STRATEGIES FOR THE RECOVERY OF GUITAR MUSIC OF THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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By the mere addition of a fifth string to the four-course renaissance guitar around 1600, an innovation attributed to the poet and musician Vicente Espinel, few would have anticipated the contagious success that lay in store for the *guitarra española*[1]. The added course of strings was little more than a symptom of a broader transformation, however, and the guitar became a significant element in some of the fundamental shifts in musical taste that were occurring in Spain. Ascended from popular origins and always retaining its musical links to its simple roots, the vitality of the guitar's *rasgueado* style added impetus to these developments. Whether played solo or in ensemble, it became the fresh new voice of its era. Particularly in song accompaniment, the simple style of the guitar assisted in the union of popular reality with the idealised Arcadian world of contemporary poets. In Italy, the migrant *chitarra spagnola* enjoyed immediate success and it helped popularise Spanish song abroad at a level previously unknown. In its places of adoption, local musicians created new music in its image, and the manuscripts held in the Biblioteca Riccardiana of Florence are among the most valuable vestiges of the guitar's early career.

The Riccardiana guitar manuscripts share many of the common musical enigmas of the early guitar. These prob-

[1] This legend appears to originate with several of the guitarist's contemporaries, among them Lope de Vega and Cervantes, who credit Vicente Espinel (1550-1624) with the invention of the five-course guitar. This is cemented in the preface of G. Sanz, *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española*, Zaragoza 1674, that also names him as the inventor of the five course guitar. Other contextual evidence, such as Fuenllana's music for five-course vihuela in *Orphenica Lyra* (Seville 1554), suggests that it is more likely for Espinel to have been a leading figure in establishing and consolidating the new style of guitar playing using *rasgueado* style and materials drawn from popular tradition. See R. Pinnell, *Espinel, Vicente* in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Second Revised edition*, London, Macmillan, 2001, 8, pp. 321-322.

lems continue to impede our ability to form a strong image of musical style. The central problem is one of notation and transmission: the notation developed in the early seventeenth century served principally as an *aide de memoire* and it takes for granted the reader's familiarity with the popular music traditions of the time. From a modern perspective, the sources record the music using a notational shorthand that is incomplete, difficult to understand, and that provides only minimal directions for performance. Rhythmic notation is often absent or incomplete, strumming patterns are usually elementary, and the vast majority of songs preserve only the texts with no indication of melodic line. Without adequate background knowledge of the popular music of the period, the sources provide little more than a pale image of the music. However, we need to understand that the repertory belonged to the guitarists who compiled it and that in most instances they probably wrote it down for their own use, rather than for musicians outside their immediate sphere. Logically, they did not attempt to encode the dimensions of the performance style that were commonplace to them. For us, the style is the *terra incognita* between the art music and popular music of the seventeenth century and presents the same problems that will possibly confront musicologists of future centuries who attempt to reconstruct the pop music of today.

The purpose of this study, then, is to address some of the problems deriving from the incomplete notation of early seventeenth-century guitar music, and offer some possible strategies aimed to assist in the recuperation of the music. Most of these methods are comparative and depend on establishing workable relationships between music that survives in precisely notated form with versions preserved in partially notated guitar manuscripts. The examples presented here are from among the most straightforward, and it is quite possible that more sophisticated methods need also to be developed[2]. Similarly, the discussion deliberately proceeds in the most straight-

[2] I omit here the "implicit" method proposed some years ago by Rodrigo de Zayas, a system that derives the melody from the lowest notes of the chords of any song. This method has no historical basis, although it represents a creative attempt at song reconstruction. See R. DE ZAYAS, *Il canzoniere italo-castigliano di Mateo Bezón*, in *La Musica a Napoli durante il Seicento, Contributo musicologico allo studio della cultura napoletana del '600*, in *La musica a Napoli durante il Seicento*, ed. D. A. D'Alessandro - A. Ziino, Roma, Torre d'Orfeo, 1987, pp. 93-103.

forward manner, and I readily acknowledge that many subtleties, exceptions, counterarguments and doubts colour even the simplest reconstructions. Among the available strategies for reconstructing music found in the guitar anthologies, the most direct are those based upon examining the relationships between these pieces and 1) concordant notated solo songs, 2) concordant vocal polyphony, 3) fully notated solo guitar pieces, 4) common melodic-harmonic formulae, 5) popular melodies of the period, and 6) related modern traditional music and performance styles.

Before exploring these strategies in more detail, the particular characteristics of the various notational formats found in the early seventeenth-century sources warrant consideration, both solo guitar pieces and accompanied songs. The four basic formats in use prior to the rise of the *punteado* style all use a musical notation exclusively with chord symbols, sometimes with some rudimentary indication of rhythm. Solo guitar pieces use chord symbols exclusively, primarily using the Italian *alfabeto* system in which each letter of the alphabet represents a particular chord or, less frequently, the short-lived Spanish system in which numbers are used to represent chord symbols. These systems are well described in numerous modern studies and do not require detailed description here[3]. In solo pieces and in some song accompaniments, the music is usually divided into bars and the number of times each chord is to be strummed is indicated together with the direction of each *rasgueo*, up or down. These patterns imply the musical rhythm, but the rhythmic values are seldom specific. It is probable that beginners played exactly what was written but it seems likely that the notation served only as a point of departure for more experienced players. Even if the music were primarily conceived for accompanying dance, it is doubtful that such music would have served adequately to provide levels of challenge and personal satisfaction that correspond to the popularity of the music and the ambitions of players. Furthermore, there are many sources that provide more complex versions of many common simple pieces either by way of more intricate

[3] See J. TYLER, *The Early Guitar*, London, Oxford University Press, 1980, for a comprehensive and practical exposition.

strumming patterns or sophisticated interpolations of passing chords that add considerable harmonic variety[4].

