APPROACHES TO ACCOMPANIMENT ON THE BAROQUE GUITAR c.1590-c.1730

by

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ABSTRACT

The five-course guitar was used as an instrument of accompaniment from the mid-sixteenth to the late-eighteenth century, yet its importance in this role has largely been overlooked in scholarship to date. While there are some isolated studies of individual sources, this is the first comprehensive study of the substantial body of extant guidelines with a view to understanding the styles of accompaniment on the instrument and how their practices developed during this period. This thesis documents the chronological development of the performance practices in such a way that parallels may be drawn between these sources and treatises for other instruments of accompaniment. Guitar accompaniments were, however, also strongly influenced by the performance practices associated with *alfabeto* chord symbols. Thus, to enable an understanding of the more idiomatic characteristics of guitar accompaniment stemming from *alfabeto* practices, a detailed evaluation of the true sophistication of the language of *alfabeto* is provided for the first time. This study provides a complete re-evaluation of the five-course guitar as an instrument of accompaniment; it challenges the past relegation of the instrument to 'light' or 'frivolous' musical repertoires; and it highlights the various approaches that were adopted in diverse performance contexts.



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GLOSSARY

ALFABETO – An Italian system of notation for the five-course guitar, consisting of mostly alphabetical chord symbols.

ALFABETO DISSONANTE – Chord symbols for dissonant harmonies devised by Foscarini.

ALFABETO FALSO – Chord symbols for dissonant harmonies devised by Corbetta.

B QUADRO/B MOLLE – In pre-tonal music there were two key signatures, one with no flat (*b quadro*) and one with a flat (*b molle*).

BOURDON – The lower octave that is sometimes added to the fourth or fifth course to increase the lower range of the guitar.

CAMPANELLA – An effect made possible by the re-entrant tuning of the five-course guitar which allows the performer to play each note of a scalic passage on a different course.

CIFRAS – A Spanish system of notation for the five-course guitar, consisting of mostly numerical chord symbols. There are two varieties of *cifras*, Castilian and Catalan.

LETTERE FALSE – Chord symbols devised by Millioni to serve as alternatives to the standard *alfabeto* symbols. These produced chords in higher positions along the guitar neck.

MI CONTRA FA – The rule adopted by Renaissance composers to avoid the unwanted tritone in their compositions. Mi refers to the 3rd degree of a scale, which cannot be given a perfect 5th or it will create unwanted cross-relations with the 4th degree, fa. Mi is therefore given a 6/3 chord.

MIXED TABLATURE – The combination of tablature and alfabeto symbols on a stave.

PASSEGGIATA – A term applied to dances in guitar sources to indicate an embellishment of the *semplice* framework. This could involve the expansion of the framework or the addition of dissonances. *Variata* and *sminuita* where used to the same effect.

RASGUEADO – The practice of strumming a guitar (batteries in French).

RE-ENTRANT – A guitar without bourdons on its lower courses. Instead these are tuned in unisons at the higher octave, making the open third course the lowest pitch available on the instrument. In semi-re-entrant tunings there is a bourdon on the fourth course only.

THE RULE OF THE OCTAVE – An approach to continuo playing governed by the tonal harmonisation of ascending and descending scales. Bass notes are regarded as scale degrees and their ascending or descending motion determines their harmonisation.

REPICCO – A rhythmic ornament executed with various combinations of the right hand fingers in elaborate strumming patterns.

TAGLIATE CHORDS – Chords that are either dissonant or reduced in texture.

TRANSCRIPTION POLICY

Many difficulties arise in the transcription of five-course guitar music. Owing to the early convention of notating only the fretted notes, the inclusion of open strings is often unspecified, which creates uncertainties for modern editors regarding the textures and the harmonic identities of the chords. Furthermore, the various tunings that were in use make transcriptions at sounding pitch difficult, first, because in many cases the tuning employed by the composer is unknown, and secondly, because it is hard to convey the notes played on courses tuned in octaves as well as the doubled unisons that result from re-entrant tunings. In the past, notes doubled at the higher octave have been designated as smaller noteheads, but the result can be untidy and harder to process than simple five-part chords. Similarly, the notation of doubled unisons can result in a somewhat convoluted appearance, but omitting the doublings can give the misleading impression that not all of the courses are sounding. The original sources were notated in tablature for a reason. It is very hard to play from examples notated at sounding pitch as one has to work out the precise location of each note. To play from tablature is far more straightforward as it gives all the practical information necessary.

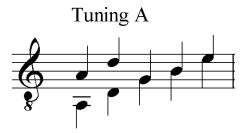
To make this research accessible to modern guitarists and non-specialists, transcriptions have been provided in both tablature and staff notation. Anyone reliant on the staff notations must be aware that the music examples are not transcribed at sounding pitch. Instead they represent the chords as they are stopped on the fretboard, thus the note at the bottom of the chord sounds on the fifth course and the note above that sounds on the fourth course and so on. This means that on occasion the bass notes will sound an octave higher than written. Wherever necessary I indicate the tunings applicable to my transcriptions; Appendix 1 has all known tunings indicated next to the relevant chord charts. I believe that this policy avoids an overly crowded transcription, better conveys the idiomatic technique

of playing melodies across adjacent courses, and also demonstrates more clearly the guitaristic practice of using the lower courses to harmonise bass notes.

As tablature is a system of notation consisting of letters or numbers, guitarists did not have to spell out the differences between enharmonically equivalent chords. Thus, a fully strummed D# major chord in tablature will look identical to a fully strummed Eb major chord. In such instances I provide only one harmonic interpretation of the tablature, but it should be understood that taken in isolation, the enharmonic equivalent would also be a legitimate transcription.

Where the original guitar teachings use C clefs or transposed F clefs, these are retained in the modern transcriptions. While today we are less accustomed to reading transposable C and F clefs, these are likely to be encountered by anyone wanting to play from original sources; thus it would be unhelpful to tailor the original examples to modern preferences. I have striven as far as possible to reproduce the examples as they appear in the original sources.

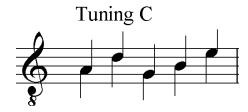
BAROQUE GUITAR TUNINGS



This tuning was considered the most effective for continuo playing, particularly by Spanish guitarists, as it widened the lower range of the instrument, though inversions are an unavoidable by-product when strumming.



This semi-re-entrant tuning was popular as the bourdon on the 4th course boosted the lower range of the instrument. The 5th course could be incorporated into passages of melody or could function as a bearer of harmony.



This re-entrant tuning may seem the least suited to continuo playing but there is evidence that it was popular in Italy. The strength of this tuning is the ability to play *campanella* passages.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Academic Journals

AcM Acta Musicologica

EM Early Music

GSJ Galpin Society Journey

JAMS Journal of the American Musicological Society

JLSA Journal of the Lute Society of America

JMT Journal of Music Theory

JRMA Journal of the Royal Musical Association

JSCM Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music

LSAQ Lute Society of America Quarterly

ML Music & Letters

PRMA Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association

TMQ The Musical Quarterly

INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores accompaniment as it was practised on the five-course guitar, an instrument in use from roughly the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. The guitar was commonly used to accompany popular songs but it was also widely used in high art genres to accompany vocal music, dance, theatrical works and chamber music. It had a further use as a continuo instrument that could be strummed or plucked as suited the context. The instrument achieved great popularity in Italy in the early seventeenth century, and this spread to France and England in the later decades. It is generally accepted, however, that the guitar was a Spanish instrument introduced to Italy via Spanish-ruled Naples. Guitars were popular among the Spanish lower classes and were frequently employed in the accompaniment of song and dance. Juan Bermudo makes a reference to the guitar in his Declaració de instrumetos musicales (1555) and there is a description of lyrical poetry accompanied 'a lo rasgado' in Miguel Sanchez de Lima's El arte poetica en romance castellano (1580). The earliest known method for the five-course guitar was published in Barcelona in 1596, and, as Alexander Dean has pointed out, it was 'tailored to performers of an orally transmitted dance-song repertory'.

¹ See James Tyler, 'The Role of the Guitar in the Rise of Monody: The Earliest Manuscripts', *JSCM*, Vol.9, No. 1 (2003) < http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v9/no1/tyler.html, 1.2; Alexander Dean, 'The Five Course Guitar and Seventeenth-Century Harmony: Alfabeto and Italian song (doctoral thesis, University of Rochester, New York, 2009), p. 5; Maurice Esses, *Dance and Instrumental 'Diferencias' in Spain During the 17th and Early 18th Centuries*, 3 vols. (Stuyvesant NY: Pendragon Press, 1992), p. 114; Nigel Fortune, 'Giustiniani on Instruments', *GSJ*, Vol. 5 (Mar., 1952), pp. 48-54, p. 50

² Juan Bermudo, Declaració de instrumétos musicales (Osuna: Juan de Leon, 1555); Miguel Sanchez de Lima, El arte poetica en romance castellano (s.p.: Juan Iñiquez de Lequerica Alcalá de Henares, 1580); see Esses, Dance and Instrumental Diferencias, p. 114

³ Joan Carles Amat, *Guitarra española de cinco órdenes* (Barcelona: s.n., 1596 [lost])

⁴ Dean, 'The Five Course Guitar', p.22

In Italy the instrument was quickly assimilated into popular traditions, including the accompaniment of lullabies, peasant ballads and dialect songs.⁵ Cory Gavito has drawn attention to tastes among higher social spheres in late sixteenth-century Italy 'for musical traditions and practices associated with a facet of culture often construed as 'popular' rather than 'elite', namely the musically unsophisticated and unwritten', 6 and he highlights a source from 1544 that documents the guitar playing of Ferrante Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno. Its supposed introduction to Italy via the south of the country is supported by its close association with Neapolitan genres such as the Napolitana and the Villanella. James Tyler has documented the southern provenance of some of the earliest manuscript sources of Italian guitar notations.⁸ Many feature Spanish songs, such as the *Libro de cartas y romances* espanoles (I-Rvat, Chigi Codex L. VI. 200), which dates from 1599, PL-Kj Mus. Ms. 40163 (c.1590-1620) and the numerous manuscripts in the hand of Francesco Palumbi. Other indicators of an early southern Italian cultivation of the instrument are the Neapolitan origins of Girolamo Montesardo, the author of the earliest known alfabeto dance anthology in print (1606), and the fact that the earliest known printed songbook with alfabeto featured villanelle. 10 Many songbooks followed, fuelled by the increased concentration by early monodists on solo song and by the musical tastes, observed by Gavito, for characteristically 'rustic' or 'popular' genres. 11

⁵ Cory Gavito, 'The Alfabeto Song in Print, 1610 - ca.1665: Neapolitan Roots, Roman Codification, and "Il Gusto Popolare"' (doctoral thesis, University of Texas at Austin, December, 2006), p. 2

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 3

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 4

⁸ Tyler, 'The Role of the Guitar', 1.2

⁹ F-Pn Ms. Esp. 390, I-Fr Mss. 2793, 2804 and 2849. All date from c.1610-20.

¹⁰ Girolamo Montesardo, *Nuova inventione d'Intavolatura per sonare li Balletti sopra la Chitarra Spagnuola* (Florence: Christofano Marescotti, 1606) and Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger, *Libro primo di villanelle a I. 2 et 3 voci* (Rome: s.n., 1610)

¹¹ For an overview of the influence of the guitar on the development of monody see Dean, 'The Five Course Guitar', pp. 17-39; Tyler, 'The Role of the Guitar'; James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 37-45; and John Walter Hill, 'L'accompagnamento rasgueado di chitarra: Un possibile modello per il basso continuo dello stile recitativo?' in Giulia Veneziana (ed.) *Rime e suoni alla spagnola: Atti della giornata internazionale di studi sulla chitarra barocca, Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 7 febbraio, 2002* (Florence: Alinea, 2003), pp. 35-57

Scholars often lament the fact that we cannot fully document the unwritten music practices of the past, and the strumming of the guitar by popular musicians falls into this category. It is also postulated, however, that as these practices infused the cultural environment in which past composers and theorists operated, they surely would have influenced harmonic thought at the time. It is interesting to think that the strumming of the five-course guitar was a constant feature of the Western European soundscape from the time of Zarlino to the time of Rameau. Guitar strumming was therefore a practice contemporary with the *ars perfecta*, the *basso continuo*, the rule of the octave and the fundamental bass. ¹² This has prompted scholars to speculate about the influence of popular musicians on harmonic thought across this timeframe. Richard Taruskin states, for example:

"Oral" practices that we know only imperfectly if at all - for example, the use of chord-strumming instruments in unwritten musical repertoires and their effect in reconditioning musical "hearing" during the two centuries in question [1450-1650] - unquestionably had an important bearing, but one that can never be fully documented, on the "transition" from modal discant counterpoint ("their" way of composing) to functional harmony ("our" way of hearing) . .

¹² Early modern harmonic thinking has been tackled in the following studies: Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'On Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century', JAMS, Vol. 40, No. 2 (Summer, 1987), pp. 210-284; M. Randel, 'Emerging Triadic Tonality in the Fifteenth Century', TMQ, Vol. 57, No. 1 (Jan., 1971), pp. 73-86; Geoffrey Nutting, 'The Logic of Renaissance Harmony', International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Dec., 1974), pp. 251-263; Robert M. Isgro, 'Sixteenth-Century Conception of Harmony', College Music Symposium, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spring, 1979), pp. 7-52; Peter Schubert, 'Counterpoint Pedagogy in the Renaissance' in Thomas Christensen (ed.) The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 503-533; Gregory Barnett, 'Tonal Organization in Seventeenth-Century Music' in Thomas Christensen (ed.) The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 407-455; Jack Ashworth and Paul O'Dette, 'Basso Continuo' in Stuart Carter (ed.), A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music, 2nd edn., (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), pp. 317-346; Tharald Borgir, The Performance of the Basso Continuo in Italian Baroque Music (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1987); Giulia Nuti, The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo: Style in Keyboard Accompaniment in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2007); Peter Williams, Figured Bass Accompaniment, 2 Vols., (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970); F. T. Arnold, The Art of Accompaniment From a Thorough-Bass: As Practised in The XVII and XVIII Centuries, 2 Vols., (New York: Dover Publications, 2003); Ludwig Holtmeier, 'Heinichen, Rameau and the Italian Thoroughbass Tradition: Concepts of Tonality and Chord in the Rule of the Octave', JMT, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Spring, 2007), pp. 5-49; Thomas Christensen, 'The "Règle de l'octave" in Thorough-Bass Theory and Practice', AcM, Vol. 64, Fasc. 2 (July-December, 1992), pp. 91-117; Joel Lester, Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994); Joel Lester, 'Rameau and Eighteenth-Century Harmonic Theory' in Thomas Christensen (ed.) The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 753-777

. It seems virtually certain that harmonic progressions as such were developed on – indeed, right "out of" – strumming and striking instruments for which no notation existed at the time. ¹³

Alfabeto is a system of notation believed to have been developed in connection with traditional southern Italian singing practices. ¹⁴ It underwent constant modification in the first half of the seventeenth century, and as it became increasingly refined, it was newly employed in the notation of solo instrumental works and in the notation of pedagogical music examples in continuo literature. In recent scholarship, there has been a growth in interest in the alfabeto song repertoire - printed and manuscript sources of songs with guitar accompaniment notated in alfabeto symbols. ¹⁵ Current research pertaining to the use of the guitar as a continuo instrument, however, is lagging far behind. That the guitar has received insufficient attention from the wider musicological community is evidenced in the many more general writings on seventeenth-century music or historical performance practice in which the instrument is grossly under-represented. Past research on continuo accompaniment in particular has been disproportionately focused on keyboard instruments, and one typically finds the use of the guitar in this role summarised in just a few sentences. James Tyler, a major authority on the early guitar and a guitarist himself, observed this musicological bias:

¹³ Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music: Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: OUP, 2010), p. 472, 628. This sentiment is shared by Massimo Preitano, see 'Gli albori della concezione tonale: Aria, ritornello strumentale e chitarra spagnola nel primo seicento', *Revista Italiana di Musicologia*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (1994), pp. 27-88, 87

¹⁴ Tyler, 'The Role of the Guitar', 1.2

¹⁵ John H. Baron, 'Secular Spanish Solo Song in Non-Spanish Sources, 1599-1640', *JAMS*, Vol. 30, No. 1, (Spring, 1977), pp. 20-42; Silke Leopold, Remigio Romano's Collection of Lyrics for Music', trans. Karen Williams, *PRMA*, Vol. 110 (1983-84), pp. 45-61; Nina Treadwell, 'The Chitarra Spagnola and Italian Monody 1589 – c.1650' (master's thesis, University of Southern California, 2000); John Griffiths, 'Strategies for the Recovery of Guitar Music of the Early Seventeenth Century' in Giulia Veneziana (ed.), *Rime e suoni alla spagnola: Atti della giornata internazionale di studi sulla chitarra barocca, Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 7 febbraio, 2002* (Florence: Alinea, 2003), pp. 59-81; Roarke Miller, 'New Information on the Chronology of Venetian Monody: The "Raccolte" of Remigio Romano', *ML*, Vol. 77, No. 1 (February, 1996), pp. 22-33; Margaret Murata, Guitar Passacagli and Vocal Arie' in Francesca Menchelli-Buttini (ed.), *La monodia in Toscana alle soglie del XVII secolo: Atti del convegno di studi: Pisa, 17-18 dicembre 2004* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2009), pp. 81-116; Gavito, 'The Alfabeto Song in Print'; Dean, 'The Five Course Guitar'; Aiden O'Donnell, 'Le rôle del'alfabeto dans le développement de la pensée harmonique en Italie 1600-50' (doctoral thesis, Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2011)

'nearly all modern academic books on continuo playing contain only the fussy, textbook-like "rules" of maintaining voice-leading, chord voicing, and prescribed textures that pertain to keyboards, and relate little if at all to the information found in the original sources that deal with plucked instruments'. ¹⁶

There could be several reasons for this. First, the physical set-up of the instrument is not conducive to continuo playing in the strict traditions of voice-leading. The bass range is severely limited, and the associated performance practices, explored in depth throughout this work, encourage inversions and liberal treatment of dissonance. It is not a suitable instrument, therefore, with which to give modern newcomers to continuo playing grounding in the general principles. Secondly, research undertaken in the twentieth century on continuo playing relegated the guitar to the status of poor relation, suitable for light-hearted entertainment but not to be taken too seriously. This view was fuelled by: (i) the simple appearance of the guitar chord symbols that appeared in printed songbooks in comparison with the more sophisticated staff and tablature notations, (ii) the lack of concordance between many of the guitar accompaniments and their respective basses in these sources, (iii) the indication in songbook titles that guitar accompaniments are only provided where appropriate, and (iv) the view that chord symbols were added by publishers to boost the marketability of these songbooks. Each of these points is explored and questioned in this study, but one can see how the negative image of the instrument developed. A third factor is the lack of prescriptive use. Guitars were commonly employed in the accompaniment of song, but presumably modern students of continuo are interested in the wider application of continuo playing to sacred, dramatic and instrumental works. Current research treating these genres rarely discusses the guitar, mentioning it only in passing in relation to the villanella or canzonetta.¹⁷

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¹⁶ James Tyler, *A Guide to Playing the Baroque Guitar* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), pp. 27-28 ¹⁷ See, for example, Paul O'Dette, 'Plucked String Instruments' in Stuart Carter (ed.), *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), pp. 272-290, p. 283

Recent guitar research has made significant advances in our knowledge of the performance contexts in which this instrument was employed. The old perception that it was not used to accompany serious or sacred music is no longer uttered with such certainty, and there is a greater awareness now of the use of the instrument in court masques, ballets, instrumental sonatas and in a variety of vocal genres. Despite this renewed interest there is still precious little literature on accompaniment with a clear focus on the guitar. Some original continuo guidelines for guitar are available today in facsimile, including those of Foscarini (1640), Corbetta (1643, 1648, 1671), Granata (1659), Carré (1671), Sanz (1674), Grenerin (1680), Matteis (1682), Murcia (1714), Campion (1716, 1730) and Minguet Y Yrol (1752). Very few of these, however, are mentioned in more mainstream scholarly writings on continuo playing. Nigel North cites a few examples from Matteis in his Continuo Playing on the Lute, Archlute and Theorbo (1987), 18 but most of these sources are overlooked. Matteis's work is usually cited as the go-to guide for anyone interested in learning continuo on the guitar, regardless of what period or repertoire they are interested in exploring. The others are rarely mentioned outside publications known predominantly in guitar circles, such as Tyler's A Guide to the Baroque Guitar (2011) and his co-authored The Guitar and its Music (2002), 19 Monica Hall's 'The Five Course Guitar as a Continuo Instrument' (1999) and Kevin Mason's 'François Campion's Secret of Accompaniment for the Theorbo, Guitar and Lute' (1981), 20 yet even in these writings the performance practices pertaining to accompaniment are not outlined in any great detail. Possibly one of the reasons why guitar sources (particularly those published before the 1670s) are not better known is the negative perception of the chord symbols that are used to notate many of the music examples.

¹⁸ Nigel North, *Continuo Playing on the Lute, Archlute and Theorbo: A Comprehensive Guide for Performers* (London: Faber, 1987)

¹⁹ Tyler, A Guide to Playing the Baroque Guitar; Tyler and Sparks, The Guitar and its Music

²⁰ Monica Hall, 'The Five-Course Guitar as a Continuo Instrument', *Lute News*, No. 52 (December, 1999), pp.11-15; Kevin Mason, 'François Campion's Secret of Accompaniment for Theorbo, Guitar and Lute', *JLSA*, Vol. 14 (1981), pp. 69-94

The harmonic language of *alfabeto* has never before been systematically outlined, and no attempt has been made to document how this language evolved, nor to highlight the significant differences between the symbols recorded in manuscript sources and those in printed sources. Without this insight we can garner only a superficial understanding of this system of notation. Past depictions of *alfabeto* as an unrefined notation, inappropriate for serious genres, contributed to the marginalisation of the guitar in scholarly writings. But guitars did accompany 'serious' music. One could cite Stefano Landi's *Sant'Alessio* (1631)²¹ or the multiple sources of sacred songs (and even liturgical texts) that were accompanied by guitar.

The appearance of *alfabeto* symbols in pedagogical teachings of continuo playing is of particular interest given the seeming incompatibility between a practice in which the realisation of the bass is carefully crafted in accordance with theoretical convention, and a system of notation comprising a set of pre-determined chord voicings. Chord symbols are inherent in the practice of guitar strumming.

Strumming treats chords as autonomous units, thus the finer details of their intervallic arrangement and the linear movements of each of the voices are not conveyed by their associated notations. This goes against the perceived norms of continuo playing, in which voice-leading and the melodic flow of the individual parts are important considerations for the accompanist. Chord symbols imposed textural and harmonic restrictions on an accompaniment. They usually represented five-part chords and they could not cater for all possible harmonies in all possible keys; not without presenting an impossible challenge to one's memory. Moreover, they set in stone a single voicing of each chord that the guitarist will return to again and again. Conversely, continuo treatises for keyboardists stress the essential need for flexible voicings. One is encouraged to practise exercises with the 3rd of the chord in the top voice, and then the

²¹ Stefano Landi, Il S. Alessio Dramma Musicale dall'Eminentissimo, et Reverendissimo Signore Card. Barberino fatto rappresentare al Serenissimo Prencipe Alessandro Carlo di Polonia Dedicato a Sua Eminenza e Posto in Musica da Stefano Landi Romano Musico della Cappella di N. S. e Cherico Benefitiato nella Basilica di S. Pietro (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634)

5th, and so on. Thus, the earlier published accompaniments for guitarists feature realisations that seemingly breach convention, implying an approach to accompaniment operating 'on the sidelines' of continuo playing that absorbed some of its mainstream principles but adapted them to suit a different performance tradition. The later publications notated in tablature present us with accompaniments that we more comfortably associate with continuo playing.

Is it justified to ignore the earlier teachings simply because they demonstrate an approach to accompaniment contrary to what is now regarded as common practice? Considering that the guitar was physically ill-equipped to realise a bass in a strict, conventional manner, there is something to be gained from exploring the guitaristic alternative. The instrument was very popular, as is attested by the number of continuo guidelines that were published for guitarists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, not to mention those found in manuscript sources. Thus one could question how much the unorthodox approaches they profess really mattered to the original audience. One of the barriers to embracing strummed accompaniment as a legitimate realisation of a continuo bass is the perception of guitar technique as something that underwent continual refinement across the decades from something very primitive to something comparable to lute playing. This narrative is told by the guitar notations themselves. They begin as symbols alone, then are combined with a rudimentary stave and indicators of rhythm, and finally they are combined with tablature. The guitar repertoire progresses from allstrummed 4-bar ciaccone to tablature arrangements of Corelli violin sonatas. A logical expectation, then, would be that with the advent of tablature guitarists dispensed with strummed traditions and began to adopt accompaniment styles more closely resembling those of the lute and theorbo. If their solo repertoire was refined to such a high degree, then surely this would be reflected in their accompaniments. This is another viewpoint that potentially contributes to the favouring of lateseventeenth and early-eighteenth century teachings over the earlier works, which are perceived to be less highly developed. However, the tablature realisations of basses in guitar manuscripts dating from

this later period tell a different story, namely that the cultivation of strumming continued into the mid eighteenth century and that the importance of the harmonic language of *alfabeto* does not diminish across the whole period. Indeed, so prevalent are strummed guitar accompaniments in later continuo sources that one begins to suspect that contrapuntal bass realisations were the exception rather than the rule of guitar practice.

The implication of this hypothesis is profound, as it suggests that the earlier teachings are better representative of guitar accompaniment as it was most widely practised and that a core feature of the practice was the harmonic language prescribed by early chord symbols. Thus shedding light on the early strummed practices can enrich our understanding of guitar accompaniment as it was practised throughout the seventeenth century. An underlying thesis in this study, therefore, is that the performance traditions associated with early chord symbols shaped how guitarists approached continuo playing.

It should now be clear that a detailed exposition of the *alfabeto* system of notation is essential if a more balanced view of guitar accompaniment in the early decades of the seventeenth century is to be formulated. It should also be clear that a large proportion of the vast range of source material pertinent to guitar accompaniment has not been the focus of any detailed musicological enquiry to date. To address these oversights two of the core subjects of this thesis are the accompaniment of *alfabeto* song and continuo playing. These are the two fields that I believe are most in need of attention as their omission from more general writings on seventeenth-century musical performance practice seems to be most glaring. Obviously the guitar had a much wider use, but to pursue all such avenues of enquiry would be beyond the scope of this work.²² The following chapters therefore feature an in depth overview of *alfabeto*, an account of guitar accompaniment before the earliest continuo guidelines for

²² I have treated the subject of the use of the guitar in the theatre and to accompany dance in my Master's thesis. See N. Miles, 'The Baroque Guitar as an Accompaniment Instrument for Song, Dance and Theatre' (Master's thesis, University of Birmingham, 2011)

the instrument, and a documentation of some of the most important extant continuo guidelines in both published and manuscript form from 1640-1730. Teachings from Italy, Spain, France and the Low Countries are represented with transcriptions of the guitar tablatures into staff notation. The timescale I have given in my title therefore reflects the earliest datable manuscript sources of *alfabeto* notations (c.1590) and the date of one of the last treatises on accompaniment to be written with the five-course guitar in mind, that of François Campion (1730).

