish in his explanation of the dance, although the choreographic aspects of the *tirana* are particularly slippery, as I will discuss. He points

<sup>14</sup> Juan Antonio de Iza Zamácola, *Colección de las mejores coplas de seguidillas, tiranas y polos que se han compuesto para cantar a la guitarra* (Madrid: Imprenta de Villalpando, 1799), xxiv–xxvi.

out, however, a possible transformation from an initial dance to a song accompanied by guitar. Lastly, the reference to Valencian composer Vicente Martín y Soler as the exporter of the *tirana* abroad in his operas deserves to be considered separately, as will be done below.

These affirmations need to be corroborated with original sources, above all those from the old public theaters of Madrid held in the E-Mm. In these materials we see that the *tirana* became a fundamental part of the clashing spectacles in Spanish theaters in the final decades of the century, as one of the genres inspired by folk airs. Typically we find it inserted in theatrical pieces, especially (but not only) in *tonadillas*, a type of intermezzo extremely popular across Spain during the second half of the eighteenth century, which consisted of a series of sung numbers, usually with entertaining plots drawn from everyday life, and often ended with an enjoyable musical number as a festive appendix, normally, but not limited to, *seguidillas*.<sup>15</sup> As noted in appendix 1, the *tirana* is placed either as an independent number in the middle of a *tonadilla* or as a joyous ending to the work. In this last case, the *tirana* can appear alternately inside the closing *seguidilla* or in place of it, although the common practice was to add a short closing number after the *tirana*.<sup>16</sup>

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To understand the role of these genres inspired by folk airs within this theatrical context, above all in *tonadillas*, the theatrical piece *El reconocimiento del tío y la sobrina* (1792) is particularly illuminating. This work, with text by the otherwise unknown playwright named Pedro Rodríguez and music by Esteve, constituted an attempt to renovate from within the genre of the *tonadilla*. The prologue, recited by the actress Manuela Montéis, explains its aim with the following words:

En ella no hallareis *Fandango, Jota,*  
*Tiranas, ni Boleras, ni Jopeos;*  
que de las verdaderas *Tonadillas*  
*sonsonetes* son propios, por ser *nuestros*.<sup>17</sup>

In [this work] you will not find *fandangos, jota, tiranas, boleras, or jopeos,*  
*sonsonetes* that are proper to the true *tonadillas* because they are *ours*.

This proposed renovation, thus, consisted in ridding the *tonadilla* of folk influences, the so-called *sonsonetes* (folk tunes) such as *fandangos, jotas, tiranas, boleras, and jopeos*. The intention, explained just afterwards, was

<sup>15</sup> An excellent account in English of the late eighteenth-century *tonadilla* is Le Guin, *Tonadilla in Performance*.

<sup>16</sup> On these combinations of *tiranas* and closing numbers in *tonadillas*, see Subirá, *La tonadilla escénica*, 2:263–72; and Navarro, “*Tiranas y polacas*,” 44.

<sup>17</sup> Pedro Rodríguez and Pablo Esteve, *El reconocimiento del tío y la sobrina* (Madrid: Oficina de Ramón Ruiz, 1792), 5, emphasis added.

to focus both text and music on expressing emotions, creating a curious kind of sentimental tonadilla.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, however, the text seems to praise *sonsonetes* because they are “ours.” In fact, the “advertencia” of the printed libretto says:

Dícese, que se llama Tonadilla por mal nombre, á causa de que para ser una verdadera Tonadilla le faltan aquellos *sonsonetes populares, propios nuestros, y los que á su imitacion inventan los Compositores, que es por los que constituyen un género de composicion, de que carecen y carecerán siempre los Extranjeros*, mediante á que sus idiomas no la permiten; razon por que debería ser mas estimada de nosotros.<sup>19</sup>

It is said that [this work] is mistakenly called a tonadilla, because it is missing those *popular sonsonetes* [necessary] to be a true tonadilla, [both] *our own and those that Composers invent in imitation of them, which is why they constitute a genre of composition that foreigners lack and always will lack*, because their language does not allow it; the very reason why the tonadilla should be more cherished by us.

In this argumentation we find a paradox between the attempt at modernizing tonadillas by putting them alongside the contemporary sentimental literature and theater of the time, and the praise of these *sonsonetes populares* for their authentic Spanishness. More important for the issue at hand, the text demonstrates the important role of the tirana in tonadillas as one of the *sonsonetes populares* of “our own” and explains that the *sonsonetes populares* that featured in theatrical repertoire either were directly inspired by folk songs or were newly composed imitations. These *sonsonetes populares* constituted the breeding ground for the so-called *bailes nacionales* (national dances)—Spanish folk dances stylized and performed as a part of theatrical spectacles—in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>20</sup>

This musical theater repertoire functioned as a mirror of the most popular musical fashions of the time. Indeed, by 1785 the tirana had to contend with other new musical trends that had exploded in Madrid, such as the Song of Marlborough (in Spanish: “Malbruc,” “Malbrú,” or “Mambrú”) and the bolero. The former was the well-known French song *Marlborough s'en va-t-en guerre*, which became a hit across Europe in 1780. In

<sup>18</sup> See Aurèlia Pessarrodona, “*El reconocimiento del tío y la sobrina* de Pedro Rodríguez y Pablo Esteve como intento de renovación de la tonadilla escénica,” in *Miscelánea musical en homenaje a Josep Climent*, ed. Jorge García (Valencia: Institut Valencià de la Música, 2009), 345–400.

<sup>19</sup> Rodríguez and Esteve, *El reconocimiento del tío y la sobrina*, 3, emphasis added.

<sup>20</sup> On this topic, see, for instance, Cristina Roldán, “Bailes y danzas en los teatros de Madrid (1800–1808),” in *Estudios musicales del Clasicismo*, vol. 2, *Danza y ballet en España*, ed. José Ignacio Sanjuán (Sant Cugat del Vallès: Arpegio, 2015), 51–88.

Spain, the success of this song, popularly identified with French culture, inspired some tonadillas in which the tirana and the Song of Marlborough, normally personified as human characters, exhibit their rivalry.<sup>21</sup>

The bolero, for its part, succeeded in consolidating a new style of dancing with a strong influence on the national dances that much later were known collectively as the “Bolero School.” Early testimonies of the *bolero* or *seguidillas boleras*<sup>22</sup> appeared in the Madrilenian press in 1786 as an already existing social practice that rapidly became an extremely popular social trend.<sup>23</sup> In this context, the theatrical confrontation between the tirana and the bolero came swiftly,<sup>24</sup> as we see, for instance, in the tonadilla *El peluquero y la modista* (1788) by Esteve, in which the refrain of a tirana asserts “ay, tirana, aunque te mueras / muy pocos lo sentirán / pues ya quedan las boleras, / que tu falta suplirán” (ah, tirana, although you die very few will regret it because the boleras remain and will fill your absence).<sup>25</sup> The last number of the sainete<sup>26</sup> *El tabernero burlado* (1790), with music by Pablo del Moral, registers this confrontation differently, portraying an allegorical wedding between the “alegre tirana” (comic tirana) and the “festivo bolero” (festive bolero), symbolizing the union of two of the most popular *sonsonetes*, musically represented through an original musical synthesis of a tirana and a bolero.

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The tirana and the bolero, however, seem to belong to different traditions. According to Berlanga, at the end of the century there were two different tendencies in the *bailes nacionales*: one more academic, refined, and technical, whose main genre was the bolero, the reference of classical Spanish dance; the other, more popular and folkish, consisted mainly of Andalusian folk airs such as the tirana, zorongó, guaracha, zapateado, and the later ole, vito, cachucha, etc. which Berlanga classifies as theatrical Andalusian dances, an academic version of the popular *jaleo* dances, direct antecedents of flamenco.<sup>27</sup> Stated succinctly, while the bolero and similar dances (*seguidillas*, *fandangos*, etc.) were

<sup>21</sup> On this topic, see Subirá, *La tonadilla escénica*, 1:188–90; and El Concierto Español, dir. Emilio Moreno, *La Tirana contra Mambrú: The Tonadilla and Popular Musical Comedies in Spain c. 1800*, Glossa GCD 920309, 2009, compact disc.

<sup>22</sup> The term *bolero* referred to the dance and the specialized dancer, while the name for the corresponding song was *seguidillas boleras*. See Fernand Sor, “Le Bolero,” in *Encyclopédie pittoresque de la musique*, ed. Adolphe Ledhuy and Henri Bertini (Paris: H. Delloye, 1835), 1:88.

<sup>23</sup> They consist of two discourses in the journal *El Censor* (“Discourse XCV,” March 9, 1786, 508; and “Discourse C,” March 15, 1786, 609–10), in which the bolero is deemed a pernicious dance.

<sup>24</sup> See Faustino Núñez, *Guía comentada de música y baile preflamencos (1750–1808)* (Barcelona: Carena, 2008), 218–19.

<sup>25</sup> Núñez, *Guía comentada*, 218.

<sup>26</sup> The sainete was another Spanish genre of short theater, a kind of farcical entr’acte entirely spoken or with incidental music (i.e., a spoken version of the tonadillas).

<sup>27</sup> See Berlanga, “Los bailes de jaleo,” 189.



danced by partners and with castanets, the *jaleo* dances were performed by only one dancer, either male or female, with more plastic and provocative movements and hand-clapping (and also with castanets in theatrical versions). The *jaleo* dances correspond to certain folk dances that Antonio Cairón qualified in his *Compendio de las principales reglas de baile* (1820) as a “zarabanda continuada” (continued zarabanda) and described with a clearly negative bias: “All were similar to one another and all were danced with castanets, always being in triple meter, and the movements of the foot and the body twisted and lacking composure.”<sup>28</sup>

In general, the word *jaleo* means a racket or uproar, and it is used in Spanish dance to name the hand-clapping and the shouting that often cheers on the performers.<sup>29</sup> Frequently the text of the refrains of the tiranas includes such expressions, above all “dale” (literally “give it,” which in this context is used to encourage the dance). A document that demonstrates the relationship between the tirana and the *jaleos* is a musical manuscript held in the E-Mm with a tirana for orchestra, presumably from the early nineteenth century: on the first page of the “Violino Principale,” the title “Jaleo de Gi[t]anos” is written by a different hand (added later).<sup>30</sup>

The choreographic characteristics of the eighteenth-century tirana, however, remain largely unknown:<sup>31</sup> we have a few scarce references, such as Iza Zamácola’s brief description and some exceptional indications in the lyrics themselves.<sup>32</sup> As Iza Zamácola commented (in the

<sup>28</sup> Antonio Cairón, *Compendio de las principales reglas de baile* (Madrid: Imprenta de Repullés, 1820), 101; quoted in Berlanga, “Los bailes de jaleo,” 183.

<sup>29</sup> See Marina Grut, *The Bolero School* (Alton: Dance Books, 2002), 9, 145.

<sup>30</sup> E-Mm, Mus 627–37. See Núñez, *Guía comentada*, 205.

<sup>31</sup> As the choreologist María José Ruíz Mayordomo told me, the only eighteenth-century tirana that has continued in Spanish dancing repertoire is the *Tirana del zarandillo*. The earliest source of this piece is the tonadilla *Los novios y la maja* (1784) by Esteve (E-Mm, Mus 141–45), transcribed for voice and accompaniment by Felipe Pedrell in *Cancionero musical popular español* (1918–22; reprint., Barcelona: Casa Editorial Boileau, 1958), 4:102–7; nowhere in the original manuscript is it classified as a tirana. The only part of its music that could resemble a tirana (specifically, the stanzas) is the last part, crossed out in the manuscript. However, this tonadilla finishes with a delightful tirana—indicated in the score—with the musical characteristics of the second type explained below, followed by a short closing number.

<sup>32</sup> For example, in the first version of the closing tirana from Valledor’s *Los majos de rumbo* the woman sings “ay, pues vamos cantando, / y tú jaleando, / tirano, y tocando / las palmas, / y yo iré bailando / esta real tirana” (ah, so let’s go singing, and you cheering, tyrant, clapping your hands, and I will dance this royal tirana) and “ay, mira que no quiero / que a otra le quites / ese sombrero” (ah, I don’t want you tipping that hat to another woman). See Pessarrodona, *Jacinto Valledor (1744–1809): Tonadillas*, vol. 2, *Obras a partir de 1785*. Another interesting case is Esteve’s *Garrido enfermo y su testamento*, in which the singer makes references to her apron, as captured in Iza Zamácola’s description.