The notation used in songs with guitar accompaniment divides into three types. The most precise format is that in which the melody of the song is given in mensural notation, frequently also with a notated bass line for a melodic continuo instrument, and guitar chords added in *alfabeto* notation. Numerous collections of such songs were printed in Italy in the early years of the seventeenth century and include anthologies by composers such as Sigismondo d'India and Biagio Marini among others[5]. The remaining formats provide no mensural notation and offer only the song texts annotated with the relevant chord symbols. Among them, some sources include rudimentary rhythmic indications, while others provide only the chord symbols. In sources that include rhythmic indications, it is not always clear whether these apply primarily to the guitar part or the vocal melody, although this distinction is probably irrelevant to a performance practice of self-accompanying singers. The songs were essentially sung from memory, whether to known melodies pertaining specifically to each song or to melodic formulae associated with either dance patterns or *arie da cantar*. There is no evidence to suggest that the nature of the notation implies the rhythmic style of the music, which may have ranged from free declamatory monodies through to rhythmic dance songs. The absence of melodic notation for the voice, and the imprecise guitar notation are the principal difficulties posed by the repertory contained in many sources including the Riccardiana manuscripts.

Although baroque guitars have become increasingly frequent in modern historical performances and recordings, their prominence has not been accompanied by a parallel growth in scholarly studies. Even if the present study aims to stimulate this can take as its point of departure very significant research conducted in the 1970s and 1980s notably by Richard Hudson and John Baron. Their work represents an invaluable foundation to early guitar research

[4] See in particular R. HUDSON, *The Folia, the Saraband, 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, 35, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, American Institute of Musicology - Hänssler, 1982.

[5] S. D'INDIA, *Le musiche. Libro primo*, Milano 1609, B. MARINI, *Scherzi e canzonette*, Parma 1622.

through their insightful, systematic studies and the comparative evaluation of so many of the surviving sources from the period in which the *rasgueado* style flourished. Hudson's systematic four-volume study of the development of the folia, and similar genres must be singled out, together with a multitude of additional articles [6]. Similarly, Baron's observations on Spanish song in Italian sources including the Riccardiana manuscripts represent another significant point of departure [7]. While Hudson has provided comprehensive and systematic transcriptions of copious numbers of pieces from the early sources, Baron opened many scholarly eyes to the relationships between guitar songs and contemporary vocal polyphony as well as various aspects of performance practice, ranging from the role of memory through to the possibilities of monodic recitative performance [8].

Concordant solo songs

A number of songs survive with notated melodies that are concordant with *rasgueado* guitar songs. These provide relatively rare opportunities to gain insight into the nature of guitar songs, and permit credible reconstruction of the guitar versions of these songs. Most notated versions are songs with lute accompaniment or a basso continuo part. Establishing musical concordances with identified textual concordances is the aim. The vital question is whether the pieces are also musically concordant. This depends on harmonic resemblance. In effect, a close correla-

[6] In addition to the book cited in note 4, see also R. HUDSON, *Chordal Aspects of the Italian Dance Style, 1500-1650*, in "Journal of the Lute Society of America", III, 1970, pp. 35-52; ID., *The Folia Dance and the Folia Formula in 17th-century Guitar Music*, in "Musica Disciplina", XXV, 1971, pp. 199-221; ID., *The Music in Italian Tablatures for Five-Course Guitar*, in "Journal of the Lute Society of America", IV, 1971, pp. 21-42; ID., *The* Zarabanda *and the* Zarabanda Francese *in the Italian Guitar Music of the Early Seventeenth Century*, in "Musica Disciplina", XXIV, 1970, pp. 125-149; ID., *The Folia Melodies*, in "Acta Musicologica", XLV, 1973, pp. 98-119; ID., *Passacaglia and Ciaccona: From Guitar Music to Italian Keyboard Variations in Seventeenth Century*, in *Studies in Musicology*, 37, Ann Arbor, UMI, American Institute of Musicology - Hänssler, 1981.

[7] J. H. BARON, *Secular Spanish Song in Non-Spanish Sources. 1599-1640*, in "Journal of the American Musicological Society", XXX, 1977, pp. 20-42; ID., *Spanish Art Song in the Seventeenth Century*, in *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era*, 49, ed. J. H. Baron, Madison, A-R Editions, 1985.

[8] BARON, *Secular Spanish Song*, cit., p. 28. Baron also considers the older and less probable notion that, due to the absence of melodic notation, the songs were recited to a musical accompaniment.

tion between the harmonic structure of notated songs and the guitar chords of matching texts signifies the strong possibility that the are melodies the same, or closely related.

An example of a successful reconstruction of this type is the song *Vuestros ojos, Dama, tienen no sé qué*. The song evidently enjoyed a certain popularity in the early seventeenth century as four versions are preserved in the Riccardiana manuscripts and another in the guitar manuscript Modena 2[9]. In all versions, it is notated only with chord symbols above the text. The Modena version, typical of the other settings, includes no strumming indications for the *rasgueado* accompaniment or other rhythmic notation. In diplomatic reproduction, the estribillo is as follows:

d a b e f d
Vuestros ojos Dama tienen no sé qué

a g b e b
Que me mata, me yela, me rova, me mata,

g a b
Que me matan, que matan a fe

e f d d e f
Que me matan me matan a fe, a fe, a fe

b e f d
Que me matan, me matan a fe.

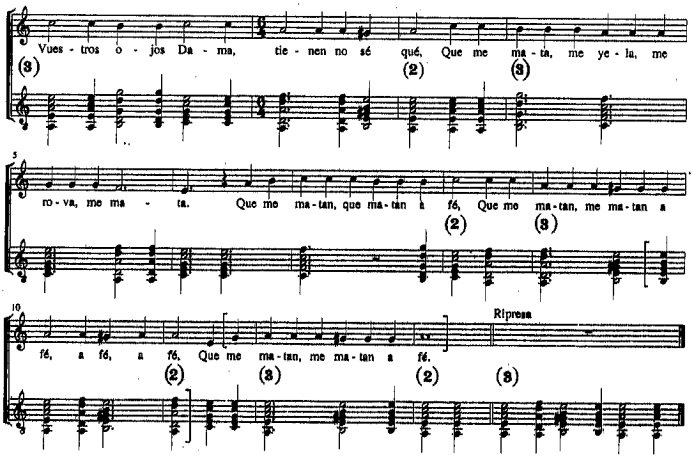
In his 1977 study, Baron successfully reconstructed this song using a notated version found on folios 62v-63 of the second volume of Ballard's *Airs de cour mis en tablature de luth* (Paris 1609)[10]. Given there with a minor textual variant of the first verse as *Vuestros ojos tienen d'Amor no sé qué*, the song is presented with a fully notated melody and the accompaniment set in French lute tablature. His reconstruction (ex. 1) was produced by superimposing the harmonies of the Modena 2 version onto the notated version printed by Ballard. Transposed a whole tone to the key of the guitar accompaniment, the melodic contour of Ballard's melody matches the chord progressions of Modena 2, despite the minor differences in text repetition, indicated by square brackets in the example[11].