A familiarity with the language of alfabeto, its associated performance practices and its refinement across the decades is necessary to understand how it influenced accompaniment in the seventeenth century. So many composers contributed symbols and harmonies to the alfabeto system of notation that it was in a state of constant evolution. This has necessitated a fuller documentation of its use than has previously been provided in guitar scholarship. In past writings on alfabeto notations, transcriptions of 'universal' chord charts have been provided as sufficient illustrations of the system,²³ and symbols that fall outside the boundaries of common use have been allocated a status of secondary importance, even to the point that their memorisation is considered unnecessary. Such fleeting overviews of this complex system of notation are unhelpful and misleading. Many of its more fascinating characteristics, such as its rich dissonant vocabulary, are overlooked or treated as curiosities, so that the real harmonic sophistication of this system of notation has still not been widely acknowledged. The first chapter of this thesis therefore documents in detail the evolution of chordal guitar notations from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, and highlights all the major innovations that made significant advances to the clarity and refinement of the notation (such as transposing notations). As alfabeto symbols are unlike other standard musical notations, attention is also drawn to deviations from standard symbol usage as a necessity due to the limits of what was possible to print. To provide this detailed account of the use of chordal notations for guitar I have consulted close to 200

²³ See the example in Tyler's A Guide to Playing the Baroque Guitar, p. 21

sources of Spanish and Italian chord symbols, which include treatises, dance anthologies, manuscripts and printed songbooks. I have documented and cross-referenced the harmonic language used in each of these sources to provide an accurate picture of the harmonic resources that were available and commonly employed during this period. Around 130 of these sources featured charts of all the chord symbols in common use in their front matter as a reference for beginners, and these are transcribed in full in Appendix 1.

To understand how influential alfabeto notations were on how guitarists approached accompaniment it is necessary to trace evidence of the harmonies and their associated performance practices both in continuo treatises and in the body of extant written-out guitar accompaniments. The content of the guitar treatises has been systematically presented to document this influence. There are several benefits from this approach. First, it facilitates the tracing of alfabeto influences in the teachings of each decade up to the eighteenth century. It also illustrates the continued importance of strumming across the whole period, thus dispelling any notion that the performance practices associated with strumming were confined to the early decades of the seventeenth century. Secondly, it allows us to trace the origins of some of the more idiomatic dissonances and to be sure of their established use and legitimacy in accompaniment. Thirdly, it gives us a clear picture of how the practice of accompaniment advanced as the century progressed, allowing us to see elements in late seventeenth-century teachings that may be absent in earlier sources. Finally, it enables us to place the guitar sources in the wider context of continuo accompaniment as it was practised by other instrumentalists. This is important as it allows us to assess to what extent the content of guitar publications reflects or mirrors that in treatises for keyboard, lute or theorbo. While guitarists had their own idiomatic approaches to accompaniment that were often incompatible with the contrapuntal practices that underpinned accompaniment on other chordal instruments, they were aware of the theoretical conventions that infused mainstream continuo teachings. By drawing parallels between guitar teachings and those for other instruments, the

comparable sophistication of the guitar accompaniments is clearly demonstrated, and the versatility of the instrument, which has the capacity to realise basses of diverse characters and tempos, is made plain.

Chapter 2 explores guitar accompaniment in the decades that precede the publication of the first continuo guidelines for the instrument in 1640. As the 1620s and 30s represent the heyday of the alfabeto songbook, this repertoire is treated in some detail. One important fact that emerges in this chapter is that the printed alfabeto notations in these sources are unable to portray accurately the practice of strummed accompaniment and that for a clearer outlook on this repertoire we must turn to manuscript sources. It is in alfabeto songbooks that we find the early merging of continuo and popular traditions as chord symbols are used to provide realisations of continuo basses. The resulting accompaniments are therefore hybrids of two starkly different practices, one theoretical and one based on "default" chord voicings. One main barrier to an understanding of guitar accompaniment in the early decades of the seventeenth century is the oral improvisatory practices that lie at the heart of this art. The music that survives from this period is challenging to interpret as important components, such as melodies, texts or accompaniments are often absent. The authors of the many manuscript sources of guitar accompanied song did not need to notate in full what was already familiar to them; thus mnemonic aids sufficed for their purposes, resulting in a great many extant sources of texts with guitar chords but no vocal melodies or rhythms. How guitarists accompanied the songs is explored in this chapter, with a particular focus on how they employed the dissonant harmonies documented in Chapter 1.

Chapter 3 treats guitar accompaniment in the 1640s, a time when 'mixed' tablatures were fully established and guitar composers were able to notate melodies and a variety of textures. The Italian treatises that were published for the guitar at this time catered for two styles of accompaniment, one

that was predominantly strummed and one that demanded plucked chords and melodies, and so the two styles are treated separately in the discussion. An important observation that arises from the analysis of the content of the teachings is that although 'mixed' tablatures enabled guitarists to be stricter with their voicings, they continued to use *alfabeto* harmonies, and notably dissonant *alfabeto* harmonies, suggesting that they were part of a long-established tradition and regarded as idiomatic to the instrument. What also emerges, however, is the harmonic limitations that arise if one chooses to strum exclusively. 'Mixed' tablatures make possible the notation of harmonies not catered for by *alfabeto* symbols and so more stock progressions typical in continuo playing become possible, thus allowing the guitar to play from a bass without the same degree of compromise found in the early songbook repertoire. Accompaniments in the 'mixed' style elevated the guitar to a more equal level with the lute and theorbo, and so they were favoured in later guitar teachings.

Another significant landmark of the 1640s was the publication of Velasco's treatise for accompaniment. This work is rarely discussed in modern research, but its importance lies in Velasco's proposal for guitarists to learn accompaniment by studying counterpoint and by treating their voicings with the same level of strictness observed by other instrumentalists; it was one of the earliest works to suggest that such theoretical rigour was applicable to the guitar. The system of notation devised by Velasco to accompany his discourse makes plain the fact that a strict observance of the bass in one's voicings was possible and that no chords currently taught in theoretical works were beyond the capabilities of the guitar. Thus, while Italian guitarists are demonstrating more pragmatic approaches to accompaniment, Velasco's treatise sets a precedent that champions adherence to theory, which would be echoed in the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century treatises of Sanz and Murcia. Velasco's logical system of notation is not widely known, but his chord charts are transcribed in full in Appendix 2 and the accompanying illustrations to his theoretical discourse are transcribed for the first time in the overview of his work.

Chapter 4 explores the guidelines for the rarely discussed topic of instrumental accompaniment that exist in guitar sources published in the 1650s. It begins with a discussion of Marini's collection of church and chamber sonatas published in 1655, to which the composer added guitar accompaniments, including some of his own specially devised chord symbols. The suitability of the guitar as an instrument of accompaniment for serious or sacred genres has been questioned in past research, and such matters are addressed in this chapter. I question whether the issue of suitability really applies to the instrument itself or whether it applies more to its associated notations (alfabeto symbols), which were unable to cater for the pungently dissonant harmonies found in characteristically chromatic works; in the latter case one could not categorically exclude the guitar from the accompaniment of serious genres on the grounds that alfabeto is usually absent in these circumstances. The second work discussed is Granata's 1659 treatise, which is important as it provides us with rare evidence of guitarists improvising divisions over a bass; indeed this practice is not illustrated in other continuo writings again until Gasparini's wellknown 1708 treatise for keyboard.²⁴ Granata's work is thus doubly important for highlighting this aspect of mid-seventeenth-century improvised accompaniment. The continued importance of alfabeto during this decade is observable as both Marini and Granata use the notation in their publications. What also becomes apparent, however, is the liberating benefits that are enjoyed when a supporting bass instrument is available, as it allows the guitarist to explore the resources of the fretboard without concern for the true bass.

The guitar treatises of the 1670s, discussed in Chapter 5, demonstrate that accompaniments in the respective strummed and mixed styles continued to be distinct from one another in terms of the strictness of the chord voicings prescribed. It was accepted that strummed accompaniments would not be as strict as those that were plucked; authors of treatises who maintain the true bass and prepare and resolve dissonance also provide strummed realisations in which this rigour is noticeably slackened.

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²⁴ Francesco Gasparini, *L'armonico pratico al cimbalo* (Venice: Antonio Bortoli, 1708)

However, it is clear from the teachings that these strummed realisations were not considered simplified or inferior. They are interspersed with plucked examples and presented as legitimate alternatives. Moreover, the fully notated song accompaniments that exist from this and later decades indicate that the strummed harmonies were often preferable, particularly in Italian sources. The treatises published during this decade are of interest as they are all intended for audiences outside Italy, thus they show how *alfabeto* practices were transferred abroad. The broad range of topics that they cover provides a much deeper insight into accompaniment than had typically been offered in past teachings. More complex, syncopated and chromatic basses are discussed, as are the increasing concerns for tonal coherence.

The focus of Chapter 6 is the treatises of the 1680s that were produced in France and England, including the rarely discussed demonstrations set down in manuscript by Cesare Morelli for Samuel Pepys in 1680 (transcribed in full in Appendix 4). The published guidelines of Grenerin (1680, transcribed in full in Appendix 3) and Matteis (1682) provide clear expositions of accompaniment in the 'mixed' style, continue to emphasise the importance of tonal coherence, and present for the first time guidelines on modulation, as well as on the use of ornamental dissonance. Nevertheless, the continued importance of strummed accompaniment and the influence of *alfabeto* practices are still apparent, particularly in the English sources. Morelli's accompaniments, which are almost exclusively strummed, feature many *alfabeto* harmonies and strummed dissonances and are reminiscent of the accompaniments given in early seventeenth-century Italy. The large collection of preludes, which he authored for Pepys, bears close resemblance to the *ritornello* passages used by early guitarists to divide stanzas of verse. Matteis, too, presents strummed and plucked versions of his bass realisations, and includes harmonies and idloms from *alfabeto* traditions in his teachings. While Grenerin is stricter with his voicings than are his Italian contemporaries, fully notated accompaniments preserved in a French manuscript, F-Pn Vm⁷ 6235 (c.1680), include exclusively strummed accompaniments much like those

found in *alfabeto* songbooks, indicating that strumming was still an important characteristic of guitar accompaniment near the close of the century.

The guidelines of the 1690s are discussed in Chapter 7 and the continued influence of *alfabeto* harmonies is still apparent in these sources. Morelli's fully notated song accompaniments are explored in detail, and continuo guidelines found in an obscure source authored by Bernard Martin Berenclow, GB-BI Harley. 1270, not previously discussed, are also analysed and transcribed in full in Appendix 5. Both sources are considered for the light they shed on English domestic guitar accompaniment at the end of the seventeenth century. The diverse repertoire captured in Morelli's manuscripts certainly cast doubts on the assertion that subject matter is a determining factor when deciding whether a guitar is suitable to accompany a song. In fact, Morelli's guitar accompaniments in GB-Cmc Ms. 2591 are a rich mine of guitar accompanied 'grave' and 'sacred' song. The teachings of Nicolas Derosier, which were published in Amsterdam in 1696 and 1699, are also explored in this chapter. Derosier's familiarity with *alfabeto* is confirmed because he uses the symbols to provide rudimentary continuo guidelines in his earlier book. Although he does not use the symbols in his music examples, their influence is felt in his selection of chaconnes, which feature many strummed dissonances that have equivalent *alfabeto* symbols. The continued importance of the harmonies in the context of *ritornello* figures is thus made apparent.

The final chapter treats guitar accompaniment in the early decades of the eighteenth century. The treatises published during this period demonstrate a marked departure from *alfabeto* idioms in favour of approaches more grounded in theory. The main works considered are those of Murcia (1714) and Campion (1716 and 1730). Murcia's teachings continue the Spanish preference for counterpoint in three parts while Campion's monumental works sets down for the first time guidelines pertaining to the harmonisation of stepwise octave basses, known as the 'Rule of the Octave', which demanded that

guitarists completely detach themselves from the predetermined chord shapes associated with *alfabeto* and conceive of harmony as composites of intervals. There is a higher expectation of the target market for these works, as Murcia takes for granted that modes and transposing clefs will be understood, while Campion makes no effort to provide sample harmonisations for his readers. Instead they must internalise the theory he presents and then construct their own accompaniments in accordance with the stepwise progressions of the bass line. This is not to say that chord symbols lose their importance in the eighteenth century. Enough reprints of *alfabeto* dance anthologies and plagiarised editions of past teachings on strummed accompaniment appear during this period to indicate that strumming was still an important part of guitar accompaniment for as long as the instrument was in use.

This thesis presents a re-evaluation of the guitar as an instrument of accompaniment that is informed both by contemporary writings and by the study of a wide selection of printed and manuscript sources. It provides a detailed account of continuo playing as it was approached by guitarists and clearly identifies the aspects of the practice that were informed by generic continuo conventions and those that have origins in the performance practices associated with *alfabeto*. The harmonic language of *alfabeto* is also re-assessed with particular reference to the dissonant chords that were common knowledge in the early seventeenth century. The insights gained from this investigation provide a clear understanding of the contexts in which these chords were used and of the implications for the performance of *alfabeto* songs. Alternative approaches to accompaniment are considered, including the stricter application of the rules of counterpoint advocated by Velasco, the improvised counterpoint demonstrated by Granata and the employment of the Rule of the Octave proposed by Campion, none of which has been discussed before in such a way that the practical application on the guitar is made clear.

Chapter 1 THE EVOLUTION OF CHORDAL GUITAR NOTATIONS UP TO c.1639

Independent systems of chordal notation for the five-course guitar were developed in both Italy and Spain in the second half of the sixteenth century. ¹ Although the systems differed in appearance they worked according to the same principle, that is, the representation of the harmonies with abstract chord symbols. The Italians allocated a letter of the alphabet to each guitar chord as a shorthand system of notating progressions or song accompaniments. The Spanish symbols, on the other hand, were numerical. These systems of notation, though straightforward in concept, were never standardised. They emerged around the same time that the *seconda pratica* was capturing the imaginations of the leading composers, and the strummed practices of the guitar did not escape their attention. Emilio de Cavalieri for example, included guitars in the finale of the sixth *intermedio* of the Medici wedding celebrations in 1589, and again in his *Rappresentatione di Anima et di Corpo* (1600).² Composers were experimenting with unusual harmonic shifts, and thanks to its equally tempered fret arrangements, the guitar was an instrument for which playing in distant keys was not a problem. More importantly, the transparency of its strummed chords did not obscure sung text.

Early Verbal Chord Designations

Before guitar chords were designated symbols they were known in Spain by their verbal designations. Joan Carles Amat tells us in his treatise on guitar accompaniment that the chords were known by various names in different guitar circles, and later seventeenth-century Spanish guitar literature, such as the works by Gaspar Sanz, Antonio Santa Cruz, Joseph Guerrero and Gregorio de

¹ Much has been written on the interpretation of *rasgueado* chord notations. This topic is not covered in this thesis as it deals primarily with the harmonic components of the repertoire. For more information on the performance practices associated with *rasgueado*, see: Tyler and Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music*; Joseph Weidlich, 'Battuto Performance in Early Italian Guitar Music (1606-1637)', *JLSA*, Vol. 11 (1978), pp. 63-86; and Sylvia Murphy, 'Seventeenth-Century Guitar Music – Notes on Rasgueado Performance', *GSJ*, Vol. 21 (March,

1968), pp. 24-32

² Emilio de Cavalieri, *Rappresentatione di anima et di corpo* (Rome: Nicolò Muti, 1600)

Zuola each contain references to verbal chord designations.³ This is significant as it means that these chord names still bore meaning decades after the development of chord symbols and tablature. The names of the chords found in Guerrero's treatise and Zuola's manuscript are included in Table 1:1.4 While the origins of some of the names are hard to surmise, there would appear to be an underlying logic to them. Patilla, for example is A major. It stands to reason, then, that A minor is called bemol del patilla, and that B major is Patilla atra, or 'Patilla [transposed a tone] higher'. Likewise it makes sense that the minor version of cruzado is media cruzado. Vacas is a shortened version of the song entitled Guardame las vacas. This song usually appears in guitar anthologies in the key of F, suggesting an association of the song with that particular key. It may be that some of the names are suggestive of the shape of the guitarist's left hand when holding down the chords. Cruzado (crossed) is a D major chord and the finger pattern for the left hand does indeed resemble a cross. Dedillo means 'little finger' and may have been a mnemonic aid for beginner guitarists. Whatever the origin, we can see that these names developed from practice. Several of them implied chord shapes rather than particular harmonies. This much can be inferred from the fact that there was no need to develop a name for a B major chord as one could simply use an A major chord in a higher transposition; hence both chords are referred to as *Patilla*.

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³Joan Carles Amat, *Guitarra Española de cinco ordenes* . . . (Barcelona: s.n. 1596 [lost]; Lerida: Anglada y Andreu Llorens, 1626); Gaspar Sanz, *Instruccion de musica sobre la guitarra española* . . . (Zaragoza: heirs of Diego Dormer, 1674); Antonio Santa Cruz, 'Libro donde se veran pazacalles', E-Mn Ms M.2209 (c.1699); Joseph Guerrero, 'Arte de la guitarra', E-Mn Ms M.5917 (c.1680); Gregorio de Zuola, 'Libro de varias curiosidades', RA-BArm [no shelf number] (c.1670-1709)

For more information on these verbal designations see: Monica Hall and June Yakeley, 'El estilo castellano y el estilo catalan: An Introduction to Spanish Guitar Chord Notation', *LSJ*, Vol. 35 (1995), pp. 28-61, pp. 32 and 49; Maurice Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, pp. 157-159; and 'Veterodoxia', the website of Pepe Rey http://www.veterodoxia.es/2010/08/guitarra-dmeh/ [accessed 14/06/13]

⁴ The numbers are the chord symbols that were developed to notate these chords. These are the system of notation known as Castilian *cifras* (discussed below).

Table 1:1 Verbal Chord Designations

Guerrero Zuola

1 Dedillo (G major) 1 Prima (G major) 1 Basio alto (A flat major)

2 Puente (C major) 2 Tendido (C major)

3 Vacas (F major) 3 Bacas (F major)

4 Patilla atra (B major) 4 Puente (B flat major)

5 *Media cruzado* (D minor) 5 *Tisbe* (D minor)

6 Bemol del [patilla] (A minor) 6 Bemol (A minor)

7 Cruzadillo (E major) 7 Bemolillo

8 Dedillo?

P Patilla (A major) P8 Patilla (A major)

+ Cruzado (D major) +9 Cruzado (D major)

10 Cruzadillo (E major)

G11 Guzmanillo

X12 Cangrejo (B minor)

R13 Rebajas (B major)

Castilian Cifras

One can see how some of the Castilian chord symbols developed from verbal chord designations. *Patilla* becomes *P*, *Rebajas* becomes *R*, *Cruzado* becomes *+* etc. The majority of chords, however, were identified with Arabic numerals. As Table 1:2 demonstrates, chord designations varied between composer-guitarists. The system is not comprehensive; many chord charts featuring Castilian *cifras* have harmonic gaps (presumably the harmonies used so rarely as to make their inclusion unnecessary), ⁵ and those that remain are not presented in any logical order, except perhaps by their perceived frequency of use. The number of chords included in these charts varies between twelve and sixteen, and occasional duplicate symbols can cause some confusion, but these typically occur on chords that share the same finger pattern for the left hand.

⁵ All charts referred to in this chapter are transcribed in full in Appendix 1 for reference.

The earliest surviving print of Castilian *cifras* is in Luis de Briceño's 1626 method for guitar, but manuscript sources of the notation predate this. Despite their shortcomings there is a large repertory of secular and theatrical songs and dances in manuscript sources featuring the symbols. One can observe that nine of these symbols are relatively stable in that they consistently denote the same harmonies. Chords 1 to 7, + and 8/P typically represent G major, C major, F major, B flat major, D minor, A minor, E major, D major and A major. Such stability is unsurprising given that these are the most common chords in the guitar repertoire. It was the chords that were more rarely employed that were less engrained in the system of notation. As will be seen, *alfabeto* charts across the seventeenth century feature similar ambiguities for chords that were less frequently used.

Marin Mersenne tried to avoid the confusion created by duplicate symbols by indicating minor voicings with a dot. Thus 1 is G major and .1 is G minor. Where duplicates indicated identical voicings in different transpositions he used a b to indicate the higher voicing. Thus + is D major and +b is E flat major. It was more typical, however, not to distinguish the two symbols, and so it was left to the performer to decide the position and quality of the chord, based on context. Noteworthy is the presence of dissonance in the charts of Briceño and Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz. Mersenne, too, includes C minor chords with added 9ths, but this was the standard voicing of C minor in the guitar repertoire since the late sixteenth century (on practical rather than theoretical grounds). This chord will be discussed in more depth in the section on alfabeto.

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⁶ Luis de Briceño, *Metodo mui facilissimo para aprender a tañer la guitarra a lo española* (Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1626, facs. ed. Geneva: Minkoff, 1972)

⁷ See June Yakeley, 'New Sources of Spanish Music for the Five Course Guitar', *Revista de Musicología*, Vol. 19, No 1/2 (Jan. – Dec., 1996), pp. 267-286; Monica Hall and June Yakeley, 'El estillo castellano y el estilo catalan: An Introduction to Spanish Guitar Chord Notation', *The Lute*, Vol. 35 (1995), pp. 28-61

⁸ Marin Mersenne, *Harmonicorum libri in quibus agitur de sonorum natura , causis, et effectibus . . .* (Paris: Guillaume Baudry, 1648)

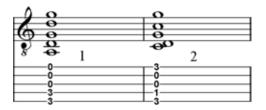
⁹ Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz y norte musical para caminar por las cifras de la guitarra española* . . . (Madrid: Melchor Alvarez, 1677)

Table 1:2 Variation in the Interpretation of Castilian Cifras

	I:Fl Ashb 791					Ruiz de Ribayaz		
	(early 17th c.)	Briceño (1626)	Mersenne (1636)	Mersenne (1648)	Zuola (c.1670-1709)	(1677)	Guerrero (c.1680)	Minguet Y Yrol (1752)
1	G	G/A flat	G	G	G/A flat	G/G(add 2)	G	G
1.			G minor	G minor				
1b			A flat	A flat		G minor		
2	С	С	С	С	С	C/C (add 2)	С	С
.2			C minor (add 9)	C minor (add 9)				
3	F	F	F/F minor	F	F	F	F	F
.3				F minor				
4	B flat	B flat/B	B flat/B flat minor	B flat	B flat	B flat	В	B flat
4.				B flat minor				
5	E flat	D minor	D minor	D minor	D minor	D minor	D minor	D minor
6	A flat	A minor	A minor	A minor	A minor	A minor	A minor	A minor
7	F sharp	Е	E minor/E			E	Е	E
7				E minor/E				
8	В	F sharp minor				В		В
8b			А	Α				
P8					А			
Р	А	Α				Α	А	А
9	E	B minor				F sharp		F sharp
+9					D			
+	D	D/E flat	D	D		D	D	D
+b			E flat	E flat				
G		C minor						
10					E			
G11								
Х						B minor		B minor
X12					B minor			
R13					В			
0	D minor							
§		E7						

Ruiz de Ribayaz named his dissonant chords 1 and 2. They seem to be dissonant alternatives to their corresponding consonant harmonies. The first is a G major chord with an open fifth course and it is included in both the chart and the verbal description, though no further information regarding the use of the chord is provided. However, this harmony was in common usage in the first half of the seventeenth century in Italian guitar music, where it was known as At, so it may be that its application was mirrored in the Spanish repertoire. The dissonant chord 2 is only mentioned in the verbal description and does not appear in the chord chart. It is a C major chord with an open fourth course, producing an added 2^{nd} . The composer names it as an alternative to the consonant C major voicing, but again does not elaborate on how exactly it was used. Both chords are transcribed in Example 1:1.

Example 1:1 Ruiz de Ribayaz's Dissonant Chords



Although Ruiz de Ribayaz does not demonstrate his dissonant chord 2, there is a Spanish dance in an earlier Italian source that features the same harmony. Antonio Carbonchi's 1640 book includes the dissonance in his *Sarabanda Spagnola*, and provides us with a demonstration of how the chord may have been employed. The dance is transcribed in Example 1:2.

Example 1:2 Carbonchi's Sarabanda Spagnola (1640)¹¹ p. 6



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¹⁰ See Example 1:15, p. 63

¹¹ Antonio Carbonchi, *Sonate di chitarra spagnola* (Florence: Amador Massi and Lorenzo Landi, 1640). The '*' that appears in the tablature signalled the need to re-strike the previous harmony with the new note included.

One thing worth mentioning is that Ruiz de Ribayaz presents his chords in such a way that places them in their functional contexts. He puts them into groups, each containing chords I, IV and V of a given 'key', and thus each chord appears as it will commonly be employed in practice. The chart in Pablo Minguet Y Yrol's 1752 treatise corresponds with Ruiz de Ribayaz's, though it is organised differently into ascending fourths and fifths.

Catalan Cifras

A later system of notation (though the first to appear in print) was invented by Doctor Joan Carles Amat and was published in a treatise on strummed accompaniment in Barcelona in 1596. This work proved to be highly successful, spanning multiple editions until well into the eighteenth century. Later editions (from 1701 onwards) were twinned with another short treatise on guitar accompaniment that explained the Italian *alfabeto* system. The author of the supplementary *Tractat Breu* remains unknown, and there are some slight differences between the chord voicings in this treatise and those specified by Amat.

The chords in Amat's chart are logically arranged so that they progress in descending fifths (see Example 1:3). The chord symbols too are logical, as all major-minor pairs are numbered 1 to 12, with the addition of an 'n' to signify the major harmonies and a 'b' for the minor. As Amat provides harmonies for all degrees of the chromatic scale, this makes his chart one of the most comprehensive to appear in print, and differentiates his system from the Castilian predecessor. Castilian *cifras* notate chords in common use whilst Catalan *cifras* as a system is theoretical in concept, presenting possible voicings of chords in all 24 keys. This explains why the Castilian system is not fully comprehensive and why it features seemingly random dissonant harmonies.

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¹² Amat, Guitarra espaňola

¹³ Anon, *Tractat breu, y explicacio dels punts de la guitarra* (Barcelona: Gabriel Brò, c.1701)

Example 1:3 Catalan Cifras



Catalan *cifras* appear in several manuscripts dating from the seventeenth century right through to the mid-eighteenth century. Amat's work was also highly influential on the guitar publications of late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish composer-guitarists. Sanz acknowledges the value of Amat's book in his 1674 method, and Minguet Y Yrol, Andres de Sotos and Portuguese guitarist João Leite Pita da Rocha all reproduce material from Amat's work. There are only minor differences between the chord voicings in Amat's original chart and those published later. The voicing of chord 5n (C major) is altered in the 1639 edition of his work to match that considered standard. This voicing is also reproduced by Minguet Y Yrol in 1752.

