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THE BAROQUE GUITAR: LATE SPANISH STYLE AS
REPRESENTED BY SANTIAGO DE MURCIA IN THE
SALDIVAR MANUSCRIPT (1732), WITH THREE
RECITALS OF SELECTED WORKS BY BACH,
RAK, BROUWER, HUMMEL, GNATTALI AND
OTHERS

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of North Texas in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF MUSICAL ARTS

By

Stanley Yates, G. Mus., M. Mus.

Denton, Texas

December, 1993

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The study comprises an examination of late Spanish baroque guitar style as represented in the Saldivar Manuscript, the recently rediscovered companion volume to Santiago de Murcia's five-course guitar tablature Passacalles y obras de guitarra of 1732.

The musical content of the manuscript is discussed according to the chronology and origin of the diferencia ground plans (which include genres imported from France, Italy and the New World as well as Spanish popular songs and dances), their harmonic, melodic and metric characteristics, and the resulting confluence of galant and national style.

The major portion of the study is given over to an analysis of Murcia's guitar style. This includes detailed discussions of rasqueado and punteado variation technique, the technical and musical (pharaseological and articulative) implications of his fingerings for the left hand, campanela technique, national and mixed ornamental styles, and tuning.

Tape recordings of all performances submitted as
dissertation requirements are on deposit in the University
of North Texas Library.

PREFACE

The Saldívar Manuscript is a recently discovered tablature of music for the five-course baroque guitar. Untitled and undated, the manuscript is named for the Mexican musicologist, Gabriel Saldívar, who came across the tablature in an antique store in León, Guanajuato, Mexico. Although discovered in 1943, the Saldívar Manuscript became generally-known only in the late 1980's after the establishment of its authorship and subsequent publication in facsimile by Michael Lorimer. The tablature turns out to be the lost companion volume to Santiago de Murcia's Passacalles y obras de guitarra of 1732.

Santiago de Murcia is, without doubt, the preeminent figure of the late Spanish baroque guitar. His two collections for the instrument, the thorough-bass treatise Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra (Madrid, 1714) and the large manuscript anthology Passacalles y obras de guitarra (1732), are amongst the most important of the entire five-course guitar repertory. The recently rediscovered companion volume to the latter collection, the Saldívar Manuscript, therefore represents a major addition to the repertory of the instrument.

Even as a torso the Passacalles y obras is the largest guitar collection of the Spanish baroque. The importance of

the manuscript, however, lies in its musical content rather than its size. Combining elements of Spanish, French and Italian style, the Passacalles y obras not only effectively realizes the zenith of the guitar passacaglia, but also confirms the wholesale adoption of foreign musical style that for so long seems to have been resisted in Spain.

As a composite collection (comprising some 222 double-sided folios), Murcia's large manuscript takes on even greater significance when the limited size of the remaining repertory of the Spanish baroque guitar is considered. To the Resumen (the sole Spanish guitar publication of the first half of the eighteenth century) and the Passacalles y obras may be added only three publications and a single manuscript collection during the second half of the seventeenth century, and only one other significant manuscript collection during the first half of the eighteenth century.

As with the Passacalles y obras the real significance of the Saldívar Manuscript lies in its musical content. In addition to a group of galant French dances and an Italian-style sonata (not entirely unexpected in Spain by this time), are found a large group of diferencias on the Spanish court and popular dances that formed the core repertory of the seventeenth-century Spanish guitar. Murcia not only includes the Spanish genres here but, as with the passacalles in the Passacalles y obras, brings them to their highest expression. The inclusion of this repertoire

effectively counters the generally-held assumption that the eighteenth-century Spanish guitar had been subsumed by the French style.

In order not only to provide perspective to Murcia's place in the history of the baroque guitar, but also to better understand the diverse elements of his technical and musical style, it has been necessary to include a brief preliminary chapter outlining the historical evolution of the instrument and its repertoire. Chapter one thus describes the origin of the guitarra española as a popular accompanying instrument in Spain and its subsequent development as a solo instrument upon exportation into Italy, from there into France, and its eventual reintroduction into Spain.

Despite his important position in the history of the baroque guitar, and unlike many of his contemporaries, Murcia seems to have completely escaped lexicographic attention. For this reason the few known facts concerning his life are recounted in chapter two. However, no new biographical evidence is presented here, only a reemphasis and reinterpretation of the scant details of Murcia's life (and the suppositions that they invite) according to the stylistic shift presented in the Saldívar Manuscript.

The dearth of factual information concerning Murcia's life is matched by a lack of information (in Spanish as well as English) concerning Spanish baroque music in general, and

the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century dance forms in particular. Much of the musical discussion contained in chapter three, therefore, is expository. Here are described the various ground plans used in the *diferencias* of the period (and their propagation in Spanish theater), the imported French, Italian and New World genres, and the stylistic amalgam produced.

The second major part of the study is the analysis of Murcia's guitar style presented in chapter four. Combining previously disparate elements of Italian, French and Spanish style, Murcia produces an expanded textural vocabulary to serve his variation forms. The campanela technique in particular is given a brilliant and varied treatment in the Saldivar Manuscript, and the introductory sections in rasqueado style are unique.

Murcia's fingering indications for the left hand (generally provided lip service only by previous writers) are of considerable interest. Easily the most complete of any five-course guitar tablature (and, for that matter, of any guitar music prior to the nineteenth century), these indications not only provide insight into Murcia's technical approach to the instrument but also reveal phraseological and articulative detail not otherwise apparent from the tablatures.

Ornamental indications are also carefully and profusely marked in Murcia's tablatures. Dealing with

Murcia's ornamentation, then, is not so much a question of where, but of how. Consideration is given to the written instructions of the treatises, as well as the internal evidence of the music, in deciding upon an appropriate stylistic approach to ornamentation in this music. Taking account of the music itself, it is possible to conveniently side-step a potential dilemma created through the ascription of a single ornamental style, the ornamental tradition of one country may otherwise be superimposed onto a repertory imported from another, and vice versa.

Perhaps the overriding conclusion of the study is that far from representing a complete adoption of French style (as previously assumed), Murcia actually presents a brief and unique meeting of contrasting styles. And not only in the technique of the guitar, but also in musical style. This is the fusion of Spanish folk and popular dance with French galant phraseology that, subsequently cast in Italian formal designs, laid the foundation for the music of the succeeding generation of Iberian and Italian musicians in Spain.

It remains to explain the editorial method employed in the musical transcriptions and English translations presented throughout the study.

The parenthetical note-heads used in many of the musical examples represent pitches that result from the octave stringing of the lower courses of the guitar (which

may or may not have been employed by Murcia, as described in chapter four). It should be noted that it is quite possible that all of the pitches below g^1 may actually sound an octave higher than notated. In order to keep the number of symbols used in the transcriptions to a minimum, strummed chords have been indicated through the use of a single stem, (the direction of the stem corresponds to the direction of the strum). All examples are taken from the Saldívar Manuscript unless otherwise indicated.

The English translations have been made as objectively as possible, sometimes at the expense of elegant English, but always at the service of a faithful translation of the original text. Diacritical markings have been preserved exactly as found in the sources, even though this may conflict with modern Spanish usage.

Finally, the author would like to express his gratitude to Michael Lorimer for granting permission to quote from the facsimile edition of the Saldívar Manuscript.

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University of North Texas
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A Graduate Recital

STANLEY YATES, *classical guitar*

Monday, November 12, 1990 8:15 pm Concert Hall

Sonata, BWV 1003/964 J. S. Bach
 Adagio
 Fuga
 Andante
 Allegro

Voces de Profundis (1984) Stepán Rak

- Intermission -

Trois Morceaux, Opus 65 Johann Kasper Mertz
 Le Gondolier (1806-1856)
 Fantaisie Originale
 Fantaisie Hongroise

Incantation (1990) William Kraft

Elegy (1987) Stepán Rak

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STANLEY YATES, *classical guitar*

Monday, November 25, 1991 6:15 pm Recital Hall

Suite in Emi (BWV 996) J. S. Bach
 Praeludium (1685-1750)
 Allemande
 Courante
 Sarabande
 Bourrée
 Gigue

Canticum (1968) Leo Brouwer
La Espiral Eterna (1971) (b. 1939)

- Intermission -

Homenaje (Le Tombeau de Claude Debussy) (1920) Manuel De Falla
..... (1876-1946)

Rafaga (1930) Joaquin Turina y Perez
Fandanguillo (1926) (1882-1949)
Soleares (Hommage à Tarréga), Opus 69 (1935)

Graphic (1991) Georges Delerou
..... (b. 1925)

Sonata for Guitar, Opus 47 (1976) Alberto Ginastera
 Esordio (1916-1986)
 Scherzo
 Canto
 Finale

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A Graduate Recital

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accompanied by

Robert Santillo, *harpsichord* • Ellen Ritscher, *harp*

Carter Enyeart, *violoncello*

and

Nicole Divall, *violin* • Madeline Adkins, *violin*

Anthony Adkins, *violoncello*

(an ensemble of the Collegium Musicum)

Monday, April 5, 1993

6:15 pm

Recital Hall

Chamber Concerto in D Major for Guitar,

Two Violins and Basso (RV 93) Antonio Vivaldi

I. Allegro (1675-1741)

II. Largo

III. Allegro

Pot-Pourri pour le Clavecin abec

la Guitarre, Opus 53 Johann Nepomuk Hummel

(1778-1837)

Tres Danzas Concertantes for Guitar and Harpsichord (1958) Leo Brouwer

I. Allegro (b. 1939)

II. Andantino quasi Allegretto

III. Toccata

Ballade for Guitar and Harp Jurriaan Andriessen

(b. 1925)

Sarabanda de Scriabin for Guitar (1990) and

Paisaje Cubana Con Campanas for Guitar (1986) Leo Brouwer

Sonata for Guitar and Violoncello (1969) Radames Gnattali
 I. *Allegretto Comodo* (1906-1992)
 II. *Adagio*
 III. *Con Spirito*

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requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Musical Arts

University of North Texas
College of Music

presents

A Graduate Lecture Recital

STANLEY YATES, *five-course baroque guitar*

Monday, October 11, 1993

500 pm

Recital Hall

**THE BAROQUE GUITAR: LATE SPANISH STYLE
AS REPRESENTED BY SANTIAGO DE MURCIA IN
THE SALDIVAR MANUSCRIPT (1732)**

Santiago de Murcia (1732)

Passacalles Por La D. A compasillo
Preludio Por La E
Allegro

Canarios Por La A
Villanos
Gaitas
Marizapalos

Contredances
Grave - Allegro

Cumbees
Zarambecque O Muecas
Fandango

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Musical Arts

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CHAPTER I

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE BAROQUE GUITAR

The earliest notated music for the guitar is to be found as an adjunct to the vihuela repertory in mid-sixteenth-century Spain.¹ This small group of pieces, consisting of a few fantasias, intabulated mass movements and a setting of the romanesca ground "O guardame las vacas", is cast in the same polyphonic style as the vihuela music proper. Around the same time, music for the guitar began to appear in France and Italy. No fewer than twelve tablatures for the four-course guitarre, representing the music of Guillame Morlaye, Simone Gorlier, Adrian Le Roy and Gregoire Brayssing, were published in mid-century Paris.²

¹Six pieces for the four-course guitarra are contained in Alonso Mudarra, Tres libros de música en cifras para vihuela (Seville, 1546). Modern edition, ed. by Emilio Pujol in Monumentos de la musica española VII (Barcelona: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 1949). Nine pieces for the vihuela de cinco ordenes and the vihuela de quatro ordenes are contained in Miguel de Fuenllana, Libro de música para vihuela intitulado Orphenico lyra (Seville, 1554). Modern edition ed. by Charles Jacobs (London: Oxford University Press, 1978).

²The following publications are cited in James Tyler, The Early Guitar (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), Appendix I, 123-4: Guillame Morlaye, Tablature de Guiterre (Paris, 1550), Premier Livre (Paris, 1552), Quatriesme Livre (Paris, 1553), Second Livre (Paris, 1553); Simone Gorlier, Troysieme Livre (Paris, 1551), Livre de Tablature de Guiterne (Paris, ca. 1560); Adrian Le Roy, Premier Livre (Paris, 1551), Briefve et facile instruction

The music contained in these collections consists for the most part of chordal dance settings, along with a few polyphonic fantasias and intabulations of vocal music.

This flurry of publications reflects the immense popularity that the guitar enjoyed as an accompanying instrument at the time. The often-quoted comments of Sebastián Covarrubias, taken from his Tesoro of 1611, attest to the popularity of the guitar and the adverse effect that this had on the vihuela:

Guitar: An instrument well known, and practiced much to the detriment of music.

Vihuela: Up to the present, this instrument had been most esteemed ...but after guitars were invented there are but few who dedicate themselves to the study of it ...and now the guitar is no more than a cowbell, especially in the strummed style, that there is no stable boy who is not a musician on the guitar.³

The lute and vihuela-style guitar repertory was short-lived and, as Covarrubias suggests, it was the popular accompanimental style that prevailed. Within twenty years of the publication of the final vihuela collection, Esteban Daza's El Parnaso of 1576, the first collections devoted

(Paris, 1551), Tiers Livre (Paris, 1552), Cinquiesme Livre (Paris, 1554), Second Livre (Paris, 1556); Gregoire Brayssing, Quart Livre (Paris, 1553).

³Sebastián de Covarrubias, Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española (Madrid, 1611), articles "Guitarra" and "Vihuela." Translated in Richard Pinnell, Francisco Corbetta and the Baroque Guitar, with a Transcription of His Works. Studies in Musicology 25 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), 19.

entirely to the five-course guitarra española appeared in Spain and Italy. And with them the first notated examples of the popular strummed style.

The Five-Course Baroque Guitar

The history of the baroque guitar begins with Juan Carlos Amat's Guitarra española of 1596, a collection consisting entirely of strummed accompaniments to popular Spanish songs and dances along with instructional paseos (passacalles) in all the major and minor keys.⁴ The notational system employed consists only of a series of numbers, each representing a particular chordal disposition of the left-hand fingers on the fingerboard of the guitar.

⁴Juan Carlos Amat, Guitarra española y vandola en dos maneras de guitarra, castellana y valenciana, de cinco ordenes [n.p., 1596]. The twelve known editions of Amat's treatise span a two-hundred year period: n.p., [1586]; n.p., [1596]; Lérida, 1626; Lérida, 1627; Gerona, 1639; Gerona, 1745; Gerona, ca. 1750; Lisbon, 1752; Valencia, 1758; Gerona, ca. 1763; Valencia, ca. 1780; and Valencia, ca. 1800. Citations from Tyler, Early Guitar, 124-36. Facsimile edition based on the 1639 Zaragoza edition ed. with introduction by Monica Hall (Monaco: Editions Chantarelle, 1980). A detailed account of the theoretical and musical contents of the treatise is found in Monica Hall, "The Guitarra española of Juan Carlos Amat," Early Music 4 (1978), 362-73. Amat's collection may have been preceded by two others: an Italian manuscript collection, Libro de Villanelle Spagnuol et Italiane et sonate spagnoule by the Spanish guitarist Francisco Palumbi, (ca. 1595), is mentioned in Tyler, The Early Guitar, 38; and Joseph Guerrero's Arte de la guitarra, the dating of which is discussed in Neil Pennington, The Spanish Baroque Guitar. Studies in Musicology 46 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979), 113-5.

The remaining early history of the baroque guitar, however, is Italian.

The Italian Alfabeto

The Italian alfabeto system (in which Amat's numbers are replaced with letters) was codified in Girolamo Montesardo's Nouva inventione, published in Florence in 1606.⁵ In the Italian system, each letter of the alfabeto represents a chord formation on the guitar (the letter A, for example, represents a G-major chord). The chordal fingerings are based entirely on technical convenience, with no consideration being given to the inversional position of the chord. Each is treated as though it were in root

⁵Girolamo Montesardo, Nuova inventione d'intavolatura per sonare il balletti sopra la chitarra spagnoula senza numeri, e noti (Florence, 1606). A detailed investigation of the music of the Italian alfabeto is found in Richard Hudson, "The Development of Italian Keyboard Variations on the Passacaglia and Ciaccona From Guitar Music in the Seventeenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1967); and "The Music in Italian Tablatures for the Five-Course Spanish Guitar," Journal of the Lute Society of America 4 (1971), 21-42. A wide range of transcriptions taken from the Italian repertory are found in Richard Hudson, The Folia, the Sarabande, the Passacaglia and the Chaconne: The Historical Evolution of Four Forms that Originated in Music for the Five-Course Spanish Guitar. 4 vols. Musicological Studies and Documents no. 35. American Institute of Musicology. (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hansler, 1982). Accounts of the technical development of the five-course guitar in Italy during the seventeenth century are found in Richard Jenson, "The Development of Technique and Performance Practice as Reflected in Seventeenth-Century Guitar Notation" (M.A. thesis, California State University, Northridge, 1980) and in Richard Pinnell, Francisco Corbetta.

position without regard for the actual sounding interval between the lowest pitches.

Precise rhythmic notation was introduced in the Milanese publication of Benedetto Sanseverino in 1620, the tablature now being provided with time signatures, barlines and other durational indications.⁶ And in another Milanese publication of the same year, Giovanni Ambrosio Colonna expanded the vocabulary of available chord shapes by moving the existing shapes into higher positions on the fingerboard.⁷ Colonna further widened the harmonic vocabulary of the alfabeto by introducing lettere false (also sometimes known as alfabeto falso, lettere tagliate or lettere dissonante), a technique in which dissonant harmony is created through raising a finger from a regular chord shape.

The musical contents of the many early seventeenth-century alfabeto collections consists of strummed (battente)

⁶Benedetto Sanseverino, Intavolatura facile delli passacalli, ciaconne, saravande, spagnolette, folie, pavaniglie, pass'emezzi, correnti, & altre varie sonate composti & accomodate per la chitarra alla spagnoula (Milan, 1620). Discussions of this collection are found in Hudson, "Italian Keyboard Variations," 43-55, and Pinnell, Francisco Corbetta, 43-6.

⁷Giovanni Ambrosio Colonna, Intavolatura di chitarra spagnoula del primo, secondo, terzo & quatro libro (Milan, 1637). Discussions of this collection are found in Hudson, "Italian Keyboard Variations," 55-66, and Pinnell, Francisco Corbetta, 48-55. Although Libros one and two actually appeared in 1620, the modern facsimile edition (Bologna: Forni, 1971) is taken from the 1637 composite collection cited above.

accompaniments on the standard harmonic designs of such dances as the zarabande, folia and ciaccona, and the passacaglia ritornello.⁸ Variation is achieved through the substitution of shifted chords and lettere false dissonances, and the insertion of new harmonies between the basic framework chords. Further variety is provided through the introduction of strummed ornaments, described in the books of Pietro Millioni and Foriano Pico.⁹ The sophistication of these ornaments suggests a complexity of rhythmic accompaniment belied by the tablatures.

The Mixed Style

During the 1630's, a gradual change of style began to take place. Initiated by Giovanni Paolo Foscarini's Il primo, secondo, e terzo libro della chitarra spagnola of ca. 1629, these changes involve the absorption of plucked

⁸The most complete listings of the alfabeto repertory are to be found in Tyler, The Early Guitar, 123-52, and Peter Danner, "Bibliography of Guitar Tablatures," Journal of the Lute Society of America 5 (1972), 40-51; and "An Update to the Bibliography of Guitar Tablatures," Journal of the Lute Society of America 6 (1973), 33-6.

⁹Pietro Millioni, Quarta impressione del primo, secondo et terzo libro d'intavolatura di chitarra spagnola (Rome, 1627). Foriano Pico, Nuova scelte di sonate per la chitarra spagnola (n.p., 1628). Although the date on the title page of the Pico collection is actually 1608, 1628 has been suggested as the correct date. More on this, and a full account of strummed performance and ornamentation is found in Joseph Weidlich, "Battuto Performance Practice in Early Italian Guitar Music (1606-1637)," Journal of the Lute Society of America 9 (1978), 63-86.

(pizzicate) technique into the strummed style.¹⁰ Foscarini, who was in fact a professional lutenist (and disguises his identity in the guitar publications, where he calls himself "L'academico calignoso detta il Furioso"), notates the alfabeto letters on a five-line Italian lute tablature and adds the occasional appoggiatura or passing tone to produce a simple melodic profile. The collection also contains a number of pieces set entirely in pizzicate style.

Subsequent Italian publications move increasingly toward a united style of strummed chords and plucked melodies. And in addition to the lute-influenced music of Foscarini, a more purely guitar-oriented style is represented by an emerging school of players at Bologna, led by Francisco Corbetta. In his collection of 1639, Corbetta alternates strummed chords with single plucked notes on the first string to produce a melody accompanied by held chords below.¹¹

¹⁰Neither the place nor date of publication of this collection have been definitively established. 1629 has been ascribed according to the dates of Foscarini's Libro secondo (Macerata, 1629) and Quattro libri (n.p., ca. 1632). Pinnell points out, however, that the collection could date from as late as 1640, in which case Francisco Corbetta would be credited with the innovations usually ascribed to Foscarini. Pinnell, Francisco Corbetta, 74. Detailed examination of Foscarini's music is found in Hudson, "Italian Keyboard Variations," 151-245; and in Peter Danner, "Giovani Paolo Foscarini and His 'Nuove Inventioni,'" Journal of the Lute Society of America 7 (1974), 4-18.

¹¹Francisco Corbetta, De gli scherzi armonici trovati e facilitati in alcune curiosissime suonate sopra la chitarra spagnuola (Bologna, 1639). A transcription of this

The Mature Italian Style

The development of the guitar in mid-seventeenth-century Italy coincides with the adoption of the French dance suite. Corbetta's collection of 1643 contains eight three-movement (allemande-courante-sarabande) dance suites in addition to the ubiquitous opening group of instructional passacaglie.¹² In his 1648 collection, Corbetta appends introductory preludes to the suites, and adopts stile brisé texture notated in French mixed tablature.¹³ Strums are now more discreetly placed and ornamentation more profuse. Corbetta was easily the most widely travelled and best-known guitarist in Europe at this time, and his influence in the adoption of French lute style in Italy is matched by the impact that he made on the playing schools of the countries that he visited.

Angiolo Michele Bartolotti, a contemporary of Corbetta, is another influential Italian guitarist. Bartolotti had incorporated three-movement dance suites into his

work and an account of the harmonic and technical innovations represented are contained in Pinnell, Francisco Corbetta, vol. 1, 52-63 and vol. 2, 1-79.

¹²Francisco Corbetta, Vari capricci per la ghittara spagnuola (Milan, 1643). A discussion and transcription are contained in Pinnell, Francisco Corbetta, vol. 1, 69-89 and vol. 2, 81-149.

¹³Francisco Corbetta, Varii scherzi di sonate per la chitara spagnola (Brussels, 1648). Discussion and transcription contained in Pinnell, Francisco Corbetta, vol. 1, 93-123 and vol. 2, 151-192.

collections as early as 1640, and seems to have been the first to use the campanela technique (a harp-like overlapping of notes in scale passages).¹⁴

The final phase of the Italian baroque guitar is represented by Corbetta's pupil Giovanni Battista Granata and, at its very conclusion, by Ludovico Roncalli. Granata was the most virtuosic and prolific of the Italian guitarists. His seven collections continue the earlier tradition of Foscarini, presenting a lute-like emphasis on rapid passage-work, profuse ornamentation and compositional length.¹⁵ Roncalli's music, on the other hand, reflects the French style of Corbetta and Bartolotti. Comprising ten French dance suites (each of five to seven movements) in the

¹⁴Angiolo Michele Bartolotti, Libro primo di chitarra spagnola (Florence, 1640); and Second libro di chitarra (Rome, ca. 1655). Discussion in Jensen, "Development," 19-21.

¹⁵Giovanni Battista Granata, Capricci armonici (Bologna, 1646); Nuove suonate (n.p., ca. 1650); Nuova scielta di capricci armonici (Bologna, 1651); Soavi Concerti di sonate musicali (n.p., 1659); Novi Capricci armonici musicali (Bologna, 1674); Nuovi souavi concerti di sonate musicali (Bologna, 1680); and Armoniosi toni di varie suonate musicali (Bologna, 1684). Citations from Tyler, Early Guitar, 128-32. A partial transcription of Granata's 1659 and 1684 collections is contained in Giov. Battista Granata. Renaissance and Baroque vol. 6, ed. with introduction by Alexander Bellow (New York: Franco Colombo, 1968).

balanced mixed style, Roncalli's collection of 1692 is the final guitar publication of the Italian Baroque.¹⁶

The French School

Despite the popularity of the four-course guiterre in sixteenth-century France, publications for the five-course guitarre did not appear there until after Corbetta's installation at the French court during the 1650's.¹⁷ Not least amongst the ensuing French collections is Corbetta's own Paris collection of 1671, in which the alfabeto letters are no longer incorporated into the tablature, and the suites contain a greater number of movements of increased length.¹⁸

Corbetta was succeeded as court guitarist to Louis XIV by his French pupil Robert de Visée. De Visée's collections of 1682 and 1686 are typified by a delicate texture of stile brisé arpeggiation, short sections of imitative and free

¹⁶Ludovico Roncalli, Capricci armonici sopra la chitarra spagnola (Bergamo, 1692). Modern edition published as Nine Suites for the Guitar (New York: Kalmus, n.d.).

¹⁷Only one publication pre-dates Corbetta's arrival in France: Luis de Briceno, Metodo muy facilissimo para aprender a tañer la guitarra a lo español (Paris, 1626), a collection of alfabeto music. A discussion of the contents is found in Hudson, "Italian Keyboard Variations," 112-23.

¹⁸Francisco Corbetta, La Guitarre Royale, dediée au Roy de la Grande Bretagne (Paris, 1671). Discussion and transcription contained in Pinnell, Francisco Corbetta, vol. 1, 147-175 and vol. 2, 194-331.

counterpoint, chromatic lines, and carefully-placed and varied right-hand strums.¹⁹

The French School, which also includes Anthoine Carré, Remy Medard, Henri Grenerin and Nicholas Derosier, concludes with the 1705 and 1730 collections of François Champion.²⁰ In addition to the lengthy dance suites of his 1705 collection, Champion's collection of 1730 contains several lute-like fugues, rhetorically-titled dance movements, and galant sonatines.

Of a number of late collections in French style found outside France, the most notable are the 1714 and 1732 Spanish collections of Santiago de Murcia, the 1729 Belgian collection of François le Cocq, and the several collections written in Denmark by the prolific Nathaniel Diesel between 1736 and 1744.²¹ These, and other collections, attest to

¹⁹Robert de Visée, Livre de guitarrre dedié au Roy (Paris, 1682); and Livre de pièces pour la guitarrre dedié au roy (Paris, 1686). The complete guitar works of de Visée are published in a modern edition as R. de Visée oeuvres complètes pour guitare, ed. with preface by Robert Strizich (Paris: Heugel, 1969).

²⁰François Champion, Nouvelles découvertes sur la guitarrre (Paris, 1705); and Addition au traité d'accompagnement (Paris, 1730) with an appended manuscript entitled "Pièces de Guitarr de Campio[n]." A partial modern edition of some of Champion's music is published as François Champion, Vingt Pièces de Son Livre de Tablature de Guitare, ed. with preface by Louis Baille and George Migot (Paris: Editions Salabert, 1959).