[9] Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS a.P.6.22 = Modena 2.

[10] BARON, *Secular Spanish Song*, cit., pp. 28-30.

[11] Following the conventions of modern editions of strummed guitar music, chords with descending tails are played as downstrokes from the lowest note to the highest, and the reverse for chords with ascending tails.

Ex. 1, *Vuestros ojos, Dama, tienen no sé qué* [as reconstructed by John Baron]:

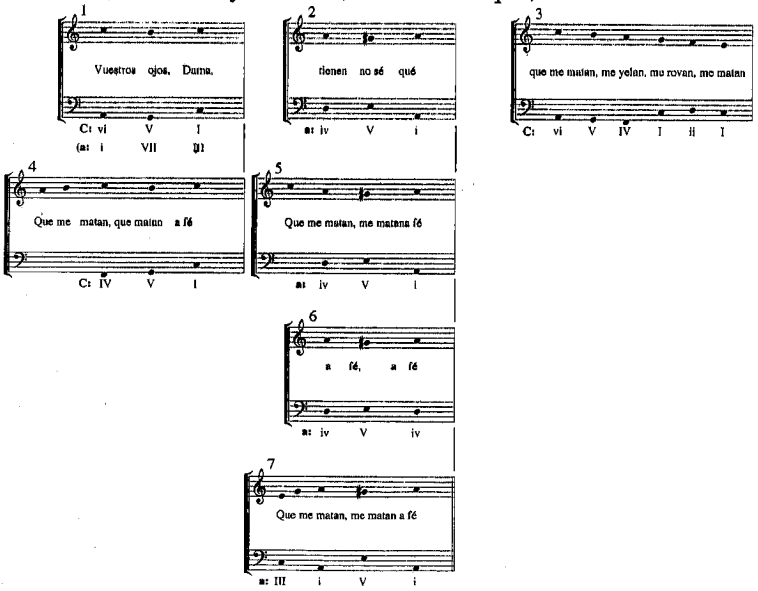


The melody and harmonies of *Vuestros ojos* are presumably particular to it. The song is certainly not based on any of the common melodic-harmonic schemes of the period, nor is its melody a known *aria da cantar*. Albeit a melody unique to the text of the poem, the song does appear to be composed using a small number of basic elements, melodic gestures that are part of the musical language of Spanish baroque popular-style song. Through systematic analysis of a substantial number of such songs, it may well be possible to define these formulae and use them as material for song reconstruction, or towards recreating an improvisatory performance analogous to that used by seventeenth-century guitarists. The object of such an analysis would be firstly to identify common patterns and, secondly, to enumerate the harmonic progressions associated with certain melodic formulae. This could be refined even further through a calculation that would allow us to predict the extent to which any given harmonic progression would imply the use of any given melodic formula. Although an examination of a broad selection of pieces is beyond the scope of the present study, several observations can be made about *Vuestros ojos* that indicate the potential of such a study. Even if not able to be extended to broader generalisations at this stage, they certainly permit a closer understanding of the way that this particular song was composed. Of the general features that deserve attention is the irregular alternation of duple and triple

meter, a common feature of many seventeenth-century Spanish songs. In this essentially triple piece, the duple bars (bars 3, 8, 11 and 13) all correspond with phrase ends: each duple bar begins on the last syllable of every verse that concludes with a leading tone cadence. The intention is apparently to shorten the time between the conclusion of each phrase and the commencement of the subsequent one. If the composer wished to maintain metric regularity, it would have been simple to double the duration of the first note of each of these bars.

Similarly, general observations can be made about the harmonic language of *Vuestros ojos*. The piece is firmly rooted in A minor, with the *estribillo* (ex. 1) unfolding as a rapid succession of cadential progressions in A minor and C major. All the cadences, except the C major resolution of the second phrase in bar 6, are based on IV-V-I or iv-V-i progressions. Otherwise, the initial progression uses chords on III and VII in the context of A minor, a vocabulary associated with the common melodic-harmonic formulae of the period, notably the folia. Examined in closer detail, the song shows itself to be based on three motives. Example 2 presents the *estribillo* reduced to a two-part scheme and segmented into motives and progressions. The two fundamental motives (1 and 2) are simple leading-tone

Ex. 2, *Vuestros ojos, Dama, tienen no sé qué*, reduction:



cadential progressions on A and C, and the only exception to this is phrase 3, a similarly simple melodic descent of a sixth. This segmentation shows the intensely formulaic construction of the song.

While the example of *Vuestros ojos* presents an optimistic case for the reconstruction of songs from concordant settings, textual concordances do not always produce musical ones. As an example of one negative result, it is interesting to note that the setting of Guarini's *Amarilli mia bella* in Mateo Bezón's manuscript *Canzone spagnole per chitarra* (Naples 1599) bears no musical relationship to the famous setting by Caccini [12]. This is surprising given the renown of Caccini's setting, as well as other circumstances that might have made this a more likely candidate for a positive concordance. Four Spanish song texts found in the Bezón book also appear in Bataille's collections of *Airs de Cour* (1608-15), and there is strong evidence that Giulio Caccini may have been among the first singers to transmit to France as early as 1605 the new Spanish repertory that had become so popular in Florence [13]. Notwithstanding, the comparative studies of *rasgueado* guitar songs and cognate versions has not been exhaustive, and further materials have come to light since Baron's study including a collection of forty Spanish songs with mensural notation and guitar chords in Barcelona [14].

Concordant vocal polyphony

Just as solo song, polyphonic vocal settings provide numerous concordances with *rasgueado* guitar songs. While the superimposition of the harmonies of a guitar song onto a polyphonic setting can be accomplished with

[12] Mateo Bezón, *Canzoni spagnole per chitarra*, a manuscript anthology compiled in Naples 1599-1600, now in the Biblioteca de Zayas, Seville. See J. GRIFFITHS, *Bezón, Mateo*, in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, ed. E. Casares et al., Madrid, Fundación Autor, 1999.

[13] Giulio Caccini, in a letter written in Paris (19 February 1605), describes that he had sung for the queen at the Louvre Palace in Italian, French and Spanish. See DE ZAYAS, *Il canzoniere italo-castigliano di Mateo Bezón*, cit., p. 102.