Alfabeto

In Italy in the late sixteenth century yet another system of notation was being developed for the five-course guitar that would come to dominate printed and manuscript sources for the first half of the seventeenth century. Unlike the Spanish systems the Italian chord symbols consisted of letters of the alphabet; hence it came to be known as alfabeto. Early on it became normal practice to include a chart at the start of a guitar method, dance anthology or songbook that displayed each chord with its corresponding symbol. This could serve as a memory aid or learning tool for novice guitarists who were unfamiliar with the notation. The earliest printed chart of alfabeto appeared in 1606 in a dance anthology by Girolamo Montesardo. ¹⁴ These early chord charts featured basic major and minor triads, each in one arrangement to be memorised by the guitarist. The simple triads that were available in early chord charts reflect the system of notation in its earliest manifestation, before it was subject to significant refinement in later decades. They also reflect the infancy of the enterprise of alfabeto printing, a process that faced considerable challenges given that the system bore little resemblance to other musical notations. More complex alfabeto harmonies often used peculiar symbols; hence they are usually found in manuscript sources predating printed exemplars. There was also little demand for dissonant symbols in publications intended to be accessible to beginners with no prior knowledge of music theory.

The development of *alfabeto* saw an explosion of guitar accompaniments added to monodies. The guitar was commonly employed in the accompaniment of the Neapolitan *villanelle*, a strophic song usually in 3 or 4 parts in which composers intentionally tried to capture the rustic character of southern popular music. This grew in popularity from the mid-sixteenth century and by the 1580s, further north, another strophic form pioneered by Gabriello Chiabrera, the canzonetta, was also becoming more common. Chiabrera's *canzonette* were inspired by popular Italian strophic forms and French lyrical verse, namely that of the *Pléiade*. His experiments with metre gave his lyrics a rhythmic vitality that composers of the *seconda pratica* found very attractive. It was not long

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¹⁴ Girolamo Montesardo, *Nuova inventione d'Intavolatura per sonare li Balletti sopra la Chitarra Spagnuola* (Florence: Christofano Marescotti, 1606)

before *alfabeto* accompaniments were being added to *canzonette* too. The first printed *alfabeto* song book was Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger's first volume of *villanelle*, published in Rome in 1610,¹⁵ and there followed a steady flow of *alfabeto* song books into the mid-seventeenth century, with a peak in production in 1620s Venice. The instrument that initially gained popularity accompanying peasant ballads was now being assigned to accompany monodies by the likes of Sigismondo d'India, Alessandro Grandi and Claudio Monteverdi.

The addition of *alfabeto* to songs by composers of such renown has generated mixed reactions both among contemporary writers and in modern scholarship. The inclusion of the chord symbols raises numerous questions. Was their inclusion intentional or was it a marketing ploy of enterprising publishers? Did composers consider the guitar an appropriate instrument of accompaniment? Was the *alfabeto* an essential component of the music or just an alternative performance option? And how should one execute the chords? There is a longstanding negative perception of *alfabeto* that underpins all these questions. It is easy to associate *alfabeto* with musical illiteracy, unrefined performance practices, limited harmonic scope and a simplistic sort of 'painting by numbers' approach to learning. This is because they do not require a knowledge of music theory or the ability to read conventional staff notation in order to be understood.

Somebody who wishes to learn the basic accompaniment of a well-known tune can do so with relative ease with the aid of *alfabeto*. It is understandable, therefore, where the issues of 'appropriateness' and 'desirability' come from in the contexts of art song.

Alfabeto did cause some frustration, and understandably so, among composers who were unable to notate specifically the accompaniment that they desired. The system in its earliest manifestation was highly restrictive. The notation of individual notes, horizontal movement and complex harmonies was impossible. Even the notation of rhythm was often vague, and sometimes the required symbols proved too difficult to print, so it is no wonder that there were composers who

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¹⁵ Giovanni Girolamo Kapsbrger, *Libro primo di villanelle à 1 2 & 3 uoci* (Rome: s.n., 1610)

regarded the notation unfavourably. Bellerofonte Castaldi refused to include it in his songbook on the grounds that it was too restrictive:

... such a Pedantry is of little use to those who don't know (if the letters are not discarded) of the innumerable errors that occur at the cadences because of the aforementioned hieroglyphs. ¹⁶

Biagio Marini evidently found the inability to notate a 4-3 cadence so frustrating that he devised new symbols specifically for this purpose.¹⁷ Crescenzio Salzilli complained in his 1616 book that his printer was unable to print the symbol for E minor, so he had to make do with the symbol for E major throughout, and warned the guitarist therefore to be aware of what mode he is playing in.¹⁸ Writers in more recent times have also taken a negative view of *alfabeto*,¹⁹ none more harshly than Nigel Fortune, who seemed to regard its inclusion as a defacement rather than a viable performance option:

... this led to a new practice favoured by music publishers, especially by the commercially minded Vincenti, the practice of providing every song with letters for the guitar, even when, as in more serious songs, they were wildly appropriate (in the same way do the publishers of the popular sheet-music of today pepper their pages with tablature for the ukulele).²⁰

His claim that the symbols were added by publishers to broaden the potential market of the songbooks is not without basis and is supported by others.²¹ It is clear from certain volumes that the chords were added by someone other than the composer, as they have been added on the assumption that every bass note requires a root position chord. That is not to say, however, that

¹⁸ Crescenzio Salzilli, *Amarille: Libro terzo delle canzonette* (Naples: Lucrezio Nucci, 1616)

¹⁶ Bellerofonte Castaldi, *Primo mazzetto di fiori musicalmente culti dal giardino bellerofonteo* (Venice: Vincenti, 1623) translated in Cory Gavito, 'The Alfabeto Song in Print', p. 148

¹⁷ Biagio Marini, *Scherzi e canzonette* (Parma: Anteo Viotti, 1622)

¹⁹ See the discussions of guitar accompaniment in Craig Russell, 'Radical Innovations, Social Revolution, and the Baroque Guitar' in Victor Anand Coelho (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Guitar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 153-181, p. 161; Silke Leopold, 'Remigio Romano's Collection of Lyrics for Music', trans. by Karen Williams, *PRMA*, Vol. 110 (1983-84), pp. 45-61, p. 57; Thomas Christensen, 'The Spanish Baroque Guitar and Seventeenth-Century Triadic Theory', *JMT*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Spring, 1992), pp. 1-42, p. 23; and Denis Arnold, 'The Secular Music of Alessandro Grandi', *EM*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Nov., 1986), pp. 491-499, p. 498

²⁰ Nigel Fortune, 'Italian Secular Song from 1600 to 1635: The Origins and Development of Accompanied Monody' (doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1954), pp. 136-137

²¹ See Richard d'A Jensen, 'The Guitar and Italian Song', *EM*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Aug., 1985), 378, and Roarke Miller, 'The Composers of San Marco and Santo Stefano and the Development of Venetian Monody (to 1630)' (doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, 1993), pp. 187-191

composers therefore did not sanction guitar accompaniment, and examples such as these should not be taken as representative of the standard of accompaniment practised by guitarists at the time.

As to whether the guitar was an appropriate instrument of accompaniment, clearly there were different opinions on the matter. There was an early view among researchers that guitars were reserved for light-hearted genres and omitted from music of a serious nature.²² This is in part due to the *rasgueado* practice, which lends itself well to rhythmically charged and lively performances. True, guitars are commonly employed in the accompaniment of amorous, humorous, satirical and sometimes vulgar lyrics, but there are enough extant examples of laments and sacred music with guitar accompaniment to reveal that subject matter was not a deciding factor for everybody. Nina Treadwell has drawn attention to the absence of guitar accompaniments in works with bass lines that carry melodic interest; hence *alfabeto* is usually absent from strophic bass cantatas.²³ Songs with chord progressions closely modelled on dance forms such as the *folia*, and strophic forms with a slow rate of harmonic change were well suited to the guitar as they included familiar chord changes at a rate that was manageable for the left hand.

Everything about the appearance of *alfabeto* in songbooks would seem to suggest simplicity. There are no complex harmonies, no staff notation, no rhythmic indicators, and there is no counterpoint. Yet, this is not reflected in publications for the solo guitar repertory. *Alfabeto* undergoes constant evolution and refinement in these works, becoming ever more sophisticated up to the mid-seventeenth century, thereby increasing considerably the harmonic scope of the instrument. In songbooks, however, there is little evidence of such progression, and mid-century songbooks feature largely the same harmonic language as those published decades earlier. The guitar accompaniments notated in songbooks represent different levels of performance. While a novice guitarist might perform the harmonies precisely as written, for someone more skilful the

²² Nigel Fortune, 'Continuo Instruments in Italian Monodies', *GSJ*, Vol. 6 (July, 1953), pp. 10-13, p. 12; Nina Treadwell, 'The Chitarra Spagnola and Italian Monody 1589 – c.1650' (master's thesis, University of Southern California, 2000), pp. 12, 19

²³ Treadwell, 'The Chitarra Spagnola', p. 75

alfabeto chords may serve as a basis from which to improvise an accompaniment. This was one of the great appeals of alfabeto: it could cater for both the beginner and the professional guitarist. By the 1620s, dissonant chords and individual plucked notes had been incorporated into the solo repertoire. It is probable therefore that a guitarist who practised that style of performance would not be content with the basic alfabeto accompaniments notated in songbooks. In 1640 two treatises on continuo accompaniment for guitarists were in print, and many more were to follow. Prior to this, however, the only clues to guitar accompaniment are found in skeletal alfabeto accompaniments and the practices exhibited in the solo repertoire. Many of these clues lie in the instructional chord charts that were included in methods, anthologies and songbooks.

Composers contributed new symbols to *alfabeto* notations until c.1640. In the 1630s *alfabeto* notations were combined with tablature to create 'mixed' tablatures, and by the 1640s the incentive to create new symbols had faded as one could simply notate the desired chords in tablature (which was appealing as it did not place any burden on the memory). Before the advent of 'mixed' tablatures *alfabeto* notations were a work in progress, constantly refined, added to, and reorganised by a whole host of guitar-composers. A survey of the chord charts reveals the extent of the variation that appears in chord charts across the seventeenth century. Not only is there disagreement between composers as to the harmonies indicated by the chord symbols, but there is also much variation in terms of chord voicing. Sometimes differing notations can be confined to different geographical regions, and sometimes an individual composer can produce chord charts that differ in later works to his earlier ones. As time progressed, harmonic expansion became increasingly important as composers sought ways to notate alternative chord voicings, chords in high positions, and chords with added dissonances. This means, of course that chord charts became increasingly crowded with new harmonies, sometimes leading the composers to create additional

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²⁴ Giovanni Foscarini, *Li cinque libri della chitarra alla spagnola* (s.l. [Rome]: s.n., 1640; facs. edn., Archivum Musicum, Vol. 20 (Florence: SPES, 1979); Nicoláo Doizi de Velasco, *Nuevo modo de cifra para tañer la guitarra con variedad, perfección, y se muestra ser instrumento perfecto, y abundantissimo* (Naples: Egidio Longo, 1640) ²⁵ *Alfabeto* did not diminish in importance after this date, however, and continued to be published into the late eighteenth century.

charts just for dissonant harmonies. Guitar notations were, therefore, an organic species, constantly developing and rarely reproduced exactly from composer to composer. This makes for ample opportunity for misinterpretation from a modern musicology point of view, and it is therefore necessary to be familiar with any individual composer's chordal language to avoid error in transcription or performance. A knowledge of the changing appearances of the chord charts over time sheds light on how an *alfabeto* song might be performed. The fact that *tagliate* chords were the harmonies characteristic of the guitar repertoire in the early decades of the seventeenth century, whilst the chords in charts published in the 1630s became more mainstream in the mid-century repertoire, allows a guitar accompaniment to reflect the harmonic language in the differing stages of its evolution. This is not to say that guitarists never deviated from the chords prescribed in the charts. These were, after all, tailored for beginners. What the charts show, however, is harmonies that were in common usage at any one time and taught as standard.

Chord Charts

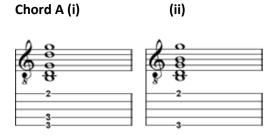
What has become clear after surveying over a hundred charts is that while there is consistency in the symbols used to depict the chords in common usage, those that were assigned to rarer harmonies were more variable, the one exception to this being E minor, which will be discussed shortly. The changing appearances of *alfabeto* chord charts were caused by several factors, including regional differences, the individual preferences of the composers, and the pioneering advances of a select few, in particular Giovanni Ambrosio Colonna, Pietro Millioni and Giovanni Foscarini. The result is a plethora of chord symbols that, over the course of the seventeenth century, change roles, change identities and fall in and out of fashion. Depending on the publication, chord *Y*, for example, could be G major, G minor, C major, C sharp major, C minor or E major. Guitar composers were constantly trying to broaden the harmonic vocabulary of their instrument, eventually resulting in the ingenious development of notations denoting chord transposition and the invention of dissonant chord alphabets. This constant refinement on the part of so many made any notion of a universal guitar notation impossible. What follows now is a

discussion of some of the major discrepancies between the charts and a documentation of how the harmonic language of the guitar became increasingly sophisticated across the seventeenth century.

Throughout the seventeenth century, letters A to M are consistently used by all guitar composers to indicate the same harmonies. Only one or two differences arise in chord voicings, but these are isolated occurrences: Montesardo (1606) and the author of the *Cancionero de Matheo Bezón* (E Szayas A.IV.8) dating from 1599, feature voicings of G major (chord A) that differ from the norm; and Kapsberger (1619) features a voicing of C major (chord B) that was initially used by Amat in 1596. The bulk of conflicting symbols and harmonies are those from chord N onwards, partly because they were less common, but more importantly because of the publication of transposing notation in 1620 (see below).

The following transcriptions demonstrate variant voicings found in *alfabeto* charts. The most commonly used voicing is given first.

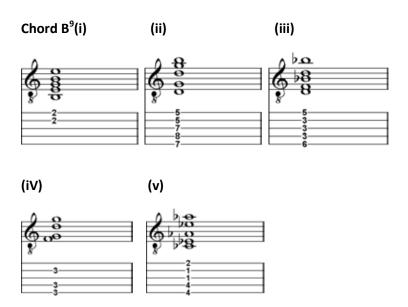
Example 1:4 Variation across Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Alfabeto Chord Charts



Chord A(ii) is found in the *Cancionero e Bezón* (1599), Montesardo (1606), and Sanseverino (1616). This voicing is also found in I-Fr Ms 2804 (c.1610-20), I-Fr 2849 (c.1610-20), F-Pn Res Vmc. MS 59 (c.1620-30), and I-PEc Ms H72 (mid 17th century), where it is designated *A*, as well as in Foscarini (c.1632 and 1640) and Granata (1646) where it is designated *a*.



Chord B(ii) is found in Kapsberger (1619a), F-Pn Res Vmc. Ms 59 (c.1620-30) and the *Tractat Breu* (1761) where it is designated *5n*.



Chord B⁹(i) is found in Sanseverino (1616, 1620, 1622)

Chord B⁹(ii) is found in F-Pn Res Vmc. MS 59 (1620-30) and Abatessa (1627)

Chord B⁹(iii) is found in Manzolo (1623)

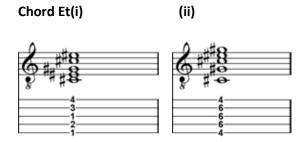
Chord B⁹ (iv) is found in Foscarini (1629, 1630, c.1632, 1640) and Granata (1646)

Chord B⁹ (v) is found in Ricci (1677)

Chord Ç (i)

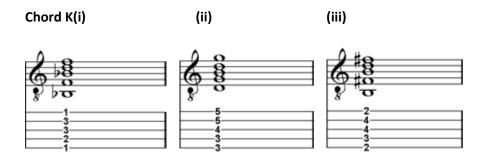


Chord Ç(i) is found in F-Pn Res Vmc. MS 59 (c.1620-30)



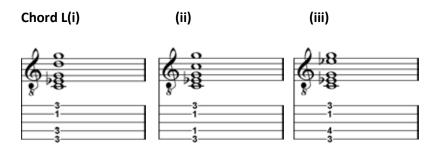
Chord Et(i) is found in Manzolo (1623), I-Fn Ms. Magl. XIX (c.1640)

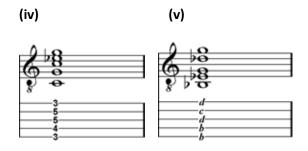
Chord Et(ii) is found in Abatessa (1627)



Chord K(ii) is found in the Cancionero de Matheo Bezón (1599)

Chord K(iii) is found in P-Cug M. M. 97 (early 18th century)





Chord L(ii) is found in Montesardo (1606), I-Fl Ashb 791 (early 17th century), I-Fr MS 2804 (c.1610-1620), where it is designated £, I-Fr MS 2774 (c.1620), Aldigatti (1627), Amat (1639), Mersenne (1648) Chord L(iii) is found in Corradi (1616), where it is designated .£., Colonna (1620, 1637), Sanseverino (1620, 1622), Costanzo (1627), where it is designated .£., Foscarini (1629, 1630, c.1632, 1640), Millioni (1636, 1661), Monte (c.1636), Millioni & Monte (1637, 1647, 1666, 1678, 1737), Corbetta (1639), where it is designated £*, (1671), Carbonchi (1640a, 1643), I-PEc Ms H72 (mid-17th Century), Valdambrini (1646), Calvi (1646), where it is designated £*, Pesori (1648a, 1648b, 1660), Pellegrini (1650), Marchetti (1660), Corbetta (1671), Sanz (1674, 1697), Ricci (1677), Micheli (1680), Derosier (c.1696), Pico (1698), Murcia (1714, 1732), B-Bc MS Littera S, No. 5.615 (1730), Minguet Y Yrol (1752-4), Anon (c.1761, c.1780)

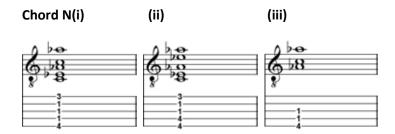
Chord L(iv) is found in Kapsberger (1619a, 1619b)

Chord L(v) is found in Losy (1700-25)

Chord M+



Chord M+ is found in Foscarini (1629, 1630, c.1632, 1640), Amat (1639), Bartolotti (1640), Corbetta (1643, 1650), where it is designated *M**, Granata (1646), Pesori (1648b, c.1675), Pellegrini (1650), where it is designated *M**, Sanz (1674, 1697), Derosier (c.1696), Murcia (1714, c.1732), where it is designated *Mb*, B-Bc MS Littera S, No. 5.615 (1730), Minguet Y Yrol (1752-4), Anon(c.1761, c.1780)



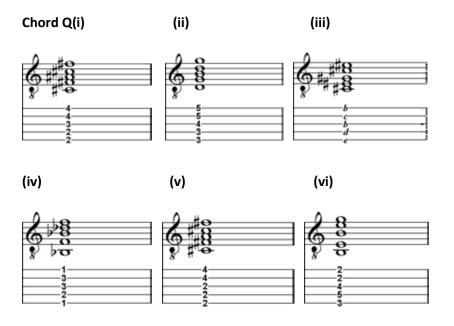
Chord N(ii) is found in Millioni & Monte (1637, 1647, 1666, 1678, 1737), Amat (1639), Bartolotti (1640, 1655), I-Pec Ms H72 (mid-17th century), Carbonchi (1640, 1643) Pesori (1648a, 1660), Micheli (1680), Minguet Y Yrol (1752-4)

Chord N(iii) is found in Milanuzzi (1624) and Berti (1624)

Chord N+



Chord N+ is found in Amat (1639), I-Fn Ms. Magl. XIX. 143 (c.1640), where it is designated *Nb*, Sanz (1674, 1697), Derosier (c.1696), Murcia (1714, c.1732), B-Bc MS Littera S, No. 5.615 (1730), Minguet Y Yrol (1752-4), Anon (c.1761, c.1780)



Chord Q(ii) is found in F-Pn Res Vmc. MS 59 (1620-30)

Chord Q(iii) is found in Derosier (c.1696), B-Bc MS Littera S, No. 5.615 (1730)

Chord Q(iv) is found in I-Bc Ms. V280 (1614-25), I-Fl Ashb 791 (early 17th century)

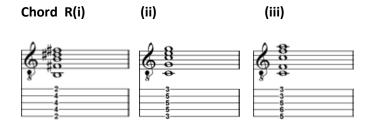
Chord Q(v) is found in P-Cug M. M. 97 (early 18th century)

Chord Q(vi) is found in Manzolo (1623)

Chord Q+

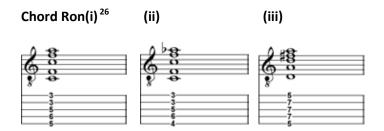


Chord Q+ is found in Derosier (c.1696) and B-Bc MS Littera S, No. 5.615 (1730)



Chord R(ii) is found in P-Cug M. M. 97 (early 18th century)

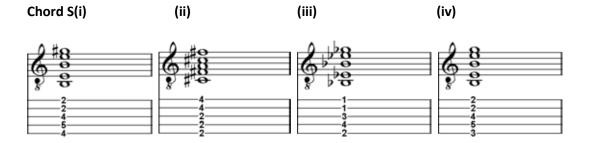
Chord R(iii) is found in Manzolo (1623)



Chord Ron(ii) is found in Foscarini (1630, c.1632, 1640), Granata (1646), Ricci (1677)

Chord Ron(iii) is found in F-Pn Res Vmc. MS 59 (c.1620-30)

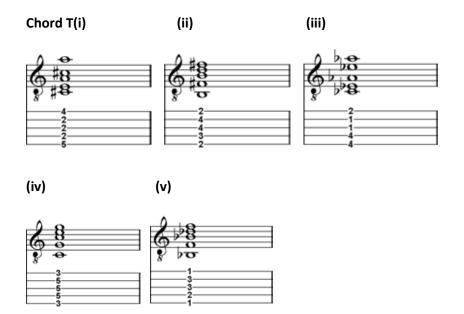
 26 Two symbols included in Montesardo's 1606 chart, $\,^{\mbox{G}}\,$ and $\,^{\mbox{R}}\,$, were otherwise known as 'con' and 'ron' to facilitate printing.



Chord S(ii) is found in I-Bc Ms. V280 (1614-25), I-Fl Ashb 791 (early 17th century), Kapsberger (1619a, 1619b)

Chord S(iii) is found in Millioni (1636, 1661), Trombetti (1639a, 1639b), I-Pec Ms. H72 (mid-17th century), Carbonchi (1640, 1643), Valdambrini (1646), Pesori (1648a, 1660), Marchetti (1660), Ricci (1677), Micheli (1680) and Pico (1698)

Chord S(iv) is found in Costanzo (1627), P-Cug M. M. 97 (early 18th century)

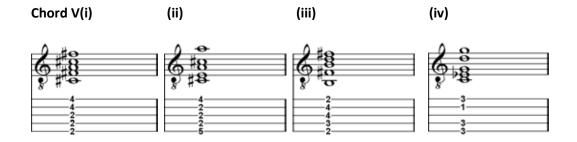


Chord T(ii) is found in I-Fl Ashb 791 (early 17th century), I-Bc Ms. V280 (1614-25), Kapsberger (1619a, 1619b)

Chord T(iii) is found in Millioni (1636, 1661), Trombetti (1639a, 1639b), I-Pec Ms. H72 (mid-17th century), Carbonchi (1640, 1643), Pesori (1648a, 1660), Marchetti (1660), Micheli (1680) and Pico (1698)

Chord T(iv) is found in I-Fr Ms. 2973/3 (c.1610-1620)

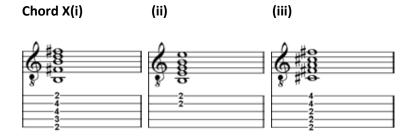
Chord T(v) is found in P-Cug M. M. 97 (early 18th century)



Chord V(ii) is found in I-FI Ashb 791 (early 17th century), I-Bc Ms. V280 (1614-25), Kapsberger (1619a, 1619b)

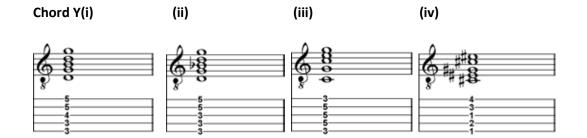
Chord V(iii) is found in F-Pn Res Vmc. MS 59 (1620-30), P-CugM. M. 97 (early 18th century)

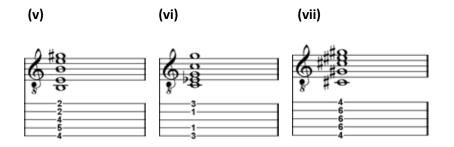
Chord V(iv) is found in the *Cancionero de Matheo Bezón* (1599)



Chord X(ii) is found in I-Fl Ashb 791 (early 17th century), I-Bc Ms V280 (1614-25), Kapsberger (1619a, 1619b)

Chord X(iii) is found in F-Pn Res Vmc. MS 59 (1620-30)





Chord Y(ii) is found in I-Bc Ms. V280 (1614-25)

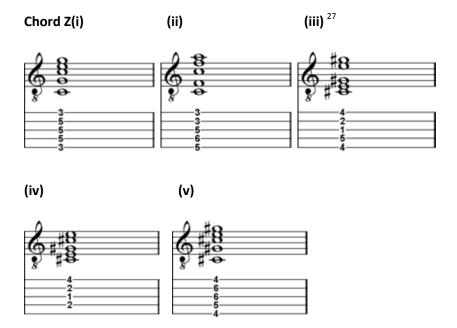
Chord Y(iii) is found in F-Pn Res Vmc. MS 59 (1620-30)

Chord Y(iv) is found in Carbonchi (1640, 1643) and Pesori (1648a, 1660)

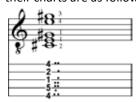
Chord Y(v) is found in Kapsberger (1619a, 1619b)

Chord Y(vi) is found in I-Fr Ms. 2849 (c.1610-1620)

Chord Y(vii) is found in I-Pec Ms. H72 (mid-17th century)



²⁷ This chord borders on impossible to perform, but the fingering instructions given by those who include it in their charts are as follows:

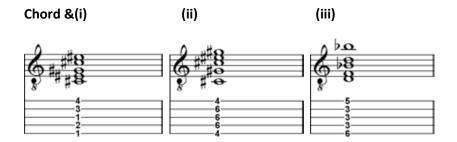


Chord Z(ii) is found in I-Bc Ms. V280 (1614-25) and F-Pn Res Vmc. MS 59 (1620-30)

Chord Z(iii) is found in Millioni (1636, 1661), Trombetti (1639a, 1639b), Marchetti (1660), Micheli (1680), Pico (1698)

Chord Z(iv) is found in Carbonchi (1640, 1643), Pesori (1648a, 1660)

Chord Z(v) is found in I-Pec Ms. H72 (mid-17th century)



Chord &(ii) is found in F-Pn Res. Vmc. MS 59 (1620-30) (where & is given as an alternative symbol to H6), Abatessa (1635)

Chord &(iii) is found in F-Pn Res. Vmc. MS 59 (1620-30) and Pesori (1675)

Chord &+

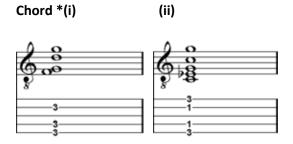


Chord &+ is found in Amat (1639), Sanz (1674, 1697), Murcia (1714, c.1732), Minguet Y Yrol (1752-4), Anon (c.1761, c.1780)

Chord bus



Chord bus is found in Marini (1622)



Chord *(i) is found in Colonna (1620, 1637)

Chord *(ii) is found in Marini (1622)

A close examination of the variants listed above yields the following observations. First, certain conventions of notation can be linked to particular regions. One good example is the notation of E minor. The vast majority of *alfabeto* sources are consistent in notating this harmony with a +. This symbol appears in some of the earliest manuscripts for the guitar and appeared in Montesardo's 1606 print. Nevertheless, there is an alternative symbol found at least as early as 1619 that appears to have been regarded by many Romans, as standard and that was *X*. Chord *X*(ii), listed above, appears in four chord charts, but also in the following songbooks:

Stefano Landi, Arie a una voce . . . (Venice: Magni, 1620)

Gregorio Veneri, Li varii scherzi . . . (Rome: Soldi, 1621)

Giovanni Battista Robletti, Raccolta di varii concerti musicali. . . (Rome: Robletti, 1621)

Giovanni Battista Robletti, Vezzosetti Fiori di varii eccelenti autori. . . (Rome: Robletti, 1622)

Raffaello Rontani, Le varie musiche (Rome: Robletti, 1623)

Giovanni Battista Fasolo, Barchetta passaggiera. . . (Rome: Robletti, 1627)

Giovanni Battista Fasolo *Il carro di Madama Lucia*. . . (Rome: Robletti, 1628)

Pietro Paolo Sabbatini, Prima scelta di villanelle. . . (Rome: Mascardi, 1652)

Although Landi's book was published in Venice, the chart features the Roman X. It is possible therefore that Landi, a Roman composer, provided the guitar accompaniment himself. The symbol is also found in three manuscript sources, I-Bc Ms V280 (1614-25), I-Fl Ashb 791 (early 17^{th} century) and GB-Lbm Add. 36877 (17^{th} century), thus lending them a possible Roman association. The use of X to represent E minor in Roman sources is not to be treated as universal, however, as several Roman guitar prints feature the more standard +, including those by Millioni, Ferdinando Valdambrini and Tomasso Marchetti. The + is also used in some of Sabbatini's Roman songbooks.