²¹Santiago de Murcia, Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarrra (Madrid, 1714), facsimile edition ed. with introduction by Monica Hall (Monaco: Editions Chantarelle, 1980); and Passacalles y obras de guitarrra (n.p., 1732),

the continued and widespread influence of the French guitar style in other parts of Europe well into the eighteenth century.

The Spanish School

Although Corbetta is known to have visited Spain, and to have dedicated a guitar collection to Phillip IV during the 1640's, his immediate impact there seems to have been minimal.²² In fact, apart from reprints of Amat's Guitarra española, no other publication for guitar appeared in Spain until 1674.²³ Amat's treatise was also reprinted in Italy and this, along with two other early Spanish collections in strummed style published outside Spain, suggests a close relationship between the early Italian and Spanish guitar

facsimile edition ed. with introduction by Michael Macmeeken (Monaco: Editions Chantarelle, 1979). François le Cocq, Recueil des pieces de gitarre (n.p., 1729). Facsimile edition, Thesaurus Musicus Nova Series, Série A: Manuscripts, no. 1 (Brussels: Editions Culture et Civilisation, 1979). It is reported that the Danish Royal Court guitarist Nathaniel Diesel left well over one thousand extant pages of manuscript music for the guitar, none of which is presently available in a modern edition. See David B. Lyons, "Nathaniel Diesel, Guitar Tutor to a Royal Lady," Journal of the Lute Society of America 8 (1975), 80-94.

²²Pinnell speculates that the Guitarra española y sus diferencias de sonos, dedicated to Phillip IV and ascribed to "Franciscus Corbero" (now lost), is the missing libro terzo of Corbetta. It would therefore date from between 1643 and 1648. Pinnell, Francisco Corbetta, 85-7.

²³See footnote 4 on page 3 above.

styles .²⁴ This is not the case with the Spanish collections of the latter part of the seventeenth century, however. As with the vihuela in the sixteenth century, the five-course guitar in Spain seems to have had a somewhat independent existence during the second half of the seventeenth century.

Gaspar Sanz's "Instruccion" (1674)

The first collection of guitar music to be published in seventeenth-century Spain, (apart from reprints of Amat), and the only seventeenth-century Spanish collection to engage elements of foreign style, was Gaspar Sanz's Instruccion de música of 1674.²⁵

Although the Instruccion differs in general style and content from the continental collections, Sanz was nevertheless considerably influenced by continental musicians.

²⁴Luis de Briceño's Metodo mui facilissimo par aprender a tañer la guitarra española (Paris, 1626) is a strummed alfabeto collection of Spanish and Italian dances and Nicolas Doizi de Valasco's Nuevo modo de cifra para tañer la guitarra (Naples, 1640) is a theoretical treatise containing strummed passacalles. An untitled manuscript of 1659 attributed to "Gaspar" is for four-course guitar, and is set entirely as a single line of music. The music is quoted in Pennington, Spanish Baroque Guitar, 115-9. Also see footnote 4 on page 3 above.

²⁵Gaspar Sanz, Instruccion de música sobre la guitarra española (Zaragoza, 1674). Facsimile edition (Geneva: Minkoff, 1976). A complete (although not entirely accurate) translation of the Instruccion is provided in Jerry Manns, "Gaspar Sanz's 'Instruccion de música sobre la guitarra' (1674): Transcription, Translation, Commentary." (M.A. thesis, Case Western Reserve University, 1974).

Travelling to Italy and studying with, amongst others, Lelio Colista and possibly Cristoforo Carisani, Sanz was appointed as an organist to the Royal Chapel of Naples.²⁶ In the preface to the first volume of the Instruccion, Sanz mentions Foscarini (who he identifies as the "Academician Calignoso"), Pellegrini, Granata and Corbetta ("the best of all") as guitarists whom he had met and whose music he had studied while in Italy.²⁷

Despite his clear debt to the Italians, Sanz's music remains distinct from that of his teachers. Setting out with the intention of teaching the instrument through Spanish rather than foreign pieces, the beginner is provided with dances and songs with which he would be familiar. The first volume thus begins with a group of short rasqueado (strummed) settings of Spanish court dances and popular pieces before moving onto punteado (plucked) settings of the same. Sanz also includes a number of Italian dances (such as the baille de Mantua, tarantela and gran duque), two fugues and two French dance suites notated in mixed tablature.²⁸

²⁶Rodrigo Zayas, "Gaspar Sanz and His Music," Guitar Review 40 (1976), 3.

²⁷Sanz, Instruccion, Libro 1, 6v and 11r.

²⁸Zayas and Pennington both assert that Sanz did not group any pieces into suites. However, two suites are found on pages 9-12 of volume one of the Instruccion. The first consists of "Preludio y fantasia," "Allemanda La Serenissima," "Jiga al aire Ingles" and "Zarabanda francesa," all in G-minor, and is followed by a second suite in E-minor comprising "Preludio y Capricho arpeado,"

The second volume, set almost entirely in punteado style, consists mainly of diferencias on the Spanish dance plans. Textural variation in these settings is enhanced through an evolved campanela style which, no longer restricted to three or four notes, Sanz applies over entire sections of some of his pieces. The volume ends with a group of clarines, or bugle pieces, from both Spain and abroad. These are mostly short batallas such as the "Clarín de los Mosqueteros del Rey de Francia" and "La Cavalleria de Napoles con dos Clarines."

The Final volume of the Instrucción contains only passacalles. All are fairly extended compositions, beginning with a rasgueado presentation of the harmonic progression before continuing with a series of texturally and technically-defined partidas.

Sanz's Instrucción, then, presents a somewhat cosmopolitan blend of progressive and conservative styles in which Italian tuning and evolved campanela technique are combined with the older modal harmony of the Spanish dance plans. The Instrucción was also influential, direct quotations of both text and music are frequently encountered in subsequent Spanish sources.

"Alemanda La Preciosa," "Coriente" and "Zarabanda francesa." See Zayas, "Gaspar Sanz," 6 and Pennington, Spanish Baroque Guitar, 92.

Lucas de Ribayez's "Luz y norte musicale" (1677)

The second Spanish guitar publication of the seventeenth century is Lucas Ruiz de Ribayez's Luz y norte musicale of 1677.²⁹ This treatise, which contains music for harp as well as guitar, is another substantial source of information concerning performance practices, both quoting and supplementing that of Sanz published just three years earlier.

The Luz y norte presents a more conservative and presumably more typically Spanish style than the cosmopolitan Instruccion.³⁰ With the exception of the gran duque, a turdion and two zarabandas (not suffixed francesa as is common in other Spanish collections of the time), all of the music is Spanish. Although almost half of the guitar pieces are taken directly from Sanz's earlier collection, Ribayez nevertheless presents a more archaic guitar style in which Sanz's modern tuning is not employed and campanela technique is completely avoided. In fact, the campanela

²⁹Lucas Ruiz de Ribayez, Luz y norte musicale para caminar por las cifras de la Guitarra Española, y Arpa (Madrid, 1677). Facsimile edition with transcription and commentary ed. by Rodrigo de Zayas (Madrid: Opera Omnia, 1982).

³⁰Ribayez is known to have travelled to the New World sometime between 1667 and 1672, but it is not known whether or not he travelled in Europe. See Robert Strizich, "A Spanish Guitar Tutor: Lucas de Ribayez's 'Luz y norte musicale' (1677)," Journal of the Lute Society of America 5 (1974), 52-3.

passages in Sanz's originals are either altered or completely omitted in the versions presented by Ribayez.

The collection begins with a large group of instructional passacalles and dances in rasgueado style before moving onto longer settings in punteado style. As is generally the case with Sanz, the two styles are not mixed within the same piece.

Francisco Guerau's "Poema harmónico" (1694)

The final Spanish guitar publication of the seventeenth century, Don Francisco Guerau's Poema harmónico of 1694, is yet another stylistically-differentiated collection.³¹ Guerau entered the Royal Chapel in Madrid as Music Master to the Choirboys in 1656 and, much less travelled than Sanz or even Ribayez, was still employed there as a priest and musician at the time of publication of his book in 1694.³² His music is accordingly more conservative, less cosmopolitan and presumably typically Spanish.

³¹Francisco Guerau, Poema harmónico (Madrid, 1694). Facsimile edition ed. with introduction by Brian Jeffrey (London: Tecla, 1977). A complete transcription of the Poema is provided in Janis Stevenson, "A Transcription of 'Poema harmónico' by Francisco Guerau for Baroque Guitar," (M.A. Thesis, San Jose State University, 1974).

³²Biographical details relating to Guerau are found in Brian Jeffrey, ed., Francisco Guerau, Poema harmónico (London: Tecla, 1977), 5; and Craig Russell, "Santiago de Murcia: Spanish Theorist and Guitarist of the Early Eighteenth Century" (Ph. D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1981), 57-60.

Although writing in the same forms as Sanz and Ribayez (passacalles and Spanish court and popular dances), Guerau's compositional style is significantly different from that of his published predecessors. Strummed chords are almost entirely absent from his tablature, campanela technique is not employed, ornamentation is profuse, counterpoint is the basic texture.³³ The most striking feature of Guerau's music, however, is the vastly expanded length of the pieces. All are set as diferencias, developed through textural and rhythmic "crescendos" that form a series of carefully-placed climaxes. Sections are created and unified through ornamentation, slurring patterns and rhythmic figuration, and juxtaposed to produce a variety of structures.

Overall, Guerau's style seems more clearly related to that of the lute (or in Spain, the vihuela) than to the style of the five-course guitar as represented by Sanz, Corbetta or the French school, and is further distinguished through the sheer craft of contrapuntal texture and structural balance and design.

³³Another Spanish source bearing strong stylistic resemblance to Guerau, yet to receive thorough scholarly investigation, is the undated Livro donde se veran passacalles by Antonio Santa Cruz. Like Guerau, Santa Cruz does not use re-entrant tuning, avoids campanelas and rasgueado, and confines himself to the same repertoire of passacalles and Spanish dances. Based on watermarks, the manuscript is dated at ca. 1700 in Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 34-5. Based on tessitura and details of ornamentation, the manuscript is placed between Sanz and Guerau (ie between 1674 and 1694) in Pennington, Spanish Baroque Guitar, 96-98.

Santiago de Murcia's "Resumen" (1714)

Santiago de Murcia's Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra of 1714 is the first Spanish guitar publication of the eighteenth century.³⁴ As a theoretical treatise, (dealing with such topics as figured-bass, time signatures, suspensions and cadences), the Resumen was of considerable influence, portions of it frequently being quoted in later Spanish and New World sources.³⁵ As a collection of guitar music it was the first Spanish publication to fully adopt the French style.³⁶

The musical portion of the Resumen begins with a group of fifty-nine contredance settings based on melodies provided in the dance treatises of Louis Pecour (published

³⁴Santiago de Murcia, Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra (Madrid, 1714). Facsimile edition ed. with introduction by Monica Hall (Monaco: Editions Chantarelle, 1980). A translation and partial transcription of the Resumen is contained in Elena Lowenfeld, "Santiago de Murcia's Thorough-Bass Treatise for the Baroque Guitar (1714), Introduction, Translation and Transcription" (M.A. thesis, University of New York City Community College, 1975). A complete transcription of the Resumen is provided in Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," vol. 2.

³⁵An account of the Spanish and Mexican sources that borrow material from the Resumen is found in Pennington, Spanish Baroque Guitar, 99 and 103-12.

³⁶Murcia's collection is predated by an anonymous manuscript anthology of 1705, Libro de diferentes cifras de guitarra escogidas de los mejores autores, that includes French dance movements amongst its contents. See pages 22-23 in the present study.

by Raoul-Auger Feuillet in Paris between 1700 and 1713).³⁷

The collection continues with a group of twenty-five minuets and concludes with three French dance suites, each comprised of an allemande, courante, zarabande and giga.

The French content of Resumen would be complete were it not for a group of seven diferencia sets based on Spanish source material.³⁸ In these pieces Murcia takes the large formal structures of Guerau and evolved campanela style of Sanz and combines them with the mixed rasgueado and punteado texture of the French school to provide an unprecedented range of textural resources.

The overall impression given by the musical portion of the Resumen however, and adopted by most writers, is that of a change of style: that the Spanish guitar style had to a large extent been subsumed by the French style.³⁹ This conclusion is somewhat reinforced by Murcia's second collection, the Passacalles y obras de guitarra.

³⁷Complete concordances for Murcia's contredance settings are provided in Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 154-9 and Appendix C, 284-309.

³⁸These are based on the folia, marizapalos, sombra marsella, tarantela and baylette. Although not strictly Spanish, the tarantela is often found in Spanish instrumental collections. Reciprocally, although originally Spanish, the folia was commonly regarded as an Italian or French form in Spain at this time, and was usually suffixed francesa or italiana.

³⁹To this end Pennington does not even mention the diferencia settings in his account of the Resumen. See Pennington, Spanish Baroque Guitar, 99.

Santiago de Murcia's 'Passacalles y obras' (1732)

Murcia's Passacalles y obras de guitarra is a large manuscript collection of pieces for guitar dated 1732.⁴⁰

The work begins with a large group of extended passacalle, each with a metrically-proportioned companion setting. The bulk of the collection, however, turns out to be an anthology of music taken from the French-school guitarists Francisco Corbetta, Robert de Visée, François Champion and François le Cocq.⁴¹ Murcia does not take complete suites from any single composer, but instead groups movements taken from different sources to form eleven large obras consisting of the core dances and a variety of galanterian movements. The composite suites are prefaced by an originally-composed preludio, carefully matched to the size and mood of the suite. Many of the preludes, especially the bipartite Preludio-Allegro examples, are without correspondence in the entire baroque guitar repertory - in either style, scope or craft.⁴²

⁴⁰Santiago de Murcia, Passacalles y obras de guitarra por todos los Tonos naturales y accidentales (n.p., 1732). Facsimile edition ed. with introduction by Michael Macmeeken (Monaco: Edition Chantarelle, 1979). Complete transcriptions of the Passacalles y obras are provided in Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," vol 2., and Pennington, Spanish Baroque Guitar, vol. 2.

⁴¹Concordances are provided in Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 236-56.

⁴²Russell has also noted melodic and textural correspondences between the preludes and their associated dance movements, some of which have been re-worked by

In addition to the French dance suites, two further groupings are found in the Passacalles y obras. The first is a suite of battle pieces entitled "Ydea especial de clarines," apparently reconstituted from sections derived from the "batalla famosa" found in Antonio Martin y Coll's keyboard collection Flores de música of 1709.⁴³ The second group is a set of movements taken from the violin sonatas a due of Archangelo Corelli, transcribed for the guitar, and grouped together under the title "Tocate de Corelli."⁴⁴

Other Eighteenth-Century Sources

In addition to Murcia's collections, several other Spanish guitar sources of the eighteenth century contain French music. The anonymous Libro de diferentes cifras de guitarra escogidas de los mejores autores (manuscript M. 811

Murcia. See Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 254-6; and Craig Russell and Astrid Topp Russell, "El Arte de Recomposición en la Música Española para la Guitarra Barroco," Revista de Musicología 5 (no. 1, 1982), 1-23.

⁴³Antonio Martin y Coll, Flores de música (n.p., 1709). Modern edition in Composizioni inedite, ed. with preface by Carlo Stella and Vittorio Vinay (Milan: Edizione Suvini Zerboni, n.d.). Murcia's battle suite is discussed in Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 259-65; and Russell and Russell, "El Arte de Recomposición," 1-23.

⁴⁴Concordances are provided in Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 265-78. Also see Craig H. Russell, "An Investigation into Arcangelo Corelli's Influence on Eighteenth Century Spain," Current Musicology 34, (1982), 42-52; and Russell and Russell, "El Arte de Recomposición." Corelli transcriptions for guitar are also found in Mexico City Biblioteca Nacional Ms. 1560, and for keyboard in Martin y Coll's Flores de música, cited above.

in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid) of 1705, a large anthology "selected from the best authors," contains at least one complete suite (attributed to Corbetta), French contredance and minuet settings, and a variety of Spanish pieces (some attributed to Sanz).⁴⁵ Many French contredance titles, several concordant with those found in Murcia's Resumen, are found in Ms. 1560 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico City.⁴⁶ The undated manuscript also quotes theoretical portions of Sanz's Instruccion and Murcia's Resumen, and is further aligned with Murcia through a number of Corelli transcriptions. M. 73 691/2 in the Barcelona Biblioteca Central is another anonymous, untitled and undated baroque guitar manuscript. The contents consist of fifteen short French contredance settings, most of which are minuets.⁴⁷ Many French contredances are contained in the Spanish publication which followed Murcia's Resumen, Pablo Minguet y Yroll's Reglas y advertencias generales que enseñen el modo de tañer los instrumentos mejores, published

⁴⁵A contents list and incipits to all of the pieces found in M. 811 are provided in Pennington, Spanish Baroque Guitar, Appendix V, 193-215.

⁴⁶Ms. 1560 and its contents are discussed in detail in Gerardo Arriaga, "Un manuscrito Mexicano de Música Barroca," Revista de Musicología 5, (no. 1, 1982), 111-26.

⁴⁷A detailed contents list and a conjectural dating of 1700-1730 are given in Pennington, Spanish Baroque guitar, 127.

in Madrid in 1652.⁴⁸ Consisting of a series of pamphlets that cover a range of topics, the guitar portion of the Reglas also contains extensive citations of the writings of Amat, Sanz and Murcia. It is the last Spanish example of tablature for the guitar.

In addition to Minguet y Yroll, several other sources base their writings on the earlier theorists. Manuel Valero's undated Suma primorosa de la guitarra and Joseph Trapero's untitled manuscript of 1763 (Ms. M. 1322 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid) are both based on the writings of Sanz and Murcia. The anonymous Metodo de guitarra procede de Granada of 1763 is a verbatim duplication of the two.⁴⁹ Antonio Vargas y Guzmán's Explicación para tocar la guitarra of 1776 also draws upon the text of Murcia's Resumen.⁵⁰

⁴⁸Confusion surrounding the date of publication of the Reglas is clarified in Pennington, ibid, 99-100. Also see Roland Stearns, "A Manual of Lute, Vihuela and Guitar Tablatures with Transcription Practice, Technique, Pedagogy" (M.A. thesis, University of Idaho, 1978), 80-91.

⁴⁹The Valero and Trapero works are discussed in Pennington, Spanish Baroque Guitar, 111-3. The anonymous Metodo de guitarra is cited in Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 33.

⁵⁰Vargas y Guzmán's Explicacion para tocar la guitarra is discussed in Robert Stevenson, "A Neglected Mexican Guitar Manual of 1776," Inter-American Music Review 1 (no. 2, 1978-79), 205-10. A recently discovered copy of Vargas y Guzmán's Explicación, to which is attached thirteen sonatas for guitar with continuo accompaniment, is discussed with facsimile included in Juan Jose Escorza and Jose Antonio Robles-Cahero, "Two Eighteenth-Century Treatises (at Mexico City) on Instrumental Music," Inter-American Music

Of the remaining eighteenth-century Iberian sources for the five-course guitar, Andre de Soto's Arte para aprender...tañer rasqueado la guitarra (Madrid, 1764) and Joao Leite Pica da Rocha's Licam instrumental de viola portuguesa (Lisbon, 1752) are both remakes of Amat's Guitarra española, while Antonio de Silve Lieite's Estudo de guitarra (Porto, 1795) is a treatise for the five-course portuguese guitar - an instrument distinct from the five-course baroque guitar in construction, tuning and playing technique.⁵¹

The final Spanish source for the five-course guitar is Antonio Abreu and Victor Prieto's Escuela para tocar con perfeccion la guitarra de cinco y seis ordenes (Salamanca, 1799). Notated entirely in staff notation, the Escuela considers the five-course guitar but places its main emphasis on the new six-string instrument.⁵²

Summary

Collectively, the Spanish sources for the five-course guitar are a diverse group. Each of the major collections projects a distinct stylistic aspect: the rasqueado style of Amat (shared with the Italians), the cosmopolitan style of Sanz, the Spanish style of Ribayez, the more conservative

Review 6 (no. 1, 1984), 1-28.

⁵¹Cited in Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 32.

⁵²Ibid, 37.

lute-like style of Guerau, and the French style of Murcia. Within this diversity, however, lies a tradition-forming unity of Spanish form and genre.

From the foregoing survey, it is clear that the 1714 and 1732 collections of Murcia are the last important sources of music for the five-course guitar in Spain. In addition to the French and Italian inclination of these collections, a reflection of increasingly international and fluctuating attitudes at the Spanish court during the first few decades of the eighteenth century, a continuation of the Spanish tradition is seen through the *diferencias* of 1714 and the *passacalles* of 1732.

The Saldívar Manuscript (the lost first volume to the Passacalles y obras) reinforces the tripartite French-Italian-Spanish stylistic division already present in the collections of Murcia, and others. And importantly, not only maintains the Spanish tradition but brings it to its highest, most developed expression.

CHAPTER II

SANTIAGO DE MURCIA

Almost nothing is known of Murcia's life, not even the date or place of his birth and death. In fact, we have no record of any biographical detail of his life beyond the tiny amount of information provided by Murcia himself in the prefatory pages of his collections.

On the title page of the Resumen, Murcia titles himself:

Santiago de Murcia, Master of Guitar to the Queen, Our Lady, Maria Louisa Gabriela of Savoy, May She Rest in Peace.¹

In the Aprobacion to the Resumen Antonio Litaes, principal viola de gambist of the Royal Chapel, confirms that Murcia was guitarist to the Queen:

With great pleasure and attention, I have examined a Book of Tablatures for the Guitar, engraved in Antwerp; its Author, Santiago de Murcia, was Master to the Queen, Our Lady, Maria Louisa Gabriela of Savoy...²

¹"Santiago de Murcia Mro de Guitarra de la Reyna Na. a Sa. Da. Ma. Louisa Gabriela de Soboya qe. Ds. aya." Santiago de Murcia, Resumen, title page.

²"Con sumo gusto, y atencion he visto vn Libro de Zifras de Guitarra, abierto in Amberes; su Autor Don Santiago de Murcia, Maestro que fue la Reyna Nuestra Señora Doña Maria Louisa de Saboya..." Ibid, f. 5.

And in a letter dated July 3rd, 1705, the Queen herself states that she is learning to play the guitar, although she does not mention the name of her teacher:

I do not dislike reading and working, as you know, it entertains me; on the mail days, I write [and on the other days]; I play the harpsichord, I am learning to play the guitar, and I am also studying music...³

Maria Louisa Gabriela was the first wife of Phillip V, grandson of Louis XIV of France. Phillip, who ascended the Spanish throne in 1701, brought with him the French attitudes that surely contributed to the French emphasis found in Murcia's publication.⁴ Phillip's ascension also brought the War of Succession, with the result that the new monarchs were frequently not resident at the Spanish court. This, coupled with a complete lack of archival documentation relating to Murcia, makes it difficult to assess the guitarist's role there. In any event, Maria Louisa Gabriela died on February 14th, 1714, prior to completion of the Resumen's prefatory materials.

³Madame La Comtesse Della Rocca, Correspondences inédite de la Duchesse de Bourgogne et de la Reine d'Espagne (Paris, 1865). Cited in Elena Lowenfeld, "Santiago de Murcia," 4.

⁴Although the French Contredance was sweeping through Europe at this time, the French (indeed international) taste of the new monarchy can only have helped in the acceptance of foreign music by a nation that had been resistant to outside influence. Numerous manuscripts of French dance music (and Italian music) originated from the Royal Court at this time. See José Subirá, Historia de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana (Barcelona: Salvat Editores, 1953), 442-5.

Accordingly, the Resumen's dedicatee was not the Queen but a nobleman, Jacome Francisco Andriani, Envoy of the Catholic Cantons of Switzerland and a Knight of the Order of Santiago (one of the most prestigious noble orders of the time).⁵ It would appear that sometime after 1707 (when Andriani had first arrived in Madrid) and prior to the publication of the Resumen in 1714, Murcia had entered into the service of Andriani. Murcia signs the dedication to Andriani: "From this your house, Madrid, August 20, 1714."⁶ Elsewhere in the dedication, Murcia seems to indicate that for him, time are difficult:

in dealing with me you have been an exception to the rule of the fixed star, that with effective persistence influences my adverse fate.⁷

Murcia's "adverse fate" was no doubt aggravated by Phillip's almost immediate re-marriage to Isabel de Farnesio (Elizabetta Farnese) of Parma that same year, 1714. Not only had Murcia lost one Royal patron but, to quote Stevenson:

Elizabetta Farnese (1692-1766) of Parma favored no musicians except Italians. In the court which she dominated, no French-tilted [sic] favorite of the

⁵Biographical details concerning Andriani are provided in Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 40-7; and Pennington, Spanish Baroque Guitar, 135.

⁶"Desta su casa Md. y Agosto 20 de 1714." Santiago de Murcia, Resumen, 3.

⁷"...de que siendo para conmigo excepcion de la Regla, de la fixa estrella, que con pertinaz eficacia, ynfluye mi aduersa suerte." Ibid.

previous Queen could have felt even comfortable, much less flourished.⁸

By the time the Resumen was finally published (Litares's approbation is dated August 1, 1717), Isabel de Farnesio had been Queen for almost three years.

Murcia mentions another court guitarist in the Resumen, Francisco Guerau:

[I am] convinced that there is no aficionado who has not seen the most singular Book (of Spanish dances and exquisite Passacalles) published by Don Francisco Garaù, in which he explains everything at the beginning with notable clarity and knowledge, for anyone who would like to manage this instrument...⁹

Considering their dissimilar guitar styles, it is surprising that Murcia would recommend his readers to Guerau's Poema harmónico for guidance in matters relating to the guitar. The logical choice for such a recommendation would have been the Instruccion of Sanz: it is more stylistically aligned with Murcia, infinitely more detailed in its descriptions, and was certainly much better known at the time. However, Guerau was the Music Master to the Choirboys of the Royal Chapel and Royal College from 1656 to around 1700, and it seems that Murcia simply took a convenient opportunity to

⁸Robert Stevenson, "Santiago de Murcia: A Review Article," Inter-American Music Review 3 (no. 1, 1980), 94.

⁹"...persuadido, à que no avrà Aficionado, que no aya visto el Libro tan singular, que diò à la etampa Don Francisco Garaù (de Tañidos de España, y Passacalles primorosas) en el qual pone al principio toda la explicacion, con notable luz, y conocimiento para el que quisiere manejar este Instrumento..." Santiago de Murcia, Resumen, 2.

ally himself with a guitarist who had been in Royal service for approximately forty-five years.¹⁰

It is also possible that Murcia had earlier associations with the Spanish Court, and may even have been a student of Guerau. An archival document of the Royal Palace in Madrid mentions Gabriel de Murcia, a vihuelist and guitarist in the service of the Spanish Queen and the Royal Chapel from around 1682 until at least 1700, and his wife Juana de Leon, also a vihuelist and daughter of the vihuelist Francisco de Leon.¹¹ Russell speculates (and plausibly) that if Santiago was the son of Gabriel and Juana (who were already married by 1682), he could have been old enough to have studied with Guerau before 1700. He would have been in his early thirties when he wrote the Resumen, and around fifty when the Passacalles y obras was presented.¹²

Further archival documentation from the Royal Palace relates the employment of another guitarist, Pedro

¹⁰Biographical details relating to Guerau are found in Brian Jeffrey, ed., Francisco Guerau, Poema harmónico (London: Tecla, 1977), 5; and in Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 57-60.