[14] Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS Mús 759/2-15. An inventory of the contents of these twelve loose sheets is given in M. J. YAKELEY, *New Sources of Spanish Music for the Five-Course Guitar*, in "Revista de Musicología", XIX, 1996, pp. 267-288.

the same ease as with solo songs, they are more ambiguous as there is no guarantee that the highest polyphonic voice is the intended melody of the solo song. Baron has shown in the case of *En esta larga ausencia*, a solo song preserved with a notated melody in Riccardiana manuscript 2793, that the melody corresponds to the second *tiple* of the polyphonic setting in the Madrid *Romances y letras* manuscript [15]. In cases in which no notated solo cognate version survives, there can be no certainty which of the polyphonic voices corresponds to the original solo song. At best, it might be possible to argue the case on the stylistic features of the distinct polyphonic parts. Notwithstanding, Baron identified twenty-two Spanish solo songs with concordant texts in polyphonic settings, and some of these are probably very similar, if not identical to the guitar versions. He provides examples of one further song from Riccardiana manuscript 2793 with a concordance in the *Romances y letras* manuscript, and another from manuscript 2804 with a musical concordance in the *Cancionero de la Sablonara* ascribed to Mateo Romero [16]. These melodies can be sung perfectly to the chordal accompaniments in the manuscripts. Since Baron's research, the number has increased substantially and the catalogue assembled by Judith Etzion in 1988 is an invaluable research tool [17].

Another factor that inhibits the reconstruction of solo songs from polyphonic concordances is the question of origin. In the case of concordant solo and polyphonic settings, reconstructions might be realised with greater confidence if it could be established that they were derived from polyphonic settings. As such, they would represent simplified arrangements for guitar and solo voice of polyphonic originals. It is equally likely, however, that polyphonic settings were made from well-known solo songs and that the compo-

[15] The song is copied on fol. 84 of Riccardiana 2793, and the vocal concordance is edited in *Romances y letras a tres vozes (Siglo XVII)*, ed. M. QUEROL, in *Monumentos de la Música Española*, 18, Barcelona, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1956, p. 66. See BARON, *Secular Spanish Song*, cit., p. 35.

[16] The melody of *Durmióse Cupido al son* (Riccardiana 2973, fol. 29v) corresponds to the altus of the polyphonic version in QUEROL, *Romances y Letras*, cit., pp. 123-124; and the melody of *O si bolassen las oras del pesar* (Riccardiana MS 2804, fol. 153v) concords with the soprano of the two-part version in J. ETZION, *El Cancionero de la Sablonara: A Critical Edition*, London, Tamesis Books, 1996, pp. 241-242.

[17] J. ETZION, *The Spanish Polyphonic Cancioneros c. 1580-1650*, in "Revista de Musicología", XI, 1988, pp. 65-107.

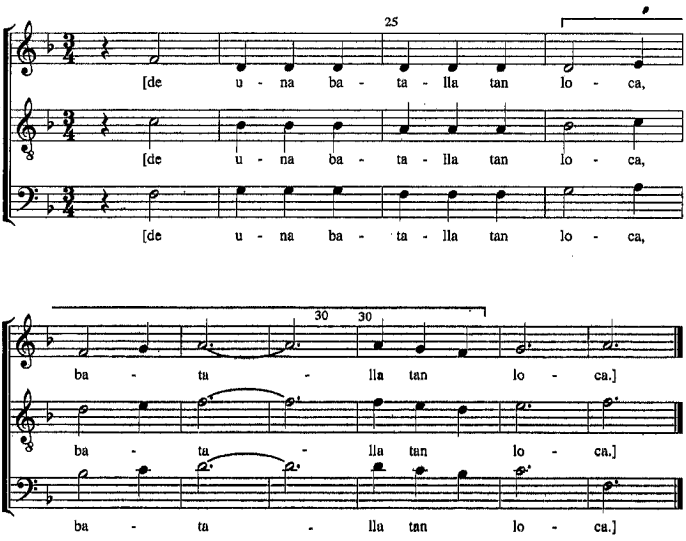
sition of more sophisticated settings may have involved more extensive reworking of the original materials in the process of adaptation. Although Baron was of the opinion that the guitar songs were probably simplified arrangements of vocal polyphony, the reverse is highly probable. Some of the connections between the *cancioneros* of Spanish polyphony and the guitar song repertory invite a closer examination of this relationship. The fact that several of the identified composers of early seventeenth-century polyphonic secular songs were also renowned guitarists such as Juan de Palomares and Blas de Castro cannot be overlooked. This link suggests the likelihood that some of the preserved polyphonic songs were conceived as guitar songs and later arranged as more sophisticated polyphonic versions. Evidence for this assertion can be found in some of the polyphonic writing in these songs. One passage that reveals this possibility occurs in the anonymous setting of Lope de Vega's *Ya es tiempo de recoger* (ex. 3) in the *Romances y letras* manuscript[18]. No trained polyphonist would have written a passage of deliberate parallel fifths, indicated in the example in brackets, such as the one that concludes the refrain of this song. The most probable explanation of this is that it is a progression transposed directly from the fingerboard of the guitar into a polyphonic context. This progression falls under the fingers with the greatest of ease, moving along the upper three strings using common chord positions, and is highly effective guitar writing. Beyond the details of idiomatic writing such as these, however, is a more fundamental point. Examples such as this one suggest that concordant polyphonic songs are possibly more than mere concordances; they are possibly alternate versions made by the same composers but using another mode of expression.

Notated solo guitar pieces

Many solo songs with *alfabeto* chordal accompaniment were sung to common melodic-harmonic schemes that were also used as dance music and played as solo guitar pieces. The rubrics to a large number of the songs in the guitar sources indicate that they were to be sung as passacaglias,

[18] QUEROL, *Romances y Letras*, cit., pp. 54-55.

Ex. 3, anon., *Ya es tiempo de recoger*, bars 23-32.



folias, chaconas, zarabandas españolas, and so on. Solo guitar versions in *rasgueado* style thus also provide useful material for the reconstruction of songs. In the first instance, they are useful in reconstructing the rhythmic patterns of the songs and the positions in the rhythmic scheme where harmonic changes occur, as these are infrequently clarified in the song sources. In numerous instances, however, the chord progressions of many songs do not appear to conform to the standard archetypes. In some cases this may because a given song has been conceived perhaps using the rhythm of a dance or a poetic structure associated with a particular musical scheme, but has been set to different music. These latter songs are much more difficult to restore as there is virtually no model upon which to base a reconstruction. However, the solo guitar sources have shown that many of the standard musical schemes were applied with considerable variety. Some of these schemes appear in solo guitar sources in both the major and minor mode, and it is not unusual to find one or more of the regular chords substituted by others.