Further examples of notations bearing geographical association are the chords &+ and N+, which were included in late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century Spanish publications. Chord Q+ too, is found only in sources from the Low Countries.

Some of the modifications to chord voicings demonstrate a pragmatic approach to chord conception. Early voicings of chord A (G major) feature an open second course, but the standardised voicing featured the second course stopped at the 3^{rd} fret. Leaving the course open is easier, but the logic of adding the 3^{rd} fret emerges when the chord sounds adjacent to chord C (D major). There is a V-I relationship between D and G, so this is a progression heard regularly in one of the most common keys in the repertoire. The addition of the stopped 3^{rd} fret to chord A means that the D and G chords share a common note, stopped in the same position, which makes the change from one chord to the other easier for the left hand. Chord N(iii) only appears in songbooks, and this was more than likely to cater for beginners who might struggle with the awkward fingering of the more standard voicing. Chords Z(iii) and Z(iv) are modifications to the voicing of Z(ii), which was highly impractical and not widely imitated.

There is further evidence to suggest the conception of chords in terms of shapes, as many of the variant voicings are simply transpositions of the standard harmony. Thus the chord symbols

retained their association with a particular finger pattern, but the prescribed position along the fretboard was subject to change. This can be witnessed by referring to chords Q(iv), R(ii) and S(iv). Q(iv) sounds a semitone lower than standard, and the others both sound a semitone higher.

In some cases the variant voicings arise from the need to give redundant chord symbols a new purpose. Some were re-assigned new chords to fill gaps in the harmonic vocabulary. This is demonstrated in the dual identities of chords S, T and Z, which became symbolic of E^{\flat} minor, A^{\flat} minor and C^{\sharp} minor respectively around the 1630s. This means that one must be sure of the intended voicings of these three chords in the mid-century repertoire, as many composers continued to associate the symbols with their original harmonies of E major, A major and C major.

Some of the variant symbols arise out of necessity as certain printers were unable to provide characters for some of the more unusual chord symbols. Benedetto Sanseverino is the only composer to notate E minor with B^9 , possibly because there was no + available for the printing process. Similarly Foscarini uses B^9 to indicate a T^{th} chord on G, possibly because the symbol coined by Colonna for the same harmony (*) was too obscure. On occasion composers were unable to use the & sign, settling instead for the verbal equivalent of Et. Domenico Manzolo was subject to several restrictions in his 1623 work. As well as lacking the & symbol, con and con were also unavailable to him, so he settled for symbols that approximated to the latter. Thus C0 is used in place of con0 and con2 is used in place of con3 and con3 is used in place of con3 and con3 is used in place of con3.

The final observation concerns chart dissemination and the appropriation of the musical language of others. Chord charts that share peculiar notations can suggest a common familiarity with the harmonic language of an original source of reference. Kapsberger's second and third books

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²⁸ The cause of their redundancy was the development of notations able to indicate chord transpositions, as will soon be discussed.

²⁹ Ruiz de Ribayaz made this problem explicit in the prologue to his 1677 guitar book, writing '. . . in order to print the tablature in the other [i.e. usual] format, it would have been necessary to cast new characters with different matrices; and this was impossible to arrange because there was no one willing to undertake it'. Translated in Maurice Esses, *Dance and Instrumental 'Diferencias*', p. 100

of *villanelle* (1619) feature unusual voicings of chords *S*, *T*, *V* and *X*, which also appear in I-Bc Ms V280 (1614-25) and I-Fl Ashb 791 (early 17^{th} century). This suggests that Kapsberger and the authors of the manuscripts drew these voicings from a common source, or possibly that Kapsberger's books were the point of reference for the authors of the manuscripts. There is another very likely link between F-Pn Res Vmc. MS 59 (c.1620-30) and Giovanni Battista Abatessa's guitar publications. The author of the manuscript seems to have copied symbols from multiple chord charts, but there are three indicators to suggest that Abatessa's was one of them. First, chords B^9 (ii) (found in Abatessa 1627) and &(iii) (found in Abatessa 1635) are present in the manuscript chart. I have not found these chords in any other sources. Secondly, the manuscript chart features chords *C.*, *A.*, *E.*, and *D.*, B^{30} 0 which were included in Abatessa's 1627 and 1635 books. Thirdly, the manuscript includes an uncommon type of transposing notation (a notation that allows transposable chord shapes to be indicated anywhere along the fretboard) that was utilised by Abatessa.

Transposable Chord Shapes

The changing appearance of guitar chord charts reveals much about the dissemination of *alfabeto* across Italy and beyond, and also about the figures who were most influential over its development. In 1620, Sanseverino had published a system of notation that allowed transposable chord shapes to sound a whole tone higher than normal. One simply notated the chord symbol in the lower case, thus *G* represented F major and *g* represented G major in 3rd position. In the same year, however, Colonna had published a more flexible system that allowed the chord shapes to be notated in any position. This system would come to be widely adopted by guitarists and would significantly broaden the range of harmonies available to them. Colonna is usually credited as the pioneer of transposing notations but it is probable that the system was already known prior to his publication, not that his importance for disseminating the system in print should be diminished.

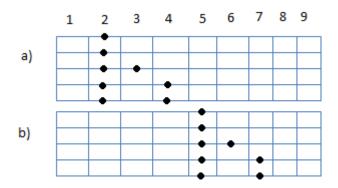
Colonna's system is found, for example, in manuscripts dating from c.1610-20 (I-Fr Ms 2804, I-Fr Ms 2973/3). The concept is very simple. One simply notated the fret number of the desired position

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³⁰ These chords are discussed later in this Chapter. See Example 1:16 on page 64 for a transcription.

next to the chord symbol. So *Q*, traditionally played at the second fret, could be played at the fifth fret by notating *Q5* (see Example 1:5).

Example 1:5 a) Chord Q, b) Chord Q transposed to 5th position



There were some variant transposing notations in use in the early decades of the seventeenth century that were closely related to Colonna's, though less common. Millioni, for example, treated the traditional playing position of a chord as 'position 1'. So although chord Q was played at the second fret, this was to be treated as position 1. Counting from here, the fifth fret is four positions higher, so chord Q played in fifth position would be notated Q4. The only chords affected were those traditionally played beyond first position but this was not widely imitated by other composers. When the system does occur elsewhere, it tends to be in sources that plagiarise material from Millioni's books, i.e. Marchetti (1660). Another variation is for the fret number to indicate not the position of the index finger along the fretboard, but the outermost fingers of the chord shape. Under this system, chord Q in fifth position would be notated Q7. This is the system employed by Abatessa in his 1635 book and found also in F-Pn Res Vmc. MS 59 and I-Fn Ms Magl. XIX. 143. Manzolo (1623) and Giovani Stefani (1621 and 1622) are other composers who uses this system, but overall its use is rare.

The long-lasting effect of transposing notations on *alfabeto* charts was the instability of the lesser used symbols (Q onwards). The ability to transpose the more common chord shapes meant that these latter symbols were no longer required, as their harmonies could be reproduced with the appropriate transposable chord shapes. So, for example, chord Q ($F\sharp$ major) could be reproduced by

chord *G* (F major) transposed up a semitone. This is demonstrated in the diagram below. Although this rendered symbols *Q* to *Z* superfluous, their disappearance from printed *alfabeto* works was a long and gradual process; indeed, some composers continued to employ these chord symbols into the eighteenth century. A new trend started by Millioni in 1627 and adopted by numerous composers in the 1630s, however, was to include symbols only up to *P* in their charts (with odd exceptions such as the inclusion of & or *con*).

G G2 Q H H H2 R M M2 S N N2 T

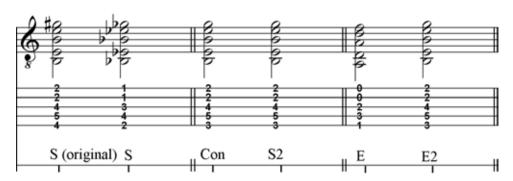
Example 1:6 Demonstration of How Transposing Chords can Replace Certain Alfabeto Symbols

Less Stable Chord Symbols

In some works published between the 1630s and the eighteenth century, there are sporadic appearances of chords Q, R, S, T, V, X, Y, Z, con and ron. There are a few isolated examples of con and ron in chord charts after 1640, but this is normally because the chart is a copy or reprint of an earlier work. Some composers chose not to use these obsolete chord symbols, but others assigned them new harmonies to expand the existing alfabeto vocabulary. Prior to Millioni's 1631 publication there was no symbol representative of Ab minor. Chord T had originally been a voicing of A major, but Millioni reassigned it to Ab minor to fill the gap in his chord chart. Furthermore, this publication is one of the earliest to reassign chord S with the role of Eb minor. S had previously been an E major

chord; in assuming its new minor role, it became a replacement for con. Con (E minor) was one of the chords that had been more secure as there was not an obvious transposing chord with which to replace it. In actual fact, however, with some alterations to the left hand fingering, chord E (D minor) could function as a transposing chord and con could have been duplicated by chord E2. A few composers made use of chord E in this way, such as Giovanni Battista Costanzo (1627), Giovanni Battista Sfondrino (1637), Francesco Corbetta (1639) and Carlo Calvi (1646), but composers more commonly notated the chord shape with new chord S.

Example 1:7 (1) The Two Uses of Chord S, (2) S Replacing Con, (3) E Replacing Con



In his 1629 publication, Foscarini assigned the chord of Eb minor to the symbol *M+*, but this initially did not catch on with other composers. By the 1640s *M+* had become the widely accepted symbol for the chord, finally rendering chord *S* obsolete, though there were composers who continued to use *S*, which means that Eb minor had two associated symbols from the mid-century onwards. Before the 1640s the use of chord *M+* was restricted to the works of Foscarini (1629, c.1630, c.1632). Composers who would eventually adopt this symbol include Angelo Michele Bartolotti (1640), Giovanni Battista Granata (1646), Corbetta (1648) and Stefano Pesori (1648). It also became the norm among later-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish composers such as Sanz (1674), Santiago de Murcia (1714) and Minguet Y Yrol (1752).

Another harmonic gap in the chord charts was that of C♯ minor, but in 1631 Millioni assigned this harmony to symbol Z, which had previously represented C major. Only a small number

of composers imitated this practice,³¹ and some presented the harmony with a different voicing as Millioni's was very awkward. Sanz adopts Carbonchi's more practical (yet still awkward) voicing in his 1674 method and gives it a new symbol, that of &+, which was later adopted by Murcia and Minguet Y Yrol. C \sharp major was traditionally assigned to chord &, but from 1627 onwards this symbol had an unstable position in the charts. Many composers omitted it, presumably because it was much easier to play the harmony with the transposable chord H at the fourth fret (H4). Abatessa alters the traditional voicing of chord & to match that of H4 in his 1635 chart.³² Some composers reassigned the harmony to the newly redundant symbols Y or Q.³³

Despite the huge importance of transposing notations in the expansion of the guitar's harmonic vocabulary, they are almost completely absent from *alfabeto* songbooks. Only two composers make use of them in this context. Both Manzolo and Stefani include the transposed chord K5 in their charts.³⁴ Stefani also includes chord G5. K5 is included as an alternative voicing of C minor to that more commonly indicated by chord L. In fact, Stefani makes explicit that K5 is preferable to L 'per miglior consonanza'.³⁵ Another composer who included a transposing notation of sorts was Carlo Milanuzzi in his 1630 songbook. Rather than include conventional transposing chords, Milanuzzi places equivalent transposable chords above symbols Q to ron. Chord Q therefore has a G placed above it.³⁶ This serves as a reminder that these less common harmonies can be formed by more familiar chord shapes. So whilst it is not an active incorporation of transposing notations into his accompaniments, it indicates an awareness of the phenomenon.

At this stage it is possible to make some general observations about *alfabeto*. A governing principle behind the development of *alfabeto* notation is practicality. Awkward voicings in chord

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³¹ See the description of chords Z(iii) and Z(iv), p. 41

³²See the description of chord &(ii), p. 41

³³See the description of chords Y(iv) and Q(iii), pp. 40 and 36

³⁴ Their use of an uncommon type of transposing notation has already been mentioned. Under Colonna's system this would be notated K3.

system this would be notated K3.

35 Giovanni Stefani, *Affetti amorosi Canzonette ad vna voce sola* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1621)

< http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/ V/V134/>
36 This chart is transcribed in Appendix 1.

charts were rarely imitated and were quickly replaced with something more manageable. Symbols surplus to requirement were soon abandoned or allocated a new role. This made the job of memorising the chart less cumbersome, as a guitarist could still play a full range of harmonies across the fretboard by memorising the symbols only as far as P. It is clear that some keys were more common than others, but this did not make learning harmonies that were more distant unnecessary. The ability to play in any key was an important skill for a guitarist who wanted to accompany a voice, as the vocal range of different singers would vary. Hence, many solo guitar books only feature chords such as *ron* in pedagogical passacaglia exercises. The remainder of the dances in guitar books tended to appear in the more common, guitar-friendly keys.

When analysed chronologically the charts tell a story of continuous refinement. By 1620, the range of harmonies available was far greater than those first published in 1606. By mid-century, many harmonic gaps had been filled and, as we will see below, dissonance had been incorporated into the charts. Because so many charts were reprinted again and again, this can give a false impression of a harmonic vocabulary that changed little over decades, as is certainly the case in songbooks: Martino Pesenti's 1636 songbook, for example, has a chart almost identical to Flamminio Corradi's in 1616, and both closely resemble Montesardo's in 1606. If one compares Pesenti's chart with Millioni's published in the same year, the difference is immense. Millioni and Colonna stand out as highly important figures in the development of *alfabeto*. Colonna's publication of transposing notation radically altered the appearance of the chart from Montesardo's original model and enabled guitarists to access a fuller range of harmonies. Millioni was at the forefront of chart development as the first to remove surplus symbols, the first to reassign chords *S*, *T* and *Z* to E minor, A♭ minor and C♯ minor, and, as we will see, one of the earliest to publish *tagliate* harmonies.

From the 1640s onwards, the changing appearances of *alfabeto* charts are suggestive of a greater concern for chord relationships with one another. Scholars have speculated over the logic of

Richard Hudson and John Henken. Hudson proposes that the chords were ordered according to their frequency of use, 37 whilst Henken suggests the order relates to the number of fingers required to play the chords. 38 Prior to the 1640s relatively few composers display their charts differently from the model presented by Montesardo in 1606, but one of the earliest to do so was the author of the *alfabeto* chart added to the 1639 edition of Amat's treatise on strummed accompaniment. In this chart the chords are grouped in major-minor pairs and proceed in a cycle of fifths. Other composers who went on to adopt the pairing system were Carbonchi (1640, 1643), Pesori (1648a, 1660) and Giovanni Pietro Ricci (1677). In 1646, Valdambini adopted a different system in which chords were paired with transpositions of their own harmonies a semitone higher. Chord + (E minor) was therefore paired with chord *P* (F minor), and chord *A* (G major) was paired with chord *N* (Ab major) and so on. Antonio Micheli arranged his chords into transposing groups in his 1680 publication; that is, all the chords that could be created from a single transposing chord shape were placed together. Chord + (E minor) is therefore grouped with chords *P* and *V* (F and F# minor) for example. Minguet Y Yrol rearranged his chords so that they proceeded in a cycle of fifths.

One of the main virtues of *alfabeto* was its accessibility to all levels of musical understanding, and only one chord symbol existed for two enharmonic identities. *Alfabeto* music could be mastered without a high level of musical literacy. For those ignorant of music theory, chords could still be conceived in terms of symbols, shapes and patterns. Indeed, much about *alfabeto* seems to encourage this approach. One symbol caters for two enharmonically equivalent chords; for example, & represents C# and Db major. Why make a new symbol for Db major when the finger pattern would be identical? Transposing notations also hint at a greater regard for the learning of patterns than for

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³⁷ Richard Hudson, 'The Concept of Mode in Italian Guitar Music During the First Half of the 17th Century', *AM*, Vol. 42, Fasc. 3/4 (Jul. – Dec. 1970), pp. 163-183, p. 164

³⁸John Henken, 'Guitar Continuo Practice in Seventeenth Century Italy' (Master's thesis, California State University Northridge, 1979), p. 3

their associated harmonies. Whilst the standard chord *G* is that of F major, the symbol can represent a whole range of harmonies when played in higher transpositions. This means the association of *G* with F major is weakened, and reduces the chord arrangement to a mere shape that will produce consonant chords at any fret along the guitar neck. The omission of superfluous chords is itself revealing of the thinking behind the *alfabeto* system. If the symbol for F\$ major was considered unnecessary owing to the fact that one could simply stop the symbol for F major a semitone higher, then this indicates a train of thought that regarded *alfabeto* chords as finger patterns rather than specific harmonic triads. The transposing notations were therefore a practical means of lessening the mental labour demanded of the student. This is not of course to assume that the majority of guitarists were unaware of the identity of chords or of harmonic relationships, but rather highlights the appeal of *alfabeto* to all levels of ability.

While some guitarists may have thought of accompaniments in terms of finger patterns, there is evidence that others conceived harmony in the more traditional manner of major and minor triads. A new species of chord chart appeared in the early 1620s that provided beginners with the means of creating variant voicings for their chords and allowed them to depart from those prescribed on the page. Essentially the charts schooled guitarists in the basics of variations, allowing them to profit further from the short dance sequences found in most guitar methods, as they could learn a four-bar phrase and then repeat it in a number of different permutations. This was an important skill to have, but crucially it necessitated an understanding of triads and their various arrangements.

Charts of Equivalent Harmonies

These 'correspondence charts' grouped together chord voicings that were considered equivalent and therefore interchangeable.³⁹ This provided guitarists with a variety of voicings in

³⁹ I have used this term to denote these charts as the titles in the original sources usually make reperence to 'corrispondenti'. The full title of Millioni's 1661 chart is 'Tavola delle lettere corrispondenti con le quali ciascuno se ne può servire in trasmutar sonate da una lettera all'altra'. Valdambrini's 1646 chart contains

different positions which they could treat as alternatives to the chords found in printed music. Ever at the forefront of innovation, Millioni was the first to include such a chart in guitar books. It appears in the fourth edition of his first three books, published in 1627 (so it is possible that it was circulated in print prior to this). It should be noted that chords such as Q and R were not widely used in correspondence charts published after Millioni's, as by this time they were falling from common use. The earliest such charts only display one alternative voicing but by mid-century they commonly displayed three. Foscarini, published a correspondence chart in 1640 that is of interest as it includes variants notated in lute-style tablature. Carbonchi's correspondence chart is noteworthy as it indicates chords up to eleventh position, far higher than any other guitar composers venture. Like Foscarini, he organises his chords into major-minor pairs. Sanz wrote proudly in 1674 that his chart would enable the student to 'create in a tune so many variations from jumping from the divisions of the twelve letters that you will not be able to count them'. 40

The charts were laid out in such a way that variant voicings in different arrangements were grouped together by key in columns of functionally equivalent chords. Although this may seem to anticipate the theories of inversion postulated by Rameau in the next century, it should be remembered that inverted harmonies were of no consequence in the strummed guitar repertoire: they were an accepted by-product of the physical set up of the instrument. Thus the chords in the charts are simply five-part alternatives to the default voicing. There was no theoretical agenda behind these charts. They were purely practical, as was necessary if they were to be of use to those with no knowledge of music theory. All equivalent harmonies were considered interchangeable, though when playing a progression a competent guitarist would choose chords that minimised the movement of the left hand along the fretboard.

^{&#}x27;chiavi corrispondenti insieme', and Abatessa's 1637 chart is entitled 'corrispondenza, ò vero ottava sopra di tutte le lettere i per suonare in diverse chiave'.

⁴⁰ Sanz, *Instruccion de música*, p. 5, trans. Jerry Willard, *The Complete Works of Gaspar Sanz*, Vol. 1 (New York: Amsco Publications, 2006), p. 20

As is by now obvious, *alfabeto* chord charts could become outdated, and on occasion this resulted in conflicting charts being published in the same work. For example, composers who had previously authored charts of corresponding harmonies frequently had these reprinted in later publications. These same publications may also include their newly modified *alfabeto* symbols or voicings that conflict with those in the reprinted correspondence charts. There are other instances of reprinted verbal descriptions of chords conflicting with the new chord chart in the same publication. One such work is Pesori's *Scrigno armonico* (1648). This features a verbal and a visual description of the chords. The verbal description is found in the first part of the book, which features *villanelle*. The chord chart illustrates the harmonies in tablature and features new harmonies on chords *S*, *T* and *Z*. This is for the second part, which contains mostly instrumental music. Many discrepancies emerge when composers make modifications to one chart and simply reprint the other. Pesori's c.1660 book again features conflicting chord descriptions but he was not alone in this practice. Abatessa's 1678 chord chart only features symbols up to *R*, but his correspondence chart in the same work includes chords *S* to *Z*. Millioni's 1661 work gives corresponding harmonies for chord *&*, which is not included in his *afabeto* chart.

The overview of *alfabeto* chord symbols just given has focussed mainly on the consonant harmonies embodied by the more typical symbols in use. There were, however, many more symbols that were the brainchildren of individual authors keen to experiment with new harmonies, particularly those that were dissonant. In addition, composers sought ways to adapt *alfabeto* to make the notation of melodies possible. Much of this creative energy was spent during the 1620s and 30s, and among the pioneering figures were Millioni, Foscarini, Corbetta and, lesser known, Palumbi, whose importance will emerge in the investigation of manuscript sources.

The 1620s: Printed Sources

Dissonant Chord Symbols

During the 1620s, guitarists had the resources necessary to notate and play music in all keys and in any position along the guitar neck. They also had the means to deviate from the notated

accompaniment, as by 1627 correspondence charts were in print. The consonant harmonic vocabulary of the guitar at this time was thus sufficiently broad to enable a performer to experiment with voicings and positions and to avoid monotonous repetition of the same default harmonies. This was also a period of intense innovation on the part of the guitar composers, as they sought ways to notate the resolving 7ths and 4ths that were so prevalent at cadences in the music of this period.

Bianciardi dictated the conventional treatment of a cadence in his *Breve regola* (1607):

Furthermore, when the bass falls a degree, or a fourth, one can use the seventh resolving on a major sixth, and when it falls a fifth or rises a fourth, one can use the fourth resolving on the major third in making a close. ...⁴¹

It is understandable, therefore, that guitar performers wished to incorporate this principle into their song accompaniments. Thus, it is during this decade that contrapuntal devices are incorporated into the guitar repertoire, which was not without its challenges as tablature was yet to be adopted in the notation of guitar music. The only way to notate linear movement was with chord symbols, thus the charts of the 1620s underwent significant expansion.

That said, there is some evidence of guitarists plucking as well as strumming at this time.

One of the earliest hints comes from Sanseverino, who had two guitar books published in 1620 and 1622. In the introductory material, he wrote:

Finally, it seems to me that the Spanish guitar ought to be played with full strokes and not otherwise, since if one plays it with diminutions, ligatures or dissonances, it would be more like playing the lute. ...⁴²

Clearly, then, the author had encountered guitarists playing in this manner to elicit this response.

One or two printed musical sources also support the likelihood that guitarists were dabbling with the plucked style by the 1620s. Briceño's 1626 method features a 'chacona sobre el cruçado' (chaconne in D major). The notation has an inscription alongside that says 'C. D. sur la segunda', which

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⁴¹ Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regole per imparar a sonare sopra il basso con ogni sorte d'Instrumento* (Siena: Domenico Falcini, 1607). Translated in F. T. Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment*, Vol. 1, p. 77

⁴² Translated by Monica Hall, 'The Baroque Guitar Made Simple: Sanseverino' (online essay) *Monica Hall:* Baroque Guitar Research, p. 7 < http://monicahall2.files.wordpress.com/2012/03/5-sanseverino.pdf> [accessed 21/6/13]

indicated that these two notes were to be played on the second course alone. Colonna's 1627 work featured a piece called 'Vestiva i colli', ⁴³ and before the *alfabeto* notation begins, there is a small, rudimentary stave featuring tablature serving as a plucked introduction to the strummed music. The most concrete evidence of guitarists combining the plucked and strummed styles by this time, however, is in manuscript sources. Numerous manuscript sources predating the 1620s feature plucked notations that confirm that guitarists were playing in a 'mixed' style long before the 1630s - the decade usually referred to by researchers in discussions of 'mixed' performance styles.

Although there is sufficient evidence to indicate that at least some guitarists were plucking before the 1630s, the bulk of sources from the 1620s, especially those in print, are notated exclusively in chord symbols. Guitar composers therefore had to find ways to add and resolve dissonance to their music without the luxury of tablature. One of the earliest dissonant harmonies in the guitar repertoire was a C minor chord with an added major ninth (chord L). Far from any justification on harmonic grounds, this peculiar harmony appears to have been devised for practical reasons. A fully consonant C minor harmony in first position is very awkward for the left hand, particularly at speed. The alternative would be to play the harmony with a bar at the third fret, but shifting positions may have been intimidating to a beginner. It made more sense to provide a selection of chords that all sat comfortably in the same region of the instrument. The dissonant variant was, therefore, the preferred voicing from at least the late sixteenth century (as it is found in the *Cancionero de Bezón*, which dates from 1599) until c.1630. This chord has already been discussed in depth by Alexander Dean and Nina Treadwell among others, ⁴⁴ so a detailed discussion

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⁴³ This was re-printed in Giovanni Ambrosio Colonna, *Intavolatura di chitarra spagnuola del primo, secondo, terzo, & quarto libro* (Milan: Dionisio Gariboldi, 1637)

⁴⁴ Alexander Dean, 'The Five Course Guitar', pp. 172-3; Treadwell, 'The Chitarra Spagnola' p. 66; Aiden O'Donnell, 'Le rôle de l'alfabeto dans le development de la pensée harmonique en Italie 1600-50' (Doctoral thesis, Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2011) , pp. 28-29; Richard d'A Jensen, 'The Development of Technique and Performance Practice as Reflected in Seventeenth-Century Italian Guitar Notation' (master's thesis, California State University, Northridge, 1980) p. 37-38; Lex Eisenhardt, 'Dissonance and *Battuto*, A Hidden Practice in the Performance of Seventeenth-Century Guitar Music?', *JLS*, Vol. 47 (2007), pp. 39-40, and Monica Hall, 'Dissonance in the Guitar Music of Francesco Corbetta', *JLS*, Vol. 47 (2007), pp. 55-80, p. 60

of its utility is unnecessary here. Suffice it to say that the dissonant voicing had practical value in the context of G minor, one of the more common keys in the repertoire. The note D is common to the dominant and tonic chords of this key, and so adding a D to the subdominant meant that the progression iv-V-I featured a note common to all three chords. Thus an easy transition from one chord to another is facilitated, as the guitarist can keep his or her finger rooted on the D on the second course throughout the whole progression. This seems to have been one of the main justifications for the widespread preference of this voicing in the early decades of the seventeenth century and is well illustrated by Dean. From the perspective of a composer of monody used to regulating dissonance in accordance with the rules of counterpoint, however, the justification of a rogue ninth purely on the grounds of it being a more manageable chord shape may have been hard to accept. This possibility will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 2.