Carlo Blasis, *The Code of Terpsichore*, trans. R. Barton (London: Edward Bull, 1830), 36, dedicates paragraphs to a dance called *El trípili trapola*, perhaps referring to the *Tirana del trípili*, the most famous and long-lived tirana. However, Blasis’s description of the dance is particularly meager: “This dance is nearly similar to the Zorongo, excepting that it

passage quoted above), it is likely the *tirana* persisted as a song, accompanied preferably by guitar, as some *tonadillas* testify. For example, in Esteve's *La carta* (1779), Laserna's *Los menestrales* (1784), and Moral's *La competencia de las dos hermanas* (1787) the *tiranas* are sung by singer-actors or actresses accompanying themselves with guitar.<sup>33</sup> In fact, *tiranas* became part of the repertoire of salon music, as their inclusion in press advertisements as one-off songs indicates.<sup>34</sup> Alonso, however, observes the considerably small number of extant nineteenth-century *tiranas* as one-off songs, unlike the *seguidillas boleras*. Alonso rationalizes this small number by claiming that in the nineteenth century *tiranas* could not be published as *tiranas* but only more generally as Spanish or Andalusian songs, whereby, as mentioned above, the *tirana* would correspond to a general name for songs originating from Andalusia.<sup>35</sup>

### *Early Tiranas*

The scholarly literature on this dance song provides scant detail of its musical characteristics; at best, accounts enumerate its syncopated rhythms in 6/8 (or 3/4 and 3/8) with four octosyllabic verses as a *copla* (stanza) followed by an *estribillo* (refrain).<sup>36</sup> After analyzing about a hundred *tiranas* located in the theatrical repertoire of Madrid dated to the late 1770s and 1780s (see the complete list with their signatures and typologies

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finishes with three  *demi-tours* or half-turns." The *zorongo* is described on the previous page as follows: "Its steps are simple, following a very sprightly movement, and are practised backwards and forwards; while sometimes the hands are clapped to the time." It seems that Blasis prefers to praise the beauty and originality of music and dance of this *Trípili trapola*, as well as the "picturesque" costume of the dancers.

<sup>33</sup> E-Mm, Mus 80-2, 14-17, 109-10. See Núñez, *Guía comentada*, 203-4; and Aurèlia Pessarrodona, "Los inicios de Lorenza Correa en Madrid: Su formación y desarrollo como actriz de cantado a partir del primer repertorio conocido (1787-94)," *Acta Musicologica* 93 (2021): 140-76, at 150-52.

<sup>34</sup> See, for instance, advertisements in the *Biblioteca periódica anual para utilidad de los librerios y literatos* such as a "*tirana con acompañamiento de punteado para guitarra*" (*tirana* with finger-picked guitar accompaniment) composed by Domingo Calvo (1785, 68); "*Dos tiranas y dos minués nuevos para cantar al clave con acompañamiento de salterio o violín*" (Two *tiranas* and two minuets for singing on the harpsichord with accompaniment of psaltery or violin) also by Domingo Calvo; a "*Quaderno de quatro tiranas nuevas a solo en música con acompañamiento para guitarra, compuestas según estilo moderno de Andalucía, por Don Gil Leocadio de Zarzaparrilla*" (A set of four new *tiranas* for one voice with guitar accompaniment, composed according to the modern style from Andalusia, by Mr. Leocadio de Zarzaparrilla); or the curious "*Tirana a solo del Malborough*" (*Tirana* for one voice of Marlborough), among others (1786, 103-4).

<sup>35</sup> See Alonso, *La canción lírica española*, 65.

<sup>36</sup> See the synthesis of Pérez Gutiérrez, "*Tirana*," 305. The most complete analysis of *tiranas* that I have found appears in Alonso, *La canción lírica española*, 63-72, but only as nineteenth-century one-off songs, slightly later than the repertoire discussed in this article.

EXAMPLE 1. Rhythmic schemes of the main types of stanzas of tiranas (vocal line). Numbers correspond to the syllables in each line, and the vibrato sign indicates the most common places to embellish the vocal line with groups of sixteenth notes.

Type 1  
(earliest tiranas)

Type 2  
(later tiranas)

version without first hemiola

in appendix 1),<sup>37</sup> I have found some shared features that suggest at least two broad typologies, above all in the stanzas: a first type (type 1 in ex. 1) more common in the earliest pieces, and a second, later type (type 2 in ex. 1) that seems to have become the standard *tirana*, but with an intrinsic flexibility that allowed a great diversity of versions, variations, and formulas. In general, all of them have these characteristics, similar to the aforementioned ones: syncopated rhythms written in 3/8 (exceptionally in 3/4 or 6/8 to emphasize internal hemiolas); the structure of stanzas and a refrain, the stanzas being octosyllabic quatrains, while the refrains, very commonly sung by the whole cast, can have more metric variety (detailed in appendix 1); expressions referring to the “*tirana*”—a woman, the dance, a catchword expression, etc.—such as the lament “*ay, tirana*” or only “*ay*”; onomatopoeic expressions that play with the sonority of the word “*tirana*” (“*tirirara*,” “*tititi*,” etc. which sometimes make it difficult to discern the exact number of syllables); and cheering expressions more or less related to the dance, such as “*dale*,” “*toma*,” or even “*y andar*.”<sup>38</sup> In this theatrical context, these *tiranans* are normally framed by short orchestral passages: an instrumental introduction that creates the atmosphere for the sung part and a brief instrumental ending (as shown in appendices 2, 3, and 4).

The earliest testimonies to *tiranans* that I have found in the E-Mm date from the late 1770s,<sup>39</sup> a bit earlier than Iza Zamácola stated. In some

<sup>37</sup> This is not an exhaustive list because of the great quantity of sources contained in the E-Mm, but it is sufficiently representative.

<sup>38</sup> “*Toma*” (take it) emphasizes self-confidence in the dancing gesture. “*Y andar*” (let’s go) is a typical tag in the refrains of the *tiranans*. On this expression, see Núñez, *Guía comentada*, 213n215.

<sup>39</sup> See appendix 1, which takes as a starting point the lists of works provided in Núñez, *Guía comentada*, 199–225; and Navarro, “*Tiranans y polacas*,” 56–60. In both lists some earlier pieces have been included among the *tiranans*, such as the anonymous *La limera y el usía* (1765) and *La boda del guarda* (1777), the tonadilla *El paje galanteador* by Esteve (1777), and even Luis Misón’s music for the sainete *El codicioso burlado* (undated but not later than 1766). After checking the originals, these cases have been rejected either because the calligraphy is clearly posterior to the theoretical date or because there is no sign of a *tirana* within the pieces.

Regarding the sainete *El maestro de música*, noted in appendix 1, while the original piece was written by Ramón de la Cruz in 1771 (see, for instance, René Andioc and Mireille Coulon, *Cartelera teatral madrileña del siglo XVIII (1708–1808)* [Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1996], 2:760), surprisingly, this music consists only of a *tirana* with the second type of coplas discussed below. In reality, this music does not seem to correspond to its first performances: on the one hand, the names of the performers shown in the manuscripts of the sainete (E-Mm, Tea 1–156–26 and Tea 1–167–5) do not match those indicated in the musical one; and, on the other hand, this piece is announced in the original text as a “*caballo*,” without including the verses of the estribillo of the *tirana*, which contains the words “*olé, tiranilla / tirana, olé, / olé, si te quiero / yo te lo diré*.” These facts suggest that this *tirana* might have been added later to update a previous, probably old-fashioned *caballo*. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that the calligraphy of one of the instrumental parts of the musical manuscript belongs to Valledor, a musician

of these sources the tirana seems to constitute a novelty from Andalusia, specifically Cádiz,<sup>40</sup> which supports Iza Zamácola's line of inquiry. In this sense the tonadilla *La anónima* (1779, fig. 1) is worth mentioning: it was composed for the return to Madrid of the actress Francisca Laborda, after a stint in the Spanish Theater of Cádiz, by Tomás Abril, who at that time was the "primer músico" ("first musician," that is, main composer) of this theater.<sup>41</sup> The intention of this tonadilla is to introduce the Madrilenian audience to some of the tunes that Laborda had learned during her time in other Spanish theaters, including the tirana from Andalusia.

A quite similar tirana appears, in different versions, in contemporary pieces also related, more or less explicitly, to Cádiz. In Esteve's tonadilla *El desvalido y protegido* (1780) this tirana is announced as a new song brought from Cádiz by the actor Pedro Villa; in the second stanza the lyrics exclaim: "que, aunque es cosa oída / esta es extraña" (although it has been heard before, this one is strange), referring to the novelty of this specific version. A version of this tirana, written in 3/4, appears in the anonymous music for the sainete *El diablo aburrido* (1779, ex. 2) and begins with a text referring to a song from Cádiz: "Un tuno cantaba en Cádiz" (A tune sung in Cádiz). This same tirana, in 3/8 and transposed a tone lower, is found in the music for the sainete *Los gitanos tragedistas* (1779) by Laserna. Likewise, the second part of the tonadilla *Las lecciones* (1780) by Esteve presents a humorous version of this same tirana, sung by the comic Miguel Garrido,<sup>42</sup> whose refrain also contains references to Cádiz. (Curiously, the later instrumental tirana entitled *Jaleo de gitanos* mentioned previously presents similar features.)

All this suggests that the tirana in these pieces, quite similar to the one by Abril, could be also an original song from Cádiz. This tirana is characterized by a plain and unembellished melody, generally in four-measure phrases (corresponding to a single line of verse) in a simple tonal context, highlighting its rhythmic construction: the alternation of 3/8 and 3/4 measures with syncopations that create hemiolas, typically at

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working in the theaters of Madrid mainly from 1785 onward. On Valledor's calligraphy, see Aurèlia Pessarrodona, *Jacinto Valledor (1744–1809): Tonadillas*, vol. 1, *Obras del periodo 1768–1778* (Madrid: CSIC, 2019), xxxviii–xli.

<sup>40</sup> And surroundings: for example, in Laserna's *Aquí tenéis a la Silva* the tirana is announced as a piece sung "a la jerezana" (according to the taste of Jerez). This early piece was for the Andalusian singer-actress Faustina de Silva. See Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Don Ramón de la Cruz y sus obras* (Madrid: Imprenta de José Perales y Martínez, 1899), 599.

<sup>41</sup> As appears in the manuscript libretto in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, MSS/14063/96. See Cristina Díez, *Cádiz, centro operístico peninsular en la España de los siglos XVIII y XI (1761–1830)* (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2016), 1:156.

<sup>42</sup> On this great comic actor as a performer of tonadillas, see Aurèlia Pessarrodona, "El cuerpo cantante en las tonadillas a solo para Miguel Garrido," *Diagonal: An Ibero-American Music Review* 4 (2019): 1–30.

FIGURE 1. Tirana from Tomás Abril's *La anónima* (Cádiz, 1779), voice and bass, ff. 10v–11r.

EXAMPLE 2. Tirana from the sainete *El diablo aburrido* (without horns; possible mistakes in the voice have been left uncorrected).

Violin 1

Violin 2

HERMOSILLA  
POLONIA

Bass

4

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

HER.  
POL.

B.

7

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

HER.  
POL.

B.

*p*

*p*

HER. Un tu - no can - ta - ba en Cá - diz que en los  
POL. Un cor - do - bés fue\_a las In - días y le

*p*

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## EXAMPLE 2. (continued)

10

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

HER. POL.

plie-tos y el a-mor po-cas ve-ces al que es pro-ve  
tra-jo\_a su se-ño-ra dos ta-le-gas de di-ne-ro

B.

14

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

HER. POL.

se le da la po-se-sión.— Ti-ra-na, tí-ra, tí-ro-cias, va-cí-as y ro-tas. Ti-ra-na, tí-ra, tí-

B.

17

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

HER. POL.

-ra-na, tí-ra-ni-lla de jaz-mín, ¿pa-ra-ra-na, tí-ra-na del co-ra-zón, que no

B.