Benedetto Sanseverino shows some basic variables of the passacalle or passacaglia in his 1620 book[19]. Under the

[19] B. SANSEVERINO, *Intavolatura facile*, Milano 1620. Transcriptions of these *passacalli* are given in HUDSON, *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaccone*, cit., vol. 3, pp. 18-19.

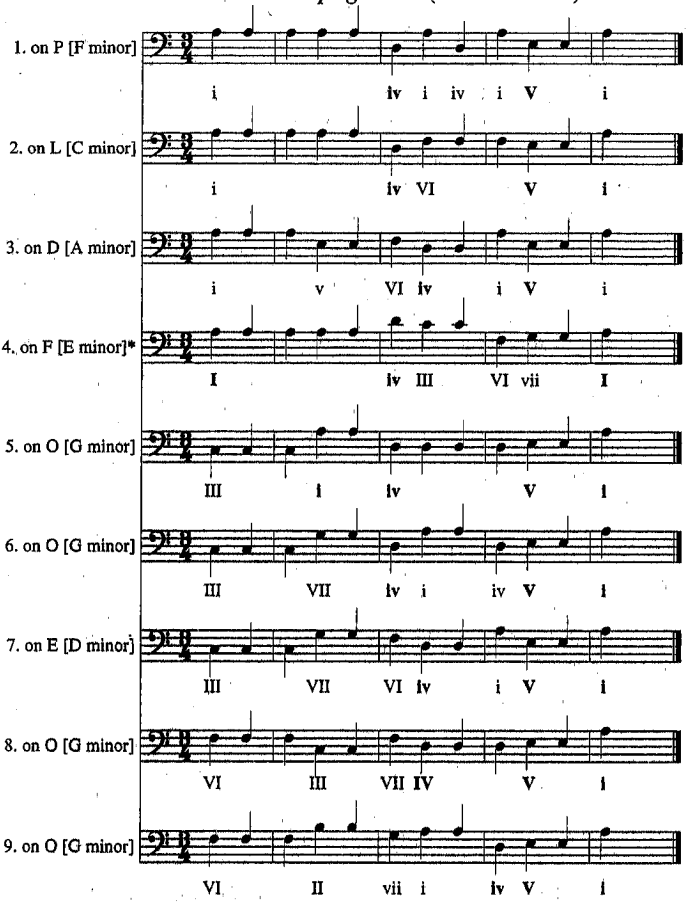
heading of *Passacalli facili variati in quattro modi composti sopra tutte le lettere dell'alfabeto necessarij da practicarsi da quelli che vogliono imparare a suonare la chitarra alla spagnola*, the Italian guitarist presents four strumming patterns that he defines as modes [20]. These are in both duple and triple meter, with diverse combinations of up and down strokes. Among these examples, he gives not only the archetypal I-IV-V-I progression of the early passacaglia in the major mode, but also i-iv-V-i, I-iv-V-I, I-IV-iv-V-I and i-IV-V-i, that is, in the minor mode and in several hybrid major-minor mixtures. The superimposition of solo guitar music onto songs that display similar variations from the norm can thus help to flesh out the songs, especially if a congruence between harmonic patterns, chord placement and syllable count can be established.

Guitarists such as Giovanni Ambrosio Colonna provide examples of the way that schemes such as the passacaglia were varied by the use of substitute chords. As Hudson has shown by reference to a broad number of sources, chord substitution was a legitimate form of variation in *rasgueado* guitar playing. Again, it is likely that some of these may be embedded in the strummed accompaniments of songs and that decoding such substitutions may be able to bring us closer to melodic archetypes associable with the songs. Hudson's transcription of *Passacalli passeggiati* by Giovanni Ambrosio Colonna from his 1620 book (ex. 4) gives some indication of the variables [21]. In these examples, nearly all in minor keys, chords on the third, sixth and seventh degrees adorn or substitute chords of the basic I-IV-V-I progression. Based on Hudson's transcription, each of the nine passacaglia variants has been transposed to the same key, and the chords of the basic pattern are shown in bold type. The number of harmonic variants of the passacaglia is possibly one of the factors that has impeded scholars in deriving a simple melodic archetype for the passacaglia, despite its enormous popularity and the abundance of surviving examples.

[20] "Simple varied *passacalli* in four modes, composed on all the letters of the alphabet [i.e. in all keys] that are necessary to anyone wishing to learn to play the guitar in the Spanish style".

[21] G. A. COLONNA, *Intavolatura di chitarra alla spagnuola*, Milano 1620, p. 1. The version given in example 4 are derived from those given by HUDSON, *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaccone*, cit., vol. 3, pp. 19-20.

Ex. 4, Giovanni Ambrosio Colonna, *Passacalli passeggiati* from *Intavolatura di chitarra alla spagnuola* (Milano 1620).



Common melodic-harmonic formulae

The abundance of pieces based on melodic-harmonic schemes is one of the striking characteristics of the early guitar repertory and, in some cases, the archetypes of these melodies have survived in dance music or *arie da cantar*. Both the folia and the romanesca are good examples. Again, Hudson's work has been central in the definition and clarification of these formulae and his chronological anthologies of surviving manifestations permit us to see the variety of ways that the skeletal models were employed.