Chords with an added seventh make an early appearance in *rasgueado* guitar publications.

The earliest such work was Colonna's *Intavolatura di chitarra*, printed in 1620. This book featured a seventh chord on G, represented by an *. Other composers who adopted this chord incude Foscarini (1629) and Sfondrino (1637), though Foscarini notated the harmony with the symbol B⁹. Although Colonna notates this symbol relatively infrequently it always appears between chords O and L (G minor and C minor). In the following transcription it creates a simple descending melody from G to D in one of the middle voices.

Example 1:8 Colonna's Use of Chord *



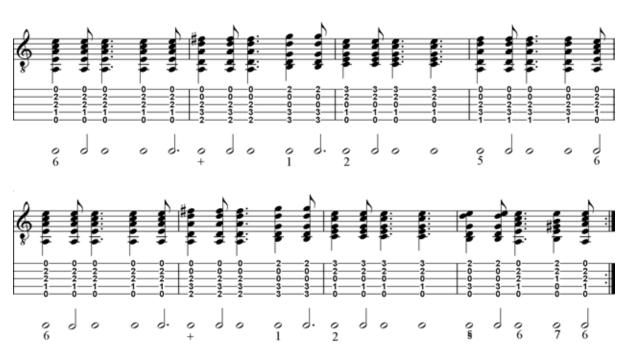
Another composer who included a seventh chord was Briceño in 1626, though his was on E.

It is worth observing that guitarists did not set out immediately to provide dissonant chords applicable to all keys, but only to those that were most commonly used. In any case, a fully

comprehensive set of dissonant chords would result in a chart far too laborious to memorise.

Briceño's use of the seventh chord is similar (see Example 1:9). It allows a basic descending melodic line (from E to B) to decorate the final cadence.

Example 1:9 Briceño's 'Caravanda llamada del oratorio' with Dissonant Chord



More important than these isolated cases of dissonance in the 1620s, however, was a chord chart that featured exclusively dissonant harmonies and demonstrated how they were to be resolved. This appeared in print in 1622 and was authored by Biagio Marini, a composer of monody and of instrumental works who was frustrated with the inability to notate melodic movement in his guitar accompaniments. He devised the chart to rectify this matter and persistently used his new harmonies in later works (they appeared in his 1655 publication) though they were not adopted by other composers. It is not surprising that such progressive notations were invented by a composer whose harmonic training was not restricted to the language of the fretboard. The early five-course guitar repertoire did not have any ancient traditions rooted in counterpoint (though the earlier four-course guitar did), and so it makes sense that some of the initial pioneering steps towards 'mixed' tablature, notations that combine vertical and melodic musical thought, should be taken by someone outside the guitar circle.

Marini devised eight new chords that had not appeared in any of the previous chord charts (see Example 1:10). Each contains an added 4th, and two also feature an added 7th. The pedagogical information provided by this chart is of great value, as dissonant harmonies are rarely explained or demonstrated in any instructive context by guitarist at the time. Marini makes it clear that a dissonance is to be employed wherever the bass descends a fifth. His new chord symbols correspond with those of standard alfabeto harmonies except they are sandwiched between two dots to indicate a harmonic alteration. As can be seen from Marini's chord .B. (and also from Briceño's dissonant chord) the doubling of the dissonant note was permissible on the guitar. In some cases doing so was more practical than not. Marini indicates the dissonant F on courses 1 and 4 in chord .B.. Strumming all five courses is easier than stopping short of the top one, so Marini notates a fully voiced chord. Normally these two courses would play the third of a C major chord but as Marini desires an added fourth, one of these courses must play an F. This means that if the other course does not double the dissonant note, the fourth and third of the chord will sound simultaneously, producing a particularly grating dissonance. Although Marini's symbols were not widely imitated by other composers, many of his chords would become standard, almost default cadential harmonies during the remainder of the seventeenth century.



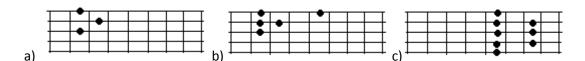
Example 1:10 Marini's New Alfabeto Chords



The Incorporation of Melody

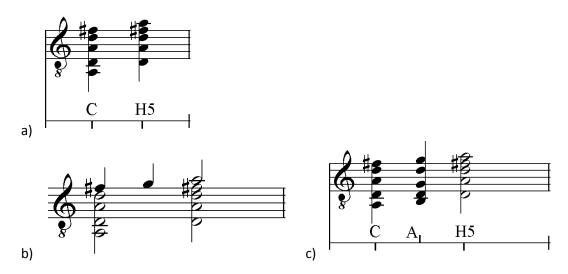
Late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century guitarists were part of a peculiar musical tradition in which voice leading was a secondary concern in accompaniment. The highest and lowest voices of strummed chords were determined by *alfabeto* chord shapes and therefore were not 'composed' beforehand. Of course, the upper voice of the strummed guitar chords would generate a basic melody, but this was a by-product of the particular chord shapes employed in a particular region of the fretboard. A competent guitarist would vary the voicings of repetitive chord progressions to avoid monotony. Correspondence charts were after all devised to this end. This approach was limiting, however, as altering the highest voice this way required a complete chord change every time. For example, chord *C* is a D major chord with the third in the upper voice. If a guitarist wished to play the fifth in the upper voice instead, this was easily achievable without leaving second position (see Example 1:11). There is no *alfabeto* symbol for this voicing, however, and so a D major harmony with a fifth on top must instead be notated *H5*, thus requiring a shift to fifth position.

Example 1:11 a) Chord C, b) Chord C with the Fifth in the Upper Voice, c) Chord H5



Similarly, if a guitarist wished to progress from chord *C* to chord *H5* and to insert a passing G in between the F sharp and the A, the only way to do so would be to insert a new chord featuring a G in the top voice (such as chord A) in between these harmonies (see Example 1:12).

Example 1:12 a) Chords C and H5, b) Desired Passing Note, c) Result in Practice



Clumsy chord progressions such as that found in Example 1:12.c do occur in the repertoire of *alfabeto* song arrangements. Take, for example, the following extract from an arrangement of the song 'Quella bella amor' that was published in Marchetti's 1660 book. The guitar chords have been selected to mimic the melody but the parallel movement of chord *N* not only sounds crude, but also results in harmonies far removed from the D minor key of the song.

Example 1:13 Extract of a Transcription of 'Quella bella amor' from I:Bc Q140 25^r and the Corresponding Guitar Arrangement in Marchetti (1660)



It is doubtful that the composer would have been content with this particular passage, but it is a product of the notation, not of musical incompetence. Composers were responding to a demand for arrangements that they did not yet fully have the means to provide.⁴⁵ That demand is evident from

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⁴⁵ Marchetti's book is a reprint of a 1635 edition, and bears a close resemblance to Millioni's 1620s publications.

the recurring song titles that appear in solo guitar anthologies. Again and again we find anonymous popular songs such as 'Quella bella amor', 'Amor poiché non giovano', 'Girometta' and 'Bella Margherita', and well known songs by leading composers such as Kapsberger's 'Avrilla mia'. There was, therefore, an acute need for a way to separate melody from accompaniment, that is, to be able to notate notes on an individual string. Early manuscript sources reveal that guitarists did have a means of notating individual melodies, but this was too complex for printers to reproduce. Millioni was one of the first to simplify the manuscript notations to make them more suitable for printing.

Tagliate Chords

The earliest extant editions of Millioni's books date from 1627, but by this time he had already produced five volumes for the guitar. It was during this year that four of his books went to print: a fourth edition of books 1-3, a second edition of book 4, a first edition of book 5, and an *alfabeto* songbook. Millioni was one of the most reprinted and plagiarised guitar composers of the seventeenth century, and it is already clear that he was highly influential over the evolution of *alfabeto* notations with many of his developments imitated by others. Given his creative compulsion to experiment with harmony, it is unsurprising that none of his charts is identical to any others.

Often the differences are subtle. One or two chords may be added or removed, but these differences are even apparent in reprints. The 1636 edition of the first three books was published in Milan and contains a chart that is quite different from the edition published a year earlier in Rome and Turin. It is hard to speculate, therefore, whether the earlier editions of the books reprinted in 1627 would have had the same charts. Ale Nevertheless, by at least 1627 Millioni had turned his attention to melody, and to this end he devised several new *alfabeto* chords.

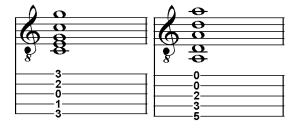
Two of Millioni's new chords (*B3* and *C5*) were fully consonant, alternative voicings of C major and D major, both with the fifth in the upper voice (see Example 1:14). The remaining newly

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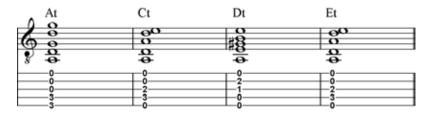
⁴⁶ It is likely, thanks to a comment by Mersenne in his *Harmonie universelle* (1636) that one of these books was published in 1624. See Monica Hall 'The Baroque Guitar Made Simple: Millioni' (online essay) *Monica Hall: Baroque Guitar Research* < http://monicahall2.files.wordpress.com/2012/03/6-millioni.pdf [accessed 19/09/13]

devised harmonies require deeper consideration as their intended use is not immediately obvious. They are 'tagliate' chords (see Example 1:15). Tagliate was a term that essentially implied a chord that differed from the standard alfabeto harmonies. It was used by some, such as Millioni, to indicate partially stopped alfabeto chords (partial in the sense that certain courses would be strummed open where normally they would be stopped), while others used the term to indicate chords reduced in texture to four or three courses. There are notated precedents of both types of tagliate chord in manuscripts dating from c.1610 and possibly earlier. The earliest extant printed sources of both types, however, date from 1627. Abatessa's Corona di vaghi fiori features four reduced texture chords, which function as alternative voicings to the standard arrangements (see Example 1:16). His notation is logical as the symbol reflects that of its corresponding traditional counterpart (with the exception of D., which indicates an A major chord where D usually represented A minor). This type of tagliata chord became more widely used in the mixed tablature repertoire, as will be discussed below.

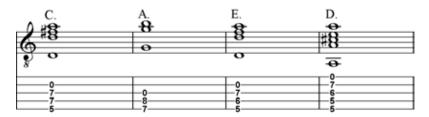
Example 1:14 Millioni's Chords B3 and C5



Example 1:15 Millioni's Tagliate Chords



Example 1:16 Abatessa's Tagliate Chords



Millioni's tagliate chords contain dissonances, but they are unlike the standalone dissonances already encountered in alfabeto charts. In his writings on harmony, Carl Dahlhaus made a clear distinction between chords that were dissonant and chords that contained a foreign note:

In harmonically based writing a dissonance is accounted a dissonant chord if two conditions apply: if, in the first place, the dissonant chord can be meaningfully explained as a piling up of 3rds . . . and if, in the second place, the resolution of the dissonance is associated with a change of harmony . . . Notes foreign to the chord (or to the harmony) . . . appear as dissonant adjuncts to the chords . . . and, in the second place, their resolution is not dependent on a change of harmony.⁴⁷

These definitions are important as they help in beginning to determine the purpose of the *tagliate* chords. The dissonant chords already discussed that were included in Colonna, Briceño and Foscarini's books all had added sevenths, and so they meet the criteria of dissonant chords. *Tagliate* chords featured added fourths, foreign notes, and therefore were treated differently. The ingenuity of Millioni's *tagliate* chords becomes apparent when that treatment is closely examined.

Chords At and Dt were included in all of Millioni's 1627 charts, and although Ct is left out, it does appear in the music. The full complement of tagliate chords did not appear in Millioni's books until the 1630s. In each chord the dissonant note is doubled, though this was not particularly unusual in the guitar repertoire and has already been encountered in Marini's 1622 chart. At is a D chord with an added fourth and chords Ct and Et are A chords with an added fourth. Chord Dt began as an E major chord with a third and fourth that sounded simultaneously (a characteristically guitaristic effect, particularly in later decades). This appears to have been altered some time after

⁴⁷ Carl Dahlhaus, et al. "Harmony." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. 22 May. 2012 < http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/50818>.[accessed 21/6/13]

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1636, as the 1661 reprint of a now lost earlier work features the new *Dt* (see Example 1:17), which omits the third.⁴⁸

Example 1:17 The Later Chord Dt



Chords *C5* and *At* facilitated the creation of basic melodies on the first course. *At* was a D chord with an added fourth in the top voice, and so when placed between chords *C* and *C5* the audible result was an ascending or descending melodic motif. The voicing of *At* meant that the D major or minor harmonies could be sustained for the entire duration of the passage, so that the passing note no longer required a complete chord change. One of the most basic principles of composition, taken for granted in other instrumental repertoires, was just beginning to become available to guitar composers. The effectiveness of these new chords can be demonstrated by comparing two arrangements of a popular Italian song, one by Millioni in 1627 and one by Foriano Pico in 1698. The melody is very simple and easy to notate with *alfabeto* symbols. One big difference between the two arrangements, however, is that Pico's chart does not feature chord *C5*, and so he is forced to use *Ct* instead. The dulling effect on his melody is clear in the transcription below.

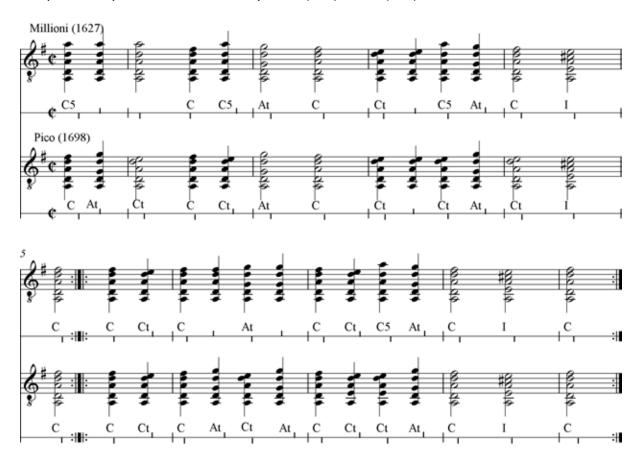
Example 1:18 goes to show just how limiting *alfabeto* could be. Without sufficient chords, even the most basic melodies could be impossible to notate. This was another reason why guitar composers continuously employ the same keys. Some keys had been allocated more chords than others. There tended to be more alternative voicings of G, for example, and, as has already been

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⁴⁸ Although the date of Millioni's death is unknown, it is assumed that the 1661 edition was published posthumously, though Millioni was still alive in 1649 as that year he published *Gratioso Pensiero*, a book that allowed people to guess the name someone else was thinking of using mathematical principles!

observed, several charts included G chords with added sevenths, thus making it an attractive key to compose with. Once chords *Ct*, *At* and *C5* appeared, the key of D grew in appeal, as it had greater scope for the notation of simple melodies.

Example 1:18 Comparison of a Girumetta in D by Millioni (1627) and Pico (1698)



Although Millioni included only three different chords, *At*, *Ct* and *Dt*, part of the reason why these particular harmonies are so ingenious is the fact that their thirds are omitted. This means that they can be employed in major and minor keys, and this is why, I believe, the voicing of chord *Dt* was eventually altered. G, D and A were some of the most common keys in the repertoire, and so chords *At*, *Ct* and *Dt* were available for use in a large proportion of guitar compositions, major and minor.

It seems peculiar that Millioni felt the need to include chord *Et* as it is identical to chord *Ct*, but this may have been a strategy to avoid printing errors. *Ct* is one of the most commonly used *tagliate* chords, and perhaps Millioni was concerned that if it were included in a piece in D minor, the *t* might not be clear and it could be mistaken for a D major chord. The choice of symbols for

these chords is also a little odd. If At is a D chord with an added dissonance, then why was it not labelled Ct? There are two possible answers. Firstly, Millioni chose symbols of chords that most closely resembled the voicings of the tagliate chords. For example, the voicing of At is more like chord A than chord C. The second possibility is that the symbols represent the final harmonies that the tagliate chords would precede at cadences. This brings us to one of the purposes of tagliate chords, one that Marini tried to address in 1622: the inclusion of 4-3 progressions at cadences.

Ct is an A chord with an added fourth, though composers did also use it as a D chord with an added ninth. Millioni does so in the above example whenever the melody note is an E natural.

Often, though, Ct is found at cadences, and the dissonant note resolves into a consonant A major chord. This can be seen in bar 4 of Pico's arrangement in the above transcription. Chord Dt likewise could serve a melodic or harmonic purpose. In pieces in the key of A it could be used at cadences as an E major chord with an added fourth. It is quite commonly found, however, sandwiched between two A minor chords, where its open second course functions as a passing B natural.

Example 1:19(a) Theoretical Cadence in A Featuring Chord Dt

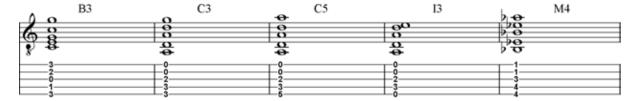


(b) The Use of Dt to Create a Passing Note



The *tagliate* chords devised by Millioni were adopted by other composers in the 1630s, such as Trombetti (1639) and Marchetti in 1635. They were still in print in the late seventeenth century and can be found in books by Ricci (1677) and of course Pico (1698).

Example 1:20 Ricci's Tagliate Chords (1677)



Manuscript Sources

Alfabeto songbooks only tell half the story of guitar performance in the early decades of the seventeenth century, as they do not convey the complexities of right hand technique or the sophistication of the instrument's harmonic vocabulary. Printed sources of the solo repertoire portray the latter more accurately, but still offer little hint of any use of plucking in conjunction with strumming at this time. It is manuscript sources, unhindered by the limitations of the printing press, that give a fuller account of early guitar performance. The 1630s are generally regarded as the landmark decade when strumming and plucking were combined to create the 'mixed' repertoire, because printed sources do not provide evidence to the contrary. Manuscripts, however, reveal that this was occurring at least two decades earlier. The information to be gleaned from printed sources is still important, however, as published chord charts are good indicators of the harmonies being taught to guitar students as standard at given times. It should also be borne in mind that chord charts in print had a much better chance of being widely disseminated and reaching a larger audience than those in manuscript, which were likely to be known only in intimate circles. It is important to realise that what appears in print is likely to be an already established practice rather than something new. Landmark developments in notation, such as the combining of alfabeto and tablature, or transposing notations, are therefore likely to have existed in practice prior to their appearance in print. This is especially true of dissonant chord charts. Tagliate chords may have first left the printing press in the 1620s, but evidence suggests that they were known at least a decade earlier (which is a possible reason why later composers rarely bothered explaining their uses), and the printed dissonant charts of the 1630s (discussed below) have precedents in manuscript sources dating from c.1610. Mixed tablatures, characteristic of the printed repertoire between c.1630 and

c.1660, can be found in a manuscript dating from c.1614. This rather muddies the traditional timeline associated with guitar practice, in which the repertoire between c.1580-c.1629 is usually thought of as exclusively strummed. It also has large implications for the early guitar song, as suddenly the possibility that the accompaniment may feature plucking is very real.

Francesco Palumbi

One of the most important guitarists of the early seventeenth century was Francesco

Palumbi, a name rarely mentioned in guitar research and a man about whom precious little is known.

To date, the most comprehensive description of his life comes from Tyler, who wrote:

... the inclusion of Italian, Spanish and Sicilian texts in his manuscripts and, of course, the presence of *alfabeto*, strongly suggests that he was one of the many South-Italian singers and guitarists who travelled to the northern courts with their music and performance practices in order to augment their employment opportunities.⁴⁹

It seems that Palumbi was the inventor of a system of notation that ingeniously allowed guitarists to indicate individual notes without the need of a stave. Lacking the assisted dissemination of his works in print, such innovations may have gone unnoticed, but it seems that Palumbi occupied much of his time compiling manuscripts and teaching guitar (one of his pupils was the Veronese aristocrat Count Paulo Canussi). In his own way, then, Palumbi was able to spread his system and his mixed style of performance. Six substantial manuscripts in Palumbi's hand are extant, and it seems that he also contributed partially to I-Fc Ms. 2556. His influence goes further, however, as his chord symbols and plucking notations were incorporated into manuscripts by other authors (I-Fr Mss. 2973/3, 3121 and 2774, I-Fn Fondo Landau-Finaly Mss. 175 and 252 and F-Pn rés vmc Ms. 59). Tyler also suspects that contents of I-Fr Ms.2951 were copied directly from Palumbi's manuscripts. 50

Palumbi's plucking notations are simple in principle. They consist of one number above another. The upper figure represents the fret number and the lower figure is the course to be stopped, so 3/5 indicated the third fret of the fifth course. If a course was to be played open, this

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⁴⁹ James Tyler, 'The Role of the Guitar', par. 2.11

⁵⁰ Tyler and Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music*, p. 78

was indicated by the word *voto*. *Voto 5* therefore meant an open fifth course. Where the notation is unclear for interpreters today is whether the notes should be plucked alone or incorporated into a strum. One of the most sensible conclusions (which was also reached by Dean) is that context will dictate matters. If including the note in the strum is unduly awkward, then it is likely that it was intended to be played alone. ⁵¹ In some circumstances, as we shall see, the individual notes seem to assume the role of a theoretical bass. What is interesting, however, is that these plucking notations often occur in conjunction with *tagliate* chords.

Tagliate Chords

Nowadays, early guitar researchers and performers most commonly associate the word tagliate with the four chords originally published in Millioni's works, as these were widely disseminated in guitar books across Italy by several different authors. The availability of facsimile editions of Marchetti and Pico's books has also contributed to a more common knowledge of these four chords. Discussions of tagliate chords have so far been focussed on printed sources. Tyler glosses over them in his reference manuals for modern performers, ⁵² and Monica Hall and Lex Eisendhardt have both discussed the examples found in Bartolotti's guitar books. ⁵³ The multiple manuscript sources of tagliate chords housed in Florentine and Parisian libraries, however, have not been discussed in any great depth. Palumbi's manuscripts, all dating from c.1610-20, are the earliest extant sources of tagliate chords. Other manuscript sources date from roughly the same period, though some date from as late as c.1640. There is an extensive range of tagliate chords in these sources, and consistent use of the same symbols by different authors could imply that at least some of these notations were common knowledge among guitarists. This suggests a performance convention beyond the boundaries of print that was integral to the guitar repertoire. Why, then, were these chords not in print? If we assume that Millioni was familiar with early tagliate notations,

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⁵¹ Dean, 'The Five-Course Guitar', 232

⁵² See his two practical guides: *The Early Guitar: A History and Handbook*, Early Music Series 4 (Hatfield: The Stellar Press Ltd, 1980), pp. 67-68; and *A Guide to Playing the Baroque Guitar*, pp. 22. See also Tyler and Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music*, p. 168,

⁵³ Monica Hall, 'Angiol Michele Bartolotti's *Lettere Tagliate'*, *JLS*, Vol. 47 (2007), pp. 81-97, Lex Eisenhardt, 'Bourdons As Usual', *Ibid*, pp.1-37, particularly pp. 15-18.

why did he only include three different *tagliate* harmonies in his books? Besides the limitations of print, the other likely reason is the target audience of his 'teach yourself' books. Printing *tagliate* symbols was challenging enough, but as they were part of a mixed repertoire that featured plucked melodies that were beyond the limits of the printing press, the context in which they were commonly employed could not be produced in print. In any case, in books aimed at beginners, the mixed style of performance would be over-ambitious, and as the music tended to be restricted to 'comfortable' keys, the select few chords included by Millioni sufficed for novice guitarists.

In sources where the notation of individual notes is possible, the melodic role of *tagliate* chords is less important. Nevertheless, it seems that the different chords were intended to fulfil different purposes. Whilst some are simply alternative voicings of standard *alfabeto* chords, others have added fourths for use at cadences, and others are reduced in texture to make passagework easier (which, of course, was not required in early printed sources). There are three Palumbi manuscripts in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence and all feature *tagliate* chords. Whilst I-Fr Ms. 2793 has no chart, chords A and F can be found in the music. The chart in I-Fr Ms. 2804 features five *tagliate* chords and the chart in I-Fr Ms. 2849 has seven. These are transcribed in Example 1:21.

Example 1:21 Palumbi's Tagliate Chords

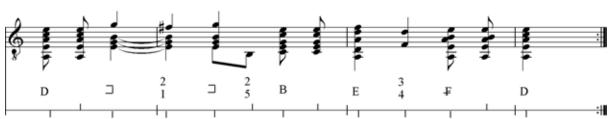
a)Ms. 2804



b)Ms. 2849



The exact voicings of Palumbi's chords are unknown in some cases. The only three that are fully strummed across all five courses are A, L and P. The first two are consonant variants of the standard alfabeto voicings. P is a C chord with a doubled added fourth. G, F and K raise doubts about whether the fifth course should be included. In the case of G, one could ask whether Palumbi intended a root at the bottom of his chord (although this also necessitates the other question of what tuning he employed). Chords F and K are more complex as a second consideration for whether a simultaneous third and fourth should be avoided is required.⁵⁴ This phenomenon is not unknown in the guitar repertoire but one cannot be sure if this is the effect Palumbi intended. Alternatively, one could take the view that these are early precursors of Bartolotti's reduced texture chords, in which case the fifth course should be omitted. This hypothesis is feasible, as Palumbi was incorporating melodies into his music and keeping a finger free by omitting a course would have facilitated the playing of passing notes. Chords 2 and 3/4 raise further questions. Is 2 a reduced texture E minor chord, or is it an E minor chord with a simultaneous third and fourth? More perplexing, is the identity of chord 3/4. If one did not include the first course in the strum, it would be a D minor chord with a simultaneous third and fourth. By this reckoning, Palumbi would appear to sanction this dissonance. If the first course is incorporated, then this would result in an additional ninth, a harsh dissonance indeed. Another possibility, however, can be surmised from the chord symbol. 3/4 resembles Palumbi's plucked notation, so this could well be an indication that an interval of a sixth may be played above an F on the fourth course. Both chords are included in the following possible transcription of one of Palumbi's passacaglias in A minor.