EXAMPLE 2. (*continued*)

20

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

HER.  
POL.

qué son tan-tos ti-ros si al pri-me-ro me ren - dí?  
 quie-ro que tú gus-tes de lo que no gus-to yo.

B.

[f]

24

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

HER.  
POL.

B.

the junction between octosyllabic lines (see ex. 1 above). The version from *El diablo aburrido* (ex. 2) clearly shows this rhythmic treatment in the beginning of the sung melody in 3/4 featuring a general alternation between 6/8 and 3/4.

These hemiolas are dealt with in different ways. For instance, in *El desvalido y protegido* they are enriched by the elongation of the central note by one beat, causing more rhythmic ambiguity. In *Las lecciones*, by contrast, these hemiolas are transformed by pauses that separate the octosyllabic lines, yielding a melody constructed basically with a two-note rhythmic pattern: an eighth note and a quarter note. In fact, in this music we find a preponderance of this rhythmic pattern, as well as a three-note version (eighth note, dotted eighth note, and sixteenth

EXAMPLE 3. Two-note and three-note rhythmic patterns in the “3+2” pattern.



note) in triple or compound duple meter. The elongation of the second note of these patterns agogically stresses the upbeat, creating syncopated gestures (iambic or amphibrachic). These gestures change the natural scansion of the text and contrast deliberately with the bass, which constantly emphasizes the downbeat. The combination of these two rhythmic patterns, in the form “3+2 notes” in 6/8 meter, recalls the rhythm of zarabandas, habaneras, and tangos, which were common in tonadillas (ex. 3).<sup>43</sup>

This tendency to stress the upbeat in triple meter combined with a simultaneous and contrasting emphasis of the downbeat is related to a dancing gesture, the *topetillo* (little touch), documented in Spanish dancing sources since the sixteenth century.<sup>44</sup> It consists of a light touch of the heel of one foot with the sole or inside of the heel of the other. This gesture is part of the *paseo de seguidilla*, the basis of the bolero and fandango;<sup>45</sup> it would become an identifying element of a Spanish trope to foreign eyes, and we find it habitually in representations of Spanish characters in theatrical dances of the Baroque repertoire—such as the *Folie d'Espagne* noted by Raoul Auger Feuillet. This gesture commonly appears related to the rhythm of eighth note and quarter note in triple or compound duple meter: the eighth note corresponds to the step forward and the quarter note to the *topetillo*—the upbeat—and the immediate backward movement of the foot.<sup>46</sup> Although we cannot assert that this step was danced in the tirana, it is important to consider it as a possible embodied gesture of this music.

<sup>43</sup> See Aurèlia Pessarrodona, “Ritmos de tonadilla: Algunas consideraciones a partir de la obra de Jacinto Valledor,” *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* 28 (2015): 87–114. These rhythmic combinations, which recall certain *aksak* patterns, have a long history in Spain going back to at least the fifteenth century. See, for instance, Miguel Ángel Palacios, “Sobre dos estructuras rítmico-melódicas típicas de la música española,” *Inter-American Music Review* 18, nos. 1–2 (2008): 403–14. Maybe these rhythms were the reason Cairón later qualified some Spanish dances as “zarabanda continuada,” as seen above.

<sup>44</sup> See María José Ruiz Mayordomo and Aurèlia Pessarrodona, “Choreological Gestures in Iberian Music for the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century: A Proposal for Historically Informed Performance of the Fandango,” in *The Global Reach of the Fandango in Music, Song and Dance: Spaniards, Indians, Africans and Gypsies*, ed. K. Meira Goldberg and Antoni Pizà (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2016), 622–67, at 647–49.

<sup>45</sup> See María José Ruiz Mayordomo and Aurèlia Pessarrodona, “Sincretismos coréutico-musicales en la España del siglo XVIII: El Minueto a modo di sghidiglia spagnola (1785) de Luigi Boccherini,” in *Musicología global, musicología local*, ed. Javier Marín et al. (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2013), 2273–96, at 2285–88.

<sup>46</sup> See Ruiz Mayordomo and Pessarrodona, “Choreological Gestures,” 647–49.

Structurally, these first tiranas developed from an initial simple melody that served for both stanza and refrain into something more flexible and ornamented; the refrain in particular, which became progressively more complex and elaborated, was differentiated from the stanza. We find the simplest version of this tirana in the tonadilla *El desvalido y protegido*, which consists of a single melody sung inside the concluding seguidillas of the tonadilla. In the cases of *El diablo aburrido* (ex. 2) and *Los gitanos tragedistas* the same melody is used for both stanzas and refrain. The tirana from *Las lecciones*, however, presents a differentiated refrain with a more elaborate melody.

These first testimonies thus attest to the strong relationship between the tirana and Andalusia; they were songs with a verifiable or very likely origin in Cádiz, although to date the original Andalusian context of the tirana remains unknown. These testimonies demonstrate, at least, how some tiranas arrived on Madrilenian stages through singer-actors and composers with connections to Cádiz, a city that hosted important theatrical activity and was home to numerous great performers, such as María Mayor Ordóñez (*La Mayorita*), María Antonia Fernández (*La Caramba*), Polonia Rochel, and the celebrated Manuel García.<sup>47</sup> As the early case of Laserna's *Aquí tenéis a la Silva* (1778) suggests, however, it is likely that the Andalusian tirana was circulating on the stages and perhaps also around the streets of Madrid at an earlier date. In fact, the tirana, despite becoming one of the *sonsonetes populares* most appreciated by the late eighteenth-century Madrilenian audience as a delightful dance song with plenty of *sal* (saltiness),<sup>48</sup> still was associated with Andalusia, as, for example, in Laserna's *fin de fiesta Las provincias españolas unidas por el placer* (1789), in which each Spanish region celebrated the coronation of the new king Charles IV with their local airs.

This early repertoire also shows that these presumably original tiranas coexisted with more innovative Madrilenian versions, as in Laserna's tonadilla *Francés, italiano y majos* (1781) and the sainete *El gracioso picado* (1782) (with the same music as that from the sainete *El sí de cuerdas y mujeres*, 1782). In this regard, the tirana from *La criada y el barbero* is particularly noteworthy. Because of the performers named, the musical manuscript must date from between 1781 and 1784.<sup>49</sup> In any case, the refrain indicates explicitly that this tirana “se ha compuesto acá” (has been composed here [i.e., in Madrid]); see ex. 4), and indeed it stands

<sup>47</sup> See Cotarelo y Mori, *Don Ramón de la Cruz*, 561, 506–8, 585–88; and James Radomski, *Manuel García (1775–1832): Chronicle of the Life of a bel canto Tenor at the Dawn of Romanticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1–15.

<sup>48</sup> On this concept in Madrilenian popular culture, see Rebecca Haidt, *Women, Work and Clothing in Eighteenth-Century Spain* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2011), 241–76.

<sup>49</sup> The front page indicates the names of “La Sanz” (Vicenta Sanz) and “Romero” (Vicente Romero), actors who appeared together in Madrid’s companies between 1781 and 1784. See Cotarelo y Mori, *Don Ramón de la Cruz*, 460–63.

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EXAMPLE 4. Refrain of the tirana from *La criada y el barbero* with its most important motifs highlighted (voice and bass only).

33

attack

attack

CRIADA  
BARBERO

Ay, tí - ra, tí - ri - ri, ay, tí - ra, tí - ra - na,  
Ay, tí - ra, tí - ra - na, ay tí - ri, tí - ri - ri,

Bass

37

4-sixteenths group

4-sixteenths group

attack

que sin ser bar - be - ra sa - brás a - fei - tar. Ay, tí -  
que un a - fei - ta - mo - nas me pre ten - de a mí. Ay, tí -

488

42

attack

4-sixteenths group

- ri - tí - ri - ri, ay, tí - ra, tí - ra - na, que a - ques - ta tí - ra - na se ha  
- ra, tí - ra - na. ay, tí - ri, tí - ri - ri, que a - ques - ta tí - ra - na es hi -

47

4-sixteenths group

attack

attack

com - pues - to a - cá. Ay, tí - ri, tí - ri - ri, ay, tí -  
- ja de Ma - drid. Ay, tí - ra, tí - ra - na, ay, tí -

52

"dissolving" ending

- ra, tí - ra - na, ay, tí - rá,  
- ri, tí - ri - ri, ay, tí - ri.

out for its originality. The stanzas maintain some characteristics of early *tiranas*, such as a simple melody without ornamentation and a tendency to iambic rhythmic gestures formed by an eighth note and a quarter note, even stressing the second note with *sforzandi*. However, these stanzas are in D Phrygian with a raised third, uncommon in this section, which is normally tonal (in a major or, exceptionally, minor mode). There is a clear contrast between the stanza and the refrain, owing to a metrical change (to pentasyllabic verses) and a radiant B-flat major. The refrain also presents some musical motifs that will become very common in later *tiranas* (see ex. 4). We find the exclamation “ay, tirana” at the beginning, which stresses the upbeat with a dotted eighth and sixteenth note within the three-note rhythmic pattern explained above (ex. 3). This kind of exclamation motif (sometimes only two eighth notes or four sixteenth notes) would become characteristic of phrase attacks in the refrains. In fact, the melody becomes more embellished thanks especially to groups of four sixteenth notes instead of quarter notes, which became a common feature in later *tiranas*.<sup>50</sup> The refrain ends with a peculiar motif, formed by a succession of sixteenth notes repeating one pitch and its upper neighbor as a slow trill, that seems to dissolve the melody. This “trilled” motif would come to be one of the most typical devices for embellishing *tiranas*, normally filling long notes or, as in this case, elongating the end of the phrases. This ending motif recalls the way that, much later, Manuel García (son) in his singing treatise describes the typical ending of *polos*, “in which the last note is long and tremulous,” and “the voice adopts a melancholic appearance.”<sup>51</sup>

### *Further Evolution*

By 1781 a new typology of *tirana* was established, following the aforementioned tendency toward more rhythmic-melodic ductility and an important differentiation and development of the refrains. The rhythmic-melodic construction of these stanzas does not stray far from the previous scheme. However, as shown in the *tirana* from Laserna’s tonadilla *La vida del pretendiente y novia escrupulosa* (ex. 5) and in the

<sup>50</sup> We find a primary version of this tendency in the violins of the *tirana* from *El diablo aburrido* (see ex. 2).

<sup>51</sup> See Manuel García, *Traité complet de l’art du chant en deux parties* (Paris: E. Troupenas, 1847), 2:70; ed. and trans. Lucía Díaz Marroquín and Mario Villoria Morillo, *Tratado completo del arte del canto* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2012), 270, my translation. It is interesting to note that García explains this way of embellishing the endings of *polos* as something different from the common Spanish practice of singing. In effect, it is different from the final cadences of *seguidillas*, which are attacked on the upbeat of the penultimate measure and normally ornamented with a mordent.

EXAMPLE 5. Stanzas of the tirana from the tonadilla *La vida del pretendiente y novia escrupulosa* (voice and bass only).

47

Voice

La que tic - ne - dos cor - te - jos que\_u -

Bass

52

-no\_em - pie - za - y\_o - tro\_a - ca - ba con a - quel jue -

Bass

490

57

- ga\_a la mo - rra y con es - te\_a la se can - sa.

Bass

rhythmic scheme of example 1, the main tendency in the second type of tirana is a contrast between a general  $3/8$ —emphasized by the bass—and the intrinsic  $3/4$  of the vocal line. This new rhythmic treatment highlights the syncopations across measures, especially the hemiola between the second and third measures, which did not exist in the earlier tirana. In fact, this second type of tirana tends to separate each octosyllabic verse with rests that replaced the previous linking hemiola; this creates a succession of similar four-measure semi-phrases, one for each verse. In some cases, groups of two semi-phrases are united by simply elongating the ending of the first verse and anticipating the beginning of the next verse, as occurs in the tiranas from Laserna's tonadillas *La deserción de la Polonia* (1781), *El encuentro de la apasionada* (1785), and *El trueque de los papeles* (1785), as well as in the *Tirana del tripili*—maybe the most famous and enduring tirana, as explained below. However, the observed tendency is

to group together harmonically each pair of verses, normally (but not always) inside a general I–V–I scheme, creating a phraseological unit. These kinds of rhythmic combinations were not exclusive to the tirana: they appear also in strophic numbers of this repertoire,<sup>52</sup> probably as formulas for setting octosyllabic verses to music. However, through this analysis we see that these rhythmic combinations eventually converged in the stanzas of the tirana in such a way that they became a cliché of the genre, at least in the late eighteenth century.