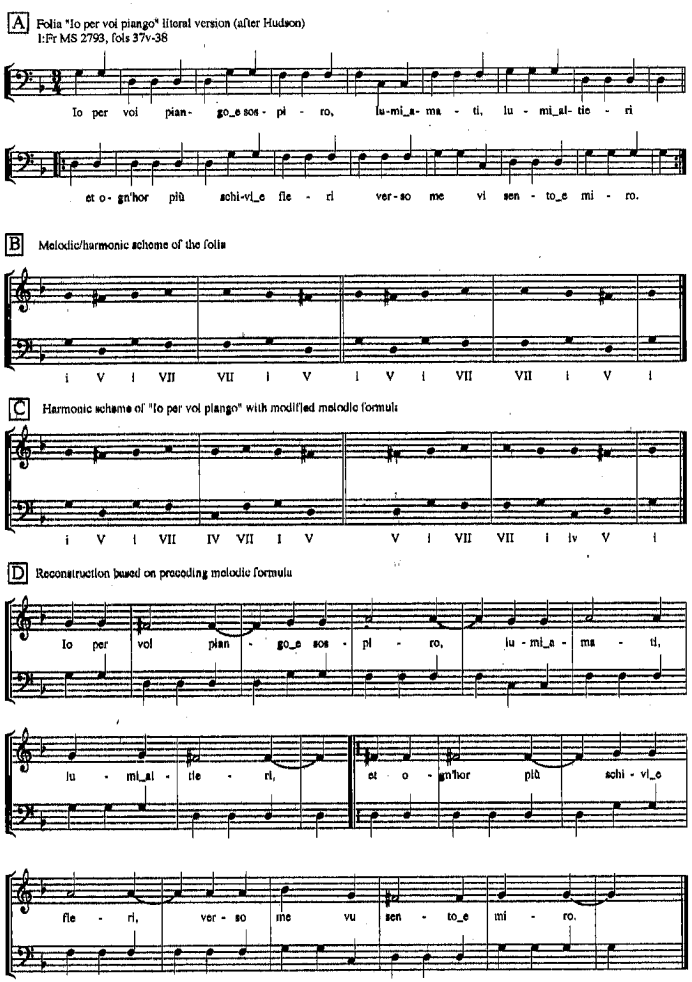
The folia is one of the most prolific of these types and provides a good starting point. The essential identifying feature of the folia is its initial harmonic progression i-V-i-VII, although many of the early seventeenth-century versions in guitar books are cast in a major key[22]. *Io per voi piango* (Riccardiana 2793, fols 37v-38) is a good example of the type of song that can have the melodic-harmonic scheme of the folia superimposed upon it to produce a credible reconstruction (ex. 5). Given that the manuscript indicates the song to be sung "sopra folia", it seems safe to regard the reconstruction as a credible point of departure. Example 5 (A) presents *Io per voi piango* based on Richard Hudson's transcription, showing the root note of each chord with the direction of the note stems indicating the direction of strumming[23]. The following folia model (B) gives the melodic-harmonic scheme of the folia in its typical early-seventeenth century form. The reconstruction is projected by superimposing this model onto the surviving song, modifying the melodic scheme in line with the harmonic differences with the model (C). The final realisation (D) takes the melodic and harmonic scheme and distributes it according to the rhythmic disposition given in the Riccardiana manuscript.

Io per voi piango exhibits a number of differences that do not correspond exactly to the folia model, but as is the case with many similar variants in other early seventeenth-century settings, these do not obscure the central identity of the folia scheme. Most typical of these earlier settings is the absence of chord III at the beginning of the second and fourth phrases. In the first half of the Riccardiana setting of *Io per voi piango*, chord IV is added at the beginning of the second phrase. This change requires a corresponding alteration to the schematic melody, such as using G instead of A against the added chord IV. The other difference between the two versions is the use of chord iv in the final cadential progression of the Riccardiana setting.

[22] Derived from the older Spanish *pavana*, the scheme was known by the name folia by the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The oldest recorded music named folia (*Vulgares quas Lusitani Fallias vocant*) is the melody given by SALINAS in *De musica libri septem*, Salamanca 1577, p. 308. The earliest harmonised instrumental versions specifically named folia are among the vihuela pieces included in the manuscript anthology *Ramillete de flores nuevas* (E-Mn Ms 6001), dated 1593.

[23] HUDSON, *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaccone*, cit., vol. 1, ex. 19, p. 11.

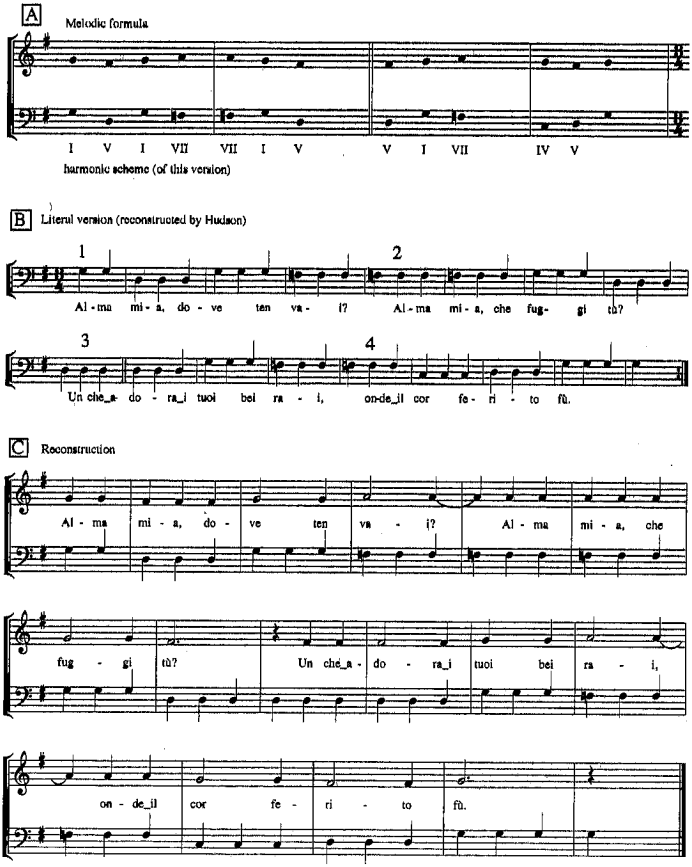
Ex. 5, "Sopra folia", *Io per voi piango*, Riccardiana 2793, fols 37v-38



As is implicit in the previous example, the common melodic-harmonic schemes were, in practice, templates for improvisation and variation rather than narrow strictures. The performance of songs and other music based on common melodic-harmonic schemes, whether improvised or from notated scores, was subject to considerable variety. The song *Alma mia* found in Riccardiana manuscript

2951, fols 153-154v (ex. 6) is similar to *Io per voi piango* but is a folia set in the major mode. Part A of the example gives the chord sequence given in the manuscript together with the corresponding melodic notes of the folia scheme. Hudson, in line with the previous strategy, superimposed a solo *rasgueado* version of the same scheme from folio 5 of the manuscript onto the unrhythmicised original copy of the song to produce the rhythmic version (B). The final version (C) combines the two: the solo guitar version is superimposed on the song to give it a rhythmic structure, and the folia formula is added to provide a melodic line.