Example 1:22 A Passacaglia from I-Fr Ms. 2804 fol. 33^r

⁵⁴ Note, however, that the voicing of *F* in the two manuscripts is different, and in Ms. 2804 it is likely to be fully strummed.

This adds a new dimension to *tagliate* chords as one considers that they could be plucked as well as strummed. If Palumbi did intend a two part chord for chord 3/4, then it is easier to contemplate that the remaining uncertain chords need not be fully voiced. One can see from the level of speculation raised by Palumbi's chart that there is little certainty regarding dissonant harmonies that are notated in this fashion. Unfortunately, the neglect to indicate open courses characterises many dissonant chord charts in the 1620s and 30s.

Contemporary with Palumbi's sources are two anonymous manuscripts that both include *tagliate* chords. Both are also of interest as they feature transposing notations (which, incidentally is also a feature of one of Palumbi's manuscripts, I-Fr Ms. 2804), a possible indicator that these existed before they appeared in Colonna's 1620 book. The first, I-Fr Ms. 2973/3, does include a chord chart, but the *tagliate* chords are not explained. Nevertheless, chords *G*, *F*, *B* and *D* can be found in the music. There is no chord chart in the other manuscript, I-Fn Ms. Fondo Landau-Finaly XIX. 175, but the music features an even broader selection of *tagliate* harmonies, including *D*, *F*, *P*, *A*, *G*, *B* and *L*. There is a third manuscript, also featuring *tagliate* chords and dating from the same period. I-Fr Ms. 2774 includes chords *G*, *D* and *B*, though again, these are not explained in a chord chart. Clearly, the lack of explanation of these chords poses problems for their correct identification, but as some symbols are identical to Palumbi's, and as others match those in subsequent chord charts, it is possible to surmise their likely identities, as will occur below.

Further use of *tagliate* chords is found in manuscripts dating from c.1620-30. I-Fr Ms. 2951 and 2952 are written in the same hand, and as has already been mentioned, there are suggested links between Ms. 2951 and Palumbi's works. Again, neither source explains the chords in a chart, so we must surmise the possible intended harmonies. Ms. 2952 features chords G, F, D, and F, whilst Ms. 2951 features, in addition to these (though not including D), B, F, F, F and F. Tagliate chords are also found in another contemporary manuscript housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. These chords are explained in a chart entitled 'parole tagliate', transcribed in Example 1:23.

Example 1:23 Anon, 'Parole Tagliate' in F-Pn Res Vmc, MS 59



As for those *tagliate* chords that are not explained in charts, what is immediately apparent is that many of the authors were using the same *tagliate* symbols. This then begs the question: did the symbols represent the same harmonies to each of these authors? Table 1:3 lists ten manuscript sources of *tagliate* chords, all dating from between c.1610 and c.1630 (with the exception of I-Fr Ms. 3121 which dates from mid-century) and it presents clearly which chords featured in each source. The likelihood that the symbols represented the same harmonies in each case is supported by the contexts in which they are employed in the music. For example, the authors all use certain *tagliate* symbols in particular keys, and cadential progressions featuring the same *tagliate* chords recur again and again. This would therefore imply that these harmonies were common knowledge in certain guitar circles. So with this in mind many of the symbols can be cross-referenced with those in extant chord charts with a high likelihood that the harmonies will be the same. They can be further checked by seeing if the harmonies make sense in real musical examples.

Table 1:3 Tagliate Chords in Manuscript Sources

Ms	Author													
I-Fr Ms. 2951	Anon	-	₽	€	Đ	E	F	G	ļ	K	-	P	-	
I-Fr Ms. 2952	Anon	1	ı	-	Đ	E	F	G	-	1	-	1	-	
I-Fn Fondo Landau-Finaly Ms. XIX. 175	Anon	Α	B	-	Đ	-	F	G	-	-	Ŧ	P	-	
I-Fr Ms. 2973/3	Anon		B	-	-	-	F	G	-	-	-	-	Э	
I-Fr Ms. 2774	Anon	-	В	÷	Ð	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
I-Fr Ms. 3121	Anon	-	-	-	-	-	ŧ	-	_	-	_	-	_	
I-Fr Ms. 2793	Anon	Α	-	-	-	-	F	-	-	-	-	-		
F-Pn Rés. Vmc. Ms. 59	Anon	A	В	-	Ð	-	-	-	-	K	-	P	Э	
I-Fr Ms. 2804	Palumbi	Α	-		-	-	F	-	-	-	Ŧ	P	Э	
I-Fr Ms. 2849	Palumbi	A	-	-	-	-	F	G	-	K	-	P	Э	3/4

The bottom three sources in Table 1:3 each feature charts that explain the tagliate chords. Where a symbol appears in two, or all three of these sources, the charts indicate that the harmonies are always the same. The exception to this is *\infty*, for which Palumbi provides two conflicting voicings. He probably chose the voicing in I-Fr Ms. 2849 (see Example 1:21 b) because the voicing in I-Fr Ms. 2804 is more traditionally associated with chord D, though this chord does not appear in his charts. The charts authored by Palumbi and the anonymous author of F-Pn Rés. Vmc. Ms. 59 allow us to identify all but two of the unknown tagliate symbols. Chords € and € remain uncertain. Both chords were, of course, popularised by Millioni who published them as chords Ct and Et. In Millioni's books, both symbols represented the same harmony, which was an A chord with an added 4th. It seems unlikely, however, that this was the identity of chord \mathcal{E} , as on the rare occasions when it appears in the music, it precedes a G chord. This makes it more likely to be a D chord with an added 4th, which is what one would expect at a cadence on G. There is some evidence to support this hypothesis, as dissonant chord charts of the 1630s label this harmony chord C+, a symbol not far removed from €. Moreover, a tagliate chart dating from the mid-seventeenth century (I-PEc Ms. H72) indicates the same harmony with the symbol ϵ . ϵ is harder to determine as this clearly was not so commonly used. The two manuscripts in which the symbol appears are both written in the same hand, so this symbol may have been an original contribution on the part of the author.

The transcription of chord *B* in F-Pn Rés. Vmc. Ms. 59 is a consonant alternative to chord B that matches Millioni's chord *B3*. It is likely that this voicing was intended by other manuscript authors, as there are several instances of the chord being used to open and close dances, thus making a consonant harmony a likely candidate (see Example 1:24).



Example 1:24 'Ciaccona' in I-Fn Fondo Landau-Finaly Ms. 175 (c.1610-20), fol. 16^r

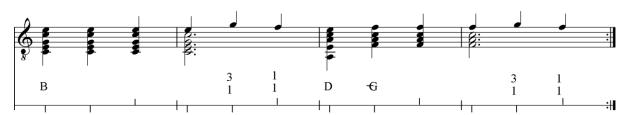
The intended harmony of chord Φ is likely to match the transcription in F-Pn Rés. Vmc. Ms. 59 as it frequently occurs in the same cadential progression in A minor (Φ , F, D). This is demonstrated in Example 1:25. Note that this is the same voicing published by Millioni as chord Dt. F is an early precursor of the chord published by Bartolotti in 1640. Palumbi makes it clear that the fifth course should be omitted by notating zeros on the first two courses only.

Example 1:25 'Passacaglia' in I-Fn Fondo Landau-Finaly Ms. 175 (c.1610-20) fol. 17^v



Another likely reduced texture chord is \mathcal{G} and this was another voicing included by Bartolotti in 1640. Palumbi uses it to facilitate the playing of passagework, as is demonstrated in the following chaconne.

Example 1:26 'Ciaccona' I-Fr Ms. 2849 fol. 135'



Chord *I* is rare but it is likely to be an A major chord with an added 4th. This could have been the precursor of Millioni's chord *Ct*, or it could even have been the precursor of Foscarini's dissonant chord *I+* (discussed in the following section on the 1630s).

Example 1:27 'Passacaglia smenuita' [sic] [sminuita] I-Fr Ms. 2951 fol. 20^v



Chord P is a C chord with an added 4^{th} that precedes chord B at cadences on F, as in the chaconne in Example 1:28. Note also the use of chord G to facilitate the passing note.

Example 1:28 'Ciacone smenuita' [sic] [ciaccone sminuite] I-Fr Ms 2951 fol. 10^v



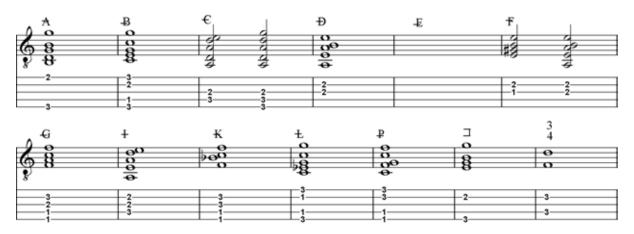
Chord κ is an F chord with an added 4th that is used by Palumbi to further elaborate a cadence on F (see Example 1:29). It could, of course, also be used at cadences on B \flat .

Example 1:29 'Ciaconna' I-Fr Ms. 2849 fol. 133^r



The end result of this speculation is the following theoretical *tagliate* chart, applicable up to c.1630. Where more than one harmonisation is given, these represent alternative possible transcriptions.

Example 1:30 Theoretical Tagliate Chart Applicable up to c.1630



The manuscript sources of the 1620s reveal performance practices of a greater level of sophistication than is usually credited to the early decades of the seventeenth century. They also show that the real progress of the 1630s was not so much the development of mixed tablature or

the dissonant chord charts produced by Foscarini and Corbetta, but rather it was the overcoming of the hurdle that prevented these notations from appearing in print. Many of the important contributions from composers in the 1630s progressed naturally from the innovations of early guitarists such as Palumbi and Pedruil. The next important step was the continued advancement of the harmonic vocabulary of the instrument. As we have seen, chords with added 4ths play a large role in the early repertoire of the guitar. On the approach to mid-century however, chords with added 7ths became increasingly important.

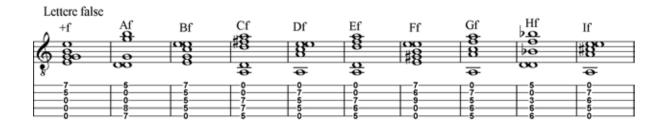
The 1630s

Lettere False

The creative development of *alfabeto* chord charts continued throughout the 1630s and composers even went so far as to develop *alfabeto* chords for *scordatura* tunings to further the harmonic vocabulary of the instrument. Millioni, who had been so influential in the 1620s, continued to experiment with *alfabeto* harmonies in the 1630s. He explored the higher positions of the fretboard, providing alternative consonant voicings of standard *alfabeto* harmonies. Another important composer was Foscarini, who authored the first chart of exclusively dissonant harmonies to appear in print in c.1632. This was followed by another chart authored by Corbetta and published in 1639. It is during this decade that charts of uncommon harmonies began to be labelled *'falso'* or *'dissonante'*, though *falso* did not necessarily refer to harmonies that were dissonant.

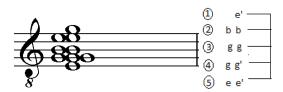
In 1631, Millioni's 'lettere false' (transcribed in Example 1:31) went to print for the first time (it was reprinted in 1636). He seems to have been keen for this notation to be incorporated into common practice as he also includes it in his correspondence chart in the same publication. One interesting observation about Millioni's alfabeto chart is that although it includes tagliate chords, they are placed among the standard alfabeto chords, providing us with further evidence that they were commonplace in the guitar repertoire. Some of the lettere false resemble some of the tagliate chords from Abatessa's 1627 book (see Example 1:16). Chords Af, Cf and Ef, for example, are very similar to chords A. C. and E..

Example 1:31 Millioni's 'Lettere False' (1636)



Millioni's desire to provide fully-voiced alternatives to some of the more common *alfabeto* chords in higher positions along the neck results in some rather less than satisfactory voicings, generated by multiple unisons and the incorporation of open courses in the majority of these chords. The unisons give the illusion of a thinner texture, and when combined with so many open courses this gives an artificial hollowness to the harmonies. Of course, it is hard to know exactly how these chords were intended to sound as we do not know how Millioni strung his guitar. His tuning instructions reveal nothing about whether the lower courses should be strung in octaves or whether the tuning should be re-entrant. Assuming that a guitar strung with octaves on the lower two courses played Millioni's chords, this would result in the following transcription (at sounding pitch)⁵⁵ of chord +f:

Example 1:32 Millioni's Chord +f



So, as is clear, although the chord is fully strummed, the amount of doubling involved makes the chord sound thin. It also makes it unbalanced. Nine strings are struck, but three are sounding the note g, and a fourth is sounding g', shifting the weight of this E minor chord heavily towards the 3rd,

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⁵⁵ The convoluted appearance of this transcription and that in Example 1:33 is a further example of why I choose not to transcribe guitar music at sounding pitch. Example 1:34 is thus transcribed in accordance with my usual procedure of letting the notes be representative of their locations on the fretboard as they would be played in practice.

regardless of the fact that there is a root in the bass. If the same guitar were to play chord Ff, then, as Example 1:33 shows, no fewer than four strings would play the note e'.

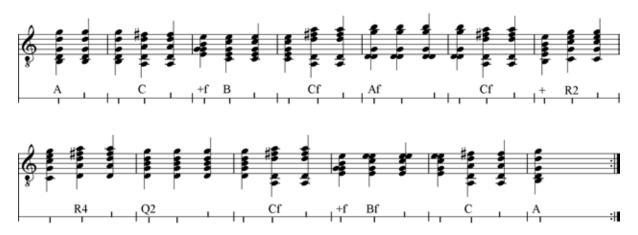
Example 1:33 Millioni's Chord Ff



This is not all that is wrong with these chords. Some are very awkward to play. Chord *Bf*, for example, requires a partial *barré* that leaves the first course open, and *Hf* is a difficult stretch to make at speed. Nevertheless, Millioni's chart is quite revealing about harmonic thinking in strummed performance. It shows, through some extreme example, that conventions regarding inversions and doubling were of little importance in this context. Because of the idiosyncratic tuning of the guitar and the strummed execution of the chords, inversions and doublings were an unavoidable by-product. Millioni's challenge was to provide fully-voiced chords in higher positions along the guitar neck, which he achieved by doubling notes and exploiting open courses. They meet the criteria of playable consonant *alfabeto* harmonies, so to criticise their structure is actually to miss the point.

Millioni does use the chords in his music, which may seem an odd observation to make but as composers began fully embracing mixed tablature in the 1630s, some did not bother to use their own chord symbols for uncommon or dissonant harmonies, choosing instead to notate the chords fully in tablature. The following chaconne was transcribed from the 1636 edition of his work, and shows the effectiveness of the chords at adding variation to a very common dance progression.

Example 1:34 'Ciaccone con Mutanze' (1636)



The *lettere false* were not Millioni's only contribution to *alfabeto* notations in the 1630s. In a book co-authered with Lodovico Monte that was published in 1637, he provided a new chord chart, one that catered for a guitar with a completely different tuning. The point of *scordatura* tunings is to make playing in traditionally awkward keys easier, and Millioni was not alone in exploring this avenue. The chords were collectively referred to as the *alfabeto straordinario* and they required a guitar tuned Aa, c#c#, f#f#, c'c', e'. With this tuning, the harmonies produced by the new *alfabeto* symbols are the same as those by the standard *alfabeto* with a guitar tuned normally. Chord + is still an E minor chord, therefore, but obviously it is arranged differently under the new tuning. Whilst *scordatura* tunings could be of great practical assistance to a guitarist, this chart makes the majority of chords more awkward to play. It may have been an interesting exercise for guitarists to experiment with, but it is doubtful that any performers adopted this tuning wholeheartedly in practice. The chords that were traditionally more challenging, such as *L*, *M* and *N*, remain just as awkward (chord *L* now requires a *barré* from the little finger), and chords that had been among the easiest to play, such as chord *A*, are now much more challenging. The *alfabeto straordinario* is transcribed in Example 1:35.

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⁵⁶ Foscarini, Corbetta, Robert de Visée and François Campion all include examples of *scordatura* tunings in their works

⁵⁷ Assuming that the guitar is strung in octaves, and assuming that the performer will keep his fifth course tuned to Aa when following the instruction 'the fifth is tuned as you like'.

Example 1:35 Millioni and Monte's Alfabeto Straordinario (Transcribed from the 1647 Edition)

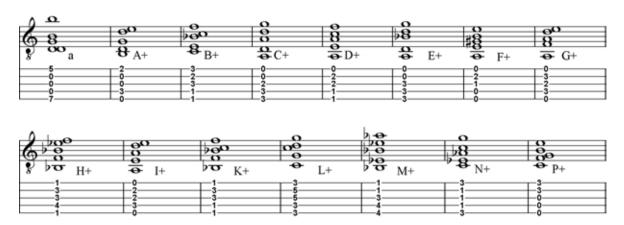
Alfabeto Dissonante

Foscarini's fourth guitar book was published around 1632, and it featured the first comprehensive chart of dissonant harmonies to appear in print. The alfabeto dissonante, as these chords were named, consisted mostly of chords with added 4ths and 7ths, but frustratingly, Foscarini offers no guidelines as to their usage. Some of the chords' functions are predictable enough as they were clearly intended for use at cadences. Several had been long in use by this time, as they are found in charts predating this one. Others, however, are not so obvious and this is because the function of their foreign notes is hard to determine out of context. The chart consists of five dissonant harmonies that are familiar and ten that are new. Unfortunately, owing to the manner in which these harmonies are notated, their precise interpretation is uncertain. A common practice among guitar composers when notating chords was to notate the frets that were to be stopped but not to indicate the inclusion of open strings. This has been encountered before in the charts of Palumbi. The decision whether to include or mute open courses is therefore left to the performer, and this has inevitably resulted in differing transcriptions of Foscarini's chart by modern scholars. Of course, some of Foscarini's chords have been encountered before. The alfabeto dissonante progressed naturally from the tagliate chord charts that preceded them. Chords a, C+, F+, I+ and K+ all have tagliate equivalents in chords A, \mathcal{L} , \mathcal{L} , and \mathcal{L} (though Foscarini modifies \mathcal{L} slightly

to include the fifth course). This leaves us to speculate about the possible identities of the new chords A+, D+, E+, G+ and P+.

Some transcriptions are made on the assumption that Foscarini intended fully voiced chords and do not, therefore, feature any course omissions. James Tyler, Gary Boye, and Jensen adopt this approach, resulting in the following transcription.

Example 1:36 Foscarini's Alfabeto Dissonante

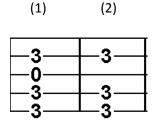


This interpretation has been questioned, however, first because altered chords in *alfabeto* charts do not always feature dissonances. As we have seen, some charts present variant voicings of consonant chords, or, in some instances, chords with muted courses. It is possible therefore that Foscarini was notating consonant chords in variant forms and that the performer was expected to omit certain open courses intuitively. Secondly, there is evidence from an earlier work of Foscarini's that the composer did not intend fully voiced chords in every instance. This important point was raised by Monica Hall, 58 and concerns the notation of chord B^9 from the standard *alfabeto* body. Earlier chord charts by Foscarini are printed with moveable type, and in his 1629 work the chart indicates which open courses in chord B^9 are to be played. The notations of the chord in this work and in the engraved chart of c.1632 are compared in the example below.

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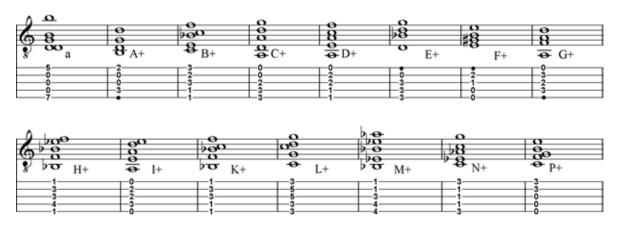
 $^{^{58}}$ Monica Hall, 'Dissonance in the Guitar Music of Francesco Corbetta', p. 59

Example 1:37 Notations of Chord *B9* in (1) 1629 and (2) c.1632



This reveals that Foscarini did not intend an open fifth course in this chord, which is not obvious if one relies solely on the later, engraved notation. Hall therefore proposes the following transcription of Foscarini's chart, which employs a more selective inclusion of open courses.

Example 1:38 An Alternative Interpretation of Foscarini's Alfabeto Dissonante



Scholars have thus described the character of the chords differently in their discussions of Foscarini's chart. Richard d'A, Jensen and Monica Hall differ in their descriptions of five of the chords, which are summarised in Table 1:4. It is unfortunate that Granata's 1646 publication, which reproduces Foscarini's *alfabeto dissonante*, retains the ambiguity of the original chart and fails to specify the desired open courses. Interestingly however, Boye adopts a more selective approach to his interpretation of Granata's chart, resulting in a transcription that is almost identical to Hall's.⁵⁹ The

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⁵⁹ Gary Boye, *Music for the Baroque Guitar* [accessed 11/10/11] http://www.library.appstate.edu/music/guitar/1646granata.html

only difference is that he retains the open fifth course in chord E^* (Granata replaces the + symbol employed by Foscarini with a *).

Table 1:4 Differing Classifications of Chords from Foscarini's Chart in the Works of Scholars 60

Chord	Jensen	Hall
A+	G with suspended 6 th	G
D+	Am with suspended 6 th	F with added 7 th
E+	Gm with added 2 nd	Gm
F+	E with added 4 th	Е
G+	Dm with added 2 nd	Dm

Foscarini employs *dissonante* chord symbols in his compositions relatively infrequently, and by far the most common appearances are of chords A+ and I+. Nevertheless, he also includes chords F+, B+ and C+, although the manner in which he notates these chords is inconsistent. In nearly every case he does not use the dissonant chord symbols, but rather notates the harmonies in the manner of mixed tablature. Although Foscarini does not use the symbol P+, Hall speculates that its intended function is as an appoggiatura between two standard P chords, or, alternatively as a three-part C major chord with an added C+ There is evidence to support its role as an appoggiatura, as this is how Bartolotti employs the chord in his 1640 book. There is one such example in the following extract from his *passacaglia* in C+ minor.

⁶⁰ Monica Hall, 'Giovanni Paolo Foscarini – Plagiarist or pioneer?' (Online essay), *Monica Hall: Baroque Guitar Research* <<u>www.monicahall.co.uk/Foscarini.htm</u>> [accessed 28/03/11], and Jensen, 'The Development of Technique', (appendix 3)

⁶¹ Hall, 'Giovanni Paolo Foscarini – Plagiarist or pioneer?' *Monica Hall: Baroque Guitar Research*, p. 28 <www.monicahall.co.uk/Foscarini.htm> [accessed 28/03/11]

Example 1:39 Bartolotti's Use of P+ as an Appoggiatura (in the Penultimate Bar), p. 6



Unfortunately, instances of Granata's use of Foscarini's dissonant chord symbols in his 1646 work are rare, and limited to chords H^* and R^* (H^* appears in the 'ciaccone' on page 70). R^* is not explained in his chord chart, but it always appears in cadential progressions on E. If one considers that chord R can be duplicated by chord H played a semitone higher, then the same principle can be applied to chord H^* . We can assume therefore that R^* is a B major chord with an added H^* that resolves onto a standard H^* chord.

Close examination of the music in Foscarini's five books has led me to support Hall in her hypothesis that some of the *alfabeto dissonante* chords are in fact *tagliate* chords (in the sense that some courses should be omitted). Although the chord symbols scarcely make an appearance, nearly all of the *dissonante* harmonies appear in Foscarini's compositions, albeit in various transpositions. The first of these assumed *tagliate* chords is *A+*, which is likely a G major chord with a muted first course. The following excerpt shows two instances where Foscarini employs the chord. Foscarini made his dances more lyrical by altering the uppermost voices of his chords to create melodic lines, and melodically, chord *A+* makes more sense if its upper course is muted. Example 1:40 a) shows the resulting harmonies with the muted first course, and b) shows the result if the chord is fully voiced.

Example 1:40 Excerpt from Foscarini's Bal[I]etto detto il Bizaro (1640) p. 64



Another assumed *tagliate* chord is E+, due to its frequent occurrence in passages consisting of three-part harmonies. Bearing this in mind, I would propose that the fourth and fifth courses of this chord should be muted so as not to interrupt the three-part texture of these passages. Note in the following examples that as Foscarini does not use the symbol E+, the chord in question is marked with an *.

Example 1:41 Foscarini's Chord E+ in the Toccatta Musicalle [sic] [toccata musicale] detta la fedelle (1640) p.31

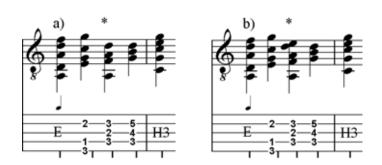


Example 1:42 Foscarini's Chord E+ in the Capriccio sopra il pasacaglio (1640) p. 35



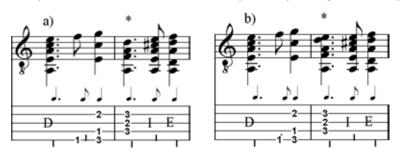
G+ is also likely to be a *tagliate* chord. In Example 1:43 it occurs in the context of a cadence in C major, and, as the two transcriptions demonstrate, makes more melodic sense if the first course is muted. Again, Foscarini does not use the symbol *G+*, so the relevant chord is marked with an *.

Example 1:43 Foscarini's Chord G+ in the Pass 'e mezzo, passeggiato (1640) p. 33



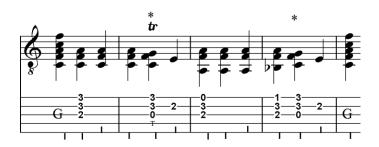
The next example also supports the likelihood that Foscarini intended this chord to have a muted first course. Here we can see the chord allows the composer to notate a short melodic sequence that imitates the preceding bar of music.

Example 1:44 Foscarini's Chord G+ in the 2.da parte del passacaglio variato sopra l'D (1640) p. 86



A final candidate for a *tagliate* chord is *P+*. Foscarini frequently reduces the texture of his compositions to three parts, and it is in this context that a harmony resembling chord *P+* most commonly appears. Although Bartolotti includes examples of the harmony fully voiced with three open courses, it seems more likely that Foscarini intended the chord to be used in its three-part form.

Example 1:45 Foscarini's Chord P+ in the Capriccio della ciacona sul G (1640) p. 59



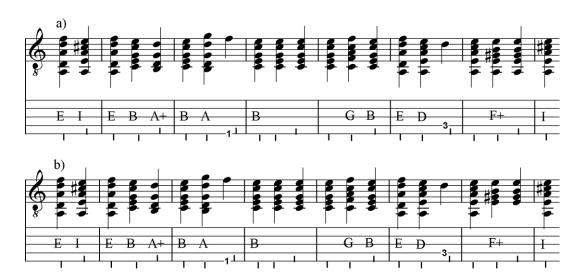
Example 1:46 Foscarini's Chord P+ in the Corrente (1640) p. 61



It is possible that chord *F+* should also be treated as a *tagliate* chord and that the fifth course of this chord should be muted. This is not without basis, as we have seen multiple examples of the chord transcribed in this manner in *tagliate* sources. However, the simultaneous sounding of a fourth and a third was a common effect in the guitar repertoire, so there is also support for the inclusion of the fifth course in the chord. Root anticipation is also highly characteristic of cadences in guitar music during the mid to late seventeenth century, so the fully voiced chord would not be out of place in this context. Foscarini employs the symbol only once, and in this circumstance there is no clear reason why the composer should want a four-part chord. The muting of the fifth course makes no impact on the melody resulting from the chord's use, and it seems unlikely that the

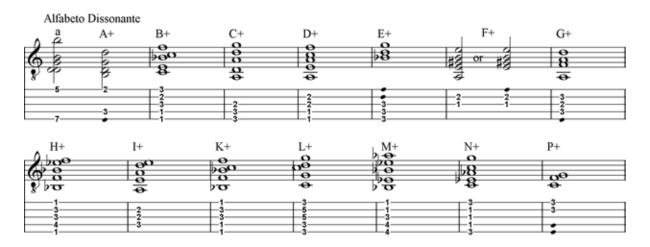
composer should suddenly desire the root in the bass after freely employing inverted chords beforehand. The answer is probably that the chord was used in both ways depending on the effect desired by the performer. In the following transcription the fifth course is included, but a four-part E major chord would be equally valid.