Furthermore, this second type of rhythmic-melodic patterning could be varied according to taste or dramaturgical necessities. In this sense, example 1 shows a variety of rhythms within this typology. The first hemiola, although very characteristic, could be replaced with other possibilities, such as simple quarter notes (indicated in example 1 as the “version without first hemiola”) or even dactylic rhythmic gestures formed by a dotted eighth note, sixteenth note, and eighth note—a rare rhythmic combination that appears, meaningfully, in Esteve’s tonadilla *No hay buen estado a disgusto* (1787), in which the tirana is fused with a tarantella, and in Esteve’s *los gallegos de la siega* (1783) and Laserna’s *La avaricia castigada* (1788), in which these rhythms are used to infuse the tirana with a pastoral air.

Although the harmonic treatment of the stanzas is simple, this second type of tirana presents a new preference for inconclusive cadences that create more expectation for the refrain (see ex. 5 and appendices 2 and 3). In fact, the refrains tend to have greater distinction—with different meters, and sung (even danced) by the entire cast while the stanzas normally are soloistic—as well as more structural complexity. A tirana that manifests this trend is that from *La resurreccion de la tirana* (1781, appendix 2) by Laserna, with an intriguing contrapuntal passage after the stanza that combines two of the most typical features of the tirana: the lament “ay” on the downbeat and four sixteenth notes on the offbeat with interjections such as “tiririri” and the like. This passage leads to a climactic dominant seventh chord, resolving with the true refrain. It is not surprising that this tonadilla, which deals with a hypothetical death and resurrection of the tirana, manifests a real renewal of this dance song and, maybe, a turning point in its evolution, not only due to its elaborated refrain but also to the melodic treatment of the stanzas that resembles the characteristics of the second type of tirana. In this sense, it should be noted that this tonadilla suggests a possible genealogy of the tirana: as personified dances, the Caballo affirms the Tirana to be “su padre natural” (her natural father) and the Fandango “su marido” (her husband). It is significant that this theory about the origins of the tirana,

<sup>52</sup> For example, in the first number of *Los gitanos tragedistas*.

whether or not it is true, moves away from its being an Andalusian song from Cádiz and instead proposes a more elaborate genealogy involving other Spanish dance airs, even though they, too, are particularly tied to this Andalusian city.<sup>53</sup>

Continuing with this structure, this *tirana* shows a tendency toward multipart refrains, normally two parts that present a harmonic contrast, as Alonso noted in the extant nineteenth-century *tiranas*:

The harmonic scheme is tripartite: after assenting the initial tonality in the stanza, some modulations are made in a section of more tonal instability which, in many cases, coincides with the beginning of the refrain or with the phrase that just precedes it. Finally, the music returns to the initial tonality very similarly to *polos* and *fandangos*, frequently being the Andalusian scales with a resolution in major mode.<sup>54</sup>

An excellent example is the *tirana* inserted in the final *seguidillas* of *El chasco del abate* (1785) by Valledor (appendix 3).<sup>55</sup> After the stanzas there is a part in E Phrygian (with a raised third) with a repetitive motif that serves to create more expectation for the arrival of the radiant refrain in C major, danced according to the manuscript notations. The general melodic construction of these two parts is much simpler than that of the stanzas, and its intention is to create a joyful dancing environment, with expressions like “dale, dale” in the refrain to encourage the dance and vibrant sixteenth notes in the violins to add brightness to this section. In other cases, the harmonic contrast is not so clear or this tripartite structure is simplified, consisting of stanzas, refrain, and a mere cadential section, as in Mariano Bustos’s *La dama voluble*, Esteve’s *La visita de Vicente a la Nicolasa*, and Laserna’s *El encuentro de la apasionada*. There are also examples in which the refrain is elongated by adding sections or repeating it, as in Laserna’s *La avaricia castigada*.

<sup>53</sup> We know very little about the *caballo* as an eighteenth-century Spanish dance song, but it would have had a close relationship with the later *polo*, which sometimes appears denominated as “caballo” (Alonso, *La canción lírica española*, 111). For instance, the very popular *Polo del contrabandista*, famous for appearing in Manuel García’s *El poeta calculista* (1805), was known also as “el caballito de Cádiz,” as seen, for instance, in the libretto of the tonadilla *El presidiario*, with music by Pablo del Moral, printed in Barcelona by José Torner in 1826 and 1839 (Biblioteca de Catalunya, 16-III-1/18 and 834.60 T Com 2/2-12°); on this topic, see Guillermo Castro, “El Polo de Ronda y otros polos,” *Sinfonía Virtual* 26 (2014): 1–102, at 16. For its part, the *fandango* was strongly associated with Cádiz during the eighteenth century, even called the “fandango de Cádiz.” See Lénica Reyes Zúñiga and José Miguel Hernández Jaramillo, “Cádiz como eje vertebrador en España del discurso dialógico musical entre México y Andalucía en la etapa preflamenca,” *Revista del Centro de Investigación Flamenca Telethusa* 4 (2011): 32–43, at 35–37.

<sup>54</sup> Alonso, *La canción lírica española*, 68.

<sup>55</sup> See Pessarrodona, *Jacinto Valledor (1744–1809): Tonadillas*, vol. 2, *Obras a partir de 1785*.



Within this tendency toward more complex structures, the most exaggerated example is the tirana from Esteve's tonadilla *El amante apocado y dama quejosa* (1784), in which the stanzas are constructed through interlinked phrases in the form of a dialogue between the two characters of the tonadilla. This may, however, have been added later, because it was sewn into the manuscript; this same tirana served as a spectacular finish to Valledor's *Los majos de rumbo* (ca. 1790–93), one of the most popular and long-lived tonadillas, but here too the tirana appears only in certain later versions, replacing a similar tirana.<sup>56</sup> This kind of tirana is particularly noteworthy due to the dialogic form of its stanzas and the variety of its verses, which provide a freer musical structure. For instance, in the first phrase of the stanza (see ex. 6) a rhythmic pattern closer to the first type of tirana is preferred, as it is more suitable for creating one musical phrase of the two verses sung by each character. Moreover, in this kind of

EXAMPLE 6. First phrase of the stanzas of the first tirana from Valledor's tonadilla *Los majos de rumbo* (voice and bass).

15

MAJO

Tú te fuís - te a los to - ros sin  
¿Por sué vas tú a la co - me - día to -

Cb.

Bass

*p* *sf*

18

fa - dos - blar las me a - mí pa - la - bra,  
dos - las dí - as sin fal - ta,

*p*

<sup>56</sup> On this tonadilla, see Pessarrodona, *Jacinto Valledor y la tonadilla*, 223–28, esp. 223–24; and Pessarrodona, *Jacinto Valledor (1744–1809): Tonadillas*, vol. 2, *Obras a partir de 1785*.

tirana the aforementioned “dissolving motif” at the end of the phrases is exaggerated, elongating its characteristic of a “slow trill.”

This last aspect solidifies the role of this “slow trill” and similar motifs as typical embellishing devices in the tirana. A good example of embellishments and elaborated melodies in these later tiranas can be found in Esteve’s tonadilla *El molinero, la pescadora y el pajarero* (1789, appendix 4), composed to showcase the vocal skills of the great tenor Vicente Sánchez (*Camas*). In fact, the melody of the stanzas, sung by *Camas*, is more demanding than the easier refrain, sung by the whole cast. The stanzas are highly ornamented, with agile sixteenth notes and melismatic phrase elongations, even a “trilled” measure. The melismatic ending is full of typical tirana ornaments sung by *Camas* (together with the singer-actress Nicolasa Palomera). Despite the vocal virtuosity exhibited in this tirana, and others such as those from Laserna’s *Los menestrales* (1784) and Esteve’s *La operista fingida* (1786), the possibilities to showcase the voice were in fact limited, consisting only of small intervals in a narrow vocal range, found principally at the end of phrases.<sup>57</sup> The lack of space for more vocal ostentation might explain the eventual limited success of the tirana as a one-off song in comparison with the seguidillas boleras, which feature an entire melismatic measure for vocalizing quite freely and are even more belcantistic, given the last accented syllable of each verse of the stanza—except the final one—before its downbeat.

The beginning of phrases in the tirana are only sporadically embellished, as in Laserna’s *La petimetra supuesta* (ex. 7) and Esteve’s *La escuela de Garrido*. Such embellishments are found in tiranas whose initial phrase begins with pauses that break the normal musical discourse (like the early and non-ornamented case of Abril’s *La anónima*; see fig. 1). Despite the ornamentation, the pauses emphasize the iambic tendency of the melodic line and are thus closer to the first type of stanzas.

During its flourishing in the theaters of Madrid, as we have seen, the tirana evolved from a very simple version, likely inspired by an original Andalusian song, to a more complex one with distinctive rhythmic features and a more sophisticated structure that consolidated the genre and established its primary identifying characteristics: the rich rhythmic treatment of the stanzas, the structure of the refrains, and the presence of characteristic ornamenting motifs.

<sup>57</sup> Perhaps a more Andalusian way to ornament, in line with García’s explanation of how to sing the endings of the polos, as seen above.

EXAMPLE 7. Beginning of the stanza of the tirana from Laserna's *La petimetra supuesta* (voice and bass only).

10

Voice

El dí - a de los en -

Bass

14

- fun - tos me -

19

ca - sé por mis pe - ca - dos.

### *The Tirana Abroad: Tracking Martín y Soler*

In light of this analysis, we are now in a position to evaluate the impact of the tirana abroad, even in Latin America,<sup>58</sup> and whether it would have become a Spanish musical trope. This question requires a more in-depth study, and here I offer a mere starting point to launch further research.

Luigi Boccherini and Saverio Mercadante, both directly influenced by their respective stays in Spain, clearly demonstrate the impact of the tirana on non-Spanish composers of the period. Boccherini took the tirana as inspiration for the first movement of his string quartet op. 44,

<sup>58</sup> As suggested by Montserrat Capelán in “La tonadilla escénica en Venezuela o el proceso de criollización de un género hispano,” *Anuario Musical* 72 (2017): 137–52. She considers that the tirana might be an antecedent of the merengue in her analysis of certain much later tonadillas composed by José Ángel Montero (1832–81), specifically a variant of *Los majos de rumbo*, which includes a curious version of the *Tirana del trípili*.

no. 4 (G223), entitled *La Tiranna* and *La Tiranna Spagnola* in surviving manuscripts (from 1792).<sup>59</sup> In fact, the tirana achieved its peak of popularity while Boccherini was working for the Infante Don Luis in Arenas de San Pedro from 1777 until the death of his patron on August 7, 1785, when Boccherini returned to Madrid and took up simultaneous positions as the conductor of the orchestra of the Countess-Duchess of Benavente and chamber composer for the King of Prussia. Although the precise date of the quartet is unclear,<sup>60</sup> the exciting musical and theatrical context of Madrid, full of fashionable novelties in which the tirana stood out, must have abounded with inspiration for Boccherini.

Decades later, in 1826, Mercadante used the tirana in his *Sinfonia caratteristica spagnola*, a work based on his *I due Figaro*, a Spanish-themed opera composed during his first stay in Madrid.<sup>61</sup> This piece was conceived as a suite of Spanish musical dances including the fandango, the bolero, the cachucha, and the tirana, which appears twice:<sup>62</sup> the first is a single stanza, the second is the refrain of the famous *Tirana del trípili*—the very refrain that names this tirana, repeating the words “trípili” and “trápala.” Mercadante’s *Sinfonia* was one of the first works that echoed the success of the *Tirana del trípili*, the most influential and enduring tirana.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> See Yves Gérard, *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini*, trans. Andreas Mayor (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 249. Christian Speck deals with the influence of the tirana in this movement in *Boccherini's Streichquartette: Studien zur Kompositionsweise und zur gattungsgeschichtlichen Stellung* (Munich: W. Fink, 1987), 134–35, but compares it with only one tirana, the *Tirana del trípili*, reproduced in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* as a piece by Laserna (see “Tirana (ii) (Sp.),” *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.28007>). Therefore, this topic requires further study.