Ex. 6, Folia *Alma mia*



Melodies derived from later sources

While schemes such as the early folia appear to have existed more as outlines rather than actual melodies, there are also many melodies, complete in both rhythmic and melodic dimensions, that were commonly used as *arie da cantar*. Many of the common Spanish melodies are collected in the later seventeenth-century Spanish guitar books containing simple pieces for beginners, or as the opening sections of variation sets. The books of Sanz and Ribayaz are treasuries of these melodies[24]. These sources define the essential melodic, rhythmic and harmonic characteristics of the melodies, and the comparison of concordant versions confirms their generic identity.

One of these melodies is the Spanish *villano* (ex. 7) first cited by Salinas in *De Musica libri septem* (1577) in his discussion of classical metres and given as an example of the simple binary pyrrhic metre (*metro pirriquio*). This early reference not only establishes the heritage of the piece, but also its rhythmic identity[25]. Numerous sources attest to the stable form of the model over a span of one hundred years. These range from a polyphonic setting in the *Romances* y Letras manuscript compiled around 1600 (B), through to solo guitar versions by Sanz and Guerau in the last quarter of the seventeenth century (A). *Rasgueado* song settings of the *villano* are found in numerous manuscript sources such as Riccardiana 2973 as well as printed collections, including Briçeño's

[24] SANZ, *Instrucción de música*, cit.; L. RUIZ DE RIBAYAZ, *Luz y norte musical para caminar por las cifras de la guitarra española y arpa, tañer, y cantar a compás por canto de órgano; y breve explicación del arte*, Madrid 1677.

[25] In *De Musica libri septem* (1577), Salinas mentions this song specifically within his discussion of the phyrric metre [phyrriquis], a simple duple foot (short-short) characteristic of military music and the like: "This metre is used in pipe and tabor melodies, and in certain popular songs closely connected with dance music" (p. 295). "According to this metre and according to these modes is composed the melody known in Spain as the *villano* because the people of the towns [*villas*] and the country usually dance to more than others [...] It is also used by the Italians from Bergamo who use it to sing the most comic of songs (p. 296). According to Pepe Rey, it appears in all sources until the late seventeenth century in duple metre; see J. J. REY, *Danzas cantadas en el renacimiento español*, Madrid, Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1978, pp. 23-24.

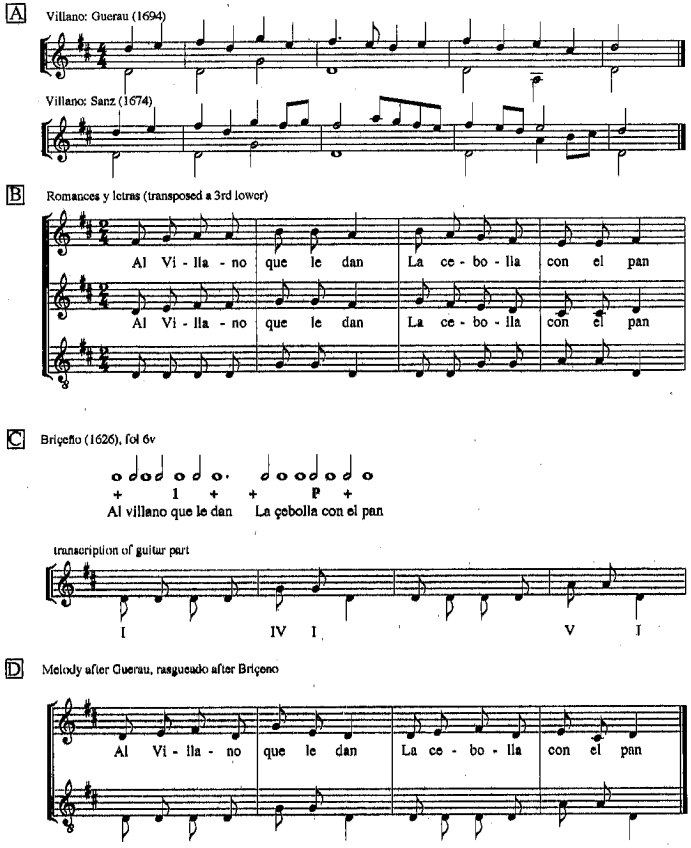
Método muy facilíssimo of 1626[26]. In using Briçeño's setting, I wish also to clarify the nature of the rhythmic notation used by the expatriate Spaniard. Throughout his book Briçeño uses semibreves and minims to indicate rhythm. While numerous scholars have interpreted these mensural signs literally, Yakely has argued convincingly that these are not to be read quantitatively but as indications of strumming direction[27]. Her argument that the semibreves represent downstrokes and the minims upstrokes is borne out in this discussion of the *villano* which survives in all notated examples in simple binary rhythm rather than the compound rhythm derived from a literal reading of Briçeño's signs. Briçeño's original notation is reproduced as example 7C, showing both his original rhythmic signs and the Spanish system of chord symbols, followed by a transcription of the guitar part according to the non-mensural reading of his rhythmic signs. The reconstruction of the song given in Briçeño's book is therefore a simple superimposition of the melody from Guerau's solo guitar version onto Briçeño's incomplete notation (D).

In other instances and with different schemes, definitive reconstructions cannot be realised with the same confidence. A more problematic case is the Spanish *Danza de las hachas* (ex. 8), due in part to the similarities between this melody and an older sixteenth-century romanesca scheme, known in Spain as *Guárdame las vacas*. Comparison of the romanesca scheme (A) with Sanz's solo guitar version of the *Danza de las hachas* (B) shows the common harmonic identity, while Sanz's melodic scheme follows the same descending contour, but a third lower. It is likely that seventeenth-century musicians may have identified these melodies as interchangeable if not identical given their similar melodic identity and harmonic structure. In fact, the *Danza de las hachas* may be regarded as little more than a perpetuation of the older model. Given the similarities, it would thus be possible to sing Briçeño's *Danza de la hacha*, "Tú la tienes Pedro" to either version of the

[26] L. BRIÇEÑO, *Método muy facilíssimo para aprender a tañer la guitarra a lo español*, Paris 1626.