Example 1:47 Foscarini's Chord F+ in the Fulia con parti variate (1640) p. 34



To conclude this speculation I propose the following transcription of Foscarini's dissonant chord chart.

Example 1:48 Alternative Transcription of Foscarini's Alfabeto Dissonante



As for the remaining chords, some include added fourths or sevenths and are predictably common in cadential progressions, whilst others are more ambiguous and seem to serve as passing

chords for the creation of melodies. The 'cadential' chords include B+, C+, H+, I+, K+ (and L+, which is a higher transposition of K+) and M+. K+ is the only one of these that Foscarini does not include in his compositions, and will be discussed later. The use of the remaining chords is demonstrated in the transcriptions below.

Example 1:49 Foscarini's Chord B+ and Chord C+ (Marked with an *) in the Corrente (1640) p. 43



Example 1:50 Foscarini's chord H+ (marked with an *) and chord I+ in the Corrente la Granosa (1640) p. 37

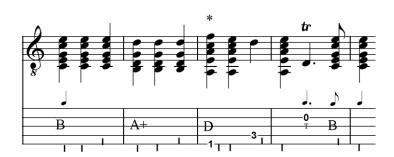


Example 1:51 Foscarini's Chord M+ (marked with an *) in the Corrente (1640) p.27

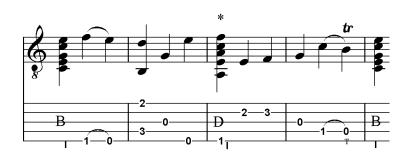


Foscarini's 'passing' chords include *D+* and *N+*. These chords facilitate the creation of melodies, as the following transcriptions demonstrate.

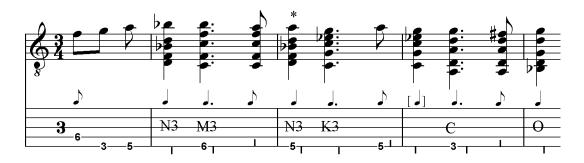
Example 1:52 Foscarini's Chord *D+* (Marked with an *) which Creates an Accented Passing Note in the *Capriccio sopra la ciacona* (1640) p. 66



Example 1:53 Foscarini's chord D+ (marked with an *) in the Ciacona variata sopra I'B (1640) p. 91



Example 1:54 Foscarini's Chord N+ (Marked with an *) in the Capriccio sopra il passacaglio (1640) p. 20



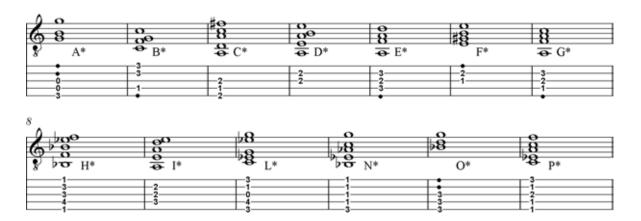
Chord *N+* does, in fact, also function in the context of a cadence as a 7th chord resolving onto a 6th. It can be found in this context in continuo guidelines for guitar, which are discussed later in the next chapter.

Alfabeto Falso

The next dissonant chord chart to appear in print (transcribed in Example 1:55) was authored by Corbetta and published in 1639.62

⁶² Francesco Corbetta, *De gli scherzi armonici* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti and Carlo Zenero, 1639)

Example 1:55 Corbetta's Alfabeto Falso According to Pinnell



The chart includes thirteen *alfabeto* chords, five of which are identical to Foscarini's *alfabeto dissonante*. O^* matches E^+ , E^* matches E^+ , E^+ matches E^+

⁶³ Gary Boye, *Music for the Baroque Guitar*, [accessed 25/03/11] http://www.library.appstate.edu/music/guitar/1639corbetta.html

suspended F^{\natural} , and, unlike Boye, omits the first course from chord G^* , assuming that it is a consonant variant of F major.⁶⁴

Pinnell's decision to mute courses in chords F^* and B^* was taken to avoid a simultaneous clash of the fourth and third in each of the harmonies. It has already been mentioned, however, that in seventeenth-century guitar music this was no great offence. Moreover, its appearance is common enough that it could be regarded as a guitaristic idiom. Foscarini clearly indicated in his chord B^* (see Example 1:48), a dissonant C major harmony, that the fourth was to sound simultaneously with the third. This clash should not necessarily be avoided, then, in chords F^* or B^* . This possibility with regard to chord F^* has already been discussed.

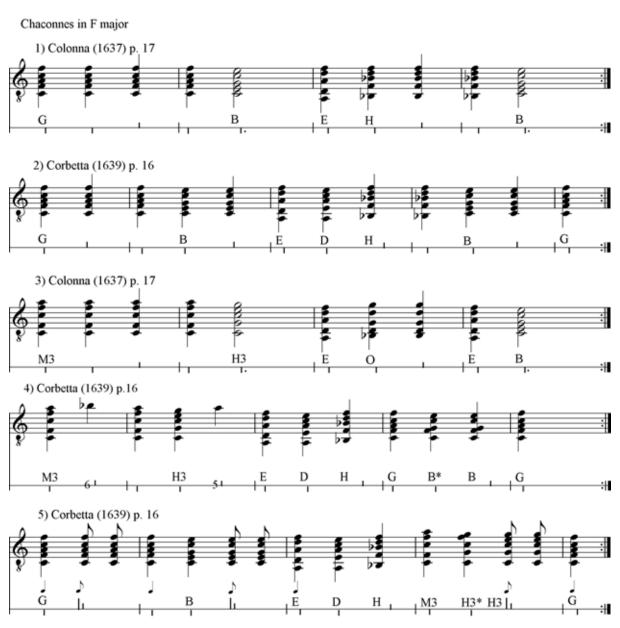
As with Foscarini, the differing interpretations of Corbetta's chart arise because of his ambiguous notations. However, unlike Foscarini, Corbetta's dissonant chord symbols make regular appearances in his compositions. For the most part, composers who include dissonant chord charts rarely make use of the chords in their own works. This is where Corbetta's 1639 publication is particularly useful. The most common type of dissonance in Corbetta's book is that of the added fourth, and this is the function of chords B^* , D^* , H^* and I^* . Guitar methods for beginners at this time logically arranged dances not only by 'key', but also by level of difficulty. The most basic (semplice) form of dance would come first, and then subsequent versions would be progressively more complex. The increase in difficulty could be manifested in longer chord progressions, more complex harmonies or more demanding strum patterns. This is useful as it provides us with an insight into the process by which guitarists added rhythmic and harmonic interest to simple chord progressions, and in particular, how they used dissonance. Example 1:56 features a selection of

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⁶⁴ Richard Pinnell, *Francesco Corbetta and the baroque guitar: with a transcription of his works* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1976), pp. I, 76

chaconnes presented in order of progressive difficulty to demonstrate the stages by which a guitarist could inject rhythmic, melodic and harmonic interest into these common frameworks.⁶⁵

Example 1:56 The Variation of a Semplice Chaconne in F Using Chords B^* and H^*



Chaconne (1) is the *semplice* model from which the subsequent chaconnes develop. (2) features a modified strum pattern and the addition of chord D to the framework. (3) utilises transposing chords to produce variant voicings at the third fret. (4) combines variant voicings with simple plucked notes to add melodic interest but also includes chord B^* at the final cadence. (5)

⁶⁵ These chaconnes are taken from Colonna (1637) and Corbetta (1639)

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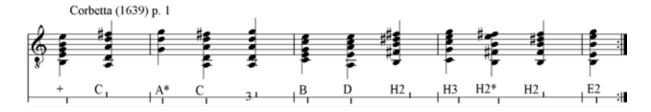
incorporates a new strum pattern and chord H^* as an alternative to B^* . Thus, here is a demonstration of some of the ways in which guitarists used rhythmic strumming, melody, variant voicings and dissonance to transform a *semplice* chaconne.

Examples 1:57 to 1:64 demonstrate that the remaining *falso* chords may be put to similar use in 4-bar dance progressions. The use of Corbetta's chords with a suspended fourth is predictably straightforward as they are consistently used to decorate final cadences, although, as is shown in Example 1:57, 4-3 suspensions could be used elsewhere providing that the dissonant note was prepared beforehand.

Example 1:57 The Variation of a Semplice Chaconne in D Using Chord I*



Example 1:58 The Variation of a Semplice Passacaglia in E Minor Using Chord H*



In my proposed transcription of Foscarini's chart, I suggested that chord G+ should have a muted first course and cited examples to support that proposal. Corbetta notates the same harmony, which he names E^* , but his employment of the chord suggests that perhaps the first course should be included, and this is because it most commonly occurs in compositions in A minor, such as the following passacaglia. In Example 1:59, the *falso* chords create a very familiar progression associated with *tagliate* chords. A minor was, of course, one of the 'keys' best suited for these harmonies.

Example 1:59 The Variation of a Semplice Passacaglia in A Minor Utilising Chords E*, D* and F*



The ambiguous chord N^* is used primarily to create melodies in the upper voice. The effect created in Example 1:60 is a temporary mingling of the two harmonies adjacent to N^* , namely G minor and F minor.

Example 1:60 The Variation of a Semplice Passacaglia in C Minor Using Chord N*



Chord N^* is used in Example 1:61 to modify the top voice of the previous C major chord.

Example 1:61 The Variation of a Semplice Passacaglia in G Major Using Chords N^* and H^*



In the following passacaglia in G minor, there is a rare inclusion by Colonna of his dissonant chord $*.^{66}$ In every instance where Colonna uses this chord, it appears between the chords of G minor (O) and C minor (L).

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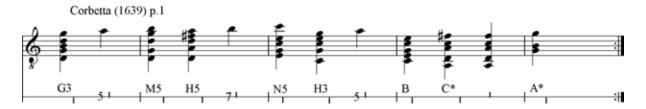
⁶⁶ It should be noted that in Colonna's 1637 publication, which features music from his earlier books, several of the dances that originally featured this chord have been mistakenly reproduced with a chord + in the place of the correct, dissonant harmony. This is why the second transcription is from the 1620 book.

Example 1:62 The Variation of a Semplice Passacaglia in G Minor Using Chord *



Corbetta's use of seventh chords at cadences in demonstrated in Example 1:63.

Example 1:63 The Variation of a Semplice Passacaglia in G Using the Chord C^*



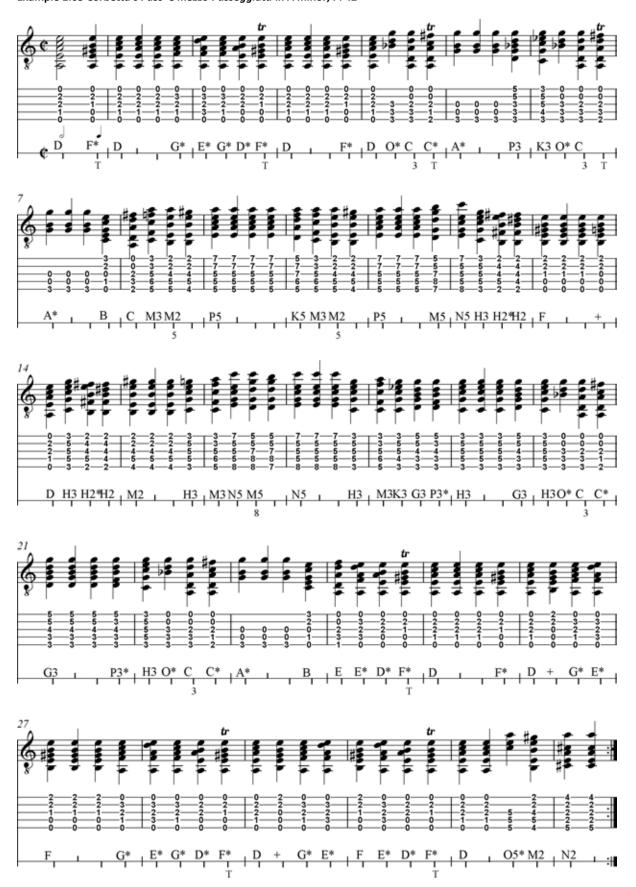
Chord *G** most commonly occurs in the context of A minor, often preceding chord *D** in cadential progressions such as those in Example 1:59 above. In Example 1:64, however, it resolves into C major.

Example 1:64 The Variation of a Semplice Chaconne in C Using Chord G*



One of the most valuable and informative sources on the use of dissonance in Corbetta's 1639 book is a *passemezzo* in A minor (transcribed in Example 1:65). The dance appears in two guises, the *semplice* framework, and the altered framework, and in composing his variations Corbetta includes no fewer than nine of his *falso* chords. Two of these, A^* and O^* , are reduced texture chords, that is, variants of G major and G minor. The remaining seven chords, however, are used to enrich the harmony of the dance with dissonance. There is a reason why Corbetta exhibits such variety of dissonance in this dance, and that is its 'key', A minor, which was particularly accommodating of chords with open outer courses, such as D^* , E^* , F^* and G^* . The progression D^* -

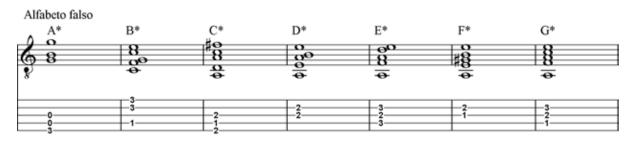
Example 1:65 Corbetta's Pass 'e mezzo Passeggiata in A minor, P. 42

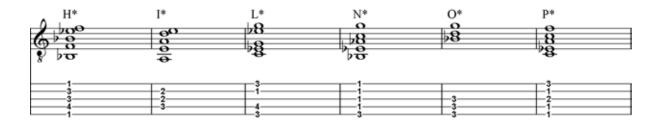


 F^* - D is common, as the two falso chords create a 4-3 suspension resolving onto chord D. Possible extensions of this progression are E^* - D^* - F^* -D or E^* - G^* - D^* - F^* -D. In this dance, Corbetta demonstrates that whenever two adjacent chords with the relationship V-I are encountered, the former chord may be dissonant, i.e. F^* -D, C^* -A or $P3^*$ -H3.

Having explored Corbetta's music, I propose the following transcription of his chord chart:

Example 1:66 A Possible Interpretation of Corbetta's Alfabeto Falso





Corbetta's *falso* chart was the final chart of exclusively dissonant chords to be published. *Tagliate* chords do appear in the later prints of Millioni, Marchetti, Ricci and Pico, but these are reprints of pre-existing symbols, not original contributions. With the advent of 'mixed tablatures' there was no need for dissonant chord symbols, so these are rarely found in works postdating that of Corbetta, who himself abandoned the symbols in his later publications. Foscarini rarely employed any of his own symbols, preferring instead to use tablature. Those symbols that were employed most frequently, due to their suitability for common keys, are found occasionally in the works of Pesori for example, but such inclusions are rare. Another dissonant chord chart does appear, however, in a manuscript source dating from c.1640, housed in the Biblioteca Comunale Augusta in Perugia.

I-PEc Ms. H72 features one of the most complete sets of tagliate chords, and yet several of these chords differ substantially from other tagliate harmonies despite using many of the same symbols.⁶⁷ The dating of this manuscript is uncertain, but it contains the same engraved image of Carbonchi that appeared in his 1640 and 1643 guitar books, though the musical content differs. The tagliate chords have been added by hand, and four out of the eleven chords are encountered elsewhere. A matches that in F-Pn Res Vmc MS 59, and G matches K in the same source. F matches Millioni's original voicing of Dt, and ϵ matches Foscarini's chord C+. The remaining seven chords (transcribed in Example 1:67) appear to be unique to this source. It is hard to be sure of their intended harmonies, as they do not appear in any music examples. L is an alternative voicing of B, which is a C minor chord with an added 2nd. The Spanish guitarist, Ruiz de Ribayaz, wrote much later (in 1677) that chord £ (which he called chord 2) was a common dissonant arrangement of C minor. Chords £, + and + all feature added sevenths. Chord € could be a reduced texture D minor chord or one in chord or a chord featuring a major seventh. This chart may have come into being as a result of the increasing preference for sevenths at cadences, rather than the fourths apparent in the midseventeenth century. Most traditional dissonant alfabeto chords feature added fourths, so this may have been an attempt to update the system of notation to reflect the musical tastes of the time.

Example 1:67 Tagliate Chart in I-PEc MS H72



⁶⁷ The digital copy of the manuscript may be consulted at the following link:
<<u>http://www.internetculturale.it/opencms/ricercaMagExpansion.jsp?q=&searchType=avanzato&channel_cre_ator=Carbonchi%2C+Antonio&channel_contributor=Carbonchi%2C+Antonio&opCha_contributor=OR&opCha_creator=OR> [accessed 24/6/13]</u>

The adoption of lute-style tablature largely put a stop to the use of dissonant chord symbols. Because composers desired increasingly more complex harmonies and freedom from five-part textures, the existing dissonant chords became inadequate; composers therefore chose to notate dissonances in full rather than embark on the cumbersome task of expanding the dissonant *alfabeto* further. That is not to say that the dissonant *alfabeto* harmonies themselves disappeared. They were simply notated in a new medium.

This chapter has documented the harmonic vocabulary of the guitar repertoire as notated in chord symbols from the late sixteenth to the mid eighteenth century. The intent was to draw attention to the rich variety of dissonant chords that were in use in the early seventeenth century and to highlight some of the creative ways in which composers overcame the limitations of the system of notation in its earliest manifestation. Familiarity with the strummed chordal harmonies of the earliest repertoire is essential to understand how guitarists went on to realise continuo basses. As we shall see, many of the harmonies documented in this chapter form the raw materials from which guitarists crafted their continuo accompaniments in later decades. This is equally true of the strummed dissonances. The illustrations of dissonance in printed and manuscript sources provided in this chapter support Richard Hudson's view that 'these "dissonant" chords might be seen as a slight evidence of the gradual restoration of the contrapuntal style. In this way, passing tones and appoggiaturas might slip back into guitar playing disguised as chords'. Thus, in the next chapter, which deals with the earliest, pre-guideline continuo sources for guitar, the transfer of these 'hidden' contrapuntal devices into a strikingly different performance tradition is a key focus.

⁶⁸ Richard Hudson, *Passacaglia and Ciaccona: From Guitar Music to Italian Keyboard Variations in the Seventeenth Century* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), p. 51

Chapter 2 : GUITAR ACCOMPANIMENT BEFORE 1640

Early Continuo Guidelines

One of the chief benefits of being able to play continuo is the ability to tailor the accompaniment so that it is stylistically appropriate for one's instrument. An organist, lutenist and harpist could each devise an accompaniment from the same bass line that was not only harmonically correct, but idiomatic to each instrument. Such flexibility was part of the success of this performance practice. A single bass line could be host to a whole variety of interpretations. Each accompaniment had a few fundamental premises at its core. First, the bass line, the point from which all accompanying intervals would be calculated, needed to be clearly defined. These intervals were decided by observing either the stepwise or leaping movement of the bass line. In the event of any ambiguity, a composer could clarify the intended harmony with figures. Secondly, the linear movement of these intervals was governed by the traditional conventions of voice leading. In short, the sounding of the bass at the bottom of the accompaniment and the adherence to counterpoint were key characteristics. How, then, does one account for the use of *alfabeto* notations as 'realisations' of the bass in early seventeenth-century songbooks?

The guitar, of course, was a hugely popular instrument of accompaniment. It would seem logical that publishers and composers would want to capitalise on this popularity, and as a chord-playing instrument the guitar was a perfectly viable accompaniment option. The issue lay in its associated notation, *alfabeto*, which had developed as part of a completely separate performance tradition and was out of place in a practice that constructed chords interval by interval. Chord symbols that imposed default arrangements of individual harmonies could not hope to maintain the integrity of a bass line. The problem was that the guitar and *alfabeto* were considered inseparable. This much is plain to see when one considers that guitar accompaniments do not begin to resemble continuo accompaniments

until the 1640s, when the 'mixed' style is dominant. Guitarists increasingly used tablature to notate their compositions, and publications of *alfabeto* songbooks dropped substantially. Tyler lists only seven songbooks published in the 1640s and five in the 1650s, after which, publications cease.¹

As alfabeto symbols started being added to new compositions in the continuo tradition, the guitar developed two separate song repertoires. There was the popular repertoire, to which alfabeto belonged, that consisted of texts, accompaniments or melodies that were already familiar. This was a repertoire in which accompaniments and dance frameworks were closely related, and both melodies and accompaniments were freely shared among differing songs. Such songs were rarely notated with their melodies, and usually appeared just as texts with alfabeto chords placed above the words.

Alfabeto notations appeared in this context simply to document a strummed performance practice that had already long been taking place. They were representative of 5-part harmonies already in regular use, not 5-part harmonies that had been directly composed. This is in part why they are incompatible with continuo practice. The symbols simply represent a means of strumming all five courses in such a way that they will produce a consonance. The chords do not necessarily make any theoretical sense in terms of counterpoint, and the continuo repertoire, to which alfabeto was transferred, was one in which the intervallic arrangement of the chord was crucial.

Yet, in the early songbooks *alfabeto* was the only medium with which composers or editors could provide realisations of continuo basses. This meant that the resulting accompaniments were characterised by the performance conventions associated with the notation, i.e. strummed 5-part block harmonies consisting entirely of those predetermined by the chord symbols. The conventions associated with continuo playing must, therefore, be a secondary concern. The bass line will sound, but the bass notes will be passed indiscriminately around the different voices of each chord. The

¹ Tyler, *The Guitar and its Music*, see 'Table 6.5. Italian Printed Songbooks with *Alfabeto'*, pp. 96-99

conventions of voice leading will be considered largely irrelevant, as a guitarist will play any chord shape that fits comfortably under the fingers; thus the intervallic arrangement of each chord is unimportant. Clearly, then, the end result is something closer to the accompaniment of popular song than to the realisation of a continuo line. These accompaniments cannot honestly be regarded as 'continuo accompaniments', given the level of compromise. Instead, they are the product of two separate traditions merging together. Guitarists may not have been giving 'continuo accompaniments' at this stage, but they did have their own unique way of 'playing from a bass', which essentially involved the allocation of appropriate *alfabeto* symbols to individual bass notes.

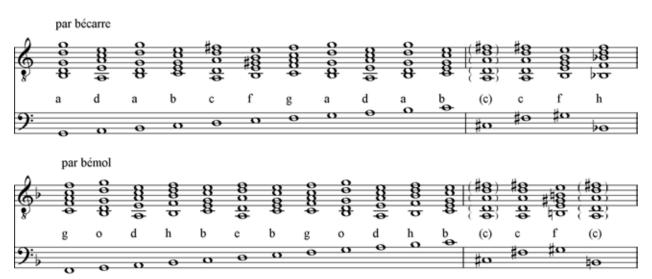
Scale Harmonisations in *Alfabeto* Notation

The merging of these two separate performing traditions is most apparent in the pedagogical scale harmonisations found in multiple guitar sources in these formative years. Examples date back to as early as at least 1613, but they appeared with much greater frequency during the 1620s and 30s in *alfabeto* songbooks, particularly those published by Alessandro Vincenti. Vincenti seems to have felt that these rudimentary guidelines increased the marketability of these anthologies, as he re-used the same scale demonstrations (from Carlo Milanuzzi's first 1622 book) in many later publications by a range of authors such as Guglielmo Miniscalchi, Grandi and Pesenti. There was certainly a demand for these pedagogical examples, as they are found written out in manuscripts between 1613 and c.1640. At face value they resemble the scale harmonisations of early theorists such as Bianciardi. Two ascending scales are presented, one *per B. molle* and one *per B. quadro*. Such scales were early precursors of François Campion's *Règle de l'octave*, a system that bestowed a harmonic identity on each scale degree and taught the rudiments of modulation, published in 1716. These initial guidelines on playing from a bass, however, were not conceived with any forethought for major or minor keys. On closer inspection we see that whilst many principles of theory, such as the avoidance of the false fifth, are apparent, the scales have been conceived with the traditional practices associated with *alfabeto* in mind. Certain

choices of chord seem baffling in the context of traditional theory, but do make sense in the context of popular song.

One of the earliest manuscript sources of scales harmonised with *alfabeto* chords is I-Bc Ms. Q34 (1613) housed in Bologna (transcribed below).² These harmonisations are among the more theoretically correct examples as they most closely resemble the scale harmonisations of early continuo theorists such as Bianciardi. In keeping with convention, the scale degrees that lack a perfect 5^{th} are harmonised with a 6^{th} (i.e. B\(\beta\) in the *scala per B quadro* and E\(\beta\) in the *scala per B molle*). Chromatically altered chords are treated likewise, thus acknowledging their function as leading notes.

Example 2:1 Scale Harmonisations from I-Bc Ms. Q34 fol. 94^v (1613)



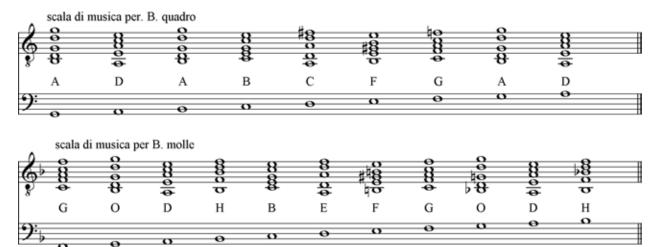
It is in printed examples of scale harmonisations that the link with the *alfabeto* tradition is more obvious. The choices of chord make us suspicious of the theoretical groundings on which the scales are based and this occurs initially in Milanuzzi's 1622 examples (transcribed below).³

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² I-Bc Ms Q34. The original scales are reproduced in Aiden O'Donnell, 'Le rôle de l'alfabeto', p. 127

³ Milanuzzi, *Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze* (Venice: Bartholomeo Magni, 1622)

Example 2:2 Scale Harmonisations in Milanuzzi (1622)



The choice of E major to harmonise the seventh degree of the scala per B molle is noteworthy. One could argue that this is evidence that Milanuzzi was not the author of these scales (an organist and composer at S. Stefano would know better) and that it was the publishing house that added this supplementary material. The real author was thus not necessarily knowledgeable about music theory, and that would account for this erroneous chord. This is possible. There is a wealth of alfabeto songs that have multiple errors in the guitar parts because they were added by someone who treated every bass note as the root of a chord. Publishers did employ people to add alfabeto symbols to music via a 'painting by numbers' approach, but there is another possible explanation for these peculiar scale harmonisations and that is a target market already familiar with the performance practices of the guitar. Performers who were accustomed to playing in common keys would have expected to encounter familiar chord progressions. Therefore, the editor was not trying to allocate alfabeto symbols to an ascending scalic bass, but rather the reverse, he was allocating bass notes to chords with the highest frequency of use. This method pre-empts the chords that a guitarist was most likely to encounter in the subsequent pages of music. As Dean points out in a similar discussion, E major was chord V in the key of A, and as we know, A minor was one of the most common keys in the repertoire. So what we have is a

⁴ Dean, 'The Five-Course Guitar', p. 297

pedagogical demonstration of how to play from a bass that resembles the scale harmonisations in continuo treatises but has been adapted to present the chords with the greatest probability of being required. The individual notes of the scales thus do not represent degrees, but rather likely eventualities when playing with or without a Bb in the key signature. Arguably, therefore, the author would need to be familiar with the *alfabeto* tradition. From that point of view Milanuzzi would be a good candidate as composer.