¹¹Archive number C° 731/32, Royal Archives, Palacio Real de Madrid. First cited in Lowenfeld, "Santiago de Murcia," 5. A discussion and a more accurate citation are contained in Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 61-64.

¹²Russell, Ibid.

Possible.¹³ Possible had served as oboist in the Royal Guard since 1724 and as "Maestro de Guitarra" to the Royal Prince Don Felipe since 1732. He had requested payment for engagements in the Royal Theater in 1734, and by 1744 had received the title "Maestro de Guitarra y Flauta."

That Possible became "Maestro de Guitarra" in 1732 is interesting - this is also the date of Murica's Passacalles y obras. The title page of the manuscript reads:

PASSACALLES y Obras de Guitarra Por todos Los Tonos Naturales y Accidentales PARA EL Sr. Dn Joseph Alvarez de Saavedra Por Santiago de Murcia AÑO DE 1732.

The dedicatee, Joseph Alvarez de Saavedra, another Knight of the Order of Santiago, had taken residence in Madrid as Council and Notary to the King around 1700.¹⁴ Although Saavedra's daughter was married in Madrid in 1719, it is not known if Saavedra himself was still there at the time. Nor are his subsequent whereabouts known, and consequently the place of dedication of the Passacalles y obras.

The Corelli transcriptions found in the Passacalles y obras would suggest that Murcia was reacting to the Italianization of the Spanish Court consequent to Phillip's second marriage. However, the Italian violin style is already encountered in Spain before this time, and therefore

¹³The document is Caja 527/38 in the Royal Archives of the Palacio Real de Madrid. The contents are summarized in Pennington, Spanish Baroque Guitar, Appendix IV, 191.

¹⁴Biographical details relating to Saavedra are provided in Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 49-52.

does not necessarily place Murcia at court after 1714.¹⁵ And considering the lack of archival material relating to Murcia, compared with that concerning Pessible, it seems certain that Murcia did not hold an official court position after the death of Maria Louisa Gabriela in 1714.¹⁶

The absolute paucity of information concerning Murcia's activities between his two collections had allowed for speculation that he travelled outside Spain during this time. The many French pieces contained in the Passacalles y obras are certainly suggestive of a trip to France or Belgium, especially taking into account that several works included in the collection were not widely disseminated at the time.¹⁷ Like Ribayez before him, it is also possible

¹⁵Martin y Coll's Flores de música, compiled between 1706 and 1709, also contains a "tocate de Corelli" in a transcription for keyboard, as do several other collections listed in the Catalogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. See footnote 4 on pages 38-39 of the present study for a citation. The general upsurge in violin music in Spain during the early eighteenth century is discussed in Subirá, Historia de la Música Española y Hispanoamericana, 448-454.

¹⁶A possible explanation for the lack of archival information concerning Murcia (that would also account for the lack of extant music by Pessible, and others), is the fire of 1734 that partially destroyed the Palace archive completely destroyed the King's music collection.

¹⁷Murcia's possible travels in Europe have been the subject of lively debate. See Monica Hall, "Santiago de Murcia and François le Cocq," Journal do the Lute Society of America 15, (1982), 3-6 and Craig Russell, "Santiago de Murcia: The French Connection in Spain," Journal of the Lute Society of America 15 (1982), 40-51; and "François le Cocq's Influence on Santiago de Murcia: Problems with Dates, Sources and Recomposition," Journal of the Lute

that Murcia travelled to the New World, possibly emigrating there - all of Murcia's collections have been located in Mexico. Of the three extant copies of the Resumen, one was purchased in Mexico City by Cornelius F. Barton (a dealer in valuables obtained from families ruined in the 1910 Revolution), and subsequently sold to the Los Angeles Public Library for \$10.¹⁸ Julian Marshall, an English traveller, book collector and contributor to the first edition of Grove's Dictionary, acquired the manuscript of the Passacalles y obras in Mexico and sold it to the British Museum in 1881.¹⁹ Not surprisingly then, the Saldívar Manuscript was located in Mexico also. The manuscript was purchased from an antique store in León, Guanajuato (by the Mexican musicologist Gabriel Saldívar) for 200 pesos in 1943.²⁰

Although it is not known how or when the collections came to be in Mexico, the fact that Mexican sources of the eighteenth century quote from the Resumen strongly suggests that this collection at least was taken there at the time.²¹ The 1732 manuscripts may have been taken to Mexico by their

Society of America 16 (1985), letter, 7-11.

¹⁸Stevenson, "Santiago de Murcia," 92-3.

¹⁹Ibid, 94.

²⁰Michael Lorimer, ed., Santiago de Murcia, Saldívar Codex No. 4 (Lorimer: Santa Barbara, 1987), vol. 1, v.

²¹See pages 19 and 23-24 in the present study.

dedicatee, Joseph Alvarez de Saavedra, possibly accompanied by Murcia himself. It is just as likely, however, that the manuscripts were taken there after being acquired by a third party, and at any date subsequent to 1732. The manuscripts may even have been written in the New World. As with many details of Murcia's life a trip to the New World, and possible domicile there, remains a tempting yet conjectural scenario.

CHAPTER III

THE MUSICAL CONTENTS OF THE SALDIVAR MANUSCRIPT

There is little doubt that the Saldívar Manuscript is the missing companion volume to Murcia's Passacalles y obras de guitarra. Although lacking a title page, the Saldívar Manuscript provides the opening poetic "Decima," "Abecedario" and passacalles table that, otherwise ubiquitous amongst five-course guitar collections, are not found in the Passacalles y obras. In fact, beyond the title page, the only prefatory material provided in the Passacalles is the list of contents, which reads: "Index of what is contained in the second volume."¹ As it would suffice to provide preliminary materials in volume one only, accordingly these are found in the Saldívar Manuscript.

Reinforcing their connection, the notation and calligraphy of the two tablatures are identical. In addition, several features are not encountered in the tablatures of other Spanish authors. These include: extensive fingering dots provided to differentiate between the fingers of the left hand; auxiliary notes to trills indicated in the tablature; left-hand slurs notated

¹"Yndize de lo contiendo en el Tº. 2º." Santiago de Murcia, Passacalles y obras de guitarra (1732), 2.

according to melodic direction; "barber-pole" used to demarcate major sections; diagonal sustain line to indicate that the left-hand fingers should remain down; and a wavy line placed beneath the tablature to indicate a left-hand barré.²

Another distinctive feature of Murcia's collections is his grouping of pieces into large formal and stylistic blocks. In this respect the Resumen begins with seventy-one French contredances and twenty-five minuets, moves on to six diferencia sets and ends with three French dance suites. Similarly, the Passacalles y obras begins with twenty-eight paired passacalles, followed by twelve suites. The pieces in the Saldívar Manuscript are also logically grouped - an opening group of forty diferencia sets are followed by ten contredances, seventeen minuets and a concluding three-movement Italian-style sonata.³ Viewed in this way, the Saldívar Manuscript provides a repertory complementary to that of the Passacalles y obras, the two forming a composite (equivalent to but more substantial than the Resumen) covering all the major genres of the five-course guitar: diferencias on Spanish songs and dances, French contredances

²Details of clasps, binding and other physical features of the manuscript are provided in Lorimer, Saldívar Codex, vol. 1, ix-x.

³Lorimer notes that these last three pieces are followed by twenty blank folios, suggesting that Murcia may have intended to end on a much larger group of pieces in Italian style. Lorimer, ibid, xiv.

and minuets, passacalles, and French dance suites. The contents of the Saldívar Manuscript are provided in table 1.

The Spanish Genres

The large number of Spanish pieces contained in the Saldívar Manuscript considerably alters the perception of Murcia as a composer, as well as of the late Spanish baroque guitar in general. Based on his previous collections, Murcia had been regarded as a progressive who had left the Spanish genres behind. As the principal representative of the late Spanish school, this also led to the belief that the Spanish baroque repertory, at its zenith, had been subsumed by the French style. Far from leaving the Spanish genres behind, however, Murcia not only includes them but expands upon them in both the variety of genres represented and the techniques employed.

Table 2 lists the pieces found in the Saldívar Manuscript, along with their title concordances found amongst the other Spanish collections for guitar. Clearly, some of these pieces are very common, the jacara, mariona, gallarda, españolleta, villano, canario, marizapalos, jacara de la costa, folia and passacalle appear in almost every collection. The tarantela, gaita, zarambecque and gran duque are also well represented.⁴

⁴The Spanish dance forms are also found in a number of early eighteenth-century collections for keyboard. The following manuscript collections in the Biblioteca Nacional

A number of pieces, however, are found in only one other collection, the anonymous Libro de diferentes cifras of 1705. The reason for the high degree of correspondence between this collection and the Saldivar Manuscript is that both incorporate the changes in style and taste of the early eighteenth century. Whereas the earlier collections present a small unified group of pieces that represent the longer-established dances of the Spanish court, the two eighteenth-

in Madrid include examples of the genres contained in the Saldivar Manuscript: Antonio Martin, Pensil deleitoso de svabes flores de música (1707), M. 1358, contains passacalles, "Canzion aladena," "La Marsellas," "Bacas," "Marizapalos" and "Españoleta"; Huerto ameno de varias flores de música (1708), M. 1359, contains "Marizapalos," "Folias," "Gran Duque," "Españoleta" and "Los Impossibles"; Huerto ameno de varias flores de música (1729), M. 1360, contains "tocata alegres de Coreli" (sic), "Villano Folias," "Vacas," "Canarios," "Passacalles," "Minuets al violin" and other minuets; Francisco de Tejada, Libro de música de clavicembalo (1721), M. 815, includes "Canarios," "Piesa de Coreli" (sic), various minuets and numerous three and four-movement sonatas; Anon, Piezas de Clave (n.d.), M. 1250, includes "Fandango," "Tarantela," minuets and various contradances; Joan Roig y Rojas, no title (Barcelona, 1764), M. 2810 (a collection of music for organ, harpsichord and piano), includes minuets, contredances, "Seguidillas," "Amable," "Folias de Espana" and sonatas; Cifras para harpa de fines del siglo XVII a principios de XVIII (an anonymous collection for harp), includes "Folias," "Marizapalos," "Gaita Francesa," "Passacalles," "Siguidillas," "Clarines," "La Jota," "La Jotta" and various minuets; Diego Fernandez de Huete, Compendio numeroso de zifras armonicas (1702) (a printed collection for organ and harp), includes "Bacas," "Batallas," "Canarios," "Españoleta," "Folias agaitadas," "Gallarda," "Gagtaguineo," "Las Sombras," "La Tarantela," "Mariona," "Minués," "Paracumbe," "Passacalles," "Villano," "Xacarar," "Xacarar de la Costa," "Zarabanda" and "Zarambecque." Citation taken from Higinio Angles and Jose Subira, Catalogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigacione Cientificas Instituto Español de Musicologia, 1946-1951), vol. 1, 295-351 and vol. 3, 101-2.

Table I. Contents of the Saldivar Manuscript

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1. Jacaras Por La E	1	39. Fustamberg	76
2. Marionas pr. La B	3	40. Payssanos	77v
3. Gallardas	4v	41. La Allemanda	78v
4. Españoletas	6	42. Paspied Viejo	79
5. Villanos	7	43. Paspied Nuevo	79v
6. El Caballero	8	44. La Cadena	80
7. Canarios	9	45. El Cotillon	80v
8. Otros Canarios Por La A	10	46. La Christian	80v
9. Baylad Caracoles	11v	47. La Tia y La Sobrina	81
10. Los Impossibles	12v	48. La Bacante	81V
11. La Jotta	14v	49. Cotillon Nuevo	82
12. Fandango	16	50. Rigaodon	82
13. Tarantelas	18v	51. Menuet de Trompas	83
14. Foliás Españolas	20v	52. Otro	83
15. Las Bacas	23V	53. Otro de Trompas	83v
16. El Amor	27v	54. Menuet deel Soldado	84
17. Jacaras Francesas	29	55. Otro	84v
18. Marizapalos	31	56. Otro	84v
19. Las Sombras	35v	57. Menuet	85
20. Jacaras de la Costa	39	58. Menuet	85v
21. Gaitas	40v	59. Menuet Amoroso	86v
22. Cumbees	43	60. Menuet afectuoso	87
23. Zarambeques O Muecas	45	61. Menuet de el Zisne	87v
24. El Paloteado	46	62. Menuet	88
25. Foliás Gallegas	47v	63. Otro	88v
26. Triste de Jorge	49v	64. Otro	89
27. Zangarilleja	50	65. Menuet	89v
28. La Chamberga	51	66. Otro	90
29. Passacs. Para Comenzar las Seguidillas Manchegas	51v	67. Otro	90v
30. Seguidillas	52	68. Allegro	91
31. Gran Dugue	53v	69. Grabe	92v
32. Marsellas	57v	70. Allegro	93
33. Foliás Italianas	61v		
34. Al Verde Retamar	67v		
35. Puesto pr. otro termino	68v		
36. Las Penas	69v		
37. Sarao, O Bailete, deel Retiro	71		
38. La Amable Despa.	73		

Table 2. Saldivar Genres and Their Distribution Amongst the Major Spanish Guitar Collections: 1674-1714

Murcia (1732)	Sanz (1674)	Ribayez (1677)	Guerau (1694)	S. Cruz (c1700)	Anon (1705)	Murcia (1714)
Jacara	x	x	x	x	x	
Mariona	x	x	x	x	x	
Gallarda	x	x	x	x	x	
Espanoleta	x	x	x	x	x	
Villano	x	x*	x	x	x	
Caballero						x
Canario	x	x	x	x	x	
Baylad Caracoles						
Impossibles						
Jotta						
Fandango					x	
Tarantela	x*				x	x
Folias	x	x	x		x	x
Vacas		x*				
Amor					x	
Jacara Francesa						
Marizapalos	x		x	x	x	
Sombras					x	x
Jacara de la Costa	x*		x		x	
Gaita		x*		x	x	
Cumbeé					x	
Zarambecque		x*			x	
Paloteado						
Folias Gallegas						
Triste de Jorge						
Zangarilleja					x	
Chamberga					x	
Passacalles	x	x	x	x	x	
Seguidillas						
Gran Duque	x	x			x	
Marsellas					x	x
Al Verde Retamar						
Penas						
Sarao					x	x
Amable					x	x
Fustamberg					x	x
Payssanos					x	x
Contredances					x	x
Minuets					x	
Allegro/Grave						

*short instructional piece

century collections incorporate a wider range of pieces that includes both the older dances and the newer French contredances, as well as a repertory that derives more exclusively from Spanish theater.⁵

A further group of pieces are unique to Murcia in settings for guitar - "Baylad Caracoles," "Los Impossibles," "La Jotta," "Folias Españolas," "Jacaras Francesas," "El Paloteado," "Folias Gallegas," "Triste Jorge," "Seguidillas Manchegas," "Al Verde Retamar" and "Las Penas".⁶

Murcia sets most of his diferencias as extended pieces, sometimes matching the length of Guerau's examples and almost always exceeding those of Sanz and Ribayez. Murcia further surpasses the earlier guitarists in the quantity and variety of his extended pieces. Compared to the nine or ten fully developed pieces (excluding passacalles) presented in the earlier collections, the Saldívar Manuscript has approximately thirty and includes virtually all of the genres represented elsewhere.⁷ Murcia

⁵The Libro de diferentes cifras is the only collection to match the Saldívar Manuscript in the quantity and variety of pieces presented. The Libro, however, is an anthology of "the best authors," incorporating music by earlier composers such as Sanz. The Saldívar Manuscript, on the other hand, is the work of a single composer.

⁶"Los Impossibles," "La Jotta" and "Seguidillas" are also found in several early eighteenth-century settings for keyboard and harp. See footnote 4 on page 38-39 above.

⁷Murcia does omit two very common Spanish forms: the pavanas, (which is found in all of the other collections) and the torneo group (found in all but Guerau).

also presents extended textural resources in his settings, freely combining the French mixed rasgueado-punteado style with highly developed campanela technique and, on a broader level, providing twenty-one of his pieces with an introduction in pure rasgueado style.⁸

Spanish Theater

The performance of Spanish lyric drama during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was habitually accompanied by a variety of entertaining prologues, interludes and finales of singing and dancing inserted before, during and after the acts of the play.⁹ Like the intermedio in Italy and the divertissement in France, these secondary theatrical forms led to the lighter operatic

⁸Corbetta supplied strummed introductions to some of the pieces in his Varii Scherzi (Brussels, 1648). Sanz also provides short rasgueado introductions to some of the passacalles in volume three of the Instruccion.

⁹A monumental work concerning Spanish theater in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is Don Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, Colección de Entremeses, Loas, Bailes, Jacaras and Mojigongas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVIII (Madrid: Casa Editorial Bailly Baillere, 1911). Cotarelo classifies five secondary theatrical forms that incorporate music for song, dance, or both: loa (a sung introduction or prologue); entremese (a brief burlesque interlude of song and dance with its own plot, placed after the first act of the play); baile literario (a dramatic form placed after the second act of the play, incorporating song, dance and spoken dialogue); jacara or cantada (a picturesque comic interlude replacing the entremese or baile literario); fines de fiesta, mojigonga, follas or sarao (a spectacular finale of song and dance placed after the third act of the play).

genres of the early eighteenth century, the two-act zarzuela in Spain.

Although usually of only slight literary value, the minor theatrical forms were nevertheless instrumental in the propagation of the popular song and dance that was eventually absorbed into the art music of Spain through adoption for instrumental setting. In the case of the harp and the guitar, these settings reflect an accompanimental function that the two instruments actually provided in the theater.¹⁰

The most common musical form of the theater was the canción bailable (sung dance), and the theatrical manuscripts of the time are replete with dance instructions appended to the texts of the songs. The dances themselves are divided into two groups, bailles and danzas, according to the nature of the movements required. The baille, which allows for free movement of both the arms and feet, is associated with the fast, lascivious popular dances of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries while the danza, which permits movement of the feet only, is associated the older,

¹⁰ The typical seventeenth-century theatrical ensemble consisted of a guitar, a harp, a violón and, on occasion, castenets and tambourine (sonajes). The guitar was also used as the sole accompanying instrument, the actor often accompanying himself, and continued to be used in the theater throughout the eighteenth century. Information concerning the use of the guitar as an accompanying instrument is contained in Cotarelo, Colección, Vol. 1, ii and in Robert S. Marcus, "The Use Of the Five-Course Guitar as a Continuo Instrument as Described in Spanish Treatise: 1596-1764" (M.A. Thesis, California State University, Fullerton, 1978), 92-8

slower, more measured aristocratic court dances of the sixteenth century.¹¹

Table 3 lists the dances found in both the guitar collections and the Spanish theater of the time, and assigns to each the designation danza (D) or baille (B).¹² All but one of the common guitar forms, the jacara de la costa, are encountered in connection with the theater and of the thirty-eight diferencia plans found in the Saldívar Manuscript, twenty-five are also listed here. Moreover, a theatrical relationship is stated outright in the title to one of Murcia's pieces "Sarao, ò Bailete de el Retiro" - a clear reference to the Royal Theatre in Madrid, El Coliseo del Buen Retiro.¹³

¹¹These definitions are found in Cotarelo, Colección, vol. 1 clxv-clxvi. However, care must be taken in applying these designations as several danzas (the vacas and canarios for example) were later re-interpreted as bailles, and not all new dances are bailles.

¹²The list is derived from the dictionary-style account of 102 dance forms encountered amongst the dramatic entremeses and bailes provided in Cotarelo, Colección, vol. 1, ccxxxiii-cclxxiii. Three of the forms listed are not included in this part of Cotarelo's study, but are found amongst the manuscripts cited elsewhere in the work: "Las Sombras" is mentioned on page cxxiv; the "Marsella" on page ccxix; and the gaita gallega on pages cxlv-i. Also note that the gaita is listed under "Gatacombe," and the cadena under "Contredance."

¹³This melody is also given a setting in the Libro de diferentes cifras, where it is titled "Sarao de la Comedia del Retiro."

Table 3. Dances Used in the Spanish Theater Found Amongst the Guitar Collections (1596-1732): (D) danza; B) baile.

La Allemanda(D)	Matachins(B)
El Caballero(D)	Minue(B)
El Canario(D or B)	El Paracumbe(B)
Cadena(B)	Las Paradetas(D)
Chacona(B)	Passacalle(B)
Baile al la Chamberga(B)	Pavana(D)
La Dama(D)	El Rugero(D)
Españoleta(D)	Sarao(D)
Fandango(B)	Seguidillas(B)
Folias(D or B)	Las Sombras(?)
Gaita(B)	Tarantela(B)
Gaita Gallega(B?)	Torneo(D)
Gallardas(D)	Turdion(D)
Gran Duque(D)	Vacas(B)
Danza de las Hachas(D)	Villano(B)
Jacara(B)	Zangarilleja(B)
Marsellas(?)	Zarabande(B)
Mariona(B)	Zarambecque(B)
Marizapalos(B)	

Harmonic Plans

The development of such well-known forms as the ciaccona, folia, sarabande and passacalle has been well documented.¹⁴ From humble beginnings as short harmonic progressions in Spain, these pieces became the highly stylized and often virtuosic forms of the mature baroque. Exported to Italy, the forms were transformed at the hands of the early alfabeto guitarists and, after subsequent absorption into the French repertory, began to reappear in

¹⁴The origin in Spain of the ciaccona and passacalle as a sung dance and a song ritornello respectively, and their subsequent development in Italy, is the focus of Hudson, "Italian Keyboard Variations." Hudson's investigations of the zarabanda and folia may be found in the appropriate articles cited in the bibliography to the present study.

Spanish sources during the second half of the seventeenth century with such names as "Zarabanda francesa" and "Folias italianas." Examination of the forms that remained in Spain reveals that they too are built on a standard harmonic progression, and sometimes a melody, along with a characteristic metric pattern and typical mode or key.

The harmonic plans of the genres contained in the Saldívar Manuscript fall into four categories: modal progressions and renaissance grounds; diatonic progressions; progressions consisting of tonic-dominant alternation only; and progressions featuring secondary-dominant chords. The first two categories account for the plans found in the "core" repertory of the guitar in seventeenth-century Spain, while the latter two are found only in the eighteenth-century collections.

1) Modal progressions and grounds. Characterized by triads built on the flattened-seventh scale degree and a fluctuation between the relative keys, modal harmonic progressions are used for the gallarda and españoleta, both known as court dances in sixteenth-century Spain.¹⁵ Modal harmony is also a feature of the romanesca ground, upon which the sixteenth-century Spanish song "Guardame las

¹⁵The duple-meter gallarda (not to be confused with the triple-meter galliard) is one of the oldest and most popular dances of Spain. See Cotarelo, Colección, ccxlvix. The españoleta (also known in Italy as the spagnuola) is a sixteenth-century sung danza based on the same ground as the Italian pavaniglia. See Cotarelo, ibid, ccxlv.

vacas" (referred to simply as "Vacas" or "Bacas" after 1600) is based.¹⁶ Two other sixteenth-century Spanish dances, the villano and the canario, are based on the major-mode passamezzo moderno ground (I-IV-I-V-I), a progression pointing toward the clearer diatonic orientation of many of the newer forms of the early seventeenth century.¹⁷

2) Diatonic progressions. The new Spanish forms of the first part of the seventeenth century, which developed in the Spanish theater, are represented by simple diatonic progressions like that of the passamezzo moderno above. The passacalle, which at the time served as a ritornello to a song or dance, incorporates the primary triads only, in the progression I-IV-V-I.¹⁸ The mariona, which uses the same progression as the ciaccona (I-V-vi-IV-V-I), hints at the

¹⁶A well-known instrumental setting of the renaissance is that found in Luys de Narvaez's vihuela collection, Los seys libros del Delphin de música de cifra para tañer vihuela (Valladolid, 1538).

¹⁷Named for its rustic associations, the villano was a sung baille and court dance. Found in the guitar collections of both Montesardo (1606) and Briceno (1626), it must have been popular at least around 1600. See Cotarelo, Colección, cclxxiii-v. The canario dance, characterized by much foot-tapping and contrasts of violent and more gracious movements, was brought to Spain from the Canaries. Exported elsewhere in Europe, however, it did not retain a standard harmonic plan. See Cotarelo, ibid, ccxxxvi-vii and Richard Hudson's article "Canary" in Grove's Dictionary, vol. 3, 676-8.

¹⁸A complete account of the origins and development of the passacalle is found in Hudson, "Italian Keyboard Variations," and other studies by the same author cited in the bibliography to the present study.

relative minor, as does the jacara progression to its relative major (i-V-i-V-i-VI-v-i-v-i). Both, however, avoid prefacing these areas with a dominant and therefore retain a clear diatonic profile.¹⁹

3) Tonic-dominant alternation. Many of the dances that appeared in Spain during the second half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century are built on harmonic plans that use tonic and dominant harmony only. Several have their origin in folk idioms. The gaita and folias gallegas, both associated with the Galicia region of North-Western Spain, incorporate a tonic-dominant drone in imitation of the Galician bagpipe.²⁰ The zangarilleja (from the Spanish verb "zangrear" - to strum (a guitar), the jotta and the jacara de la costa are three more late seventeenth-century folk-like genres built

¹⁹Cotarelo includes only the jacara castellana in his account of the jacara. The jacara francesa and jacara de la costa are not mentioned. See Cotarelo, Colección, vol. 1, cclii. The mariona is one of the principal theatrical bailes of the mid-sixteenth century and remained a popular theatrical form well into the eighteenth century. See Cotarelo, ibid, ccliii.

²⁰The gaita gallega is still a common form of Galicia today. Cast in a persistent and unvaried rhythm in 6/8 meter, the piece is also characterized by a constant drone in imitation of the Gallician bagpipes and hurdy-gurdy (the term gaita means "bagpipe" or "hurdy-gurdy"). See the article "Spain" by Martin Cunningham in Grove's Dictionary, vol. 17, 799.

on the simple harmonic plan.²¹ Strict tonic-dominant alternation in two-measure units is found in the fandango and zarambecque, reflecting a stylized theatrical representation of two the "savage" dances imported from the New World.²²

4) Secondary-dominant progressions. Spanish plans containing secondary-dominant progressions are found only in the eighteenth century.²³ Several forms feature chains of such harmonies. "Seguidillas Manchegas" (a stylized theatrical representation of an older piece), "Las Sombras" (titled after an entremese of 1702) and "El Amor" (another piece found only in eighteenth-century collections) all make striking use of chains of secondary-dominant chords in

²¹The zangarilleja appears as a sung dance in the mojigonga to the zarzuela Amor es quinto elemento (n.d.), of which it was a parody. See Cotarelo, Colección, cclxv and ccci. Although no theatrical references to the jotta (or jota) are found, Murcia uses the time signature 3/4 which he reserves for modern pieces. Today, the jota is a sung dance in triple meter which, like Murcia's jotta, alternates tonic and dominant harmonies. See Cunningham, "Spain," Grove's Dictionary, vol. 17, 798.