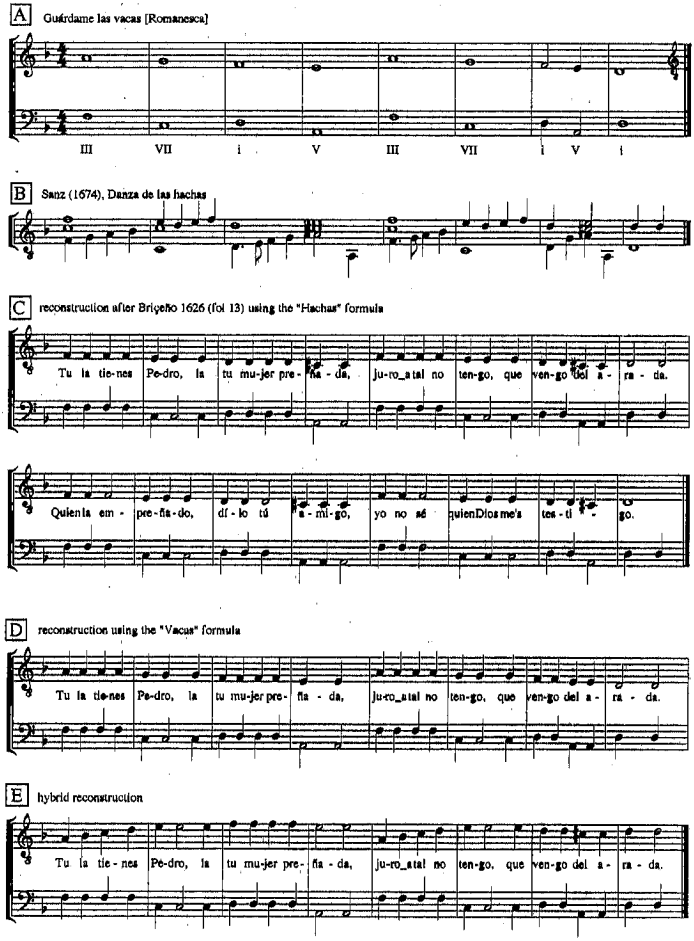
[27] See YAKELEY, *New Sources*, cit., p. 288. The piece is transcribed according to this reading can in example 7, below.

Ex. 7, Villano, *Al villano que le dan*



melody (ex. 8C and ex. 8D), or for performers to have improvised their own melodies around either or both melodies. Example 8E offers one possible combination of the two. The principal difference is that the simple pattern of repeated pitches has been replaced here with a more flowing line that alternates between the principal notes of both schemes.

Ex. 8, *Danza de las hachas*



Comparison with traditional music and performance styles

The final type of source material that offers scope for contributing further to the restoration of seventeenth-century guitar songs involves the use of materials preserved in oral traditions. Here I can only offer a challenge to future researchers rather than presenting potential solutions through specific example. Particularly in the case of Spanish music, both native Iberian folklore and the remnants of pa

Iberian traditions embedded in various forms of Latin American music may offer us assistance at the point where traditional historical materials leave few avenues for further exploration. Comparative studies are tentative and present considerable difficulty at the point of trying to establish definitive links between material surviving in oral tradition with historically remote models. In the case of Sephardic romances transmitted throughout the Mediterranean diaspora and preserved in oral tradition, studies have shown that texts are preserved with far greater fidelity than melodies, and that many virtually unaltered texts are sung to completely different melodies in different geographical regions. Notwithstanding these limitations, some scholars have demonstrated potentially tangible links between Spanish songs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and orally transmitted versions. In 1955, Marius Schneider connected a song preserved in the region of Granada with a villancico by the sixteenth-century vihuelist Alonso Mudarra[28], and more recently Judith Etzion and Susana Weich-Shahak have elaborated a sophisticated methodology for comparing early and oral materials[29]. Over the years, I have heard reports from both Spanish and Latin American scholars indicating the preservation in oral tradition of texts of songs from the seventeenth-century guitar repertory, although I am not aware that any results have been published[30]. The lack of collaborative work by ethnomusicologists and historical musicologists and the difficulties of access to local research in Latin America have impeded progress in comparative studies. It can only be hoped that collaborative ventures such as the recent *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana* will facilitate a closer rapport between disparate areas of study[31].

Beyond the question of preserved texts, melodies and source materials, there are many other facets of old Span-

[28] M. SCHNEIDER, *Un villancico de Alonso Mudarra procedente de la música popular granadina*, in "Anuario Musical", X, 1955, pp. 79-83.

[29] J. ETZION - S. WEICH-SHAHAK, *'Family resemblances' and Variability in the Sephardic Romancero: A Methodological Approach to Variantal Comparison*", in "Journal of Music Theory", XXXVII, 1993, pp. 267-310.

[30] Gerardo Arriaga, for example, read a paper at a joint meeting of the Spanish and Portuguese musicological societies at the Gulbenkian Foundation (Lisbon) in 1989 pointing to the texts of guitar songs preserved orally as children's play songs in Mexico.

[31] *Diccionario de la música española* cit.

ish musical traditions that are still alive in Latin America[32]; maybe also in contemporary Italian or Spanish folklore. There are certainly aspects Latin American folk and popular music that still bear traces of the traditions and practices brought to the Americas by colonists and conquistadors. Even though the problems of peeling away the layers of centuries of transformation, acculturation and change present enormous challenges, it may well be possible to develop methodologies that will assist in elucidating lost elements of early European guitar traditions. In contemporary historical practice, we see guitarists experimenting with strumming styles and instrumental techniques that are derived from practices associated with the Venezuelan *cuatro* or the *charango* of the Andean region. While many of these responses are intuitive, they offer the potential for more deeply analytical scholarly study. The virtuoso strumming techniques of these instruments are most certainly descended from Mediterranean practices that are only hinted at in surviving European sources, such as the "passacaglio repicco" from Riccardiana 2793 [fol 17v][33]. These aspects are still *terra incognita*, but such possibilities serve to remind us that, despite the simplicity of the notation and despite the many enigmas, the repertory of the seventeenth-century *guitarra española* was certainly one of enormous vivacity and colour.

[32] These include techniques of instrument building, the means of disseminating printed copies of popular music in forms equivalent to broadsheets, the use of some of the old harmonic schemes in popular song, and the musical extemporisation of improvised poetry.

[33] See HUDSON, *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaconne*, cit. vol. 3, p. 21.

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