<sup>60</sup> The manuscripts are from 1792, but it is possible that Boccherini wrote some of the pieces for the King of Prussia years before, when he was still working for the Infante Don Luis. On this topic see Germán Labrador, “Luigi Boccherini’s Lost Music and a New Chronology for His Works: An Unknown Inventory from 1785,” *Philomusica on-line* 15 (2016): 101–26. Nevertheless, this string quartet would not have been composed before the tirana’s period of splendor.

<sup>61</sup> That is to say, before his stay in Cádiz between 1829 and 1830. On Mercadante’s first stay in Madrid and the presence of Spanish airs in *I due Figaro* and *Sinfonia caratteristica*, see Adela Presas, *Creación y vida de Saverio Mercadante en España: “Don Chisciotte alle nozze di Gamaccio” (Cádiz, 1830)* (Madrid: Ediciones Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2018), 37–92, esp. 86–92.

<sup>62</sup> In reality, in the “tempo di tirana” Mercadante includes, in this order, a stanza of tirana, the cachucha, and the trípili, the last as a joyful finale.

<sup>63</sup> There is also the almost simultaneously published *Rondó brillante a la tirana para piano-forte sobre los temas del Trípili y la Cachucha*, op. 25 (ca. 1825) by Pedro Albéniz; Biblioteca Nacional de España, M. Reina/16(1), <https://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000138995>. Much later it also inspired Granados’s “Los requiebros” from *Goyescas*. The earliest testimonies of this famous tirana are found in manuscripts of tonadillas by the 1780s, such as Laserna’s *Los maestros de la Raboso* (1780) and Esteve’s *Doña Toribia y Don Celedonio* (1785), although it was added later and most likely as an imitation of a popular song. See Morales, “La *Tirana del trípili* en el repertorio tonadillesco.”

The tirana was already circulating in Europe, at least in the early nineteenth century. For example, Narciso Paz included interesting tiranas in his *Collection des meilleurs airs nationaux espagnols, boleras et tiranas avec accompagnement de guitare et de piano ou harpe*, published in six volumes in Paris around 1813.<sup>64</sup> Slightly later (by 1816) Beethoven added a “Tiranilla española” in his *Lieder verschiedener Völker*, WoO 158 (no. 21), based on the *Tirana de la Convención*, a popular song inspired by the War of the Pyrenees (1793–95).<sup>65</sup> However, a still earlier sign of the tirana abroad may have been the first public concerts by Lorenza Correa in Paris in 1804, when the soprano performed Spanish pieces, accompanying herself on guitar.<sup>66</sup> We do not know the repertoire she performed, but it may have included tiranas that she had played on guitar in Madriean theaters while performing tonadillas.<sup>67</sup>

Tracing the early impact of the tirana abroad, we find that Iza Zamácola has provided an interesting clue: he identifies Martín y Soler as the exporter of the tirana through his operas. Although the presence of Spanish musical elements in Martín y Soler’s works has been the subject of insightful studies, none of them mentions the tirana.<sup>68</sup> We can now recognize the style of the tirana in at least one of his most famous melodies: “Viva, viva la Regina” sung by Lilla and Ghita in the second *finale*—a festive Spanish ending—of the opera *Una cosa rara*, which premiered in Vienna in 1786. This melody became popular, inspiring songs and arrangements sold as printed versions (like the one shown in figure 2) and even occasioned the urban myth that it was the first Viennese waltz danced on stage. This misunderstanding comes from Albert Czerwinski’s description of the performance of the opera in his *Geschichte der Tanzkunst* (1862):

Four characters from this opera, Lubia, Tita, Chita and Lilla, dressed in black and pink, danced the first waltz onstage. Given the tremendous applause that the opera received, one could not ignore the attention

<sup>64</sup> Narciso Paz, *Collection des meilleurs airs nationaux espagnols, boleras et tiranas avec accompagnement de guitare et de piano ou harpe*, 6 vols. (Paris: chez Mme. Benoist, [ca. 1813]).

<sup>65</sup> See Nieves Pascual, “España en Beethoven: El folklore español en las canciones populares del WoO 158,” in *Beethoven desde España: Estudios interdisciplinarios y recepción musical*, ed. Paulino Capdepón and Juan José Pastor (Valencia: Tirant Humanidades, 2021), 75–88, at 86.

<sup>66</sup> See Pessarrodona, “Los inicios de Lorenza Correa en Madrid,” 142.

<sup>67</sup> As appears in Pablo del Moral’s tonadilla *La competencia de las dos hermanas*. See Pessarrodona, “Los inicios de Lorenza Correa en Madrid,” 150–52.

<sup>68</sup> See, for example, Leonardo J. Waisman, *Vicente Martín y Soler: Un músico español en el Clasicismo europeo* (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2007), chap. 8; and Leonardo J. Waisman, “Vicente Martín y Soler, compositor periférico,” in *Los siete mundos de Vicente Martín y Soler*, ed. Dorothea Link and Leonardo J. Waisman (Valencia: Institut Valencià de la Música, 2010), 443–65.

paid to this interpolated dance. The dance was imitated in society under the name *Cosa rara*, or *Langaus*, which became fashionable and was later named the Viennese waltz.<sup>69</sup>

Scholars have long since disproved Czerwinski's assertion that this piece inspired the Viennese waltz,<sup>70</sup> but the false claim continues to echo even in quite recent publications.<sup>71</sup> According to Erica Buurman, the confusion may stem from the impact of contemporary arrangements of this opera adapted to German ballroom dances.<sup>72</sup> In fact, owing to its peculiar shape, some scholars have tried to match this melody to other Spanish airs, but without success.<sup>73</sup> We can now affirm that it fits with

FIGURE 2. First phrase of "Viva, viva la Regina," from the *Finale* of the second act of Martín y Soler's *Una cosa rara*, in a version for voice and accompaniment; *Canzonetta Viva, viva la Regina per il clavicembalo ricavata dall'opera "Una cosa rara?"* (Vienna, 1786), Bibliothéque nationale de France, D-7651 (10), 2.

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The image shows a musical score for a voice and harpsichord. The voice part is on a single staff with a treble clef and a 3/8 time signature. It begins with the lyrics "Viva vi-va la Re-gi-na de-ri = pa-ra il nost-ro-mer-". The harpsichord part is on two staves (treble and bass clefs) with a 3/8 time signature. It starts with a forte (f) dynamic and then a piano (p) dynamic. The tempo is marked "Lilla" and "all.gretto".

<sup>69</sup> Albert Czerwinski, *Geschichte der Tanzkunst* (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1862), 209; quoted in Christine Martin, *Vicente Martín y Solers Oper "Una cosa rara": Geschichte eines Opernerfolgs im 18. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2001), 83. Although Czerwinski did not clarify the number to which he was referring, it has been identified with the "Viva, viva la Regina" in Roy Jesson, "Una Cosa Rara," *Musical Times* 109 (1968): 619–21, at 620; and John Platoff, "A New History for Martín's *Una Cosa Rara*," *Journal of Musicology* 12 (1994): 85–115, at 104. On this topic, see Erica Buurman, *The Viennese Ballroom in the Age of Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 99.

<sup>70</sup> See, for instance, Franz Grasberger, "Die Legende von der 'Erfindung' des Waltzers," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 22 (1967): 33–37; and, more recently, Buurman, *Viennese Ballroom*, 96–105.

<sup>71</sup> For instance, Andrés Ruiz Tarazona's entry on the composer in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, dir. Emilio Casares (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 1999–2002), 7:251–56.

<sup>72</sup> See Buurman, *Viennese Ballroom*, 96–105.

<sup>73</sup> Christine Martin, based on Jack Sage and Lionel Salter's article "Zarzuela" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan, 1980), 20:650, affirmed that it is a jota, although admitting that the formal and rhythmic structure of its music does not coincide exactly with this dance. See Martin, *Vicente Martín y Solers Oper "Una cosa rara"*, 84. Waisman, "Vicente Martín y Soler, compositor periférico," 452n18, does not consider it a jota but, after analyzing its musical features, does not provide an alternative.

a stanza from a tirana.<sup>74</sup> As we can see in figure 2, the opening phrase (mm. 226–33)<sup>75</sup> presents characteristics of the first type of tirana (except for the “dissolving” trilled ending): a general iambic tendency that stresses the upbeat and modifies the natural scansion of the text; a syncopated hemiola between the verses (here with a more ornamented second part); and stressed downbeats in the accompaniment—in this version a cembalo, which also appears in the original orchestral score—that contrast deliberately with the rhythmic construction of the vocal melody.

The subsequent phrase (mm. 242–49), divided into two parts that present an intrinsic but not linked first hemiola, recalls the second type of tirana. Although, as noted above, this kind of rhythmic combination was common in Spanish music of the period, nevertheless the rhythmic construction of Martín y Soler’s “Viva, viva la Regina,” still rooted in the rhythmic framework of the first type of tirana, could have a chronological rationale. We do not know the extent to which Martín y Soler was familiar with Spanish music novelties during the period he was in Naples and Vienna. Despite having left the country, he likely kept abreast of Spanish musical trends; but even if he did not, he may have had in mind the tiranas he heard in Madrid before he left for Naples, around 1777.<sup>76</sup> For instance, the seguidillas of the same *finale* sung by the Regina have the aforementioned characteristics of the boleras.<sup>77</sup> In fact, they would become early testimony to this type of seguidilla, suggesting a likely relationship between them and the areas of Valencia and Murcia.<sup>78</sup> These aspects suggest that the presence of Spanish musical topics in Martín y Soler’s works—crucial in promulgating a particular musical portrait of Spain in Europe—would have been highly conditioned by his background and travels.

<sup>74</sup> Buurman (*Viennese Ballroom*, 103–5) discusses the changes made to this melody in order to adapt it to a German dance in Artaria’s and Lausch’s contemporary publications. These changes can now be understood as ways to adapt such exotic characteristics of the tirana to German dance patterns.

<sup>75</sup> I have consulted Vicente Martín y Soler, *Una cosa rara ossia bellezza ed onestà*, ed. Irina Kriajeva (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2001).

<sup>76</sup> See Waisman, *Vicente Martín y Soler*, 31.

<sup>77</sup> In fact, Madrid’s audience understood them as such, according to a commentary in the press referring to the performances of the opera by the Italian company Teatro de los Caños del Peral in 1789–90. See *Diario de Madrid*, April 6, 1790, 381, <http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0001521287>.

<sup>78</sup> This brings to mind the *parola* (spoken dialogue) from the tonadilla *El maestro de bolero* by Laserna (1791, E-Mm Mus 147–7), in which a character affirms that the bolero “nació en Murcia o Valencia y en Madrid se ha avecindado” (was born in Murcia or Valencia and settled in Madrid).

*Conclusions*

Throughout these pages we have surveyed—or better, unearthed—the tirana, one of the most popular dance songs (or, in the contemporary argot, *sonsonetes populares*) in Spain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries but treated only superficially as a musical genre up until now. While previous studies sketched certain general musical features, even considering the tirana as a general name for Andalusian songs, we have demonstrated that at least in the late eighteenth century the tirana had distinct characteristics as a dance song that had evolved from its earliest—and perhaps original—Andalusian forms to more complex and richer examples performed by great singers in theaters and by members of the upper classes in salons.

The taxonomy of the late eighteenth-century tirana proposed here allows us to recognize it as a distinct genre and even as a musical trope. We are thus able to determine the extent to which the tirana may have inspired other contemporary works and to evaluate its impact abroad. In this way, the identification of one of Martín y Soler's hits, the song "Viva, viva la Regina" from *Una cosa rara*, as a tirana opens new possibilities for investigating the circulation and influence of the tirana abroad in the late eighteenth century.

These conclusions have only been possible after an exhaustive analysis of a broad selection of tiranas found in the theatrical repertoire of Madrid in the 1770s and 1780s, the period of the tirana's formation and consolidation in the capital. This understudied repertoire, held in the E-Mm, is particularly useful for studying the primary musical trends in Madrid during this period, attesting to the city's rich soundscape, ranging from the most popular airs with folk flavor—the *sonsonetes populares*—to operatic hits. More study will be necessary to completely survey and understand this soundscape.