²²The zarambecque is frequently encountered as a sung baille in the theatre from the second-half of the seventeenth century on. See Cotarelo, Colección, cclxxi-iii. The fandango appears in the theater at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Cotarelo, ibid, ccxliv-v. See also pages 66-70 below for more on these two dances.

²³The marizapalos is an exception. See pages 59-61 below.

cycles of fifths.²⁴ More unusual is the cumbeé (or paracumbé), another New World import. The piece is characterized by a continued secondary-dominant emphasis of the subdominant which, in Murcia's setting, produces an almost constant flattened-seventh melodic scale degree.²⁵

Melodies

As well as a harmonic plan, several genres also retain a set melodic profile. Such melodic characteristics are of three types: melodic outlines formed by the highest notes of the alfabeto chord shapes; pre-existing melodies around which the chord shapes (and other texture) are applied; and pre-existing songs or contredances melodies, often set somewhat more homophonically.

Any progression of alfabeto chord shapes will produce a coincidental melodic profile consisting of the pitches

²⁴The seguidilla is first mentioned as a dance at the end of the sixteenth century. However, it does not seem to have been used in the theater until the mid-seventeenth century, at which time it began to be described as a new and lively dance." See Cotarelo, Colección, cclx-xi. The term Manchega refers to the La Mancha region of New Castille from whence the seguidilla originated. See Cunningham, "Spain," Grove's Dictionary, vol. 17, 799. Las Sombras does not appear as a theatrical dance in any of the manuscripts in Cotarelo's study. It seems to be named, however, after an anonymous entremese titled "Las Sombras" of 1702. A degree of melodic correspondence between the sources suggest that the piece was a song. See Cotarelo, Colección, cxxiv.

²⁵The paracumbé was a sung baille and is found in several theatrical works of the early eighteenth century. See Cotarelo, ibid, ccv, ccxx and cclv, and pages 67-69 below.

formed on the highest sounding string of the guitar. For example, the villano progression I-IV-I-V-I (which is almost always set in D) results in the melodic outline 3-4-3-2-3. As can be seen in figure 1, this melodic profile is retained in the punteado settings of the piece. The same harmonic plan is used for the canario and, as can be seen in figure 2, the same melodic outline is present in the punteado settings of this genre too. Other pieces are built around pre-existing melodies that cannot be derived from the alfabeto voicings. For example, Murcia incorporates the melody of the jacara de la costa (which is the same melody as the gaita) in a strummed chordal texture, however the chords employed are not the standard alfabeto shapes (see fig. 3).

Other plans are simply instrumental settings of songs or contredance melodies (such as the "Marizapalos" or "La Amable") which are then used to provide the basis for a variation set.

Metric Characteristics

A unifying characteristic of the exported Spanish forms, the folia, ciaccona, passacalle, and zarabanda, lies in a shared metric profile - all are set in triple meter and forms that remained in Spain. Of the variety of genres found in the Spanish collections of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, approximately three-quarters are

Figure 1. Melodic Profile of the Villano Ground Plan

alfabeto: C A C C I C

Song (1674), I, 5. I IV I I V I

Ribayez (1677), 88.

Guerau (1694), 55.

Libro (1705), 104.

Murcia (1752), 8.

triple-meter forms and employ at least one of several second-beat accentuation plans.

Most commonly, the placement of the long and short beats of the measure alternates between consecutive

Figure 3. Melodic Profile of the Jacara de la Costa Ground Plan.

Guerau (1694), 37.

Libro (1705), 110.

Murcia (1732), 39

Murcia (1732), 39

harmonic ones. In the Saldívar Manuscript this design is applied in both French and Spanish pieces, and in 6/8 meter as well as 3/4 (see fig. 5).²⁶

²⁶It should be noted that in all of these alternating schemes the downbeat of the second measure should not be negated by extending the accentuation backwards into the final beat of the previous measure. To do so would create 3/2 meter, thus:

$$\frac{3}{4} \begin{array}{c} \text{ˆ} \\ \text{♩} \\ \text{ˆ} \\ \text{♩} \\ \text{ˆ} \\ \text{♩} \end{array} \quad = \quad \frac{3}{2} \begin{array}{c} \text{ˆ} \\ \text{♩} \\ \text{ˆ} \\ \text{♩} \\ \text{ˆ} \\ \text{♩} \end{array}$$

Although extremely common in seventeenth-century France, hemiola measures such as this are rarely explicated in Spanish tablatures, neither at cadences nor elsewhere.

Figure 4. Accentuation Pattern with Respect to Harmonic Rhythm: "Jacaras Francesas," f. 29v, 16-23

The musical score for Figure 4 consists of two staves. The top staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 3/4 time signature. Above the staff, there are rhythmic markings: a '3' over a vertical line, a '4' over another vertical line, and several accents (z) over notes. The bottom staff continues the musical notation with similar rhythmic and accent markings. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

Figure 5. Accentuation Pattern with Respect to Durational Rhythm: a) "Los Imposibles," ff. 12v, 16-23, 33-44: b) "Canarios," f9-9v, 16-19.

The musical score for Figure 5 is divided into two parts, a) and b). Part a) is on the top two staves, starting with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 3/4 time signature. It features rhythmic markings (3 and 4) and accents (z) over notes. Part b) is on the bottom staff, starting with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 6/8 time signature. It also features rhythmic markings (6 and 8) and accents (z) over notes. Both parts conclude with double bar lines.

Earlier triple-meter forms, such as the vacas and españoleta, do not exhibit alternating metric schemes, rhythmic manipulation in these pieces is restricted to a

single measure at the final cadence of their long harmonic plans. This type of structural marker is also found in some of the later forms based on long harmonic plans, for example "Marsellas," "Marizapalos" and "Folias Italianas". None of these pieces, nor the seventeenth and eighteenth-century settings of the earlier forms, explicitly create a 3/2 measure from two in 3/4. The harmonic acceleration of the cadential figure is usually restricted to a single 3/4 measure (see fig. 6).

Figure 6. Accentuation Pattern with Respect to Harmonic Acceleration: a) "Marizapalos," f. 31, 23-25; b) "Españoletas," f. 6, 29-31; c) "Las Bacas," f. 24, 45-47.

The figure consists of three hand-drawn musical staves, labeled a), b), and c). Each staff begins with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. Staff (a) is labeled '(n 23)' and shows a sequence of notes and rests, ending with a cadential figure marked by a vertical line and a 'v' symbol above it. Staff (b) is labeled '(n 29)' and shows a similar sequence, also ending with a cadential figure marked by a vertical line and a 'v' symbol. Staff (c) is labeled '(n 45)' and shows a sequence of notes and rests, ending with a cadential figure marked by a vertical line and a 'v' symbol. The notation includes various note values and rests, and the staves are connected by a vertical line on the left.

A few pieces incorporate alternating schemes of 6/8 and 3/4 meter. In fact, most seventeenth-century canario

settings use this scheme throughout. In Murcia's G-major canario setting, it is used for selected passages (see fig. 7). Although the rhythmic structure of most such passages may easily be deduced from the tablature, in some cases the intabulations are ambiguous. For example, in the "La Jotta," which is notated in 3/4 time, an alternating scheme (otherwise not apparent) is revealed by the strumming pattern of its introduction. Later in the piece alternating schemes may be deduced by precedent, however many passages remain ambiguous (see fig. 8).

Figure 7. Alternating Metric Scheme: "Canarios," f. 10, 13-16.



Although manipulation of meter may be regarded as standard in the Spanish triple-meter forms, some pieces do retain a straightforward metric profile. These include the fandango, "Baylad Caracoles," jacaras de la costa (although not the jacaras and jacaras francesa) and gaita.

Figure 8. Alternating Metric Scheme: "La Jotta," ff. 14v-15, 1-4 and 32-43.

New Genres Based On Older Plans

Several of the new genres of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are based on much older ground plans. For example, the canción "Marizapalos," one of the most popular songs of seventeenth-century Spain, first appeared around 1650.²⁷ However, as can be seen in figure 9, the

²⁷Originally the title of a mid-seventeenth century *baille literario*, named for its heroin Mari Zapalos, the name "Marizapalos" became attached to an independent sung *baille* which tells the story of the girl. See Cotarelo, *Colección*, ccliii and ccxiii.

Figure 9. Comparison of (a) Española and (b) Marizapalos Ground Plans.

a) Sanz (1674), II, 5. *tr*

Guerau (1694), 42. *tr*

Murcia (1732), 16. *tr*

b) Sanz (1674), II, 8. *tr*

Guerau (1694), 39. *tr*

Murcia (1732), 31. *tr*

first part of the song is harmonically, melodically and rhythmically identical to the much older española plan. After this opening reference the song adopts a more modern profile, ending its first section on the dominant and

continuing through sequences of secondary-dominant chords. "Los Impossibles," first encountered in the early eighteenth century, is another song based on an anachronistic harmonic progression. In this case, a twofold repetition of the first half of the romanesca ground (III-VII-i-V), to which the alternating stress pattern of the new dance is applied.

Conversely, some old pieces are given new plans in later settings. For example, Murcia's setting of the seguidillas incorporates sequences of secondary-dominants to produce a twenty-two measure plan that can in no way represent the original sixteenth-century form of the song. Interestingly, Murcia prefaces his seguidillas with old-style passacalles, recalling the original function of the passacalle as an introduction or ritornello. A similar situation is encountered with the caballero, an old sixteenth-century danza that was already considered old-fashioned and no longer used by 1640.²⁸ In fact "El Caballero" is often ridiculed in mid-seventeenth century theater texts for being so out of fashion. Despite this Murcia provides a setting of the song, as does the compiler of the Libro de diferentes cifras. In the Libro it is titled "Villano Caballero," and both settings do in fact incorporate the rhythm and melody of the villano (a baille

²⁸See Cotarelo, ibid, ccxxxv-vi.

rather than a danza), but extend the harmonic plan from four to eight measures (see fig. 10).

Figure 10. Comparison of (a) Villano and (b) Caballero Ground Plans.

a) Guerau (1694), 55.

Libro (1705), 104.

b) Libro (1705), 104.

Murcia (1732), 8.

Diferencia Based on Imported Plans

Although the standard instrumental form of the Spanish baroque is the diferencia, not all of the ground plans upon which the variation sets are based are of Spanish origin. The imported plans adopted by Murcia provide a variety of designs, ranging from short harmonic schemes indistinguishable from their Spanish counterparts, to lengthy

binary-form dance plans that reveal striking stylistic characteristics, distinct from anything found previously in Spain.

Italian Dances

The tarantela and gran duque are two Italian dances that became popular in the Spanish theater around 1650.²⁹ Both are included in seventeenth-century Spanish guitar collections, as well as in the Libro de diferentes cifras and the Saldivar Manuscript.

Although not featured in the Italian guitar collections, the tarantela nevertheless aligns itself with the standard forms of the Spanish guitar. It is based on a four measure scheme which always outlines the same opening harmonies i-VII-III...V-i, redolent of the modal progressions of some of the Spanish forms. The fast Neapolitan baille was popularly regarded in Spain as a cure for the bite of the tarantula spider. One can only imagine the theatrical representations of such an event.

The gran duque, on the other hand, does appear in the Italian guitar collections, as well as in most of the Spanish collections of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In Italy, the dance is known as the "Aria de Fiorenza" or "Ballo del Gran Duca."³⁰ Sanz calls it the

²⁹Cotarelo, ibid, ccl and cclxi.

³⁰Pinnell, Corbetta, 32 and 46fn.

"Granduque de florencia" and places it with other "curious foreign Sonadas" such as the "Baile de Mantua," "La Tarantela" and "Zarabanda francesa."³¹ And in fact, due to its long harmonic plan of forty measures, the gran duque does remain distinct from the Spanish genres.

Folia Settings

Despite the popularity in Spain of such genres as the sixteenth-century danza de folles (described at the time as a "great noise, hurried, and danced by many") and the early seventeenth-century baille de foligones (a solo dance accompanied by guitar, harp, violóne, tabor and castenets), by 1635 the folias in Spain was "a dance so out of fashion, that no one knows how to dance it unless he is seventy."³²

The folia did, however, receive the continued attention of the Italian guitarists of the first half of the seventeenth century. This, and the subsequent adoption of the dance by the French, was so complete that even in Spain the folia was referred to as the "Folia francesa" or, under Corellian influence, the "Folia italiana." The folia became a slow, dignified, untexted dance, no longer used in the theater of Spain except as a deliberately archaic reference.

Murcia includes a variety of folia settings in the Saldívar Manuscript. And to his substantial "Folias mui

³¹Sanz, Instruccion, Libro I, 4 and Libro II, 9.

³²Cotarelo, Colección, ccxlv-vi.

despacio, al estilo francia" contained in the Resumen may be added the "Folias Italianas Despa[cio]," "Folias Españoles" and "Folias Gallegas." The latter is a setting of a folk-based genre, distinct from the more usual folia pieces.³³ The remaining folias all adhere to the standard sixteen-measure harmonic formula of the mature baroque folia: d: i-V-i-VII-III-VII-i-V.

Murcia's "Folia al estilo francesa" of 1714 is characterized by the rhythm $\downarrow \downarrow \uparrow$, the same rhythm used by Corbetta in his French-style La Guitarre Royale of 1671.³⁴ However, in accord with the pervasive Italian influence of the early eighteenth century, Murcia's extensive "Folias Italianas Despacio" of 1732 noticeably avoids the rhythm.

It is not clear whether or not the title of the "Folias españoles" refers to some idea of the early Spanish folia, or to rhythmically-simpler, mannered settings of the early eighteenth-century folias de españa.³⁵ Certainly, the setting is less technically-challenging and less rhythmically-elaborate than either the "francesa" or

³³See page 49 in the above.

³⁴Francisco Corbetta, La Guitarre Royale (Paris, 1671), 79-82.

³⁵One such Spanish setting, entitled "Folias de España," is found in the undated Musica de salterio, clave y orquesta. Cited in Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 190-1. Also see footnote 4 on pages 38-39 above.

"Italiana" settings, both of which (unlike the "Españoles") are suffixed "Despacio."

New World Dances

Three of Saldivar's dances, the "Zarambecque O Muecas," "Cumbees" and "Fandango," are (like the ciaccona) a likely product of Spanish and New World influences.³⁶

The zarambecque appears to have reached Spain from colonial Mexico in the mid-seventeenth century. Of probable African origin, the name "zarambecque" was applied to a variant of the five-course guitar favoured by the slaves there.³⁷ As a sung baille, the zarambecque became one of the most popular theatrical forms of the second half of the seventeenth century, being described as a "lively, bustling Negro dance," often actually being performed by "Negroes" in the theater.³⁸ The piece is described in the following way in the dance-personifying entremese of Villavicososa's Los Sones of 1661:

³⁶See Hudson, "Italian Keyboard Variations," 7.

³⁷See Robert Stevenson, Music in Mexico (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1952), 162; and Music in Aztec and Inca Territory (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 236.

³⁸Cotarelo, Colección, cclxxi-iii.

The Zarambecque that leaps
pricks and jumps more than all
the sounds of the guitar.³⁹

The term Muecas, applied to the title of Murcia's setting, refers to the "facial grimacing" that apparently accompanied theatrical performances of the dance.

Of the three zarambecque settings found amongst the guitar collections, all are based on a two-measure harmonic plan of tonic-dominant alternation in D-major. However, all three settings present distinct rhythmic features: Murcia gives emphasis to the second beat through a change of harmony to the dominant; the Libro de diferente cifras also emphasises the second beat, but places tonic harmony there; and Ribayez, in an earlier setting, retains a regular triple meter by maintaining harmonic change on the downbeat (see fig. 11).

The Cumbeé, another colonial dance, seems to have been brought to Mexico from Angola or Guinea before arriving in Spain via Portugal. Stevenson reports a guitar tablature in the Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico City which contains a piece "Cumbeés o cantos negros," subtitled "cantos en idioma guinea" and incorporating, like Murcia, the otherwise unique

39 "El Zarambecque, que salta,
pica y brinca más que todos
los sonos de la guitarra."

Figure. 11. Zarambecque Settings.

Murcia (1732), 45.

Libanyez (1677), 73.

Libro (1705), 108.

golpeado stroke in its strummed opening.⁴⁰ The cumbeé began to appear in the Spanish theater at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The paracumbé was an early eighteenth-century theatrical baille, a song entitled "Cumbè" appears in Francesco Benegasi y Luján's Baille del Letrado de Amor around the same time, and another song, entitled "Paracombé de Angola," was performed in the anonymous Baile del Paracombé a lo portugués in 1708.⁴¹

⁴⁰Robert Stevenson, Music in Mexico, 162; and Music in Aztec and Inca Territory, 236. It appears that Stevenson may be describing the Saldívar Manuscript here, this seems to be the ascription he makes in Aztec and Inca. However, neither the title "Cumbeés o cantos negros," nor the subtitle "cantos en idioma guinea," are found in Saldívar.

⁴¹Cotarelo, Colección, ccv, ccxx and cclv.

The two versions for guitar, contained in the Saldívar Manuscript and Libro de diferentes cifras, are both in G-major. The four-measure harmonic plan is characterized by a discant tonic pedal, and a secondary-dominant emphasis of the sub-dominant which produces an almost constant flattened-seventh melodic scale degree.

The third Saldívar piece of New World origin is the fandango. Cotarelo informs us that although we are led to believe that the fandango is an old Spanish dance, it was actually introduced into Spain by "those who had governed in the Indies" only at the end of the seventeenth century.⁴² The dance began to appear in the theater during the early eighteenth century as a lively baille, accompanied by guitar, castenets and other instruments.⁴³ The two fandango settings for guitar (again Saldívar and Libro de diferentes cifras) are based on a simple four-measure harmonic scheme of tonic-dominant alternation.

Although the New World pieces represented here are, to some degree, based on stylized theatrical representations, more concerned with an entertaining portrayal of a "savage" dance than with the adoption of a genuine colonial musical style, they do nevertheless present a somewhat distinct character. Not least in their unique opening sections, but

⁴²Ibid, ccxliv-v.

⁴³Ibid, ccxlv.

also in their constant use of dominant or secondary-dominant harmonies, pedal-points and insistent rhythms, the pieces share many features with the folk music of Hispano-America still heard today. In this respect, at least, Murcia's music provides a link between two major repertoires of the guitar (one historical, one modern) that certainly merits further investigation than can be undertaken here.

French Contredances

Three diferencia sets in the Saldívar Manuscript, "La Amable Despa[ci]o," "Fustamberg" and "Payssanos," are based on French contredance melodies.⁴⁴ Adopting melodies provided in early eighteenth-century French dance collections, the contredance plans are distinguished not only in their source, but also in their formal scheme and the treatment they receive in diferencia settings - all three are long binary-form plans, treated to only one or two variations, and in effect little more than varied repeats.⁴⁵

⁴⁴All three melodies have concordant settings in the Resumen. The melodies are taken from the following publications: "La Amable" is taken from Danses de Bal, published by Feuillet in Paris, ca. 1709; "Fustamberg" is found in an early eighteenth-century collection published by Le Clerc, Premier recueil de contredances; and "Payssanos" (a version of the English folksong "Greensleeves") is taken from Feuillet's Recueil de contredances (1706), where it is called "Les Manches Vertes." Concordances are provided in Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 155-8 and 291-2.

⁴⁵Although most of the Spanish forms are built on short, through-composed harmonic progressions, several are built on binary-form schemes. Murcia splits the long progressions of the marsella, marizapalos and española

Two other rhetorically-titled pieces (presently unidentified amongst the dance collections) are binary plans, and similarly receive only a single variation. "El Paloteado" (the first piece in the collection to dispense with the strummed introduction) is a binary form with written-out varied repeats, the whole thing repeated over as a *diferencia*. "Al Verde Retamar" is provided an elaborate formal plan consisting of a sixteen-measure binary form with repeats followed by an abbreviated restatement, the whole repeated once more as a *diferencia*.

Galant Features

Several *diferencia* plans (including the two just mentioned above) demonstrate a galant periodicity of phrasing not encountered in the earlier Spanish sources.

Such phraseology is well demonstrated in "Las Penas," where almost all of the short phrases and motives are

into two sections, but is inconsistent in the signs that he uses to indicate the division. In the *marsellas* he uses a repeat sign with two dots, elsewhere he uses only two lines, thus: . This sign is also used by Sanz in his *españoleta* and *marizapalos*, French dances and other pieces. In Libro I of the *Instrucción* (pp. 6-7), Sanz says "when you come across a double bar in any piece, from there you are to repeat the music." Guerau uses the sign to divide the shorter plan of the *jacara* (4+4) but does not divide the *españoleta* or *marizapalos*. The sign is also used at the end of statement of the harmonic plan in all pieces and in all sources. (Murcia also uses the "barber-pole" sign, sometimes to set-off a large texturally-defined sections, at other times after each *diferencia*). It is possible, therefore, that even though repeat signs with dots are not present, sections may nevertheless have been intended to be repeated, in some cases resulting in binary forms.

subjected to immediate repetition, producing a series of discrete figures, each clearly set-off from the one before. Also contributing to the galant character of this piece is the introduction of notated rests, which serve to indicate moments of actual silence rather than to delineate voice-leading - a notational feature unprecedented in the literature of the five-course guitar.

Notated rests are also a feature of "Al Verde Retamar" which, along with the final Allegro of Murcia's three-movement sonata, also makes striking use of juxtaposed major and minor harmonies. This feature in particular, along with the threefold motivic and cadential repetitions found in the Allegro (and in other pieces such as "El Paloteado," "Zangerilleja" and "La Chamberga") are very reminiscent of the stylistic procedures of the later Spanish keyboard sonatas of composers such as Antonio Soler and, of course, Domenico Scarlatti.

Nominally indistinguishable from the rhetorically-titled forms of the Spanish theater and musically indistinguishable from some of the French contredances, pieces, such as "Al Verde Retamar" (actually an English folksong), "Las Penas" and "El Paloteado" do not readily reveal their origin as one or the other. In this respect, a piece such as the "Sarao O Bailette de el Retiro" is typical in its presentation of cosmopolitan features. A slow sung baille, the sarao was often performed in the theater as the

final dance of the evening and, associated in particular with Royal occasions, was designed to accommodate several well-adorned dancers.⁴⁶ Murcia sets the sarao in a typical French minuet rhythm and provides a time signature of 3/4 (usually reserved for foreign pieces).⁴⁷ This combination of Spanish theatrical nomenclature and clear French-style musical setting attests to the blurring of the dividing line between French and Spanish style in the early eighteenth-century Spanish theater.

French Dance Settings

In addition to the contredance plans that Murcia sets as *diferencias*, the Saldívar Manuscript also contains a group of ten short binary-form contredance settings and seventeen minuets.

Seven of the ten contredances have concordant settings in the Resumen (see table 4).⁴⁸ Of these, 41-44 and 48 are

⁴⁶Echoing Murcia's title a theatrical reference to the sarao is found in the fiesta to Todo lo vence el amor (written for the birth of Luis I), in which the men enter with a sarao, invite the woman over, and finish with a minué frances. The term "balletto" found in Murcia's title may, therefore, refer to a nachtanz aspect of the sarao. See Cotarelo, Colección, cclxi.

⁴⁷Murcia discusses time signatures on pages 41-56 of the Resumen.

⁴⁸Russell demonstrates that all of Resumen's contredances are settings of melodies provided in the Parisian dance collections of Louis Pecour, published by Raoul Auger Feuillet between 1700-1713. See Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 154-9.

Table 4. Concordant Contredance Settings in Saldívar and the Resumen

<u>Saldívar</u>	<u>Resumen</u>
41 La Allemanda D-major	La Alemanda D-major (p. 67)
42 Paspied Viejo D-minor	Paspied Viejo D-minor (p.57)
43 Paspied Nuevo D-major	Paspied Nuevo D-major (p. 57)
44 La Cadena C-major	La Cadena D-major (p. 87)
45 El Cotillon C-major	El Cotillon D-major (p. 71)
48 La Bacante G-major	La Bacante G-major (p. 72)
50 Rigodon C-major	Rigodon C-major (p. 86)

virtually identical to the versions found in the earlier collection, 45 and 50 being slightly less so. A comparison of the two settings of "El Cotillon" demonstrates the small changes in detail representative of the differences between the two collections (see fig. 12). In addition to the difference in key and time signature, these small changes reflect a reduction in the number of rasgueado chords, which are now generally reserved for cadences. In terms of French style, the substitution of port de voix et pincé for rasgueado (mm 5 and 6) is notable.

Of the three contredances not included in the Resumen, "La Christian," "La Tia y La Sobrina" and "Cotillon Nuevo" (numbers 46, 47 and 49 respectively), only "La Tia y La Sobrina" shows any significant departure from the general style of the other dances, being cast in a da capo form.

The minuets of the Saldívar Manuscript have no concordant versions in the Resumen and, unlike the contredances, demonstrate an evolution of form. Almost all

Figure 12. Comparison of Murcia's "El Cotillon" Settings.

Resumen (1714), 71.
 (C#4)

Saldívar (1732), 80v.

of the Resumen's twenty-five minuets are set in a sixteen-measure binary form in which the first half most usually consists of a single repeated four-measure phrase and ends in the tonic key. The Saldívar minuets demonstrate greater variety of construction, and only two of the seventeen are cast in the old sixteen-measure form (numbers 53 and 55).

Supplied with the new foreign time signature of 3/4 time, Murcia's new minuets reflect the evolving style of the

dance during the first part of the eighteenth century.⁴⁹ In contrast to the many minor key examples found in the Resumen, major keys now predominate and most cadence on the dominant at the double bar. Within a general environment of varied phrase length and structure, repetition of the opening phrase is now reserved for the second half of the form, often omitting the very opening of the restated material, and projecting elements of rounded-binary form. Table 5 shows the variety of key, key scheme, length and form found amongst the Saldívar minuets.

Murcia's contredance and minuet settings seem somewhat utilitarian in purpose. Compared with the majority of pieces in the collection (and in the Resumen and Passacalles) the French dances show a relative simplicity of design and texture that seems in keeping with the description of an appropriate dance accompaniment as given by Minguet y Yroll in his Arte de danzar a la Francesa (Madrid, 1758):

⁴⁹General experimentation with phrase structure in purely instrumental minuets in the period after 1700 is paralleled by an increasingly elaborate and virtuosic dancing style that invites a greater variety of accompaniment pattern and structure. In fact, the tension created by the non-alignment of the dance steps and the musical phrases provides one of the major attractions of the dance, whether theatrical or social. See Meredith Ellis Little's article "Minuet" in Grove's Dictionary vol. 12, 353-8 and Meredith Little and Natalie Jenne, Dance and the Music of J.S. Bach (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 62-5.

Table 5. Sadívar Minuets

	<u>key</u>	<u>length</u>	<u>scheme</u>	<u>key form</u>
51 Menuet de Trompas	F-maj	20 (8+12)	I-I:V-I	rounded
52 Otro	A-mi	24 (8+16)	i-i:III-i	rounded
53 Otro de Trompas	C-maj	16 (8+8)	I-V:V-I	
54 Menuet de Soldado	G-maj	28 (12+16)	I-V:ii-I	
55 Otro	G-maj	16 (8+8)	I-V:V-I	
56 Otro	G-maj	30 (10+20)	I-I:I-V-I	rounded
57 Menuet	C-maj	28 (8+20)	I-I:vi-V-I	rounded
58 Menuet	C-mi	30 (16+14)	i-V:iv-i	
59 Menuet Amoroso	C-mi	52 (16+36)	i-i:V-i	rounded
60 Menuet Afectuoso	Bb-maj	24 (8+16)	I-I:I-vi-I	rounded
61 Menuet del Zisne	G-maj	28 (8+20)	I-V:I-I	rounded
62 Menuet	D-maj	30 (10+20)	I-I:V-I	rounded
63 Otro	D-maj	18 (8+10)	I-V:I-I	
64 Otro	D-maj	24 (8+16)	I-I:I-V-I	
65 Menuet	G-maj	24 (8+16)	I-V:V-V-I	
66 Otro	G-Maj	24 (8+16)	I-V:V-I	
67 Otro	G-mi	24 (8+16)	i-V:III-i	rounded

When one plays minuets, passapieds and other dances to dance to, it is essential that they be simple and neither elaborately varied or fast, but in good time so that those who are dancing might have time to execute the steps and follow the measure of the music.⁵⁰

To provide enough music for a complete minuet performance, one of several possibilities may be adopted.⁵¹ A single minuet may be repeated several times to bring it to

⁵⁰Quoted in Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 169.

⁵¹A complete minuet performance requires 100 to 120 measures of music to allow for all of the dance steps. See Little, "Minuet," "Grove's Dictionary," vol. 12, 355 and Little and Jenne, Dance and the Music of J.S. Bach, 65.

the required length (inviting varied repetition), or groupings may be made according to key (borne out by some of the groupings in the manuscript), possibly incorporating any of a range of da capo schemes. A performance of the entire set (or selections thereof) is also possible, supporting a number of dances of varying mood.

The contredance and minuet groups taken together also support a practical intent for these pieces, judging from Ferriol y Boxeráux's description of a Spanish ball in his dance treatise Reglas y utiles (n.p., n.d.):

In these dance gatherings all events are arranged by ability. Courtly dances such as the Passapies, the Amable, etc. can begin the dance...and it can finish with a menuet.⁵²

On the other hand, the Saldívar dances are presented in a slightly more ornate form than the more numerous examples of the Resumen. The reduction in downbeat rasgueado and the increase in campanela technique indicates that the pieces may be simple solo settings in galant style, perhaps written down at the request of Murcia's patron.

The Three-Movement Sonata

The final three pieces in the Saldívar Manuscript, Allegro-Grave-Allegro, comprise a short three-movement sonata.

⁵²Quoted in Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 179.

The opening Allegro of the tryptich is set in the same style as the Corelli transcriptions contained in the Passacalles y obras. Although cast in da capo form, the constant eighth-note rhythmic motion, arpeggaic violin-like figuration and slower-moving accompanimental lower part are also features of some of Murcia's own "Preludio y Allegro" movements found in the same collection.⁵³

The second movement, Grave, also has a parallel in the Passacalles y obras. Set in the same three-voiced harmonies and plain quarter-note rhythm as the "Despacio" movement of the "Toccatà di Corelli," the movement replicates the trio-sonata Adagio style of the late seventeenth-century Italians.⁵⁴

It is the final Allegro of the group (and the final piece in the manuscript), however, that is of greatest interest. Unique to Murcia as a guitar setting, the movement is cast in the Iberian-Italian sonata style typical of Domenico Scarlatti and Antonio Soler, complete with incipient sonata form construction, threefold motivic and,

⁵³Murcia also uses this piece (without da capo) as a movement in his Obra Por La E in the Passacalles y obras, 71v-73r. A comparison between the two versions is provided in Lorimer, ed., Saldívar Codex, xv.

⁵⁴See, for example, the Adagio from the Trio Sonata, Opus 3, No. 2 by Arcangelo Corelli, or the opening Grave of Giovanni Battista Vitali's Sonate a due Violini col suo basso continuo per l'organo (Bologna, 1667).

cadential repetitions, repeated block harmonies and major-minor modal juxtaposition.

It seems ironically appropriate that Murcia's final piece provides a unique and apparently original work for the guitar in precisely the style that so many modern players attempt to recapture through the transcription of Spanish keyboard music for the modern instrument.

CHAPTER IV

MURCIA'S GUITAR STYLE

The apogee of idiomatic baroque guitar technique, Murcia's guitar style is defined by a wholesale adoption, fusion and refinement of previously disparate elements of the Italian, French and Spanish guitar. Unlike his clear segregation of musical genres, however, Murcia's adopted collage of cosmopolitan guitar technique is applied across the board, bringing an enhanced expression to each genre through expanded textural resources. Thus a single piece will typically incorporate the delicate mixed rasgueado-punteado style of the French guitarists, widely-varied campanela techniques in the tradition of Sanz and the Italians, and both French and Spanish-style ornamentation.

Often matching the compositional length of Granata and Guerau in many of his variation sets, and exceeding them in technical resources, Murcia further expands the formal possibilities of the *diferencias* by incorporating strummed introductions that, as well as providing short variation sets in themselves, produce a variety of transitional textures before reaching the punteado variations proper.

In addition, the whole is given a clarity of intention through Murcia's comprehensive and unique (at least in terms

of the five-course guitar) left-hand fingering indications, and the articulative, phraseological and textural information that they provide.

Variation Technique

Rasqueado Variations

The opening twenty-three *diferencia* sets in the Saldívar Manuscript begin with a group of variations in rasqueado style, reminiscent of the Italian *alfabeto* style (and presumably the unrecorded early Spanish style) and akin to (but considerably more advanced than) the rasqueado pieces of Sanz and Ribayez.

Set off from the ensuing *punteado* variations by the "barber-pole" sign (), these introductory sections share a common plan of initial statement in standard *alfabeto* chords, followed by one or more statements at a higher pitch level utilizing shifted chords and *alfabeto falso*.¹ Further variation is provided by accelerating the rhythmic movement or increasing the number of chord changes. Since, in general, downstrums are reserved for changes of harmony and the principal beats of the measure (alternating up and down strokes are otherwise understood between pairs of chords at

¹The term *alfabeto falso* refers to the dissonant chords that are produced by lifting or placing a convenient left-hand finger when holding an otherwise standard *alfabeto* chord shape. A shifted chord is a standard *alfabeto* shape which is "shifted" into a higher position on the guitar. See pages 5-6 in the present study.

Figure 14. Rasgueado Melody: "Gaitas," f. 40v, 1-24.

The image shows a musical score for three systems of rasgueado melody. Each system is on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first system is labeled '(m) I', the second 'II', and the third 'III'. The music consists of a series of notes and rests, with some notes having stems that cross the staff lines, indicating a high register. The overall texture is dense and rhythmic, typical of rasgueado.

The three New World forms have unique rasgueado introductions that make little use of the standard alfabeto. The "Fandango" begins at an emphatic high register, the "Zarambecque" combines plucked and slurred single-notes with a second-beat rasgueado dominant-seventh chord (retained throughout the piece) and the "Cumbees" is unprecedented in its use of the percussive golpeado stroke (see fig. 15).

Although many pieces move directly from rasgueado to punteado without any intervening mixed style, a graduated transition between the two sections is also common. The most usual texture for these sections is one in which rasgueado downbeats permeate an otherwise punteado texture. Such sections vary in length from a single variation, as is the case with the "Folias Españolas" (which at 48 measures

Figure 15. Rasgueado Openings of the New World Forms:
 a) "Fandango," f. 16, 1-7; b) "Zarambeques O Muecas,"
 f. 45, 1-7' c) "Cumbees," f. 43, 1-4.

The image displays three musical staves, labeled a), b), and c), each showing a different rasgueado opening. Staff a) is for "Fandango" and features a complex, multi-measure rhythmic pattern with many notes and stems. Staff b) is for "Zarambeques O Muecas" and shows a simpler, more melodic opening with fewer notes. Staff c) is for "Cumbees" and includes the word "golpe" written below the staff, indicating a specific rhythmic or percussive element. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature.

has the longest rasgueado section in the collection), to a considerable portion of the piece. The transitional section in the "Marionas," for example, is such that the rasgueado, mixed and punteado sections form a proportionate three-part design across the length of the piece. Others, such as the "Españoletas", "Sombras" and "Las Bacas," retain the downbeat rasgueado throughout the remainder of the piece.

Punteado Variation

Murcia's usual approach to punteado variation lies in a gradual intensification of surface rhythm, enhanced through the use of rhythmic motives, and sustained through changes in register and texture. Thus, pieces typically

progress from quarter-note motion, through eighth-notes, and finally to sixteenth-notes.² Transition from one rhythmic level to the next, however, is gradual and varied. At each level the motives absorb increasing numbers of short notes, and are developed and intensified through combination with slurs and campanelas before moving on to the next rhythmic level. In a passage of some sixty-six measures, "Las Vacas" typifies the gradual adoption of sixteenth-notes to form motives of varying lengths (see fig. 16).

The overall effect of variety and climax is also enhanced through manipulation of register. Interest is maintained within a rhythmic level by incorporating a gradual ascent in register before moving on. Incorporating fluctuating levels of register, section may be expanded at will without having to move on to the next rhythmic level. The "Gaitas," which is contained entirely at the eighth-

²A contrasting approach taken by Murcia (and applied principally to the imported plans) consists of a few statements of a long plan, contained at the rhythmic level of the eighth-note. See pages 70-1 in the present study. In addition, some pieces end on a point of relative repose or resolve rather than sheer climax, and thus project an overall arch form in which the rhythmic or textural climax occurs somewhat before the final measures. For example, both the "Jacaras de la Costa" and the "Marionas" conclude with a return to quarter-note motion after reaching their sixteenth-note rhythmic climax, "El Amor" resolves a moderate rhythmic and registral climax through a low-set campanela scale run in eighth notes, and the rhythmic energy of the "Zarambecque" is dissipated in a gentle galant echo at low register.

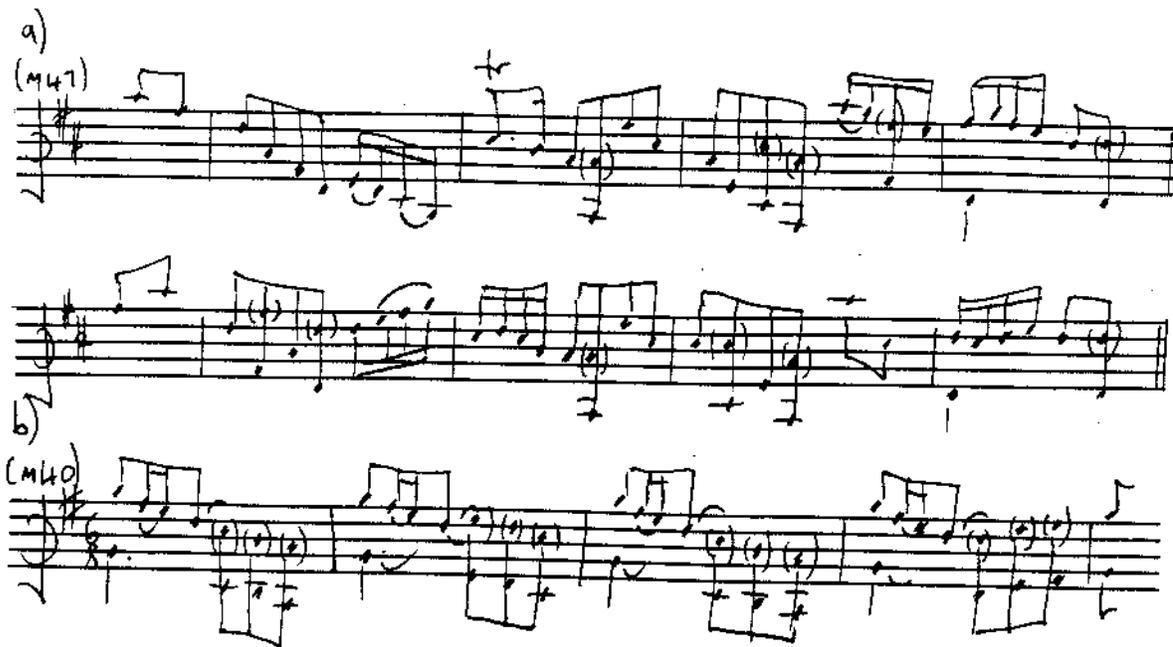
Figure 16. Sixteenth-Note Motives: "Las Bacas," f. 25v and ff. 26v-27, 97-101, 130-34 and 146-49.

The image displays three staves of handwritten musical notation, each representing a different sixteenth-note motive. The first staff is labeled 'VII (m 97)', the second 'IX (m 130)', and the third 'X (m 146)'. The notation is dense, featuring numerous slurs, accents, and other articulation marks over a series of sixteenth notes. The staves are arranged vertically, with the first staff at the top and the third at the bottom.

note level, uses such registral manipulation as a chief organizing factor.

Through the juxtaposition and combination of slurs, campanelas, ornaments, rasgueado and punteado, Murcia is able to achieve a great variety of articulative texture to serve his variation forms. Indeed, the range is so great that almost every piece is unique in this aspect of texture. Many are notationally subtle; an articulative collage such as the slurred and plucked scale fragments at the end of "La Jotta," or the combination of slurs, campanelas and plucked notes in the second canarios setting, have to be heard to be appreciated (See fig. 17). Other effects, such as the rasgueado chords and combined slurred and campanela

Figure 17. Articulative Texture: a) "La Jotta," f. 15v, 47-55; b) "Canarios," f. 11, 40-44.



sixteenth notes at the end of the "Fandango," are more readily apparent (see fig. 18). Nevertheless, the brilliancy of the effect cannot be discerned from the notation alone.³

In his longest variation sets, Murcia utilizes a wide variety of rhythmic figuration and contrast of texture, register and articulation to maintain momentum over the length of the piece. Some, like "Marizapalos" and "Las Bacas", also incorporate a meter change as part of their overall design. However, the chief means by which Murcia

³References to Murcia's novel textures are given throughout the present chapter.

Figure 18. Juxtaposed Textures: "Fandango," ff. 17v-18, 67-72.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "Fandango". It consists of two staves of music. The notation is complex, featuring various rhythmic values, accidentals, and slurs. Above the first staff, there are handwritten annotations: "C.8", "C.7", "C.5", "C.7", "C.5", and "C.3". Below the first staff, there are circled numbers (1, 2, 3, 4) and other markings. The second staff also has circled numbers and other markings. The overall appearance is that of a detailed musical analysis or performance instruction.

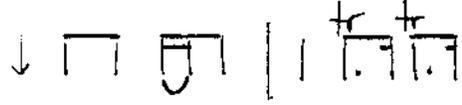
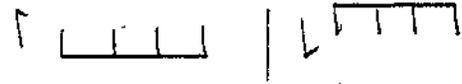
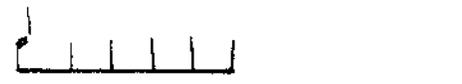
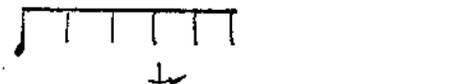
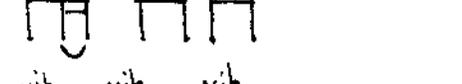
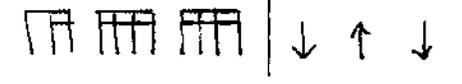
achieves his largest structures is through the insertion of points of stasis from which the piece can rebuild.

At 231 measures in length, the "Folias Italianas Despacio" is the longest piece of Murcia's known output.⁴ An examination of its fourteen variations reveals the variety of rhythmic figuration and texture, and the use of register and rhythmic stasis to control and expand the piece (see fig. 19).⁵

⁴This piece is actually the longest piece of the entire Spanish baroque guitar repertory, outstripping the folias and marizapalos sets in the Resumen, as well as Guerau's longest examples, all of which fall around the 200 measure mark.

⁵Russell provides analyses of the Resumen's diferencias in "Santiago de Murcia," 182-228.

Figure 19. Large-Scale Variation Form: "Folias Italianas,"
ff. 60v-67.

I		rasgueado downbeats and trills in normal register
II		rasgueado downbeats at higher register
III		alternating registers in dialogue
IV		two-part texture, double appoggiature
V		low register arpeggios
VI		higher register, occasional campanella note
VII		normal register, constant trills and mordents
VIII		higher register, sixteenth- note slurs
IX		rhythmic stasis, single-line vibrato
X		dotted rhythm with trills, lower register with ascent
XI		sixteenth-note slurred scales and campanellas alternating with rasgueado chords, descent
XII		normal register, two-part texture in dialogue
XIII		slurred sixteenth-note scales in alternating registers, rasgueado chords
XIV		constant sixteenth-note punteado over entire range of instrument

Left-Hand Fingering Indications

Although Murcia left no written information regarding the practicalities of guitar technique, his indications for the fingerings of the left hand are the most substantial and complete of the entire guitar repertory prior to the nineteenth century.⁶ From these fingerings it is possible to derive not only technical solutions for Murcia but, more interestingly, indications of articulation, note duration and phrasing. Although it appears that Murcia provided the fingerings for an amateur player, ill-equipped to solve such problems for himself, it seems incredible that any player capable of attempting the often virtuosic works of Murcia would be in any need of them, especially in such profusion. Given that the fingerings do provide articulations and phrasings that are not otherwise obvious, it is therefore likely that Murcia considered the indications an essential

⁶Although fingering indications are sometimes provided in alfabeto tables, the only guitarist other than Murcia to provide fingerings in the tablature seems to be Sanz in the Instruccion. These fingerings are found only in volume one, and are restricted to the short gallarda and villano on page 5, and the longer jacara and canario on page 8. Neither Murcia nor any other guitarist provides indications for the right hand, although several do give written information (discussed on pages of the present study). Left-hand fingering indications are also a feature of some lute tablatures, including those of Newsidler (1536), Robinson (1603), Vallet (1618) and Piccinini (1623). Robinson's fingerings are discussed in Susan Sandman, "Thomas Robinson's Interpretive Left-Hand Fingerings for the Lute and Cittern," Journal of the Lute Society of America 11 (1978), 26-35.

part of the score, that is, as interpretive as well as technical indications.

Alfabeto Fingerings

Unlike the Passacalles y obras, the Saldívar Manuscript is provided with an Abecedario table at the beginning of the tablature. Essentially, this is the Italian alphabet as standardized by Montesardo, and duplicated by virtually every guitarist that followed him⁷ (see fig. 20).

Figure 20. Saldívar Manuscript's Abecedario Table.



Of the twenty-seven letters presented here, Murcia only employs twelve of them in his music: A, B, C, D, E, F,

⁷The table found in the Saldívar Manuscript is virtually identical to the one in the Resumen, the only difference being a slight alteration to the fingering of chord P, a mistake in the fingering of Resumen's chord G, and the omission of the b sign from Saldívar's chord b& (the b sign is needed to indicate the minor version of chord &).

G, H, I, K, O and P. Although these are the chord shapes most commonly used, and often duplicate other letters when shifted to a higher position, Murcia's reluctance to use any but the most familiar letters also reflects a compromise between notational expediency and a growing unfamiliarity with the old Italian alfabeto amongst guitarists of the time.⁸ For example, although the chords Y and Z are frequently used in his pieces, Murcia prefers to indicate them with the letters of the shifted chords G3 and H3, or to simply write them out in full.⁹

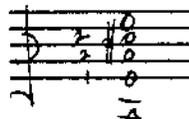
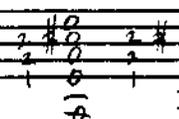
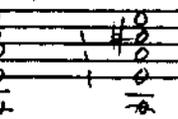
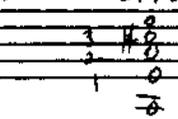
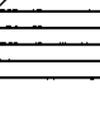
The fingering of the alfabeto chords is based entirely on technical convenience. Extensions of the hand are avoided and the weaker third and fourth fingers (especially the fourth) are used only when necessary. The fingerings are truly chordal and, taking no account of legato connection or voice-leading between chords, remain the same for a particular shape, regardless of context. By modern standards, some of Murcia's alfabeto fingerings are exceptional. Most remarkable is the fingering of chord I, in which two of the three fretted notes are to be played

⁸The duplications are as follows: R=H2, S=M2, T=N2, V=P2, X=K2, Y=G3, Z=H3 and b&=K4.

⁹Although the chord Z is written out in full in the "Tarantela" (mm 9-13), it is indicated by the letter H3 in the very next piece, the "Folias españoles" (m 19 and elsewhere).

with the second finger. This fingering is confirmed in Murcia's 1714 table, and is also advocated by Sanz in the Instruccion.¹⁰ However, more conventional fingerings for the chord are provided in Foscarini's table of ca. 1632 (where it is fingered with a first-finger hinge-barré) and in Minguet y Yroll's table of 1752 who, temporarily departing from his model Gaspar Sanz, fingers the chord with three fingers (see fig. 21).¹¹ Historical precedent certainly exists, then, for replacing the unusual second-finger hinge-barré of Murcia and Sanz with more conventional alternatives. Another unusual fingering found in Murcia's table is the fourth-finger hinge-barré used for chord Nb, a more conventional fingering would be 2-1-1-3-4.

Figure 21. Variant Fingerings of Chord I.

Murcia (1714)	Murcia (1732)	Sanz (1674)	Foscarini (ca. 1632)	Minguet y Yroll (1752)
				

¹⁰Sanz, Instruccion, I, 1.

¹¹Foscarini's table taken from the Quarti libri (n.p., ca. 1632) is reproduced in Tyler, Early Guitar, 69. Minguet y Yroll's table, taken from the Reglas y Advertencias (Madrid, 1652), is reproduced in Pennington, Spanish Baroque Guitar, 280.

It is understood that each letter encountered in the tablature is to be fingered as it appears in the Abecedario table. In fact, a tendency to fall back of these finger-dispositions is a feature of Murcia's fingerings in general, often taking precedence over musical considerations. In figure 22, which is fingered around the chord-shape E (D-minor), an unnecessary inconsistency in voice-leading is created through the third finger having to jump from treble to bass. Had the second finger been used for the \underline{d}^2 , a perfectly smooth connection in all parts would have been guaranteed.

Figure 22. Chordal Fingering With Respect to Voice Leading:
Allegro, f. 91, 1-3.



Technical Implications

The most noticeable physical feature of Murcia's left-hand fingerings is his very particular use of the fourth finger (the little finger). Excessive use of this finger on the first course (to the virtual exclusion of the third finger) is matched only by an almost complete reluctance to use it on the lower courses. Although the ascription of the

fourth finger to the upper courses and the third finger to the lower ones is common lute practice (allowing the player to sustain a lower part against an upper one when both have notes located at the same fret), Murcia's use of the fourth finger in this context is exceptional, and results from additional factors.¹² One such factor is the influence of the chordal fingerings (as outlined above). In figure 23 scale passages are fingered around the chords E and B (D-minor and C-major respectively) even though the chord shapes themselves are neither present nor required. Another factor is an apparent desire to avoid the extension of the hand that would result from using one finger per fret in the lower positions. This disposition is frequently employed in the higher positions, however, where the frets are set closer together (see fig. 24).

More startling, is Murcia's unwillingness to use the fourth finger on the lower courses, preferring instead to change position or even to extend the hand (it is not always possible to determine which) (see fig. 25).

The only plausible explanation for such astonishing fingerings lies in the adopted hand position, which must

¹²According to Charles Amos, this fingering system is described in lute instruction books from the sixteenth century on. See Charles Amos, "Lute Practices and Lutenists in Germany Between 1500 and 1750" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1975), 78.

Figure 23. Chordal Fingering with Respect to Scales:
 a) "Tarantela," f. 20, 48-51; b) "Los Impossibles,"
 f. 14, 113-18.

Figure 23 consists of two musical staves, labeled a) and b).
 Staff a) is titled "(M 48)" and shows a scale-like passage with various chordal fingerings marked with asterisks and numbers. The notes are mostly eighth and sixteenth notes. The fingerings include 1-2-3, 1-2-3-4, and 1-2-3-4-5.
 Staff b) is titled "(M 113)" and shows a similar passage with different chordal fingerings. The notes are mostly eighth and sixteenth notes. The fingerings include 1-2-3, 1-2-3-4, and 1-2-3-4-5.

Figure 24. Lower Position Fingering Versus Higher Position Fingering:
 a) "Gaitas," f. 42v, 105 and 110;
 b) "Baylad Caracoles," f. 12, 54-57.

Figure 24 consists of two musical staves, labeled a) and b).
 Staff a) is titled "(M 105)" and "(M 110)" and shows a scale-like passage with lower position fingerings. The notes are mostly eighth and sixteenth notes. The fingerings include 1-2-3-4, 1-2-3-4-5, and 1-2-3-4-5-6.
 Staff b) is titled "(M 54)" and shows a scale-like passage with higher position fingerings. The notes are mostly eighth and sixteenth notes. The fingerings include 1-2-3-4, 1-2-3-4-5, and 1-2-3-4-5-6.

have incorporated a considerable degree of rotation.¹³
 Of course, some degree of rotation is necessary for the comfortable execution of many of the alfabeto chord shapes, as well as for the lute-style fingering described above.

¹³A rotated playing position (favoring the strong first and second fingers) is one in which the palm of the left hand on the side of the little-finger is more distant from the neck of the instrument than at the index-finger side.

Figure 25. Non-Use of the Fourth Finger on the Lower Courses: a) "Marizapalos," f. 32v, 78-80; b) "Jacaras de la Costa," f. 39v, 42-44; c) "Allemanda," f. 78v, 1-3.

However, many of Murcia's fingerings indicate that the rotated position was constant, and to a degree that the fourth finger could not reach beyond the highest strings (as least not without changing the hand position).¹⁴ Indeed, Murcia utilizes many chord formations in which the first and fourth fingers are placed at adjacent frets - a disposition from which an uncomfortable contraction of the hand would result if a considerably rotated playing position was not used (see fig.26).

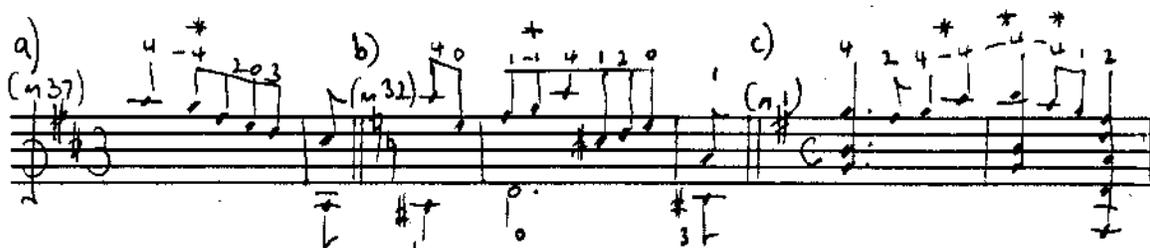
¹⁴In volume II of the Instruccion (pp. 1-2), Sanz accompanies each letter of the Abecedario with a drawing of the required finger dispositions. Many show a rotated playing position, and most use an extended (i.e. straight) fourth finger.