APPENDIX 1.  
List of Tiranas Consulted (E-Mm)<sup>a</sup>

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
1771? a.1785?	Anon.	<i>El maestro de música, s.</i>	67-33	ind. n.	2	st.+r. (8+6)	The sainete seems to have been written by Ramón de la Cruz in 1771, but it is unlikely that this music corresponds to its first performances.
[1775]*	Esteve	<i>La cucanã, "pieza de piezas" ("tonadilla general y sainete")</i>	70-1	cl. n.	~2	st.+r. (8+8)	Probably added later. The vocal line begins with pauses and is so ornamented that it does not match exactly the two main types of tiranas.
1777	Esteve	<i>El paje galanteador, t.</i>	128-8	cl. n. + ad. f.	~2	st.+2r. (8+6+8)	Added later.

(continued)

<sup>a</sup> Abbreviations: \* = date according to Navarro, "Tiranas y polacas," 56-59; a. = after; b. = before; s. = sainete; t. = tonadilla; ind. = independent; cl. = closing; n. = number; seg. = seguidilla; ad. f. = additional finale; st. = stanzas; r. = simple refrain; 2r. = two-part refrain; wh = without the first linked hemiola; multi. = multisectional; on stanza types 1 and 2, see ex. 1 and the corresponding discussion.

## APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
1778	Laserna	<i>Aquí tenéis a la Sivia</i> , t.	81-1	ind. n.	~1	st.+r. (8+8)	
1779	Abril	<i>La anónima</i> , t.	76-11	inside cl. seg.	1	st.+r. (8+6)	
1779	Esteve	<i>La carta</i> , t.	80-2	inside cl. seg.			The singer-actress sings an unwritten tirana with guitar.
[1779]	Anon.	<i>El diablo aburrido</i> , s.	65-15	ind. n.	1	same music for st. and r. (8+8)	Very similar tiranas.
[1779]	Laserna	<i>Los gitanos tragedistas</i> , s.	65-24	ind. n.	1	st.+r. (8+8); almost same music for st. and r.; last repetition of the r. sung by entire cast	
1780	Esteve	<i>El desvalido y protegido</i> , t.	115-4	inside cl. seg.	1	only one section (8); same music and text are repeated dancing	
1780	Esteve	<i>Las lecciones</i> , 2nd part, t.	114-10	ind. n.	1	st.+r. (8+8)	

(continued)

APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
1780	Laserna	<i>Los maestros de la Raboso, t.</i>	188-7	ind. n.	2	st.+r. (8+6)	This tonadilla contains the famous <i>Tirana del trípili</i> , but most of the manuscript is dated much later (1830?); therefore, this tirana was likely added later.
[1780]*	Laserna	<i>Los porfiados, t.</i>	158-9	cl. n. + ad. f.	2wh	multi. (8+?)	Added later. The part corresponding to r. is in 2/4 to create a very unusual and original military tirana.
[1780-91]*	Laserna	<i>Los majos celosos, t.</i>	99-6	cl. n. + ad. f.	2	st.+2r. (8+10+8)	
[1781-84]	Esteve	<i>La criada y el barbero, t.</i>	111-9	ind. n.	~1	st.+r. (8+6)	Thetic stanzas.
1781	Laserna	<i>La deserción de la Polonia, t.</i>	96-3	cl. n. + ad. f.	~2wh	st.+r. (8+8)	St. in 3+2 rhythmic pattern.
1781	Laserna	<i>Francés, italiano y majos o el triunfo de las mujeres, t.</i>	151-4	ind. n.	~1	st.+r. (8+8)	Preponderance of iambic rhythms (eighth note-quarter).

(continued)

## APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
1781	Laserna	<i>La resurrección de la tirana, t.</i>	151-3	ind. n.	~ 2wh	st.+2r. (8+8+6)	
1781	Laserna	<i>La transformación del sopista, s.</i>	65-8	ind. n.	~ 1	st.+r. (8+8)	
[1781-84]	Laserna	<i>La peñinestra supuesta, t.</i>	113-4	ind. n.	~ 1	st.+r. (8+6)	
1782	Manuel Espinosa	<i>La toma de Mahón, t.</i>	104-7	ind. n.	2wh	st.+2r. (8+8+6)	
1782	Laserna	<i>El gracioso picado, s.</i>	69-21	ind. n.	1	st.+r. (but with similar music) (8+8)	Very similar tiranas.
1782	Laserna	<i>El sí de cuerdas y mujeres, s.</i>	69-25	ind. n.	1	st.+r. (but with similar music) (8+8)	
[1782]	Laserna	<i>Los cómicos de repente, s.</i>	65-12	ind. n.	2wh	st.+r. (8+?)	
1783	Esteve	<i>La conducta de los majos, t.</i>	178-17	ind. n.	~ 1	st.+r. (8+6)	"Tirana del gas"; st. close to the first type but with separate verses.
1783	Esteve	<i>El enfermo burlado por el practicante, t.</i>	134-6	cl. n.	2	multi. (mainly 8)	St. in 3+2 rhythmic pattern.

(continued)

APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
1783	Esteve	<i>La escuela de Garrido, t.</i>	178-18	ind. n.	~1	only one (8)	The vocal line is so ornamented that it does not match exactly the two main types of tiranas.
1783	Esteve	<i>Los gallegos de la siega, t.</i>	117-4	cl. n.	2wh	st.+r. (8+?)	Pastoral rhythms (dotted eighth–sixteenth note) in 6/8.
1783	Laserna	<i>La novia porfiada, t.</i>	99-10	cl. n. + ad. f.	~2wh	st.+r. (8+?)	
1783	Laserna	<i>El novillo de la tarde de San Isidro, t.</i>	164-5	cl. n. + ad. f.	?	st.+r. (but always the same music) (8+8)	The melodic line is so ornamented that it does not correspond to the identified types of stanzas.
1783	Laserna	<i>La ramilleteira y el jardinero, t.</i>	98-12	inside cl. seg.	~1	st.+2r. (8+8+6)	
1783	Laserna	<i>La vida del pretendiente y novia escrupulosa, t.</i>	84-12	inside cl. seg.	2	st.+2r. (modal central part) (8+10+10)	

(continued)

## APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
[1783-94]*	Laserna	<i>El amo sorprendido, t.</i>	148-9	ind. n.	2wh	st.+r. (8+6)	
[1783]*	Laserna	<i>Los bandos, t.</i>	161-2	cl. n. + ad. f.	2	st.+2r. (8+8?+8?)	
[1783-84]*	Laserna	<i>La bola de gas, t.</i>	85-7	cl. n.	2	st.+2r. (8+10+8)	
[1783-86]*	Laserna	<i>La despreciada, t.</i>	126-5	cl. n. + ad. f.	2	st.+r. (8+6)	
[1783-94]*	Laserna	<i>El encuentro del pastor, t.</i>	125-3	cl. n. + ad. f.	2wh	st.+r. (8+10)	
[1783-94]*	Laserna	<i>El hidalgo lugareño y la petimetra, t.</i>	105-4	cl. n. + ad. f.	1	st.+2r. (8+6+8)	
[1783-91]	Laserna	<i>El terciarista, t.</i>	148-5	cl. n. + ad. f.	?	st.+r. (8+8)	Very original beginning, with some measures in 3/4 and dialogue between voices.
[1783-91]*	Laserna	<i>El trueque de los amantes, t.</i>	147-8	ind. n.	2wh	st.+2r. (8+5?+?)	Played with two guitars.
[1783]	Rosales	<i>La peregrina y el payo, t.</i>	116-8	ind. n.	~2	st.+r. (8+8)	

(continued)

APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
[1783-91]*	Anon.	<i>Los embusteros, t.</i>	147-5	cl. n. + ad. f.	2	st.+2r. (8+10+6)	Modal section in last part of r.
1784	Esteve	<i>El amante apocado y dama quejosa, t.</i>	111-10	cl. n.?	~1	multi. (dialogical) (8+6+6)	Possibly added later. It is the same as the second version of the final tirana from Valledor's <i>Los majos de rumbo</i> .
1784	Esteve	<i>Los cortejos reñidos, t.</i>	107-9	cl. n. + ad. f.	2wh	c.+2r. (modal central part) (8+8+5)	
1784	Esteve	<i>El chico tartamudo y la chica sorda, t.</i>	179-12	cl. n.	2	st.+r. (8+10)	"Tirana del Prado"; added later (but with the same handwriting).
1784	Esteve	<i>El huésped y la posadera, t.</i>	115-13	inside cl. seg.	2wh	st.+2r. (8+10+10)	The last section is danced.
1784	Esteve	<i>La maja barbera, mancebo y payo, t.</i>	119-3	ind. n.	2	st.+r. (8+10)	2nd type st. but with longer phrases due to the repetition of verses.
1784	Esteve	<i>Los novios y la maja, t.</i>	141-5	cl. n. + ad. f.	2	st.+r. (8+8)	

(continued)

## APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
1784	Esteve	<i>La protección de la Rosa Pérez</i> , t.	184-17	cl. n. + ad. f.	2wh	st.+r. (8+8)	Added later? St. with preponderance of iambic-like rhythms and joined verses.
[1784]*	Esteve	<i>Aviso a los forasteros y mal uso del idioma</i> , t.	95-2	inside cl. seg.	2wh	st.+r. (8+10)	Sung with guitar; text of r. refers to a male "tirano": "ay, tirana, que viene el tirano" (ah, tirana, here comes the tyrant).
1784	Laserna	<i>La maja y el berberisco</i> , t.	103-4	ind. n.	~2	st.+r. (8+6+6)	
1784	Laserna	<i>Los marineros de Aranjuez</i> , t.	161-6	ind. n.	2	st.+2r. (8+10+6)	
1784	Laserna	<i>Los menestrales</i> , comedy	14-17	ind. n.	2	st.+2r. (8+10+6)	With guitar.
1784	Laserna	<i>La viudita y el mancebo</i> , t.	182-8	inside cl. seg.	2wh	st.+r. (8+6)	

(continued)



APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
1785	Esteve	<i>El bolsillo del gascón, t.</i>	180-15	cl. n. + ad. f.	2	st.+2r. (8+8+8)	"Tirana del baño" (Bath tirana); added later but in the same handwriting. The last section is sung by the entire cast save one part.
1785	Esteve	<i>El capitán y los negritos, t.</i>	142-13	inside cl. seg.	2	st.+2r. (8+10+8)	All four verses of the st. are joined. The Tirana, personified as a role, answers some questions in a humorous way in the first part of the r.
1785	Esteve	<i>Los dos hidalgos, t.</i>	189-7	cl. n.	2	st.+r. (8+5)	<i>Tirana del tripili</i> , added much later; last repetition of the r. is danced.