Figure 26. Rotated Left Hand Playing Position: a) Allegro, f. 93, 14-16; b) "Gaitas," f. 41, 41-42 and 45-46.



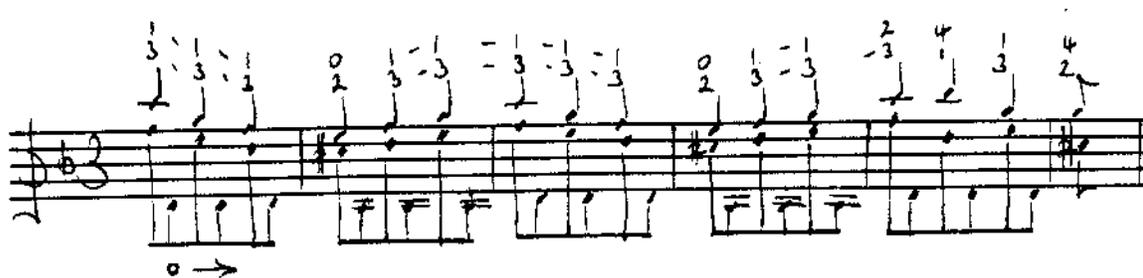
Murcia's fingerings also reveal a potential for the use of guide fingers (i.e. fingers that "guide" the hand into a new position by remaining on the string during the change). When possible, passages are usually fingered along the first string rather than across the strings in position. The fingering of such passages almost always provides for the use of a first or fourth-finger guide (see fig. 27).

Figure 27. Potential Guide Fingers: a) "Baylad Caracoles," f. 12, 37-38; b) "Jacaras Francesas," f. 29v, 32-34; c) "Gran Duque," f. 53v, 1-2.



Some passages offer the potential for multiple guides. Figure 28 shows a remarkable instance of this, the first and

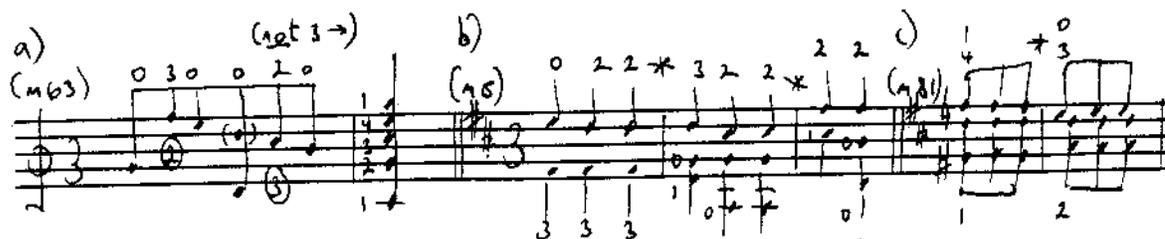
Figure 28. Multiple Guide Fingers: "Fandango," ff. 16v-17, 35-40.



third fingers remaining on their respective strings regardless of the actual fret dispositions required.

There are, however, a good many passages in which the expedient use of a guide finger would simplify what remains an awkward technical situation. Sometimes Murcia even fails to retain a common ("pivot") finger between adjacent chords (see fig. 29).¹⁵

Figure 29. Non-Use of Pivot Fingers: a) "Marionas," f.4, 63-64; b) Grave, f. 92v, 6-8; c) Allegro, f. 94, 81-82.



¹⁵The musical implications of such fingerings are discussed below.

Of course, it is not possible to know for certain if and how these guide-fingers were actually employed, and Murcia certainly does not go out of his way to provide such technical solutions. However, we may reasonably assume that the application of guide fingers in position changes along the first string (essentially melodic passagework) is indicated by Murcia's fingerings, while the application of guide fingers in other situations (to connect inner voices or simplify difficult chord changes for example) is not generally intended.

Musical Implications

Murcia's fingerings are also of value in relation to the interpretive possibilities of his music. By examining potential note durations and the placement of the breaks in sound created by position shifts, it is possible to determine the articulation, phrasing and texture that a given fingering is naturally inclined to produce. It is understood, however, that the results in performance are more likely to reflect the intentions of the performer, rather than the implications of the fingerings alone. For this reason, examples have been chosen here that seem exceptional, and therefore suggestive of a special situation, not merely an application of the basic technical systems described in the previous section.

Although counterpoint is not a feature of Murcia's musical style, short passages of controlled part-writing do occur in his music, especially at cadences. It is therefore surprising to discover that the fingerings make little concession to the integrity of the voice-parts.¹⁶ Any connections that do occur result coincidentally as by-products of the chordal fingerings. The examples in figure 30 are typical of the many situations in which part-writing could easily be maintained, but isn't.

Figure 30. Non-Contrapuntal Fingerings: a) "Marizapalos," f. 34, 129-31; b) "Jacaras Francesas," f. 30, 53-54.

The image contains two musical examples, labeled 'a)' and 'b)', each consisting of two staves of music. Example 'a)' is for 'Marizapalos' and includes handwritten fingerings such as '1 * 2 0 4 1 4 0' and 'alternative 2 3'. Example 'b)' is for 'Jacaras Francesas' and includes handwritten fingerings such as '1 4 4 0 3 * 7' and a circled '2'. The notation includes notes, rests, and bar lines.

It is tempting to speculate that a constant detaché articulation may have been the norm. However, according to Sanz:

¹⁶Some of the music found in the Passacalles y obras (principally the passacalles themselves) is more overtly contrapuntal. However, Murcia's counterpoint here is chordal-based and somewhat self-contained within the chordal fingerings and, therefore, idiomatically constructed.

do not take off the finger which is playing until the finger that follows is pressing on the other fret, and instantly lift the first finger which is playing; because to lift the finger that is playing the third fret before pressing down the first fret is to play as a martinete, and to make a keyboard of the guitar, which offends the ear, and spoils all that you play.¹⁷

This is as clear a description of legato performance as one could wish for and, at least as far as Sanz is concerned, is the preferred articulation.¹⁸ Legato performance (in so much as the fingers remain pressed down) is, to a large degree, determined by the performer rather than the fingering, but also limited by the compromise between intention and idiom. If a legato articulation is the intended one, Murcia provides for it only as far as is convenient.¹⁹

Although compromising voice-leading and legato, Murcia's fingerings do, however, provide a surprisingly accurate reflection of the phraseological aspect of his

¹⁷"no quites el dedo con que le pissas, hasta que el siguiente dedo esté pissando en el otro traste; y al instante levanta el dedo primero, con que pissantes; porque levantar el dedo con que pissas el 3 antes de pissar el vno, es tañer de martinete, y hazer vn teclado en la Guitarra, que ofende al oído, y hechas à perder quanto tañes." Sanz, Instruccion, I, 10-11.

¹⁸Smooth legato connection was also the normal articulation in lute playing. Sixteenth-century lute instruction books stress that the fingers must stay down to provide smooth connections and, in the seventeenth-century, lutenists continued to emphasize the importance of a flowing legato, even sustaining notes or chords into one another. See Amos, "Lute Practices," 78 and 86.

¹⁹Also see pages 142-5 below.

music. On many occasions position shifts (and the resulting breaks in sound) are carefully and consistently placed so as to provide uniform phrasing throughout a passage (see fig. 31). Sometimes, due to the nature of the shift or the speed of the passage, the breaks in sound become so phraseologically pronounced that the effect becomes motivic (see fig. 32).

Figure 31. Consistently-Placed Position Shifts:
 a) "Españoletas," f. 6v, 32-38; b) "Canarios,"
 f. 9v, 32-36.

The image displays handwritten musical notation for two guitar pieces. Part (a), titled "Españoletas," is on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It features a sequence of eighth-note patterns with circled numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 indicating specific phrasing points. Part (b), titled "Canarios," is on two staves with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. It shows similar eighth-note patterns with circled numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4, and includes a trill (tr) and a measure rest (m32). The notation is dense with fingerings and articulation marks, illustrating the concept of consistently placed position shifts.

In the foregoing examples, the fingering is designed to take the phrase or motive onto the beat, and such upbeat grouping is the most common phrasing encountered. However, some passages are consistently fingered so as to provide the

Figure 32. Motivic Fingerings: "Folias Italianas," f. 67, 228-31.

Figure 32 displays musical notation for "Folias Italianas," f. 67, 228-31. The score is written on two staves. The first staff begins with a measure marked (m 228). The notation includes various rhythmic values and fingerings indicated by circled numbers (1-4) and arrows. The second staff continues the piece, also featuring circled numbers and arrows indicating specific fingerings and articulations. The notation is dense with slurs and accents, highlighting the motivic structure and the specific fingerings used for each note.

opposite effect, the phrase or motive ending before the beat (see fig. 33).

Figure 33. Non-Upbeat Grouping: a) Grave, f. 92v, 1-8; b) Allegro, f. 93, 1-8.

Figure 33 displays musical notation for two parts: a) Grave, f. 92v, 1-8; and b) Allegro, f. 93, 1-8. The score is written on three staves. Part a) shows a sequence of notes with vibrato markings (vib) and circled numbers (1-3) indicating fingerings. Part b) shows a sequence of notes with circled numbers (1-3) indicating fingerings. The notation includes various rhythmic values and articulations, such as slurs and accents, highlighting the non-upbeat grouping and the specific fingerings used for each note.

In summary, Murcia's fingerings may not show the concern for part-writing and smooth connections that would perhaps be expected today - technical convenience seems to be the overriding factor. However, the fingerings do present a range of phraseological information not otherwise obvious from the tablature and are, therefore, an essential interpretive element of the music.

Right-Hand Technique

Although Murcia does not provide any right-hand fingering indications, Sanz and Guerau both provide written information concerning right-hand technique that may certainly be applied to Murcia's music.²⁰

Guerau describes the fingering used for glossas (variations of fast passagework):

The third [rule is] that when you play the glossas with the index and middle [fingers], it must be by alternating them; for if one [finger] gives many strokes, it [the glossa] cannot be light nor clean; observing that if you run from the first [string] downwards, it must be with these fingers, until the fourth [course], and from there down with the thumb, giving all the strokes with it; and if you run from the bordones upwards, it must be with the thumb, until the second [course], and from there upwards with the index and middle fingers.²¹

²⁰More information concerning the right-hand will be found on pages 145-9 below.

²¹"Lo tercero, que la glossa que hizieres con el dedo indice, y largo, ha de ser alternandolos; que si uno dà muchos golpes, no podrá ser ligera, ni limpia; obseruando, que si glossas de la prima abaxo, ha de ser con estos dedos, hasta la quarta; y della abaxo con el pulgar, dando con èl todos los golpes; y si glossas de los bordones àzia arriba,

Although somewhat tempered by Guerau's use of left-hand slurs in sixteenth-note passage-work, an interesting consequence of this statement is the limitation of speed imposed through sole use of the thumb on the lower courses.

Sanz also advocates alternation between the fingers, but is less specific in his description:

[ensuring] that the fingers of the right hand are well distributed amongst the strings, alternating the movements, and that one finger does not play two strokes consecutively.²²

Sanz also states that in chordal playing the thumb should always be used for the lowest sounding voice, no matter on which string that may be:²³

Of the thumb of the right hand, it is necessary to take great care, because since the bass voice is always played with it, if two numbers are found [verticalized], even though they may be the two lowest strings [physically rather than in pitch], try to have the thumb play the bagete, because it belongs to it [the thumb] to express that voice, so that it may have more substance, and because the second doesn't sound as well played upwards with the index, as with the thumb played downwards.²⁴

ha de ser con el pulgar, hasta la segunda; y della arriba con el indice, y largo." Guerau, Poema harmónico, 5r.

²²"que los dedos de la mano derecha se repartan bien por las cuerdas, alternando los movimientos, y que un dedo no toque dos golpes continuados." Sanz, Instruccion, I, 7.

²³Also see page 142 below.

²⁴"Del pulgar de la mano derecha, es necesario tener grande cuidado, porque como siempre toca la voz baxa, si hallaren dos numeros, aunque sea en las dos rayas mas baxas, procuren que el pulgar toque el bagete, porque le pertenece à él explicar aquella voz, para que tenga mas cuerpo, y porque no suena tan bien la segunda herida àzia [sic] arriba con el indice, como con el pulgar àzia abaxo."

It seems appropriate to mention one other technique here. Although not referenced historically, selective plucking of a double-strung course is a comfortable and extremely useful technique.²⁵ A natural emphasis of one string of a course over the other is usually evident in normal playing - the thumb emphasizes the uppermost string, the fingers the lower. With a small adjustment to the angle of attack, however, it is possible to pluck selectively only a single string of the course. In order for the technique to provide voice-leading solutions, as well as for the successful execution of campanela passages, it is necessary for the thin string to be placed uppermost - this allows the thumb to play the upper octave of the double-strung course (through emphasis or exclusion). This stringing is, in fact, verified in the few sources that discuss the topic. It is described in the stringing instructions of Antonio Stradivarius,²⁶ represented diagrammatically in Diederot's

Sanz, Instruccion, I, 7.

²⁵James Tyler appears to be the only modern writer to discuss this technique. See James Tyler, A Brief Tutor for the Baroque Guitar (Helsinki: Chorus, 1984).

²⁶See Donald Gill, "The Stringing of the Five-Course Baroque Guitar," Early Music 3 (1975), 370; and Patrizia Frisoli, "The Museo Stradivariano in Cremona," Galpin Society Journal 24 (1971), 40.

Encyclopedie (Paris, 1757),²⁷ and suggested by Ribayez, who in his tuning instructions says:

set the thinnest of the fifths (which is also habitually the highest) and then adjust to it, its companion, which is a bordon, one octave lower.²⁸

Campanela Technique

The campanela technique is at once the most idiomatic and versatile, yet least widespread facet of baroque guitar style.²⁹ Made possible through re-entrant tuning and octave stringing, the technique consists of fingering consecutive scale-steps on adjacent strings (like an arpeggio) rather than on a single string.³⁰ Utilizing as many open strings as possible, a harp-like quality results from the overlapping sounds (see fig. 34).

The technique appears to have been introduced by the Italian guitarist Angiolo Michele Bartolotti in his

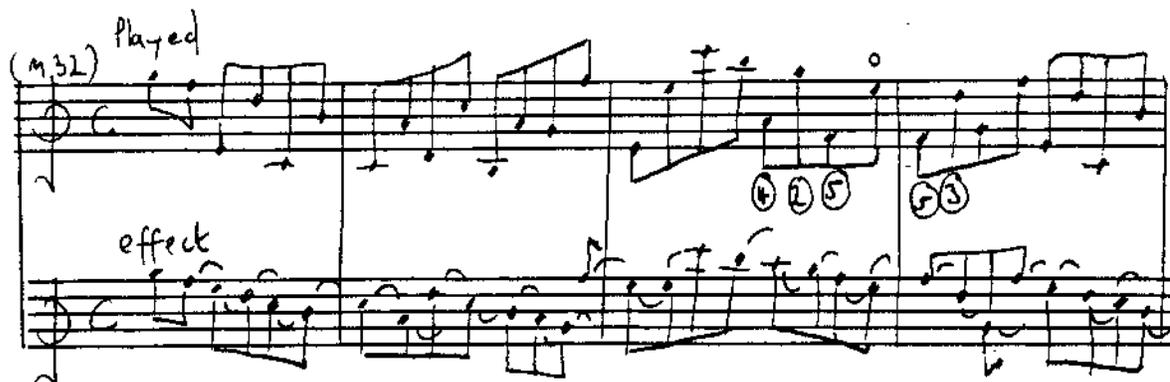
²⁷See Robert Strizich, "Stringing the Baroque Guitar," Early Music 4, (1976), 235-7; and Sylvia Murphy, "The Tuning of the Five-Course Guitar," Galpin Society Journal 23 (1970), 56-7. Unfortunately, Murphy misrepresents the position of the bordon, as well as the relative registers of the courses, in all of her examples.

²⁸"poner la mas delgada de las quartas (que tambien suele ser la mas alta) y despues se ajusta con ella la companera, que es un bordon, octaua abaxo." Ribayez, Luz y norte musicale, 11.

²⁹Although certainly not the first to use the technique, Sanz does appear to have coined the term "campanelas," which means "little bells." The term is used on page 1 of Libro I of the Instruccion.

³⁰See pages 150-5 below for an explanation of these tuning systems.

Figure 34. Campanela Fingering: Gaspar Sanz (1674),
 "Pavanas Por la D," II, p. 10, 32-35.



collections of ca. 1640 and ca. 1655, but was taken up only in a very restricted manner by subsequent Italian and French guitarists.³¹ The first guitarist to adopt the technique in a significant way after Bartolotti was Gaspar Sanz who, like Bartolotti, applies the technique over entire sections in some of his pieces.³² The remaining seventeenth-century Spanish guitarists, Ribayez, Guerau and Santa Cruz, avoid the technique altogether. In fact, Ribayez adjusts or entirely removes the campanela passages from the pieces written by Sanz that he includes in his collection. Murcia, on the other hand, not only adopts the technique but refines

³¹See Jensen, "The Development of Technique and Performance Practices," 19-22 and 100; and Pinnell, Francisco Corbetta, 72, 82 and 88.

³²Sanz's best example of campanela style is found in the final section of the "Pavanas por la D" found on page 10 of Libro II of the Instruccion - a very well-known piece which, in modern editions, is routinely presented with this section omitted.

and develops it to an unprecedented degree. Used in a brilliant, elaborate and sometimes complex fashion in the Resumen, the campanela style is brought to its fullest expression in the 1732 collection. Here, refined technique is balanced with great inventiveness to provide textures that range from the most subtle to the most sparkling in effect.

In its purest form, Murcia used the technique for descending scale passages, fretting only the f or f-sharp on the second string, c or c-sharp on the third string, and finding the remaining scale pitches on the open strings (as in most of the examples presented in this section). If a b-flat is required, it is usually slurred to one of the other notes (see fig. 35).

Figure 35. Campanela Scale Fingering with B-Flats: "Las Bacas," f. 27, 148-50.



A motivation behind these fingerings lies in a concern for systematic right-hand groupings not encountered amongst

the earlier guitarists. In addition to the constant p-i groupings established by Sanz,³³ Murcia is able to incorporate repeated p-i-m groupings to provide for greater facility at speed (see fig. 36).³⁴ Even in more elaborate passages, incorporating less common ascending scales and changes of direction, Murcia is still able to employ systematic right-hand finger groupings. In figure 37 Murcia uses repeated p-i-m groupings for the descending portions of the passage, p-m-i and p-a-m-i for the ascending ones, and p-i alternation for changes in direction.

In addition to the increased technical fluency and brilliancy of such passages, a subtle rhythmic ambiguity often results from the dissonant effect of combining the technical right-hand groupings in two, three and four with the constant metric beat division in groups of four (indicated by the brackets in examples 36 and 37 below).

³³In order not to over-burden the text, the following standard abbreviations have been adopted: p-thumb; i-index; m-middle and a-annular.

³⁴Sanz relies entirely on p-i alternation in his campanela passages which, although sometimes covering an entire musical section, never move beyond the eighth-note level. Corbetta, on the other hand, uses p-i-m groupings in his collection of 1671, but restricted to very short passages. Bartolotti also uses three right-hand finger groupings, and in extended passages, but not in repeated groupings. In fact, his examples are most often in a mixed-campanela style (incorporating slurs and regular punteado), and show no concern for systematic right-hand fingering. They are, in other words, awkward. Murcia remains the only guitarist to successfully combine rapid passage-work with an idiomatic and flexible pure campanela style.

Figure 36. Systematized Right-Hand Campanela Fingerings:
"Marizapalos," f. 35, 166-70.

The musical score for Figure 36 consists of two staves of music in 3/4 time. The first staff begins at measure 123. Above the notes, there are handwritten fingering notations: 'p i m p i m p i' with finger numbers '0 4 0 0 3 0 0 0' below them, and 'p i m p i' with '0 4 0 0' below. Circled numbers 2, 3, and 1 are placed under the notes. The second staff continues the piece with similar fingering notations: 'm p i m p i m p i' with '2 3 0 2 0 0' below, and 'i p i p i' with '0 3 0 0' below. Circled numbers 1, 2, and 3 are placed under the notes. The piece ends with a double bar line.

Figure 37. Systematized Right-Hand Campanela Fingerings:
"Marizapalos," f. 35, 166-70.

The musical score for Figure 37 consists of two staves of music in 3/4 time, starting at measure 166. The first staff has fingering notations: 'm p i m p i m p i' with '2 1 2 0 0 2' below, and 'm p i p i' with '0 0 0 0' below. Circled numbers 2, 3, and 3 are placed under the notes. The second staff has fingering notations: 'p m i p a m i p' with '0 0 3' below, 'p a m i p' with '2 1 3' below, 'a m i p' with '0 4 0 0' below, 'm i p a m i p i' with '0 3 0 0' below, and 'p i p i' with '2 0 0 0' below. Circled numbers 3, 2, 3, 2, 3, and 2 are placed under the notes. The piece ends with a double bar line.

Murcia's musical application of campanela technique takes place at a variety of structural levels, ranging from a single technically-expedient note to the provision of thematic identity in binary form and sectional character in variation form.

At the most local level, the technique is applied to facilitate a short burst of speed (see fig. 38), to

Figure 38. Expedient Use of Campanela Fingering: Allegro, f. 91, 1-6.



deliberately break-up a punteado texture (see fig. 17 on page 93), or as a special effect such as the post-cadential gesture at the end of "El Amor" - a piece that otherwise makes no reference to campanela technique (see fig. 39).

Figure 39. Post-Cadential Campanelas: "El Amor," f. 29, 68-72.



On a larger level, a single measure of campanela provides thematic identity in the opening and reprise of the rounded-binary form of the "Menuet de el Zisne." In the *diferencias* the technique is often used to set-off an entire variation, most usually juxtaposed or combined with other elements. This often produces novel textures, for example: the juxtaposition with *rasgueado* chords in the "Fandango" (See fig. 18 on page 89) and "Marizapalos" (see fig. 36

above); with punteado thematic insertions in the "Marsellas" (see fig. 37 above); combined with slurs and alternating registers in the "Canarios" (see fig. 17 on page 88); and in numerous other ways.

The brilliant effect of campanela textures cannot be overemphasized and, taking advantage of this brilliancy, Murcia often provides the climax of his forms with a virtuosic display in the style (this is the approach taken in the large sets "Las Bacas," "Marizapalos" and "Marsellas"). Just as impressive, however, is the variety of texture that Murcia is able to produce. In the "Marionas," for example, three progressive campanela textures are utilized across the final variations of the piece to provide a concluding unified section of "textural crescendo" (see fig. 40).

Finally, it is worth mentioning that, for all his refinement and development of the technique, Murcia is careful to retain a stylistic distinction in his application of campanela - it is found at its most developed, variegated and pervasive only in the Spanish pieces, and very sparingly elsewhere.

Ornamentation

Despite an abundance of marked ornamentation in his tablatures, Murcia nowhere provides any written information

Figure 40. Progressive Campanela Textures: "Marionas,"
f. 4, 52-55 and 60-67.

regarding their execution. In fact, he refers the reader to Guerau:

Neither do I pause to explain the graces that there are in playing, which are the charm of what is played (though they are represented), I am convinced that there is no Afficionado who has not seen the most singular Book (of Spanish dances and exquisite Passacalles) published by Don Francisco Garaù, in which he explains everything at the beginning, with notable clarity and knowledge, for anyone who would like to manage this instrument with all the delicacies that are possible with ultimate skill. ³⁵

³⁵"Tampoco me detengo en explicar las gracias, que ay en executar, las quales son la sal de lo que se tañe, (aunque vãn figuradas) persuadido, à que no avrà Aficionado, que no aya visto el Libro tan singular, que diò à la estampa Don Francisco Garaù (de tañidos de España, y Passacalles primorosos) en el qual pone al principio toda la explicacion, con notable luz, y conocimiento para el que quisiere manejar este Instrumento; con todas las feligranas; que pueden caber en la vltima destreza." Murcia, Resumen, 2.

The discussion of ornamentation contained in Guerau's Poema harmónico is actually rather concise, but may be supplemented with information taken from Sanz and Guerau to provide a group of six habilidades discussed amongst the Spanish collections: the trino or aleado (trill), the mordente (mordent), the extrasino (slur), the temblor (vibrato), the ligadura (acciaccatura or short appoggiatura) and the apreando (arpeggio).³⁶ Of these six, Murcia specifically notates the trill, mordent, slur and vibrato in the tablature, along with the French port-de-voix and port-de-voix et pincé. Although not notated, the arpeggio and the acciaccatura, along with varied methods of rasgueado performance, are also appropriate to his music.

Trill

Murcia's indications for the trill are quite specific and include, along with the placement sign, an indication of where to find the upper auxiliary. Although in almost every case such indications are redundant (the upper note being easily determined through key and context), this degree of

³⁶Sanz, Ribayez and Guerau all discuss the trill, mordent, slur and vibrato. Sanz and Guerau discuss the arpeggio, and Sanz alone describes the acciaccatura. Robert Strizich's "Ornamentation in Spanish Baroque guitar Music," Journal of the Lute Society of America 5, (1972), 18-39, is the standard article on the subject, and has informed all subsequent investigations of the Spanish baroque guitar. However, although the article contains valuable source material and insight into the subject, several serious flaws seem to have gone unnoticed.

notational detail would seem to reflect a concern for the correct execution of the ornament. It is unfortunate, therefore, that Murcia does not indicate whether the ornament should begin on the upper auxiliary or the main note.

In their seemingly chronological descriptions, both Guerau and Ribayez suggest a main note start to the trill, although without coming right out and saying so:

You will also come across a small line with two dots in this manner ($\frac{\cdot}{\cdot}$), which in Italy is marked with a T and two dots, which is called the Trino or Aleado, which is executed with the left hand, placing the correct finger at the fret that the sign indicates [i.e. the main note], and playing the string with another finger of the same hand, continuously, one or two frets higher, depending on what the key asks for;³⁷

The manner of trilling is to pluck the string to be trilled with the right hand, and to shake the appropriate finger of the left hand immediately [al punto] (on the string and fret at which it is formed); the manner of shaking the finger is, place it and lift it twice without interrupting the tempo, nor do you have to pluck more than once with the right hand for each trill.³⁸

³⁷"Hallaràs tambien vna raya pequeña, con dos puntillos, desta suerte, ($\frac{\cdot}{\cdot}$) que en Italia señalen con vna T y dos puntillos, que se llama, Trino ò Aleado, que se executa con la mano izquierda, poniendo el dedo conueniente en el traste que el numero señala, y con otro dedo de la misma mano hiriendo la cuerda, sin pàrar, dos trastes, ò uno mas adelante, segun lo pidiere el punto." Guerau, Poema harmónico, 4v.

³⁸"El modo de trinar es, herir la cuerda en que se trina con la mano derecha, y menear el dedo que pertenciere a[1?] punto (en la cuerda, y traste en que se forma) de la mano izquierda; el modo de menear el dedo es, a[p]l[a]ntarle, y leuantarle dos veces, sin interpolacion de tiempo, ni se ha de herir con la mano derecha, mas que vna vez en cada trinado." Ribayez, Luz y norte, 17. Although Strizich cites this passage as evidence of a main note trill, he mis-

Sanz compares the trill and the mordent, saying simply:³⁹

The Trino and Mordente are very similar, but also distinct in that the voice of the trino [i.e. the upper auxiliary] is not marked where it trills, but a half step lower.⁴⁰

However, he also goes on to say:

The Mordente remains on the same fret that it trills, silencing the string there, because it bites [morder] it, this manner of playing the string is rightly called Mordente by the Italians.⁴¹

translates "menear el dedo que perteneciére al punto (en el cuerda, y traste en que se forma)" as "shake the finger which pertains to the number (on the string and fret on which it is done)" (*italics mine*). To follow these directions would actually result in an alternation between the lower auxiliary and the main note. The problematic nature of the passage lies in the words "al punto" (or "a punto" - the "l" is faint) which may be translated literally as "tone" or "pitch" (represented in the tablature as a "number"), or idiomatically as "at once," "immediately" or "opportunistically" ("a punto"). See Strizich, "Ruiz de Ribayez," 64; and "Ornamentation," 24.

³⁹Guerau's comparison of the trill and the mordent (see page 109 below) sheds more light on the execution of the trill, suggesting a somewhat rhythmically-measured approach.

⁴⁰"El Trino, y Mordente son muy semejantes, pero tambien se distinguen, en que la voz del Trino, no se firma donde se trino, sino medio punto mas abaxo." Sanz, Instruccion, I, 8. Manns' translation of this passage is disastrous: "the voice of the trill does not come to rest [*italics mine*] where you trill it, but a half step [*higher*] [*sic*]." He thus seems to describe a trill that comes to rest on the upper auxiliary. See Manns, "Gaspar Sanz," 42. This passage is also quoted by Ribayez, who changes the word "firma" to "forma" to produce the less clear statement: "the voice of the trill is not formed where it trills, but a half step lower," meaning simply that the main note is trilled with the upper auxiliary. See Ribayez, Luz y norte, 16.

⁴¹"El Mordente se queda en el mismo traste que trina, y apaga alli la cuerdas, pues porque la muerde, con razon le llaman los Italianos Mordent, à aquel modo de tañer la cuerda." Sanz, Instruccion, I, 8. Strizich also mis-

If the mordent remains on the same fret (i.e. begins and ends on the same note), as Sanz says, the implication is, therefore, that the trill does not. Assuming that the trill ends on the main note, then, according to Sanz, it must begin on the upper auxiliary, otherwise it too would "remain on the same fret that it trills."⁴²

Despite the comments of the Italianate Sanz, Strizich does however present convincing evidence that main-note trills were known in Spain, and until well into the eighteenth century.⁴³ He cites two sources: Diego Fernandez Huete's Compendio numerosa (Madrid, 1702) - an instruction book for double-harp; and Pablo Nassarre's huge theoretical treatise Escuela música (Zaragoza, 1723).

Neither make any distinction between the trill and the mordent, simply classifying two types of trino (Huete calls it trinado): one alternating with the lower auxiliary and the other with the upper auxiliary, both starting on the main note. Nassarre also defines the terms trino and aleado

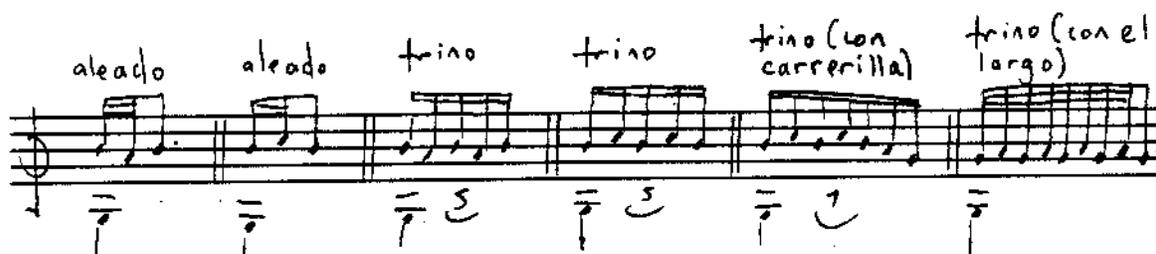
translates this passage as "The Mordente finishes on the same fret as the trill [italics mine], " confusing the verb-form "trina" and the noun "trino." See "Ornamentation," 29.

⁴²This passage is also quoted by Ribayez, Luz y norte, 16. Strizich does not cite either of the two quotations taken from Sanz, stating "Gaspar Sanz says of the trino only that 'you can play it even though you do not find it notated.'" See "Ornamentation," 24-6. More precisely, Sanz actually advocates the ad libitum addition of the trill on the lower note of any convenient half-step. See the Instruccion, I, 8.

⁴³Strizich, "Ornamentation," 24-6.

(mentioned, but not explained, by Guerau in connection with the trill) according to the number of notes contained in the ornament: the aleado consists of three notes and the trino of at least five. Strizich further notes that in Huete's music the three-note aleado is found on shorter notes, mid-phrase, while the longer trino is applied to longer cadential chords.⁴⁴ These ornaments, along with Huete's more elaborate trinado con carrerilla, are summarized in figure 41.⁴⁵

Figure 41. Aleado and Trino after Huete and Nassarre.



From the written evidence of the treatises, then, it is possible to determine that main-note trills are certainly an option in Spanish guitar music of the seventeenth and

⁴⁴Although Nassarre's treatise of 1723 was published in somewhat provincial Zaragoza, Huete's earlier collection of 1702 was published in Madrid. Huete's collection is further aligned with Murcia through the common theatrical function of the harp and the guitar, evidenced by the musical contents of the collection. See footnote 4 on page 38-9 above.

⁴⁵Based on Huete's ornaments table and Nassarre's unequivocal descriptions provided in the Escuela Música, Libro IV [1111], capítulo XVIII, segunda part, pp. 469-70 and 433, translated in Strizich, "Ornamentation," 23-25.

early eighteenth centuries. Examination of Murcia's music, however, reveals that a varied approach to the execution of the trill is possible, especially when the stylistic diversity of his collections is considered.

A major discriminating factor, determined from the music itself, lies in the particular construction of the cadence figures. In the French collections, and in some of the Italian ones, cadence patterns typically provide for a prolongation of the penultimate harmony. The essential feature here lies in the manner in which dissonant tension is maintained before resolution - a suspension (or complete six-four) or an upper-note trill (see figure 42).⁴⁶

Figure 42. French-Style Cadence Figures: a) Robert de Visée (1682), "Chaconne, Suite 8; b) Robert de Visée, "Passacalle" (1686), "Suite 11"; c) Murcia (1714), "Correnta," 119.



⁴⁶This kind of cadential pattern is found in Corbetta as early as 1639. However, Strizich notes that upper-note trills were not exclusively specified in Italy until 1672. See Strizich, "Ornamentation," 26.

In terms of the guitar, an important aspect of these figures is that once begun, the trill is allowed to continue, unhindered, for a sufficient duration (at least four notes) - even notes entering in another voice part would prevent the prolonged execution of the ornament, especially in a faster tempo.

Spanish cadences often incorporate dissonant harmonic prolongation too (usually a 4-3 suspension), but do not provide a long enough isolated note on which to execute an upper-note trill. In other words, the upper-note cadential trill is not technically expedient in seventeenth-century Spanish guitar music since no provision is made to accommodate it (see fig. 43). Further, in many cases the Spanish baroque cadence-forms recall those of the renaissance, in which cadential trills are not marked or even possible, or in which the trill is applied to the final (rather than the penultimate) note, or post-cadentially (see fig. 44).⁴⁷

⁴⁷Murcia actually writes out a post-cadential trill in full in the French-style Resumen in the "Marizapalos" (pages 196 and 201-4) and the Allemande (pages 263-4), both starting on the upper auxiliary. However, as Murcia also indicates similar post-cadential trills with a sign elsewhere in the same pieces, the possibility that the written out ornaments are special cases may be considered. In fact, the figures are special effects, in that they consist of rapid thirty-second notes in campanela style. Since p-i alternation is a more facile right-hand fingering than i-p (especially considering the speed of the passage) it is, therefore, not possible to determine whether the figures are the result of textural, technical or stylistic factors.

Figure 43. Spanish-Style Cadence Figures: a) Francisco Guerau (1694), "Jacaras," p. 35, 4; b) Francisco Guerau (1694), "Jacaras," p. 35, 8; c) Murcia, "Españoletas," f. 6, 30.



Figure 44. Spanish-Style Cadence Figures: a) Ruiz de Ribayez (1677), "Folias," p. 77, 48-49; b) Gaspar Sanz (1674), "Pavanas Por la D," II, p. 10, 15-16; c) Murcia, "Gallardas," f. 4v, 30.

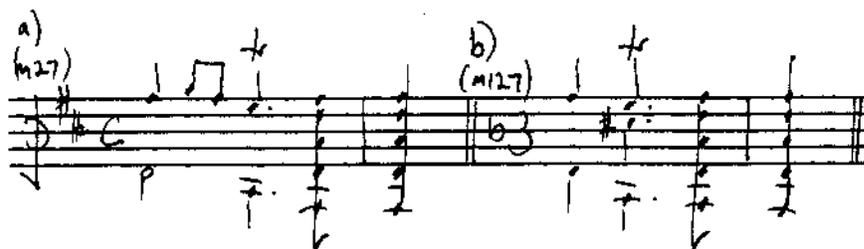


Clearly, this kind of trill does not serve to provide dissonant harmonic tension, and therefore does not demand and upper-note start.

A seemingly simple solution for Murcia (and one advocated by most writers), then, is to use French/Italian upper-note trills in the French and Italian pieces, and main-note trills in the Spanish ones. However, the absorption of French style is so great in Murcia that we find elements of it even in the Spanish pieces. Foreign cadential figures are encountered often in Murcia's Spanish

music and can be seen, for example, in the "Villanos" and "Folias Españoles" (see fig. 45).

Figure 45. Foreign Cadential Figures in Spanish Pieces:
a) "Villanos," f. 7v, 27; b) "Folias Españolas," f. 22v, 127.



The "Marionas" exemplifies the strong potential for the mixture of ornamental styles within a single piece (see fig. 46): at measure 21, a main-note trill would provide sufficient rhythmic emphasis (suggested by the second-beat accentuation of the strumming pattern and the harmonic rhythm); at measures 64 and 66 a similar rhythmic emphasis may be provided where upper-note trills are not technically feasible;⁴⁸ at the final cadence in measure 71 an upper-note ornament would actually remove the harmonic dissonance that is already present; but in measures 23 and 43, and particularly 47, the dissonant harmonic prolongation of an

⁴⁸Corbetta, in his ornament tables of 1671 and 1674, indicates that the execution of the mid-phrase trill (tremulo or tremblement), as applied to eight-notes, is as a single-note short upper-appoggiatura. See Pinnell, Francisco Corbetta, vol. 2, xi.

Figure 46. Mixed Ornamental Style: "Marionas," ff. 3-4, 20-24, 43-47, 64-66 and 71.



upper-note trill is strongly suggested by the rhythmic disposition of the cadence patterns.

A second discriminating factor in determining the appropriate choice of trill is an apparent distinction between Spanish and foreign style regarding the direction of approach to the ornament. In French style (as represented by Corbetta and De Visée as well as Murcia) trills are almost always approached from above, either through the upper auxiliary (and thus anticipating the dissonance) or by leap. Although a similar approach through the upper auxiliary (usually a half step) is also a feature of Spanish music, many examples are found in which the trill is approached through the lower auxiliary, thus inviting a main-note start to the ornament (see fig. 47).

Figure 47. Trills Approached Through the Lower Auxiliary:

- a) Gaspar Sanz (1674). "Canarios," I, p. 8, 3-4;
- b) Francisco Guerau (1694), "Españoleta," p. 42, 1-2;
- c) Murcia, "Marionas," f. 3, 20-22.



In addition to cadential use, Murcia also uses the trill in a variety of other ways, none of which seem to demand more than a single-repercussion ahead to effectively render their function. The ornament is commonly used to: provide rhythmic emphasis (see fig. 46 above); to clarify a melodic line (usually preexistent) buried within the texture (see fig. 48); to provide motivic identity (see fig. 49); or to help define sectional texture in variation form (see fig. 50).⁴⁹

Finally, it is necessary to examine the only piece in the Saldivar Manuscript that incorporates written-out ornamentation, "Triste de Jorge" (see fig. 51). In the second statement of the plan, signed trills are juxtaposed

⁴⁹In this last example (and in similar section in the "Folias Italianas"), a case can be made for either type of trill - upper-note according to melodic context and juxtaposition with mordents, or main-note according to the details of the left-hand fingering.

Figure 48. Melodic Use of the Trill: "Marizapalos,"
f. 31, 9-14.



Figure 49. Motivic Use of the Trill: Allegro,
f. 93-93v, 11-14 and 65-68.



Figure 50. Textural Use of the Trill: "Marizapalos,"
f. 32, 62-71.

Handwritten musical notation for Figure 50, measures 62-71. The score consists of two staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The bottom staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The time signature is 3/8. The notation includes trills (tr), vibrato (vib), and figured bass notation (fingerings) such as 3, 1, 3, 4, 1, 1, 3, 2, 0, 2, 4, 1, 0, 1, 3, 4, 0. Measure 62 is marked with '(m62)'. A section marker 'viii' is present above the first staff.

with written out ornaments, two of which appear to be upper-note trills (measures 6 and 11). Assuming that the sign does not indicate the same thing as the written out figures, it must, therefore, represent something else - possibly a

Figure 51. Written-Out Ornamentation: "Triste de Jorge,"
f. 49v, 1-6.

main-note trill, or an alternative number of (measured) repercussions. However, it is also possible that the written figures and the signs do represent the same morphology. If the written figures are upper-note trills, then they ornament melodic notes c and a respectively, not d and b as they should. In other words, it is not possible to replicate the written figures by simply applying the sign for a trill to the original pitches of the melody. The most likely explanation however, considering the rhythmic profile of the figures (a duple division of a compound beat), is that Murcia is simply providing unusual ornamental

passagework, rather than trills as such. The interpretation of the signed trills would therefore be as usual (whatever usual may be).⁵⁰

In summary, an examination of written evidence, cadence, melodic approach, playing technique and ornamental function reveal a strong potential for main-note trills, a mixture of ornamental styles and a variable approach to the number of repercussions in the trill.

Mordent

Murcia indicates the mordent with a comma, as described by Guerau:

You will also find a ^c backwards, or a comma thus: ? which in Italy they call Mordente; this is executed by putting the appropriate finger one or two frets behind the number indicated, depending on what the key asks, and with another finger [of the left hand] plucking the string, with more liveliness than in the trino, at the fret that the number indicates, finishing the punto there.⁵¹

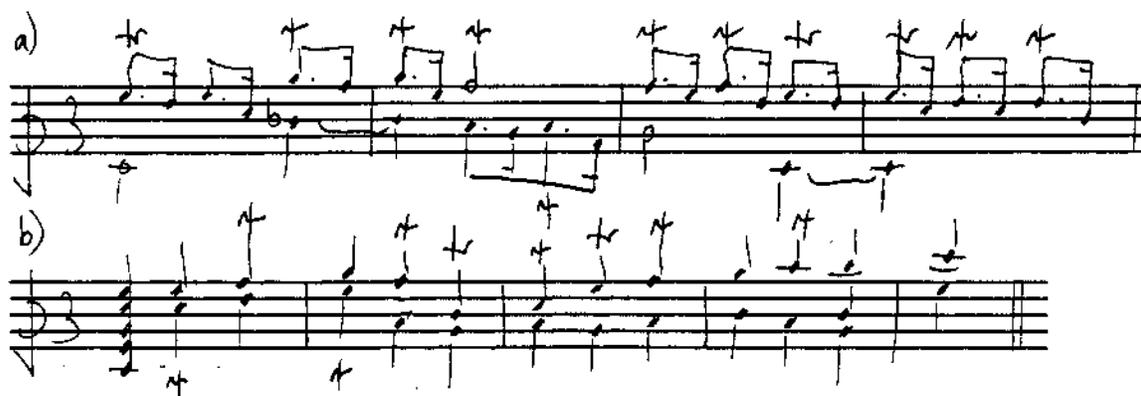
Guerau thus describes a standard single-repercussion mordent, augmenting Sanz's description already cited (see page 119 below).

⁵⁰Lorimer argues that the written figures are "florid trills" and support a single-note appoggiatura interpretation for signed trills in general. See Lorimer, ed., Saldívar Codex, vol. 1, xviii.

⁵¹Assimismo [sic] hallaràs una ^c al revès, ò coma, desto suerte, que en Italia llaman, Mordente: este se executa poniendo el dedo conueniente dos trastes, ò uno mas atrás de lo que el numero señala, segun lo pidiere el punto, y con otro dedo se ha herir con mas viueza, que en el trino, la cuerda en la traste que el numero señala, rematando el punto en èl." Guerau, Poema harmónico, 4v.

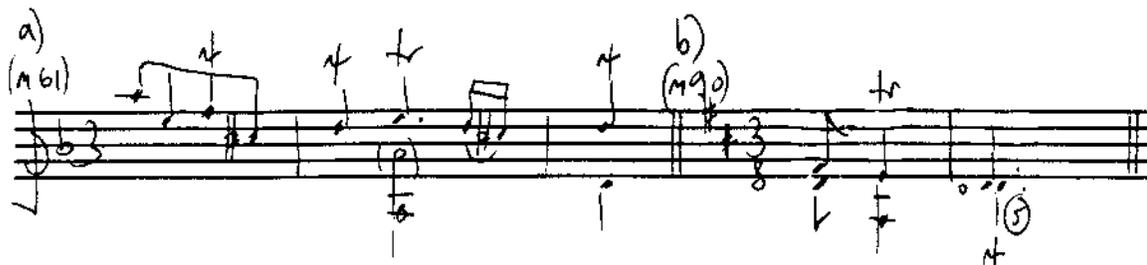
The mordent is very common in seventeenth-century Spanish guitar music, as demonstrated by the following passages taken from Sanz and Guerau (see fig. 52). This predilection for the ornament allows for free placement, the figure being approached from either direction and incorporating whole steps as well as half steps.

Figure 52. Free Placement of the Mordent: a) Francisco Guerau (1694), "Passacalles de 5^o tono," p. 15, 41-44; b) Gaspar Sanz (1674), "Marionas," II, p.7, 85-89.



The Spanish bias toward the mordent is not shared by the French guitarists, however. Nor by Murcia, whose infrequent use of the ornament is restricted to a half-step figure, approached from below in every case. On the occasions that Murcia does employ the mordent, it is in conjunction with other ornaments, occasionally on the final note of a cadence (see fig. 53), or contributing to an ornament-defined texture in a *diferencia* set (for example variations IV and X of the "Folias Italianas").

Figure 53. Cadential Use of the Mordent: "Las Bacas,"
f. 24v, 61-63.



Slur

The left-hand slur, or *extrasino*, is one of the most-used effects of the five-course guitar. Its execution, which combines the plucking action of both hands, is given a clear description by Sanz:

The *extrasino* is made by playing with the right hand only the first number that is indicated inside the curved line, in this way 310, and after plucking the left hand runs with some force through the tied numbers, giving then the value the *sonata* may request.⁵²

The resulting effect is less articulate, more legato, than when each note is plucked individually by the right hand.

Guerau describes the effect thus:

[the *extrasino*,] with the echo of the first stroke [*golpe*], sounds sufficiently, and with much grace and smoothness.⁵³

⁵²"El Extrasino se haze tañendo có la mano derecha solo, el primer numero que està dentro aquel rasgo, de aste suerte, 310, y despues de herido se corre la mano izquierda con alguna fuerça, por los numeros ligados, dandoles el valor que pidiere la sonata." Sanz, *Instruccion*, I, 9.

⁵³"que con el eco del primer golpe, suena lo bastante, con mucha gracia, y suavidad." Guerau, *Poema harmónico*, 4v.

In addition to the curved line (mentioned by Sanz, above), Murcia provides further definition according to the direction of the slur, notating ascending figures 1 3 , descending figures 3 1 and composite figures 1 3 1 . Strictly speaking, however, this is another notational redundancy, as the direction of the slur is dictated by the numbers provided in the tablature, regardless of the position of the curved line.

Murcia's use of the slur is wide and varied. While some pieces make little use of them, other pieces incorporate them throughout. The function of the ornament may be technical, textural, structural, phraseological, motivic or ornamental.

In an ornamental sense, the slur is the only articulation used in the execution of trills and mordents, and is an integral part of the French-style cadential gesture, where it often articulates the resolution of the appoggiatura (see fig. 54).

Rapid plucked passagework does not feature in most guitar tablatures (unlike those for lute), instead groups of sixteenth notes are usually articulated in slurs. In such passages, the sole determinant for the placement and grouping of the slurs is the position of the open strings.

Figure 54. Cadential Slur: a) "Folias Italianas," f. 61, 31-32; b) Menuet, f. 84v, 29-30; c) Menuet, f. 90, 23-24.



This creates a varied articulation of sixteenth-note groups that may otherwise be melodically and rhythmically motivic, and in extended passages produces a subtle and constant phraseological syncopation between the slur groupings and the metrical groupings (see fig. 55). This is not to say that slurs are never placed motivically. In many instances careful and consistent slur placement creates very specific phraseological effects, and often in slower passages where technical expediency is not a consideration (see fig. 15b on page 85 above). In other instances, the slurs are deliberately placed so as to create a series of contrasting articulations (see fig. 17a on page 88 above).

Slurs are also incorporated into campanella passages to provide a more homogenous articulation for notes that are not readily available on alternating strings (see fig. 35 on page 111 above), or to create novel textural effects (see figs. 17 and 18 on pages 88 and 89 above).

Figure 55. Slur Groupings Versus Metrical Groupings:
 a) "Fandango," f. 17v, 61-63; b) "La Amable,"
 f. 75-75v, 99-101.

The image shows two staves of musical notation. Staff (a) is for 'Fandango' and staff (b) is for 'La Amable'. Both staves feature a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). Staff (a) has a 3/4 time signature and includes a 'p.' dynamic marking. Staff (b) has a 3/8 time signature. Both staves contain various rhythmic patterns with slurs and fingerings (1-4) written above the notes. Some notes in staff (b) have a '2' written below them, possibly indicating a second ending or a specific fingering.

Finally, the slur may be used in any of the above ways to help create textural character in setting-off a large section in the *diferencias* (for example, in variations VIII, XI and XII of the "Folias Italianas" and variations VII, IX and X of "Las Bacas").

Vibrato

For the baroque guitarist, vibrato is a special effect, reserved for particular situations and indicated in the tablature when required. Regarding its execution, Guerau says:

Sometimes you will encounter four small crossed lines, in this manner (✕), which is the sign for the temblor; this is executed, giving a stroke to the string with the right hand, and moving the left hand at the same time to

one side and to other, without lifting the finger from the fret it presses.⁵⁴

To this Sanz adds:

The Temblor is ordinarily made with the little finger, and sometimes also with the others, removing the hand from the neck, beating very steadily to one side and the other, with great speed, and promptness, at the same time that the number marked thus *⁵ is played.⁵⁵

Sanz thus describes a wide, rapid, regular, transversal vibrato, initiated at the moment of plucking.

The ornament is used as a substitute for the trill or mordent (for reasons of technique, contrast or variety), and is found in mid-phrase or on the final tonic of a cadence (see fig. 56). Murcia, who uses the ornament more extensively than other guitarists, sometimes applies the vibrato as a textural device in the *diferencias*. In the "Folias Italianas", variation IX is unique in that it consists almost entirely of single-note vibrato alone (see fig. 57).

⁵⁴"Algunas vezes encontràs quatro rayas pequeñas cruxados, deste modo, (✕), que es nota de temblor: este se executa, dando el golpe en le cuerda con la mano derecha, y moviendo à un tiempo la izquierda à vna, y otro lado, sin levantar el dedo del traste que pisa." Guerau, Poema harmónico. 4v.

⁵⁵"El Tremblor se haze ordinariamente con el dedo pequeño, y tambien alguna vez con los otros, deseriando la mano del mantil, rebatiendola con mucho pulso à un lado, y à otro, con grande velocidad, y pronitud, al mismo tiempo que se tané el numero señalado assi *⁵." Sanz, Instruccion, I, 9.

Figure 56. Vibrato as a Substitute for the Trill:

- a) "Al Verde Retamer," f. 67v, 5-6 and 13-14;
 b) "Zangarilleja," f. 50v, 27-28.

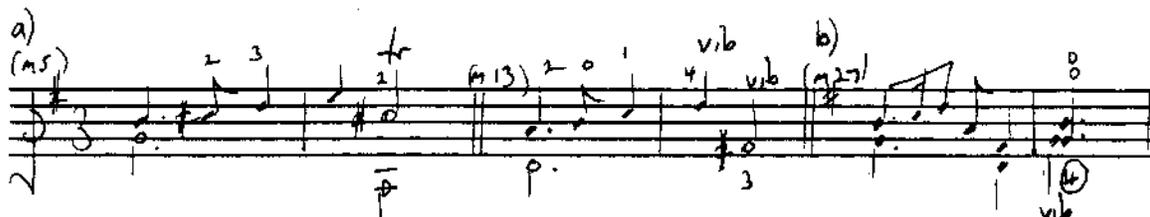


Figure 57. "Vibrato as a Textural Device: "Folias Italianas," f. 64, 137-47.

The image shows two musical staves for "Folias Italianas". Both staves are heavily annotated with "vib" (vibrato) markings above and below notes. Circled numbers (1, 2, 3, 4) are placed below notes, likely indicating fingerings. The notation includes various note values and rests.

Acciaccatura

The acciaccatura is not specifically notated in any Spanish guitar tablature, however Sanz describes the following ornaments:

there are even two more [ornaments], that are only rarely indicated, but so as not to leave out anything that is beautiful and the most delicate that the guitar has, and that the rest of the instruments do not have, I will state them also...A number may be played in two manners, the first is called Apoymiento, and the other Esmorsata...The number with Apoymiento is played in this way: if you find a one on the prima [the first course], to play this number, first play it open, and instantly press on the first fret...the Esmorsata is the opposite,

it steals the consonance by lowering. I will use the same example: should you play on the first string at the first fret, play it first on the third, and instantly playing the first you will make this number sound that wasn't played...these two styles of playing are called Ligaduras in our Spanish language, and you will make them on the numbers that have above or below them, a small sign in the manner of a parenthesis thus 5 0. The example and use of this Esmorsata, or Ligadura, you will find in the Xacaras, in the second variation, fourth measure, tying the zero of the first [course] with the five in manner related.⁵⁶

Thus, Sanz describes an acciaccatura (or possibly a short appoggiatura) in which the auxiliary is slurred to the main note or, judging by his example of the "Xacaras," through a greater interval.⁵⁷ Sanz's notational indication for the

⁵⁶"aun ay dos mas, que pocas veces se apuntan; pero por no dexar todo aquello que sea primorosa, y es lo mas delicado que tiene la Guitarra, y no tienen los demás instruments, los declarè tambien...Un numero se puede herir de dos modos, al uno se llama con Ayoyamento, y el otro con Esmorsata...El numero con Apoyamento, se hiere de esta suerte: Si hallas vn vno en la prima, para tañer este numero, heriràs la primera vacante, y al instante pissala en primero traste...El Esmorsata es el contrario, que roba la consonancia por abaxo. Pongo el mimo exé[m]plo: Has de tañer la prima en primero traste, le heriràs primero en tercero, y al instante pissando el primero, haràs que se siente esta numero que no se hirió...estos dos generos de tañer en nuestra lengue Española, les llamaràs Ligaduras, y las haràs en los numeros que tienen sobre si, ò debaxo vn señalito à modo de parentesis, de esta manera 5 0. El exemplo, y uso de esta Esmorsata, ò Ligadura, lo hallaràs en la Xacara, en la segunda diferencia, al quarto compàs, ligando el cero de la primera, con el cinco del modo referido." Sanz, Instruccion, I, 9-10.