(continued)

## APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
1785	Esteve	<i>Garrido enfermo y su testamento, t.</i>	186-2	ind. n.	~2	st.+2r. (8+10+10)	"Tirana del fandango" (Fandango tirana); the construction of the st. is original, and the last part of the r. is modal (with fandango sonorities). Its text says "eche usted, eche usted que me saben / anitos en el delantal" (throw me, throw me candies in my apron), probably an allusion to the tirana's choreography.
1785	Esteve	<i>La fonda nueva, t.</i>	178-7	inside cl. seg.	2	st.+r. (8 - 10)	"Tirana moruna" (Moorish tirana); in r. the typical exclamation "ay, tirana" is changed to "ay, Mahoma."
1785	Esteve	<i>El hidalgo en la fonda, t.</i>	143-13	ind. n.	2	st.+r. (8+8)	

(continued)

APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
1785	Esteve	<i>Los hidalgos de Medellín</i> , t.	189-8	cl. n.	~ 2wh	st.+r. (8+8?)	The manuscript seems to be copied much later; st. in 3+2 rhythmic pattern.
1785	Esteve	<i>Pepillo Lechuza retirado</i> , t.	178-10	ind. n.	2	st.+2r. (8+8+10)	References to Malbrú (a "martial tirana"); the last part is sung by the entire cast.
1785	Esteve	<i>Pepín fuera de la cárcel</i> , t.	116-12	cl. n. + ad. f.	2wh	st.+2r. (8+10+10)	R. with tonal contrast with a modal part.
1785	Esteve	<i>El peñimetre y chusco andaluz</i> , t.	180-8	ind. n.	~ 2 (+1)	st.+2r. (8+6+6)	Free and original treatment of the phrases of the st.
1785	Laserna	<i>El desengañado</i> , t.	124-5	cl. n. + ad. f.	2 (+ ~ 1)	st.+2r. (8+10+10)	The Tirana is sad due to Malbruc's success.
1785	Laserna	<i>El encuentro de la apasionada</i> , t.	102-20	cl. n. + ad. f.	2	st.+r. (8+10)	"Tirana chusca arrondonada" (witty and rondó-like tirana).
1785	Laserna	<i>La enhorabuena de la Pulpillo</i> , t.	123-16	cl. n. + ad. f.	2wh	st.+r. (8+8)	

(continued)

## APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
1785	Laserna	<i>El marido reconocido, t.</i>	99-1	cl. n.?	?	?	Only the first measures are written.
1785	Valledor	<i>El chasco del abate, t.</i>	141-6	inside cl. seg.	2	st.+2r. (8+10+10)	Modal central part.
[b. 1786]	Esteve	<i>La venida de María Antonia, t.</i>	180-14	ind. n.	?	st.+r. (10+10)	A very strange tirana in 6/8, the features of which do not correspond to other analyzed tiranas (save the mention to the "tirana" in the r. and the trilled ending). It is qualified as a "tirana nueva" ("new tirana") in a comic tonadilla, perhaps as something particularly strange and illogical.
1786	Esteve	<i>El autor del parador del Sol, t.</i>	142-12	ind. n.	~2wh	st.+2r. (8+6+8)	
1786	Esteve	<i>La operista fingida, t.</i>	138-5	ind. n.	~2wh	st.+r. (8+8)	St. in iambic-like pattern instead of first hemiola.

(continued)

APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
1786	Esteve	<i>El paje petimetre, tía y dos sobrinas, t.</i>	186-8	cl. n.	2	st.+r. (8+5)	Added much later.
1786	Laserna	<i>La disputa de la boda, t.</i>	153-3	ind. n.	2	multi. (without r.?) (8)	The form is through-composed, according to the text and its dramatic intention.
1786	Laserna	<i>El maestro inglés, fin de fiesta</i>	189-10	cl. n. + ad. f.	2	st.+2r. (8+8+8).	The last part is sung by the entire cast.
1786	Laserna	<i>El trueque de los papeles, t.</i>	130-4	cl. n. + ad. f.	?	multi. (r. with many parts) (8+10+6+8)	St. begins with pauses.
[1786-94]*	Laserna	<i>La despedida de los amantes, t.</i>	114-3	cl. n. + ad. f.	~2	st.+r. (8+6)	The text of r. presents the names of the musical notes in the hexachordal system.
1787	Esteve	<i>El celoso chasqueado y transformación de Peleche el estudiante, t.</i>	141-11	inside cl. seg.	~1	st.+r. (8+8)	Particularly ornamented; the song is announced as a fusion between a tirana and a seguidilla (and is danced later on).

(continued)

## APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
1787	Esteve	<i>No hay buen estado a disgusto, t.</i>	172-15	cl. n. + ad. f.	2wh	st.+r. (8+8)	Fused with a tarantella; in 6/8 and st. with dactylic and iambic rhythms (not linked but implicit hemiola); r. sung by entire cast.
[1787-90]	Esteve	<i>Aquí viene la Lorenza a daros el agüinaldo, t.</i>	155-12	ind. n.	?		Very short, without text, unidentifiable.
1787	Laserna	<i>Los adustos, t.</i>	149-11	ind. n.	2wh	st.+2r. (8+6)	A comic tirana "in English" (absolutely incomprehensible).
[1787]*	Laserna	<i>La cotarra, t.</i>	179-15	cl. n. + ad. f.	2wh	st.+r. (8+8)	The beginning of the st. is thetic.
1787	Moral	<i>La competencia de las dos hermanas, t.</i>	109-10	ind. n.			Unwritten; sung by Lorenza Correa on the guitar (perhaps played by her).
1788	Esteve	<i>La elección del novio, t.</i>	164-13	ind. n.			Only instrumental parts.

(continued)

APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
1788	Esteve	<i>Las enhorabuenas, t.</i>	139-3	cl. n. + ad. f.	2wh	st.+r. (8+6)	Celebration of the (last) birthday of King Charles III (January 20th).
1788	Esteve	<i>El galanteo nocturno, t.</i>	185-16	cl. n. + ad. f.	~2wh	st.+3r. (8+8+8+8)	R. is normally sung by several people, with an interesting central soloistic part.
1788	Esteve	<i>El peluquero y la modista, t.</i>	179-17	ind. n. / cl. n. + ad. f.	2	st.+2r. (8+8+8)	The same tirana appears at the end with different lyrics.
1788	Esteve	<i>Los recién casados, t.</i>	145-3	cl. n. + ad. f.	2	st.+r. (8+8)	Added later to the manuscript (in the same handwriting)?
1788	Esteve	<i>La salida de la comedia, t.</i>	184-12	ind. n.	2	st.+2r. (8+8+7)	
1788	Laserna	<i>La avaricia castigada, t.</i>	147-4	cl. n. + ad. f.	2	multi. (8+6)	This tirana celebrates the king's onomastics; r. with many parts and tonal contrasts.

(continued)

## APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
1788	Laserna	<i>Los cómicos de México,</i> t.	184-7	inside cl. seg.	2	st.+2r. (8+8+8)	Modal central section.
1788	Laserna	<i>El novio discreto,</i> t.	100-16	cl. n. + ad. f.	2	multi. (mainly 8)	
[1788]*	Laserna	<i>El chasco de las negrillas,</i> t.	157-9	cl. n.	~2wh	st.+2r. (8+6+8)	St. with longer phrases joining verses.
1788	Moral	<i>El porqué de muchas cosas,</i> t.	184-3	cl. n. + ad. f.	2	st.+r. (8+8)	A three-voice tirana compromising an original version of the second type of st.
1789	Esteve	<i>El molinero, la pescadora y el pajarero,</i> t.	140-9	cl. n. + ad. f.	2	st.+r. (8+8)	Very ornamented finale; r. with some solo and tutti.
1789	Esteve	<i>Todos alaban su gusto,</i> t.	134-4	ind. n.	2	st.+r. (8+6)	
1789	Esteve	<i>La visita de Vicente a la Nicolasa,</i> t.	107-3	ind. n.	1/2wh	st.+2r. (8+10+?)	
1789	Laserna	<i>Las provincias españolas unidas por el placer, fin de fiesta</i>	189-3	ind. n.	2	st.+r. (8+6)	Tirana sung by Andalusians; trilled ending.

(continued)



APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
1789	Laserna	<i>La razón y la moda, t.</i>	158-1	cl. n. + ad. f.	~ 1	st.+r.	The main part of the text is missing.
1789	Rosales	<i>Todo y nada, "sainete en tonadilla"</i>	65-32	ind. n.	?	st.+2r. (8+8+6)	Tirana with humorous "echoes" (repetition of the last syllables of the words of each verse); rare thetic st., without hemiola.
1790	Bustos	<i>La dama volable, t.</i>	119-7	cl. n. + ad. f.	~ 1	st.+2r. (8+8/10)	The text mentions the bolero's success; r. tends to the first type structure with long ornamented endings, perhaps to give it a bolero air.
1790	Bustos	<i>Los petimetres y hospiciano, t.</i>	183-21	cl. n. + ad. f.	2	st.+r. (8+8)	
1790	Moral	<i>El tabernero burlado, s.</i>	62-32	ind. n.	2	multi. (mainly 8, but also 7-5, like the strophe of the seg.)	Mixed with a bolero; in this exceptional case the actress <i>La Tirana</i> sings.

(continued)

## APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
[1790-93]	Valledor	<i>Los majos de rumbo, t.</i>	168-7	cl. n. + ad. f.	~1	multi. (dialogical) (8+10+6...)	Different versions of the last tirana exist; the second is the same as <i>El amante apocado</i> .
[not a. 1790]	Esteve	<i>El delirio humano, t.</i>	168-12	inside cl. seg.	2wh	multi. (with a central instrumental section) (8+6)	The lyrics refer, comically, to an old song "que se cantaba en los tiempos de doña Aldonza y Laincalbo" (that was sung in the times of Lady Aldonza and Laincalbo).
[not a. 1790]	Esteve	<i>El estereo, petimetra y oficial, t.</i>	163-1	cl. n. + ad. f.	2wh(+~1)	st.+2r. (8+7+8)	
[not a. 1790]	Esteve	<i>Los galanes de la Pretola, t.</i>	142-9	ind. n.	~1	st.+3r. (8+8+?)	The rhythmic treatment of the st. is free; the r., particularly festive, includes nonsensical expressions such as "tirana zunguilla" and plays with these words.

(continued)

APPENDIX 1. (continued)

Year	Composer	Title and Genre	E-Mm Mus Sig.	Location in Piece	Stanza Type	Structure and Syllable Count	Peculiarities
[not a. 1790]	Esteve	Las dos mozas de cantarillo y los dos majos, t.	172-12	ind. n.	~ 2	multi. (8+6 . . .)	In the previous <i>parola</i> the number is announced as the "Tirana de las parejas" (Couples' tirana); a succession of different and varied sections (with change to 6/8) describe and imitate the Royal cavalcade.
n.d.	Anon.	Jaleo de gitanos, scenic dance	627-37		~ 1	multi.	

APPENDIX 2. *Tirana* from *Blas de Laserna*, *La resurrección de la tirana* (1781).

**Allegretto**

The first system of the score consists of seven staves. The top two staves are for Violin 1 and Violin 2, both in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 3/8 time signature. The bottom three staves are for Voice 1, Voice 2, and Voice 3, all in treble clef with the same key signature and time signature. The bottom-most staff is for the Bass, in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The music is marked with dynamics *f* and *p*. The Violin parts play a melodic line with slurs and accents, while the Bass part provides a rhythmic accompaniment with slurs and accents.

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The second system of the score consists of three staves: Violin 1 (Vn. 1), Violin 2 (Vn. 2), and Bass (B.). All staves are in the same key signature and time signature as the first system. The music continues with slurs and accents, and includes a repeat sign with first and second endings.

The third system of the score consists of three staves: Violin 1 (Vn. 1), Violin 2 (Vn. 2), and Bass (B.). The music continues with slurs and accents, and includes a repeat sign with first and second endings.

APPENDIX 2. (continued)

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Vn. 1

Vn. 2

V. 1

V. 2

V. 3

V. 4

B.

*p*

A la ti - ra - na, se - ño - res, ya  
 La Ci - be - les y el A - po - lo no

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23

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

V. 1

V. 2

V. 3

V. 4

B.

*f* [*f*]

*f* [*f*]

*f* [*f*]

*f* [*f*]

la die - ron se - pul - tu - ra, y des - pués vi -  
 pue - den su - frir la es - car - cha, y pa - ra qui -

APPENDIX 2. (continued)

522

28

Vn. 1 *f* *p*

Vn. 2 *f*

V. 1 *[f]* *p* *[p]*

- va la ha - lla - ron el en - te - rra - dor y el  
 - tar - se el fri - o pien - san bai lar la ti -

V. 2 *[f]* *p*

- va la ha - lla - ron el en - te - rra - dor y el  
 - tar - se el fri - o pien - san bai lar la ti -

V. 3 *[f]* *p*

- va la ha - lla - ron el en - te - rra - dor y el  
 - tar - se el fri - o pien - san bai lar la ti -

V. 4 *[f]* *p*

- va la ha - lla - ron el en - te - rra - dor y el  
 - tar - se el fri - o pien - san bai lar la ti -

B. *f* *p*

33

Vn. 1 *f*

Vn. 2 *f*

V. 1 *f*

cu - ra, el en - te - rra - dor y el cu - ra.  
 - ra - na, pien - san bai - lar la ti - ra - na.