⁵⁷Despite Sanz's description "instante," Strizich interprets Sanz's "Ligaduras" as appoggiaturas of standard length (i.e. one-half to two-thirds of the main note). Strizich also seems reluctant to accept Sanz's example of a slur from the fifth-fret down to the open string) a descending fourth) and actually provides an alternative realization by step, even though Sanz's written description matches exactly with the musical example in the tablature.

ligadura is the same symbol that he uses for the mordent (∩). Fortunately, the comment that they are "only rarely indicated" suggests that the mordent remains the usual interpretation of the sign.⁵⁸ Guerau and Sanz use a different sign for the mordent (a comma), and no place is found in Murcia's music where a mordent does not work. However, if "rarely indicated," the implication is that they may be added anyway (Sanz does not say "rarely used"). The ligadura is, therefore, a possibility in the guitar music of the period, and could appropriately substitute for a trill or mordent in mid-phrase.

Appoggiatura

The standard moderate-to-long appoggiatura is not mentioned by any of the Spanish guitarists. The ornament is, however, written out in full in Murcia's tablatures, although not usually with any specific durational value attached to the dissonant note. The few instances in which Murcia does provide durational information suggest a varied treatment of the appoggiatura according to context and, possibly, according to style.

See Strizich, "Ornamentation," 32-3.

⁵⁸Strizich notes several places in Sanz's music where a mordent is not technically possible, including Sanz's example of the "Xacaras" (i.e. an open string). See Strizich, ibid, 33-4.

The appoggiaturas written-out as part of the French-style cadence figure (which may occur in Murcia's Spanish pieces, as well as his French ones) always take half the value of the main note (see fig. 54 on page 133 above). This is also the length given to the written out appoggiaturas in the "Menuet Amorosa," Murcia's only notated example of mid-phrase appoggiature (see fig. 58). However, Murcia also writes three examples of a port de voix et pincé, the appoggiatura receiving only a quarter of the value of the main note each time (see fig. 59, and fig. 12 above). As this is not the "standard" length expected, it is perhaps a usage restricted to Murcia's compound ornament. It may also reflect differences between French and Spanish style. The first two examples appear in Spanish pieces - "Baylad Caracoles" and "Marsellas," and in the very next piece, the "Folias Italianas," the lengths are not specified. Nor are they specified in the many subsequent appearances of the compound ornament (with the exception of "El Cotillon" (see fig. 56 earlier), which may therefore be an exception), all of which occur in French pieces ("Al Verde Retamer," and throughout the contredances and minuets). There are, therefore, three possibilities for Murcia's port de voix et pincé: that it is treated differently in French and Spanish style, the appoggiatura being short in Spanish style and long in French style; that the durations are indicated only the first few times that the ornament appears in the

Figure 58. Written Out Mid-Phrase Appoggiatura: Minuet "Amoroso," ff. 86v-87, 33-35 and 37-39.



Figure 59. Written Out Port de Voix et Pincé: a) "Baylad Caracoles," f. 12, 36-37; b) "Marsellas," f. 57, 15-16.



manuscript; or that the standard long-appoggiatura is understood, unless otherwise indicated.

Arpeggio

The Spanish guitarists describe several types of ornamental and technical arpeggiation. Guerau indicates the habitual arpeggiation of plain chords is customary:

I also point out to you that in the puntos [chords] that have three numbers you should become accustomed to playing them as arpeggios; which you will execute by plucking first with the thumb on the string that it plays, then with the index, and then with the middle finger; this way, do not dwell upon the punto more than it is worth and fault the compàs.⁵⁹

⁵⁹"Tambien te advierto, que en los puntos que tuvieren tres numeros, te acostumbres à tocarlos harpeados, lo qual executaràs hiriendo primero con el pulgar la cuerda

To this constant, technically-mannered arpeggiation, Sanz adds a more elaborate and selective ornament:

The Arpeando is generally done in two manners: with three fingers, or with four; the strings are plucked in succession, beginning with the thumb in the bass, and then the adjacent strings, ascending and descending the fingers through all of the strings of that chord, giving it the tiempo, or compàs that the sonata asks. This manner of playing is indicated with a small line between two dots, thus: $\frac{\cdot}{\cdot}$, and also with a line in the manner of a parenthesis, which holds, from top to bottom, the chord to be arpeggiated...advising you not to play any of the numbers within that line until the left hand is prepared, as if you had to play them all at the same time, and then to play them one after the other, as indicated, executing all equally, and in this way this new style of music will be pleasing to you.⁶⁰

Sanz actually seems to be describing, in addition to playing with three or four fingers (a distinction contingent upon the number of notes in the chord to be arpeggiated), two different types of arpeggio. The first, "plucking the strings in succession, ascending and descending," seems to

que la toca, luego con el indice, y despues con el largo; de modo, que no te detengas en el punto mas de lo que valiere, y faltes al compàs." Guerau, Poema harmónico, 5r.

⁶⁰"Se suele hazer al Arpeando de dos modos, ò con tres dedos, ò con quatro; tañerse las cuerdas sucesivamente, començando con el pulgar el baxo, y luego las cuerdas mas inmediatas cifrandas, subiendo, y baxando los dedos por todas ellas sobre aquel punto, dandole el tiempo, ò compas que pide el sonada. Este modo de tañer se señala con vna raita, entre dos puntos; v.g. ($\frac{\cdot}{\cdot}$) y tambien con una raya à modo de parentesis, que coge de arriba à baxo los puntos que se han de arpear...advirtiendole, que no tañas ningun numero de aquellos que están dentro aquella raya, hasta que la mano izquierda esté dispuesta como si los huviesses de tañer a un tiempo, y despues tañerlos uno detras de otro, como se señalan, executandolo todo con igualdad, y desta suerte te gustará este nuevo estilo de Musica. Sanz, Instruccion, I, 10.

be the ornamental arpeggiation found in some Italian tablatures, indicated by sign, and usually reserved for the opening gesture of a piece (although sometimes used elsewhere).⁶¹ The second type, indicated by an enclosing line, is textural, as demonstrated by Sanz's own usage in his "Preludio, o Capricho" (see fig. 60).⁶²

Figure 60. Textural Arpeggiation: Gaspar Sanz (1674), "Preludio y Capricco," I, p. 11.

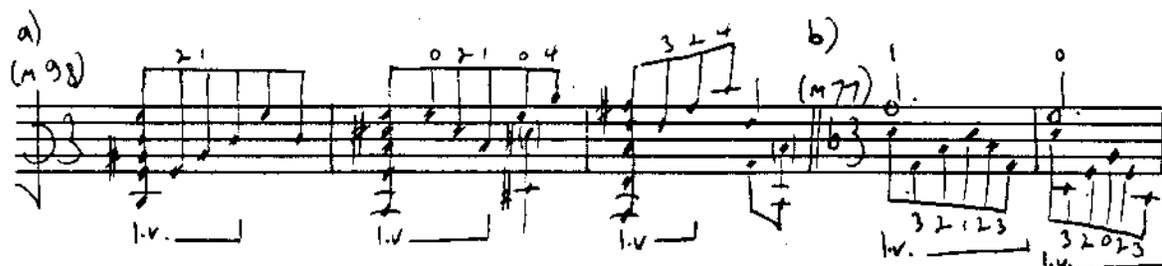


This second type of arpeggiation is also used by Murcia, although he indicates it with a straight line rather than a curved one. Often, Murcia uses the sign as a technical advisory, telling the player to keep the fingers pressed down (usually retaining a chord played previously en bloc) (see fig. 61). In other instances, however, the line

⁶¹Strizich provides examples and realizations taken from Bartolotti, Pellegrini and Roncalli on page 37 of his article "Ornamentation."

⁶²Sanz, Instruccion, I, 11.

Figure 61. Murcia's Sustaining Line: a) "Marizapalos," f. 33, 98-100; b) "Folias Italianas," f. 62-62v, 77-79.



is more subtly-placed on two-note chords to produce short passages of explicated part-writing (see fig. 62).

Figure 62. Explicated Voice-Leading: a) "Menuet de Soldado," f. 84, 9-11; b) "Villano," f. 7v, 21-23.



Considering the large number of passages in which the arpeggio line is carefully placed, the implication is that the fingers should be placed separately rather than together when the sign is not present. However, as we are not told when to lift a finger (and therefore determine if a note, once played, is to be allowed to ring through along with the next note), it is not possible to determine the

extent to which Murcia is indicating a musical effect or a technical fingering.

Rasqueado

The only Spanish description of the rasqueado stroke comes from Ribayez:

Then it is pointed out that, since the full chords are always intabulated in this way [across all five courses], because they are played all at the same time with the right hand, when one plays rasgado, striking all at once, upwards or downwards, with all the fingers on all the strings of the guitar, and giving the strokes that are indicated below the chords at the same time when the left hand forms them [the chords].⁶³

Doubtless, Ribayez is describing a basic rasqueado stroke for the benefit of his amateur readership. The guitarists of both the French school and the early Italian school (and therefore presumably the unrecorded Spanish school too) certainly utilized a much more varied approach to rasqueado performance than this. As both schools inform Murcia's style (in mixed-style texture and the rasqueado introductions respectively), it is necessary, therefore, to consider a varied approach to rasqueado performance in his music.⁶⁴

⁶³"Pues se advierte, que los puntos llenos siempre se cifran assi, porque se hieren a vn mismo tiempo con la mano derecha, quando se tañe de rasgado, hiriendo de golpe, sea àzia abaxo, ò sea àzia arriba, con todos los dedos de ella todas las cuerdas de la Guitarra, y dando los golpes que se la señalan al mismo tiempo, y debaxo de los puntos, quando los forma la mano izquierda." Ribayez, Luz y norte, 8.

⁶⁴The best-known modern account of rasqueado performance is Sylvia Murphy, "Seventeenth-Century Guitar Music: Notes on Rasqueado Performance," Galpin Society

A single strum may be executed in a variety of ways. The earliest of the Italian alfabeto guitarists, Girolamo Montesardo (1606), instructs us to "hit the strings softly with three or four fingers in a harp-like manner, not all together," and to vary the sound by "playing over the soundhole, sometimes near the neck of the guitar and also, to sweeten the sound, sometimes over the neck itself."⁶⁵ Giovanni Colonna (1620) adds a dynamic aspect (as well as reinforcing the link between early Italian and Spanish style), advocating that one should play "now lightly, touching softly, now strongly, in the Spanish and Neapolitan way."⁶⁶ Marin Mersenne (ca. 1636) adds further clarity, stating that it was customary to strum anywhere from the bridge to the neck in order to play louder or softer, respectively.⁶⁷

The leading exponent of the later French school, Robert de Visée (1682), also describes a variety of execution for a single strum. He advocates the use of all four right-hand fingers in rapid succession as the usual

Journal 21 (1968), 24-32. Murphy's pioneering study has, however, been augmented and, to a large extent, superseded by Joseph Weidlich, "Battuto Performance in Early Italian Guitar Music (1607-1637)," Journal of the Lute Society of America 11 (1978), 63-86.

⁶⁵Cited in Weidlich, "Battuto Performance," 68-9.

⁶⁶Ibid, 69.

⁶⁷Ibid, 73.

execution of a downstrum, but also uses the thumb, both alone and in conjunction with other fingers.⁶⁸ Upstrums may be executed by the index finger alone or by two fingers in rapid succession. De Visée also includes a composite strum in which a downstrum with the index and middle fingers is immediately followed with an upstrum of the thumb.

In addition to such varied means of executing a single full-stroke, the Italians also have a small vocabulary of measured battente ornamentation. The trillo substitutes quicker alternating strokes for any downstroke, and the more elaborate repicco substitutes groups of faster notes for each of two or three full-strokes, differentiated according to the initial stroke direction (see fig. 63).⁶⁹

There is little doubt, then, that the skilled guitarist could provide accompaniments of great variety and colour in strummed style. Each stroke produces its own distinct, and often complex rhythmic profile. Even the simplest strokes, involving only a single finger, produce an accompanying arpeggiation of the chord, along with a rhythmic design dictated by the speed of the stroke. Add to

⁶⁸Cited in Strizich, "Ribayez," 59-60; and Robert de Visée, Oeuvres Complètes Pour Guitarre, ed. with intro. by Robert Strizich (Paris: Heugel, 1969), xiii.

⁶⁹The realizations given in figure 63 have been based on the descriptions and examples contained in Weidlich, "Battuto Performance."

Figure 63. Italian Battente Ornamentation: a) trillo;
b) Repicco.

a) Trillo
written

b) Repicco

played

mip mip pim cami cami cami mip mip im

this that each finger has its own accentual weight and sonority, and that all may be varied in dynamic and tone colour (and from chord to chord if desired), and one begins to realize just how rich and colourful the accompaniments can be.

Regarding Murcia, there is no question that the French batterie style is appropriate to his French music. And, as the rasgueado introductions to the Spanish pieces replicate the accompanimental style of the early Italians (and surely the largely unrecorded Spanish style also), an adoption of

the kind of ornamental battente demonstrated there seems appropriate too.

Tuning

Of all aspects of baroque guitar performance, there is none so potentially perplexing as the tuning and stringing of the instrument.

The guitar is strung in double courses (excepting the prima, which seems to have been a single chantarelle), like the lute and vihuela. Unlike these instruments, however, the guitar seems to have always incorporated octave stringing in some of its courses. Although the pitch-names of the courses are standard (e-b-g-d-a), the octaves at which they sound are not.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, many guitarists (if not most) do not tell us which tuning is the one required for their tablatures, and this is the case with Murcia.⁷¹

Three tunings became standard during the period, and all may be argued for Murcia (see fig. 64).

⁷⁰The standard article on the subject is Sylvia Murphy, "The Tuning of the Five-Course Guitar," Galpin Society Journal 23 (1970), 49-63. However, see footnote 26 on page 108 above. Another valuable source of information is Tyler's Early Guitar. In his list of primary sources (pp. 123-52), he accompanies each entry with a suggested tuning (original if known).

⁷¹Actually Murcia does provide a tuning on page 6 of Resumen. In the "Demonstracion" of the notes of the guitar found there he list the pitches of "Las cinco cuerdas en baccio" as A-D-G-B-E, but does not specify octave position or stringing.

Figure 64. Standard Five-Course Guitar Tunings.



Tuning I, consisting of a bordon and a thin string on both the fourth and fifth-courses, is described by Amat (1596), Montesardo (1606), Sanseverino (1622) and Velasco (1640), and is now generally accepted as the standard tuning for music in rasgueado style.⁷²

With the advent of the mixed-style in Italy came a range of possible stringings and tunings. Tuning II, which utilizes a bordon on the fourth course only, was adopted by Corbetta in the Guitarre Royale (1671), and subsequently became the standard tuning of the French school.⁷³ Tuning

⁷²Jensen concludes that most Italian tablatures before 1650 use tuning I. See Jensen, "Development," 19. It should be noted, however, that the guitarists mentioned above are the only ones to describe this tuning, and that most other Italian collections of the time do not even mention a tuning. (Other tunings are described in France before 1650, although (with the exception of Briceno) without actual music. Briceno (Paris, 1626) uses tuning III while retaining the Italian alfabeto in his rasgueado collection. Mersenne describes the same tuning in his Harmonie Universelle (Paris, 1636-7). Velasco (Naples, 1640) in arguing in favor of tuning I, implies therefore that other tunings were also used.

⁷³Tuning II is described by Carré (1671), De Visée (1683), Derosier (ca. 1690 and 1699) and Campion (1730). The use of this tuning in France for both solo and continuo

III, which uses no bordones, had been advocated in rasgueado style by Briceno (1626) and was now used in campanela style by Bartolotti (1640).⁷⁴

We can describe, therefore (and somewhat simplistically), two approaches to tuning in Italy - tuning I in strummed style and tunings II and III in mixed style; and in France, a single tuning - tuning II.

In Spain we find little agreement amongst the stylistically-diverse collections. We have already noted Amat's tuning with bordones (tuning I) and Briceno's tuning without bordones (tuning III), both of which were used for strummed music. The first seventeenth-century reference to tuning in Spain is found in Sanz's Instruccion (1674), and here are described a number of tunings commonly used in Spain at the time:

In stringing there is variety because the Maestros in Rome string the guitar with thin strings only, not putting on any bordones, neither on the fourth, nor on the fifth. In Spain it is to the contrary, since some use two bordones on the fourth, and other two on the fifth, and ordinarily at least one on each course. These two manners of stringing are good, but for different effects, because he who wishes to play the

playing has been noted by Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," 81-86.

⁷⁴Other Italians who use tuning III are Valdambrini (1646, ca. 1647 and 1648) and Asioli (1674, 1675 and 1676). Two anonymous sources (Bologna Ms. AA360 and Modena, Campori Ms. 612) modify this tuning by adding a high octave on the third course. See Jensen, "Development," 18-9; and Tyler, Brief Tutor. It should also be noted that Bartolotti's second collection in campanela style (ca 1655) uses tuning II. See Tyler, Early Guitar.

guitar to make noisy music, or to accompany the bass with some tone or sonada, the guitar is better with bordones than without them; but if one wishes to pluck with delicacy and sweetness and to use campanelas, which is now the modern way in composing, the bordones do not function well, but only thin strings, on the fourths and likewise on the fifths, of which I have great experience; and the reason is because to play the trills and slurs, and all the other galanterias of the left hand, if there is a bordon it impedes them, because one string is thick and the other thin, and the hand cannot press them equally, nor press a thick string as readily as two thin ones; and furthermore, with bordones, if you make the letter or chord E, which is De lasolre, in the music the fifth [course] will leave open [the interval of] a fourth below, and will confuse the principal bass, and will be somewhat imperfect according to what counterpoint instructs, and thus you may select the manner of the two that pleases you, according to the purpose for which you are playing.⁷⁵

Sanz thus reinforces the functional distinction between tunings with bordones and those without, ascribing

⁷⁵"En el encordar ay variedad, porque en Roma aquellos Maestros solo encuerdan la Guitarra con cuerdas delgadas, sin poner ningun bordon, ni en quarta, ni en quinta. En España es el contrario; pues algunos vsan de dos bordones en el quarta, y otros dos en la quinta, y à lo menos, como de ordinario, una en cada orden. Estos dos modos de encordar son buenos, pero para diversos efectos, porques el que quiere tañer guitarra para hazer musica ruidosa, ò acompañarse el baxo con algun tone, ò sonada, es mejor con bordones la Guitarra, que sin ellos; pero si alguno quiera puntear con primor, y dulçura, y vsar de las campanelas, que es el modo moderno con que aora compone, no salen bien los bordones, sino solo cuerdas delgadas, assi en las quartas, como en las quintas, como tengo grande experiencia; y es la razon, porque para hazer los trinos, y estrasinos, y demàs galanterias de mano izquierda, si ay bordon impide, por ser la una cuerda gruessa, y la otra la delgada, y no poder la mano pissar con igualdad, y sugetar tambien vna cuerda recia, como dos delgadas; y à mas desto, que con bordones, si hazes la letra, ò punto E, que es De lasolre, en las musica sale la quinta vacante en quarta baxo, confunde el principal baxo, y le dà algo de imperfeccion, conforme el contrapunto enseña; y assi puedes escoger el modo que te gustare de lo dos, segun para el fin que tañeres." Sanz, Instruccion, I, 1.

bordon tunings to music in strummed style ("musica ruidosa") and thoroughbass ("acompañarse el baxo"), and tuning without bordones to ornate music in campanela style (citing technical difficulties in the execution of the "galanterias" of the left hand). In discussing the inversional quality of the harmony, he also introduces another criterion by which a tuning may be discussed.⁷⁶

Despite the popularity of Sanz's Instruccion, and the frequent adoption of its materials (both text and music) by subsequent writers, no other Spanish guitarist confirms the tuning that he prescribes (tuning III). Ribayez, who quotes Sanz verbatim on almost everything else, and includes much of his music in his collection, asks for bordones on both lower courses in his instructions for tuning the guitar:

[tune] the thinnest of the fifths (which is ordinarily the highest) and when said fifth is adjusted, its companion is put an octave lower than it, because it is a bordon...[tune] the thinnest of the fourths (which

⁷⁶In the music of the period no regard is given to the inversional quality of a strummed chord. As downstrums are found on downbeats, the emphasis of the higher register of the thin strings somewhat offsets the effect of the lower sounding notes, although these latter, strictly speaking, are often incorrect. Russell has even noted an ambivalence to correct octave register in the continuo treatises. See Russell, "Santiago de Murcia", 82-86. However, in solo punteado playing correct chordal inversion is more rigorously sought. Although Sanz freely ends pieces in rasgueado style on an inverted chord, he takes care to avoid the "somewhat imperfect" inversions in punteado style. There are, however, three punteado pieces in the Instruccion that do end on "imperfect" harmony, two on a 6-3 inversion and one on a 6-4. All three are Passacalles. Instruccion: I, 18; II, 11; and III, 8.

also will usually be the highest) and then its companion is adjusted to it, which is a bordon, an octave lower.⁷⁷

Although Ribayez removes or adjusts the campanela passages from Sanz's originals, it should be noted that it is perfectly possible to execute campanelas using his tuning. Ribayez describes the standard arrangement of the lower courses, in which the thin string is placed uppermost, allowing for the selective emphasis of the thin string when playing with the thumb.⁷⁸ Ribayez's decision to remove the campanela passages may be based, therefore, on stylistic or even commercial grounds rather than on tuning.

There is evidence to suggest that the tuning with bordones (tuning I) persisted through to the end of the eighteenth century. Writing in 1799, Antonio Abreu says:

There is not the least doubt that for playing with much delicacy, and to balance the voices, and to have variety in the campanelas, it is better to match each bordon with a thin string.⁷⁹

⁷⁷"la mas delgada de las quintas (que ordinariamente suele ser la mas alta) y en estando ajustada dicha quinta, se pone la compañera, octaua abaxo con ella, porque es un bordon...la mas delgada de las quartas (que tambien suerle se la mas alta) y despues se ajusta con ella la compañera, que es vn bordon, octuau abaxo." Ribayez, Luz y norte, 11.

⁷⁸See pages 108-109 above.

⁷⁹Quotation taken from Pennington, Spanish Baroque Guitar, 51. Abreu, like Sanz, implies the possibility of a tuning without any thin strings. This may indeed have been the tuning used by Guerau and Santa Cruz, whose contrapuntal musical style, lacking rasgueado and campanela, is in many ways more akin to the lute or even the vihuela than to the guitar. Although Guerau does not address the subject of tuning directly, he does mention bordon stringing in his discussion of other topics in the Poema harmónico. On page

Thus, although citing similar criteria to Sanz, Abreu advocates a different tuning as suitable in campanela style.

Although not advocated by any Spanish guitarist, it appears that French re-entrant tuning (tuning II) was also well-known in Spain, at least by the early eighteenth century. In the Escuela música (Zaragosa, 1724), Pablo Nassarre says:

The Spanish guitar, which is of five courses, although there are also some who vary the tuning, nevertheless the permanent tuning most commonly used is this: the quinta is a second higher than the terceras; the quarta, a fifth higher, or a fourth lower...⁸⁰

Considering the undeniable French influence in Murcia's music, French re-entrant tuning (tuning II) would certainly seem a likely solution for him. And, in fact, this is the tuning that most present-day writers advocate for his music.⁸¹

4r he says "las cinco rayas denotan los cinco ordenes, ò cuerdas de la guitarra; la mas alta el bordòn [the five lines denote the five courses, or strings of the guitar; the uppermost is the bordon];" and on page 5r "si glossa de los bordones àzia arriba [if you run from the bordones upwards]."

⁸⁰"La Guitarra Española, que es cinco ordenes, aunque tambien han variado algunos el temple, no obstante ha sido mas permanente el que comunmente se usa, y es este: la quinta, està segunda arriba de las terceras; la quarta, quinta arriba, o quarta abaxo..." Pablo Nassarre, Escuela música segun la practica moderna (Zaragosa, 1724), Libro IV [IIII], capitulo XVI, prima part, 463.

⁸¹Murphy (1970), Strizich (1972), Lowenfeld (1975), Hall (1980) and Russell (1981) all advocate French re-entrant tuning (tuning II), as does Pennington (1979), who also does not discount the Spanish tradition of tuning with bordons. Macmeeken (1979) assumes no bordons (tuning III).

From the written evidence of the treatises, however, any of the three standard tunings can be argued for Murcia: tuning I, espoused by most of the Spanish guitarists; tuning II according to repertoire; and tuning III due to campanela style. From the evidence of the music, however, the strongest case can be made for tuning III - Sanz's campanela tuning without basses. And for the following reasons: the Saldívar Manuscript, with its wide range of Spanish pieces, effectively counters the French domination previously ascribed to Murcia's music and thus challenges the adoption of French tuning on the grounds of repertoire alone; by Sanz's criterion of the inversional quality of the harmony, tuning III effectively solves the problem of the six-four by dispensing with the bass register (compare the chord voicings generated by each tuning in figure 65); tuning III accounts for the almost complete lack of bass motion in Murcia's music, as well as his relaxed approach to part-writing; the reduction of the open strings of the guitar to a single register best realizes the full potential of Murcia's campanela style - a contrapuntal dialogue of timbre in which pitch register is replaced by sonority.

Tyler suggests tuning II in 1980, but switches to tuning III with a possible high octave on the third course in 1984. Lorimer (1987) suggests French re-entrant tuning, also with a high octave on the third course.

Figure 65. Effect of Tuning on the More Common Alfabeto Letters.

The image shows three guitar positions labeled I, II, and III. Each position is represented by a staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notes are written as circles on the staff, and the fret numbers and fingerings are written below the staff.

Position I: Shows chords for F#m (0, 2, 3, 2), F#m (b) (0, 2, 3, 2), F#m (b) (0, 2, 3, 2), and F#m (b) (0, 2, 3, 2). Fingerings are 4, 3, 3, 3.

Position II: Shows chords for F#m (0, 2, 3, 2), F#m (b) (0, 2, 3, 2), F#m (b) (0, 2, 3, 2), and F#m (b) (0, 2, 3, 2). Fingerings are 3, 4, 3, 4.

Position III: Shows chords for F#m (0, 2, 3, 2), F#m (b) (0, 2, 3, 2), F#m (b) (0, 2, 3, 2), and F#m (b) (0, 2, 3, 2). Fingerings are 4, 3, 4, 3.

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