V. 2 *f*

cu - ra, el en - te - rra - dor y el cu - ra.  
 - ra - na, pien - san bai - lar la ti - ra - na.

V. 3 *f*

cu - ra, el en - te - rra - dor y el cu - ra.  
 - ra - na, pien - san bai - lar la ti - ra - na.

V. 4 *f*

cu - ra, el en - te - rra - dor y el cu - ra.  
 - ra - na, pien - san bai - lar la ti - ra - na.

B. *f*

APPENDIX 2. (continued)

38

Vn. 1 *f* *p*

Vn. 2 *f* *p*

V. 1 *p* Ti - ri - ri - ri - rai, ti - ri - ri - ri - rai, ti - ri - ri - ri, ay,

V. 2 *p* Ay, ay, ay, ti - ri - ri - ri -

V. 3 *p* Ti - ri - ri - ri - rai, ti - ri - ri - ri - rai, ti - ri - ri - ri, ay,

V. 4 *p* Ay, ay, ay, ti - ri - ri - ri -

B. *f* *p*

43

Vn. 1 *p* *f* *p*

Vn. 2 *p* *f* *p*

V. 1 ay, ay, ay, — ay, tin - tin, ti - ra - na, ti -

V. 2 - rai, ti - ri - ri - ri - rai, ti - ri - ri - ri - rai, — ay, tin - tin, ti - ra - na, ti -

V. 3 ay, ay, ay, — ay, tin - tin,

V. 4 - rai, ti - ri - ri - ri - rai, ti - ri - ri - ri - rai, — ay, tin - tin.

B. *p* *f* *p*

APPENDIX 2. (continued)

49

Vn. 1 *f* *p* *f*

Vn. 2 *f* *p* *f*

V. 1 *f* *p* *f*

V. 2 *f* *p* *f*

V. 3 *f* *p* *f*

V. 4 *f* *p* *f*

B. *f* *p* *f*

- ra - na, ay, tin - tín, ti - ra - na y\_an - dar. La ti -  
 - ra - na, ay, tin - tín, ti - ra - na y\_an - dar. La ti -  
 Ay, tin - tín. La ti -  
 Ay, tin - tín. La ti -

524

55

Vn. 1 [*f*] *f* *p*

Vn. 2 [*f*] *f* *p*

V. 1 *f* *f* *p*

V. 2 *f* *f* *p*

V. 3 *f* *f* *p*

V. 4 *f* *f* *p*

B. *f* *f* *p*

- ra - na la\_en - te - rra - ron y\_ha vuel - to\_a re - su - ci -  
 - ra - na la\_en - te - rra - ron y\_ha vuel - to\_a re - su - ci -  
 - ra - na la\_en - te - rra - ron y\_ha vuel - to\_a re - su - ci -  
 - ra - na la\_en - te - rra - ron y\_ha vuel - to\_a re - su - ci -



APPENDIX 2. (continued)

61

Vn. 1 *f* *p*

Vn. 2 *f* *p*

V. 1 *f*  
- tar, y ha vuel - to\_a re - su - ci - tar. Tin -

V. 2 *f*  
- tar, y ha vuel - to\_a re - su - ci - tar. Tin -

V. 3 *f*  
- tar, y ha vuel - to\_a re - su - ci - tar. Tin -

V. 4 *f*  
- tar, y ha vuel - to\_a re - su - ci - tar. Tin -

B. *f*

525

66

Vn. 1 *f*

Vn. 2 *f*

V. 1 *f*  
- tìn - ta - na - ni - na, tìn - tìn - ta - na - na. Vi - va - la tí -

V. 2 *f*  
- tìn - ta - na - ni - na, tìn - tìn - ta - na - na. Vi - va la tí -

V. 3 *f*  
- tìn - ta - na - ni - na, tìn - tìn - ta - na - na. Vi - va - la tí -

V. 4 *f*  
- tìn - ta - na - ni - na, tìn - tìn - ta - na - na. Vi - va - la tí -

B. *p* *f*

APPENDIX 2. (continued)

71

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

V. 1  
- ra - na, pues que vi - va es - tá.

V. 2  
- ra - na, pues que vi - va es - tá.

V. 3  
- ra - na, pues que vi - va es - tá.

V. 4  
- ra - na, pues que vi - va es - tá.

B.

526

76

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

V. 1

V. 2

V. 3

V. 4

B.

APPENDIX 3. *Tirana* from *Jacinto Valledor, El chasco del abate (1786)*.

23 **Allegretto**

Oboes

Horns

Violin 1  
*p*  
*sul pont.*

Violin 2  
*p*

MAJA  
ALBAÑIL  
ABATE

Bass  
*p*

527

27

Ob.  
*f*

Hn.  
*f*  
[a 2]

Vn. 1  
*f*

Vn. 2  
*f*

MAJA  
ALB.  
ABA.

B.  
*f*

APPENDIX 3. (continued)

528

31

Ob.

Hn.

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

MAJA  
ALB.  
ABA.

1. MAJA A - no - che me - - ba - jé\_al Pra - do,  
 2. ALBAÑIL Si\_a - no - che me - - ba - jé\_al Pra - do  
 3. [MAJA] A - yer vi\_en trar a\_un a - ba - te  
 4. ÁBATE Si\_el he - rra - dor ha cal - za - do

B.

35

Ob.

Hn.

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

MAJA  
ALB.  
ABA.

y\_of a\_un bu - rro - - re - buz - nar, - -  
 y me\_ois - te - - re - buz - nar, - -  
 en ca - sa de\_un he - rra - dor - -  
 los za - pa - tos a\_un a - ba - te,

B.

APPENDIX 3. (continued)

39

Vn. 1 *f* *p*

Vn. 2 *f* *p*

MAJA  
ALB.  
ABA.

y de - ci - an: "es Ga - rri - do  
tú tam - bién me ha - cías el ba - jo  
a cal - zar se u - nos za - pa - tos  
mu - chos se - gui - rán la mo - da

B. *f* *p*

43

Vn. 1 *f* *p*

Vn. 2 *f* *p*

MAJA  
ALB.  
ABA.

que ya pi - de de ce - nar." \_\_\_\_\_  
con gra - cia par - ti - cu - lar, \_\_\_\_\_  
pa - ra ir a u - na fum - ción. \_\_\_\_\_  
y tú pri - me - ro que na - die.

B. *f* *p*

47

Ob. *pizz.* *p*

Vn. 1 *f* *p*

Vn. 2 *f* *p* arco

MAJA  
ALB.  
ABA.

TODOS

Ay, ti - ra - na, que tie - nes sa - le - ro, ay, ti -

B. *f* *p*

APPENDIX 3. (continued)

52

Ob.

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

MAJA  
ALB.  
ABA.

- ra - na de mi co - ra - zón, ay, ti -

B.

56

Ob.

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

MAJA  
ALB.  
ABA.

- ra - na que tie - nes la ca - ra, ay, ti -

B.

60

Ob.

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

MAJA  
ALB.  
ABA.

- ra - na lo mis - mo que un sol. Da - le, da - le

B.

*arco*

*f*

*f*

*(Bailan)*

*f*

APPENDIX 3. (continued)

64 [a 2]

Ob. *ff*

Hn. *ff* [a 2] a 2

Vn. 1 *ff*

Vn. 2 *ff*

MAJA  
ALB.  
ABA.

da - le con ai - re chi - qui - lla, da - le,

B. *ff*

531

68 (q)

Ob. (q)

Hn. a 2

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

MAJA  
ALB.  
ABA.

da - le con ai - re y pri - mor, que can - tan - do es -

B.

APPENDIX 3. (continued)

73

Ob.

Hn.

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

MAJA  
ALB.  
ABA.

- ta ti - ra - ni - lla es pre - ci - so lo - grar el fa -

B.

532

78

Ob.

Hn.

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

MAJA  
ALB.  
ABA.

- vor.

B.



APPENDIX 4. *Tirana* from Pablo Esteve, *El molinero, la pescadora y el pajarero* (1789).

**Allegretto**

Violin 1

Violin 2

VICENTE  
NICOLASA  
TODOS

Bass

Detailed description: This system shows the first four measures of the piece. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 3/8. Violin 1 and Violin 2 both play a sixteenth-note triplet in the second measure, marked with a '6'. The vocal line (Vicente, Nicolasa, Todos) is silent. The Bass line provides a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

B.

Detailed description: This system continues the piece from measure 6. Violin 1 has a sixteenth-note triplet in measure 7, marked with a '6'. Violin 2 and Bass continue their respective parts from the previous system.

11

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

Vic.  
Nic.  
TODOS

B.

VICENTE

Si

pizz.

*p*

Detailed description: This system begins at measure 11. Violin 1 has a fermata in measure 12, followed by a dynamic marking of *p*. Violin 2 also has a fermata in measure 12, followed by a dynamic marking of *p*. The vocal line (Vicente, Nicolasa, Todos) is silent until measure 12, where they sing 'Si' with a dynamic marking of *pizz.* The Bass line has a fermata in measure 12, followed by a dynamic marking of *p*.

APPENDIX 4. (continued)

16

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

Vic.  
Nic.  
TODOS

yo - go - ber - na - ra - el mun - do

B.

21

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

Vic.  
Nic.  
TODOS

a\_u - sí - as c -

B.

26

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

Vic.  
Nic.  
TODOS

- na - mo - ra - dos

B.

APPENDIX 4. (continued)

31

Vn. 1 *p*

Vn. 2 [*p*]

Vic.  
Nic.  
TODOS  
8 al - ins - tan - te los em - via -

B. [*p*]

36

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

Vic.  
Nic.  
TODOS  
8 - ba \_\_\_\_\_ a Me - di -

B.

41

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

Vic.  
Nic.  
TODOS  
8 - na a \_\_\_\_\_ tras - qui - lar - los. \_\_\_\_\_

B.

APPENDIX 4. (continued)

46

Vn. 1 *ff*

Vn. 2 *ff*

Vic. Nic. TODOS

Ti - ra - ni - lla, — po - cas bur - las bien pue -

arco

B. *ff*

51

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

Vic. Nic. TODOS

-des es - car - men - tar, — que al ca - za - dor

B.

56

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

Vic. Nic. TODOS

— des - cui - da - do le pue - de a - ques - to pa -

B.

APPENDIX 4. (continued)

61

Vn. 1 *p*

Vn. 2 [*p*]

Vic. Nc. TODOS VIGENTE

8 - sar. Ah.

B.

65

Vn. 1 *ff*

Vn. 2 *ff*

Vic. Nc. TODOS *f*

8 ti - ra - na bien

B. *ff*

69

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

Vic. Nc. TODOS

8 pue - des, bien pue - des es - car - men -

B.

APPENDIX 4. (continued)

73

Vn. 1 *p*

Vn. 2

Vic. Nic. TODOS  
VICENTE  
- tar. Ay.

B.

78

Vn. 1 [*p*]

Vn. 2

Vic. Nic. TODOS  
NICOLASA Ab. Ab.

B.

83

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

Vic. Nic. TODOS  
Ab.

B.

## ABSTRACT

While eighteenth-century Spanish folk airs such as the fandango and seguidilla are now gaining more recognition, there remains an important oversight: the tirana, a dance song that became particularly popular during the last third of the century onward, even inspiring foreign composers such as Luigi Boccherini, Ludwig van Beethoven, and Saverio Mercadante. Lacking a systematic study, the tirana has been regarded as a general name for Andalusian songs without clear typologies or concrete, identifying musical characteristics. Based on an analysis of approximately one hundred tiranas found in the repertoire of the old theaters of Madrid (held in the Biblioteca Histórica Municipal de Madrid) and dating from the late 1770s and 1780s, the period of development and consolidation of this dance song, this article verifies that the tirana has distinct attributes and evolved from its earliest forms, originating in Andalusia, to more complex and richer examples. In light of this analysis, it is now possible to investigate the circulation and impact of the tirana abroad in the late eighteenth century. For example, Vicente Martín y Soler's "Viva, viva la Regina" from *Una cosa rara* (1786), long wrongfully considered the first onstage manifestation of the Viennese waltz, can now be identified as a tirana.

Keywords: tirana, tonadilla, Vicente Martín y Soler, *Una cosa rara*, Blas de Laserna, Pablo Esteve