The majority of *alfabeto* scale harmonisations resemble those in Vincenti's songbooks, but there are a few that are a little more expansive. Marcantonio Aldigatti's 1627 book features scales that incorporate chromatically altered notes, which assume the role of leading notes in a V^6 -I context (see Example 2:3),⁵ the exception being the B $^{\natural}$ in the *scala di musica per B molle*, which is treated as the root of a minor triad.

Example 2:3 Aldigatti's Scale Harmonisations (1627)



⁵ Marcantonio Aldigatti da Cesena, *Grazie et affetti amorosi canzonette a voce sola* (Venice: s.n., 1627)

Abatessa went somewhat further in his 1637 book as he produced two *B quadro* and two *B molle* scales in an attempt to cover all possible eventualities (see Example 2:4).⁶

Example 2:4 Abatessa's Scale Harmonisations (c.1637)



His first *scala per B molle*, for example, presents any flattened note that one is likely to encounter, whilst the second scale demonstrates the sharpened possibilities. Note that whilst the notes B^{\natural} , F^{\sharp} and G^{\sharp} are assigned the traditional leading role, the C^{\sharp} is harmonised as a root chord.

The scale harmonisations that most explicitly indicate the merging of the traditions of strummed accompaniment with continuo theory are, however, in another manuscript source dating from c.1640.⁷ The scales in I-PEc Ms. H72 demonstrate which harmonies to play above a given note, but this manuscript is also one of the only sources to indicate these harmonies with sharp and flat figures, though confusingly these are placed to the left of the bass notes, making them easy to mistake for accidentals. The bass notes themselves are explained in terms of hexachords. Each is assigned its traditional solmization label, and as the notes in the *B quadro* scale ascend, they modulate between the

⁶ Abatessa, *Cespuglio di varii fiori* (Florence: Zanobi Pignoni, 1637)

⁷ A digital version of this manuscript may be consulted at the following link

<http://www.internetculturale.it/opencms/ricercaMagExpansion.jsp?q=&searchType=avanzato&channel creator =Carbonchi%2C+Antonio&channel contributor=Carbonchi%2C+Antonio&opCha contributor=OR&opCha creat or=OR>

Example 2:5 Scale Harmonisations in I-PEc Ms. H72 (c.1640)



hard and natural hexachords. Likewise in the *B molle* scale the notes modulate between the soft and natural hexachords (see Example 2:5). The scales mostly conform to contemporary theory as sharpened notes and notes lacking a perfect fifth are treated as 6/3 chords, though the E in the *scala per B molle* is treated as a 5/3 chord with the 5^{th} sharpened to a B^{th} .

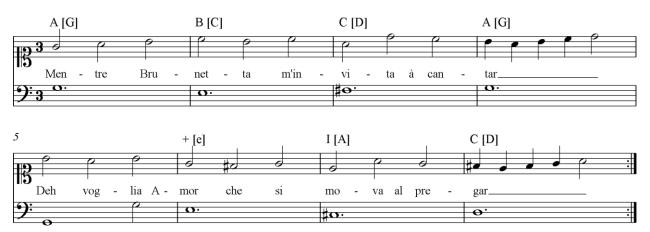
Thus, guitar scales are a product of two worlds. On the one hand they mirror the state of music theory at the time. They are not based on major-minor scales; the individual bass notes had not yet assumed degree identities and therefore there was not a harmonic relationship between one note and the next. Nevertheless, there was an observance of the treatment of notes that lacked a perfect 5th, though this had not quite yet manifested itself into the *mi contra fa* rule, which would emerge in the guitar treatises of the 1640s. There was also an awareness of the leading function of chromatically altered notes, and this is consistently observed in all early scale sources. On the other hand, however, these scales served as a convenient way to list the *alfabeto* harmonisations that were most likely to be employed in any given situation; hence the scales are often chromatic and vary considerably in range, depending on how thorough an author wanted to be.

The Unsuitability of Alfabeto

The compromise between the two performing practices is also apparent in the music contained in *alfabeto* songbooks. The addition of guitar chords to songs with continuo basses achieved varying degrees of success. The songs in which they worked well had simple melodies and strong dance-like characteristics, such *Mentre Brunetta m'invita à cantar*, published in Milanuzzi's 1624 songbook (see Example 2:6).⁸

⁸ Carlo Milanuzzi, *Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1624)

Example 2:6 Milanuzzi, Mentre Brunetta m'invita à cantar (excerpt) (1624)⁹



Where *alfabeto* is less suitable is in songs where harmonic tension between voice and bass is important. Of course, harmonic tension is a typical characteristic of cadences, and this clearly frustrated some song composers as the *alfabeto* notations could not convey the typical dissonance treatment expected in this context. Bellerofonte Castaldi intentionally omitted guitar notations from his *Primo mazzetto di fiori* (1623), and he explained in his preface that it was their inability to convey resolving dissonances at cadences that had influenced this decision:

Please do not turn away because the Author, most well knowing how to do it did not place the A. B. Cs of the Spanish Guitar above each of the Airs, as one does according to current usage. This would have been done if one had not seen that such a pedantry is of little use to those who don't know (if the letters are not discarded) of the innumerable errors that occur at the cadences because of the aforementioned hieroglyphs. He who knows how does not need to be taught.¹⁰

What Castaldi is essentially saying is that *alfabeto* is all very well and good for people with no musical training. For others aware of the conventional treatment of a cadence and music theory in general, however, it has nothing to offer. In other words, if you can, play from the bass and the musical result will be altogether more satisfying. He makes no suggestion in this paragraph that guitarists were not capable of doing so, so he seems to have expected them to add and resolve dissonance just as any other

⁹ The letters in brackets represent the harmonies indicated by the *alfabeto* symbols.

 $^{^{10}}$ Translated in Cory Gavito, 'The Alfabeto Song', p. 148

instrumentalist would. One could possibly infer from this that more competent guitarists were in fact performing in a manner that more closely resembled the continuo accompaniments of other plucked string instruments.

Castaldi's objection to *alfabeto* can be illustrated in Example 2:7, taken again from Milanuzzi's 1624 songbook. Milanuzzi, of course, was a competent guitarist who personally added the *alfabeto* to his works. He explicitly tells us in his introduction that there will be occasions where the *alfabeto* does not accord with the harmonies implied by the bass, but he tells us that this is intentional. He wanted to provide more than one way of accompanying these songs and thus his guitar accompaniments conform to the popular style rather than the rules of continuo. The song *Bellissima Mirtilla* features a cadence in D major that, when played according to the *alfabeto*, simplifies the accompaniment and ignores the harmonies implied by the bass and vocal melody. The minim G in the bass seems to be begging for a 5th that resolves onto the sharp 3rd over the A. The guitar part, however, ignores the bass completely and simply harmonises the vocal melody with a i-V-I progression.

Example 2:7 Milanuzzi, Bellissima Mirtilla (excerpt) (1624)

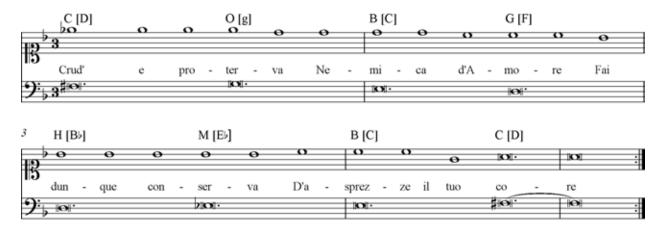


As to whether this accompaniment is a 'mistake', as Castaldi would name it, depends on one's outlook. Without the bass this is a perfectly legitimate harmonisation of the melody in keeping with how guitarists accompanied popular song, but clearly when interpreted as a continuo realisation it is less satisfactory. The 'popularisation' of cadences in *alfabeto* songbooks is common and clearly bothered some composers, such as Castaldi and Marini, who devised cadential *alfabeto* harmonies to rectify the

issue (discussed below). Nevertheless, as Castaldi implies and Marini demonstrates, a guitarist could remain more faithful to the harmonies implied by the bass line if desired.

There were, however, other song types where the meeting of the two traditions was less comfortable and the *alfabeto* accompaniments sound clumsy. Some songs dealing with tragic or painful subject matter are characteristically dissonant throughout. Grandi's *Crud' e proterva nemica d'amore* (1626) is a case in point.¹¹ The song opens with a chromatic bass, over which the voice sings a melody characterised by 7-6 suspensions. The available chord symbols cannot cater for the dissonance, so simple triads are prescribed instead. The resulting clash can be seen in the second bar of Example 2:8 where the note of resolution sounds simultaneously with the D\(\beta\) above the syllable 'mi'. The effect is immediately repeated above the 'mo' in the second half of the bar. The audible result is an intensified dissonance, and the premature inclusion of the 6th of the harmony diminishes the impact of the resolution. *Alfabeto* thus placed severe harmonic restraints on bass realisation, and the by-product of this was unintentional clashes wherever the bass and vocal parts strayed from simple triadic harmonies.

Example 2:8 Grandi, Crud' e proterva nemica d'amore (excerpt) (1626)



There is another type of song where *alfabeto* seems misplaced, and that is recitative (see Example 2:9). One wonders how the rhythmic strumming of the popular tradition translated into the

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¹¹ Alessandro Grandi, *Cantade et arie a voce sola* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1626)

seemingly metrically free speech-song pioneered by the innovators of early opera. A single *alfabeto* symbol marks the beginning of each long phrase. Given the rapid sound decay of the guitar, the performer would need to repeat or break up his accompaniments, much like a harpsichordist does in this context. It is examples such as this that make us suspicious of how effectively *alfabeto* can represent a performance practice.

Example 2:9 Milanuzzi, Lodato il Ciel (excerpt) (1630)



Clearly, in the case of recitative there is more to the accompaniment than what is perceived in print.

The Difficulties of Printing Alfabeto

The discussion so far has highlighted a fundamental element of accompaniment that seems to be missing in guitar sources, and that is dissonance. A continuo performer was expected to add dissonance automatically whenever appropriate. This was achieved by observing the movement of the bass. Thus Bianciardi instructed that resolving 7ths were permissible when a bass line fell by a degree or a fourth and that resolving 4ths should be included in all final cadences. This, of course, is not apparent in *alfabeto* songbooks, which lacked the necessary notations to print dissonances in the guitar part. Yet

guitarists were more than capable of playing these harmonies. They had a rich dissonant vocabulary and were also dabbling in the 'mixed style' from at least the second decade of the seventeenth century. We get the impression from the excerpt by Castaldi above that guitarists added their own dissonances at cadences. Crescenzio Salzilli also hinted that guitarists were performing harmonies that were beyond the limits of the printing press when he wrote in 1616:

As regards the letters for the guitar, whoever plays must be smart, since through the inadequacy of the instrument one cannot find the necessary consonance very well for the purpose of being able to express them with a single letter. . . 12

Salzilli is thus warning the accompanist that there are implied harmonies that are impossible to notate, but his expectation seems to be that the 'smart' guitarist will know what to do when the time comes.

The most concrete evidence in print of a guitarist adding dissonance to an accompaniment in accordance with the rules set down by Bianciardi is Marini's 1622 songbook. Marini shared Salzilli's frustrations with the limits of alfabeto and so he devised a new set of alfabeto chords (see Example1:10) to address the issue of cadential dissonance. Marini's book is an invaluable source on how to incorporate dissonance into an entirely strummed accompaniment. As can be seen in Example 2:10, a 4th is added to the harmony whenever the bass rises a fourth or falls a fifth. Beyond this source, the printed alfabeto song repertoire is almost completely without any dissonant chord symbols. The two likely reasons for this absence are the target market of the songbooks and the printing process itself. Publishers had a vested interest in making their stock appeal to a wide market and by keeping the alfabeto simple they made songbooks accessible to all levels. Beginners could play the accompaniment as it appeared in print, and more accomplished guitarists could use the notations as a basis from which to elaborate or even play from the bass instead. Ricci made this marketing strategy explicit in his 1677 book when he wrote in his preface, 'I must admit that the following pieces could be more lively and

¹² Crescenzio Salzilli, *Amarille. Libro terzo delle canzonette a tre voci* (Naples: Lucrezio Nucci, 1616) Translated in Dean, 'The Five-Course Guitar', p. 81

challenging, but in order to satisfy the publisher, I have notated them in this manner'. As for the printing process, *alfabeto* symbols bear little resemblance to traditional musical notations and as such their idiosyncratic appearance was problematic from the publisher's point of view. Although the majority of symbols were letters, some harmonies were represented by more peculiar shapes and this was particularly true of dissonant chord symbols. It may not have been economically viable to cast characters that were unlikely to be needed again. There is evidence of composers having to make compromises in this regard in several printed sources of *alfabeto*. Ruiz de Ribayaz wrote in the preface to his 1677 book that:

in order to print the tablature in the other [i.e., usual] format it would have been necessary to cast new characters with different matrices; and this was impossible to arrange because there was no one willing to undertake it.¹⁴

Salzilli had two *alfabeto* songbooks published in 1616 and he wrote in both of the obstacles that hinder the accurate reproduction of guitar notations. He wrote 'and because no cross has been found cut among the dies, it has not been possible to show it where it was needed for the guitar'. The cross he mentioned was the *alfabeto* symbol for E minor. That character was unavailable, and so the symbol for E major (the letter F) was instead used throughout the book. Another example of publishers avoiding incurring the extra costs of casting unusual characters can be found in Marini's 1622 songbook, where the symbols \vec{r} and \vec{R} were replaced with the words *con* and *ron*. One also sees occasionally the verbal replacement of the & symbol with *Et*. Now, bearing in mind that the dissonant chord symbols were so peculiar, it is perhaps understandable that they are restricted to manuscript sources.

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¹³ Giovanni Pietro Ricci, *Scuola d'intavolatura* (Rome: Paolo Moneta, 1677). Translated in Jensen 'The Development of Technique', p. 27

¹⁴ Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz y norte musical* (Madrid: Melchor Alvarez, 1677). Translated in Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, p. 100

¹⁵ Salzilli, Sirena: libro secondo delle canzonette a tre voci (Naples: Gio. Battista Gargano & di Lucretio Nucci, 1616). Translated in Dean, 'The Five Course Guitar', p. 81

Example 2:10 Marini, Desio di Sguardi (1622)









At first glance, evidence of the use of *tagliate* cords in the songbook repertoire seems to be missing. One could surmise from this that dissonant harmonies were not part of the widespread practice of guitar playing and were rather amusements of the few gifted performers who liked to experiment with their instrument. This seems to be implied by Tyler, who wrote:

Several composers expanded the system by adding signs to the *alfabeto* letters to indicate chords with dissonances or suspensions, which they explained in their prefaces. These additions are rarely encountered, are unique to each composer, and need not be memorised.¹⁶

Tyler is right to point out the infrequent appearance of *tagliate* symbols, but his claim that such symbols are unique to each composer is not supported by the sources listed in Table 1:3. In many cases it is plain that the variant symbols derive from an original that was perhaps too complex to print. The F that appeared in manuscripts was altered to F+ by Foscarini in c.1632, and F* by Corbetta in 1639. Unable to reproduce a P in 1627, Millioni altered the symbol to P. There does seem to have been a common knowledge of the dissonant harmonies associated with *alfabeto* letters, as well as an acceptance that the altered appearance of the symbol that distinguished the dissonant harmonies from the consonant ones may vary from source to source. Of course, not all dissonant alphabets are identical. They were added to by different composers, but many of the original selection that were available in Palumbi's manuscripts and maybe earlier are consistently reproduced in later sources.

Before leaving the realm of the printed songbook there is still one important matter that cannot be ignored, as it flies in the face of conventional harmonic theory yet is one of the most characteristically guitaristic harmonies in the repertoire, and that is chord *L*. The different voicings of C minor were explored in Chapter 1, and it was ascertained that the voicing which featured a dissonant 9th was favoured among most performers. Given that most *alfabeto* charts in songbooks feature this voicing, it results in the common incorporation of a ninth harmony into song accompaniments that is

¹⁶ Tyler, A Guide to Playing the Baroque Guitar, p. 22

completely unwarranted by conventional theory. Understandably, this would probably have been an issue of contention with song composers. The minority who added the *alfabeto* themselves were able to avoid the offending dissonance by providing a consonant alternative (that was the strategy of Corradi, Marini, Stefani and Manzolo), but for the majority of composers, who probably had little or nothing to do with the guitar accompaniment, the dissonant voicing was used as standard. Yet again we have an example of two performance practices colliding. The dissonant chord L was valued for its practicality in the popular repertoire, yet in continuo accompaniments it is theoretically unjustifiable.¹⁷

Marini's songbook is exceptional in its inclusion of dissonant guitar harmonies in the context of accompaniment. Excluding chord *L*, dissonance is almost totally absent from the songbook repertoire. Yet, as the previous Chapter illustrated, guitarists had a rich dissonant vocabulary by the 1640s, so in what ways were these chords incorporated into accompaniment? To answer this question, we must turn to the popular repertoire.

The Popular Repertoire

The word 'popular' is used here in the sense that at least one element of a song, whether it was the melody, text or accompaniment, would appear to have been familiar to the performer. This distinguishes accompaniment in this context from the instantaneous interpretation of an unfamiliar bass line that was required in continuo songs. As can be expected, therefore, in the popular repertoire the songs are rarely notated completely with melody, text and accompaniment. Mnemonic aids sufficed in this context, so it was far more common to notate the text alone with *alfabeto* symbols above individual words. This was a repertoire in which strophic poetry was sung above common chordal frameworks that were often modelled on dances or even on poetic forms. Donna Cardamone conducted much research into traditional aria melodies and defined the term 'aria' as 'an attractive tune or a melodic

¹⁷ I have discussed the preferences for the dissonant and consonant variants of chord L in the context of accompaniment in depth in the following article: 'Rasgueado Guitar Notations: The Use of Chord L in Accompaniment', The Lute, Vol. 50 (2010), pp. 15-33

formula for improvised singing of strophic poems'. ¹⁸ In a discussion of how such melodies were employed in the performance of popular verse, she wrote: 'readapting a melodic phrase to verse lines of equal metrical structure is also a technique used by frottola composers, and can be traced to the habits of popular singers who would re-use and vary memorable phrases whenever they could'. ¹⁹ Margaret Murata describes *arie* as 'promiscuosly suitable models for reciting fixed poetic forms like the Spanish *romance* or Italian *ottava* or *sonetto*, more or less *all' improviso*. Such *arie* typically take on the rhythm of poetic scansion'. ²⁰ Using pre-existing melodic formulas as a basis for the improvisation of new melodies for poetic texts necessitated an understanding of poetic structure and metre so that an appropriate formula was selected. William Porter wrote:

a musician who wished to sing a poem could choose a well-known musical formula to fit the structure of his text. Then following the framework of the model he had selected, he proceeded to improvise a finished melody, and, if he wished, an accompaniment for lute or some other appropriate instrument.²¹

Among the various formulas available, he listed the *ruggiero*, *aria di Genova*, *romanesca*, and *aria di Firenze* as examples. John Baron too describes this practice, adding that 'the singer could easily adapt the words to the rhythms of a dance suggested by the ritornello'.²² Dean proposed a process whereby the singer possibly had a memorised repertoire of melodic motifs, each associated with specific textual accents, poetic metres and cadential patterns.²³ The implication of these approaches is that it was important for the guitarist also to be familiar with common melodic formulas if he was to craft a suitable

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¹⁸ Donna G. Cardamone, 'A Colourful Bouquet of *Arie Napolitana*', *Recercare*, Vol. 10 (Rome, 1998), pp. 133-147, 134

¹⁹ Donna G. Cardamone, 'The Debut of The Canzone Villanesca alla Napolitana', *Studi Musicali*, Vol. 4 (Florence, 1975), pp. 65-130, 88

²⁰ Margaret Murata, 'Guitar Passacagli and Vocal Arie' in Francesca Menchelli-Buttini (ed.) *La monodia in Toscana alle soglie del XVII secolo: Atti del convegno di studi: Pisa, 17-18 dicembre 2004* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2009), pp. 81-116, p. 81

²¹ William Vernon Porter, 'The origins of the Baroque solo song: a study of Italian manuscripts and prints from 1590-1610' (doctoral thesis) (Yale University, 1962), p. 13

²² John H. Baron, 'Secular Spanish Solo Song in Non-Spanish Sources, 1599-1640', *JAMS*, Vol. 30, No. 1, (Spring, 1977), p. 26

²³ Dean, 'The Five-Course Guitar', p. 198

accompaniment. Dean suggests that guitarists may have employed a similar procedure, whereby they matched the versification of each line to pre-memorised harmonic motifs.²⁴ The music sources certainly make the importance of models and formulas in guitar accompaniment explicit. Again and again, in place of a notated accompaniment we simply find a one-line phrase reading 'parole sopra la folia', 'canto sopra la sarabanda', 'calata per cantare', 'aria detta la Gran Duca' or other similar instructions. There is, therefore, an expectation of familiarity with the framework and the melodic formula that will serve as a basis for the vocal part. Baron points out that:

the recurrence of so many pieces in different manuscripts with the same accompaniment suggests, however, that, even if the rhythm was largely predetermined, only limited melodic freedom was intended.²⁵

As so many accompaniments were based on dance models, the *alfabeto* dance anthologies published in the early decades of the seventeenth century become invaluable sources of accompaniment frameworks. The strong relationship between song and dance is apparent in these sources. Many differentiate, for example, between the *'calata per ballare'* and the *'calata per cantare'*, and many dances are printed alongside their vocal equivalent forms, i.e. the *'folia'* would often be followed by the *'aria sopra la folia'*. Sanseverino's 1622 book features a song that is accompanied by the framework of the *aria di Firenze*, originally a dance song composed by Cavalieri for the Florentine wedding celebrations in 1589. The song was hugely popular and its chord framework became the basis of numerous other popular song accompaniments. Sanseverino's song, *Dimmi Amore* (Example 2:11), is a clear example of this practice. The chord framework appeared in most *rasgueado* guitar anthologies, and if we compare the opening of the song with the opening of the dance as it appeared in

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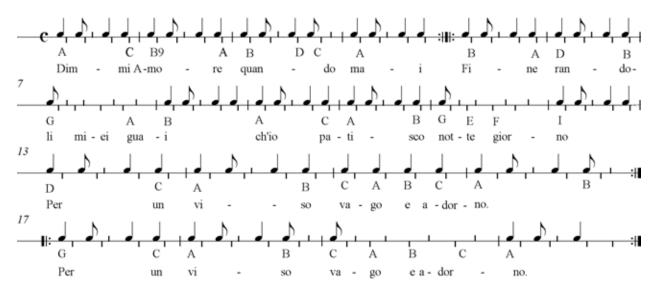
²⁴ Ihid 203

²⁵ Baron, 'Secular Spanish Solo Song', p. 26

²⁶ Sanseverino, *Il Primo Libro d'Intavolatura per la Chitarra Spagnuola* (Milan: Filippo Lomazzo, 1622)

Colonna's 1637 book (Example 2:12), 27 we see an almost exact match (keeping in mind that Sanseverino used the symbol B^9 to indicate E minor whereas most guitarists used +).

Example 2:11 Sanseverino, Dimmi Amore (1622)



Example 2:12 Colonna, Opening of his Aria di Fiorenze framework (1637)



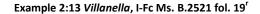
There are other examples of hugely popular songs with accompaniments that became standard frameworks for settings of alternative song texts. The accompaniment of Giuseppino Cenci's *Fuggi, fuggi da questo cielo* appeared in multiple guitar books under the title *Ballo di Mantova* and was used accordingly to accompany other poetry.

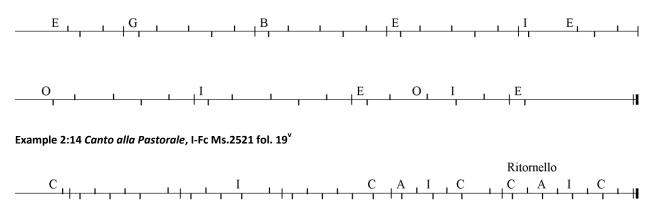
As well as featuring dance frameworks commonly used in accompaniment, solo guitar books are full of generic song titles, some of which seem to imply specific poetic models. Titles such as 'aria', 'villanella', 'canto alla pastorale' occur again and again. I-Fc CF.108 (previously Ms B.2556) even

²⁷ Colonna, *Intavolatura di chitarra spagnuola del primo, secondo, terzo, & quarto Libro* (Milan: Dionisio Gariboldi, 1637)

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features a strummed accompaniment entitled 'terza rima'.²⁸ Again, models such as these, when memorised by the guitarist, could be used as a basis from which to accompany various poetic forms.





It was not always necessary to improvise a melody for a new poetic text, as it often happened that well-known melodies of other arias were borrowed and freely shared around various poetic compositions. There are several examples in Remigio Romano's song anthologies of song 'x', which was to be sung to the tune of song 'y'. One well known example is 'Poi che vuol amor', which was sung to the tune of the equally popular 'Quella bella amor'. Some poets even composed new verse with specific melodies in mind, and they make this explicit in their titles (presumably to make their works more marketable). One poet who did this often was Paolo Britti, the famed cieco di Venezia (blind man of Venice). Britti's often ridiculous poetry was very popular among singers and guitarists, and he frequently intended his verse to be sung to the most popular melodies of the moment.

The aria known as the *codognella* (or *cotognella*) seems to have experienced some popularity in the 1630s, as Britti had a *canzonetta* text published in 1634 that was to be sung to this melody.²⁹ The chord framework of the *codognella* starts to appear in solo guitar books such as Corbetta (1639),

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²⁸ I-Fc CF.108, fol. 29^r (mid-17th century)

²⁹ Paolo Britti, Nova canzonetta nella qual s'intende le allegrezze che fa Madonna Codognella per aver parturito un figlio maschio figliolo di missie Codognon suo Marito. . . sopra l'aria istessa di codognella (Treviso: Girolamo Righettini, 1634)

Carbonchi (1640, 1643), and Millioni (1661, the reprint of a lost earlier edition). It is also found in I-Fc Ms. CF.108, which dates from the mid-seventeenth century. All this would suggest a prolonged use in accompaniment, which is confirmed by the publication of Giovanni Antonio Remondini's *Bellissimo lament. . . Sopra l'aria istessa della Codognella* some time between 1669 and 1700. Many song melodies achieved similar levels of popularity. One of the most popular songs from the mid-century, however, was *Se per donna mortale*. The accompaniment to this song appears in six different transpositions in Trombetti (1639b). It also appears in both of Pesori's 1648 books and in Ricci (1677). The poet Angelo Anibali wrote his *Canzonetta nuova* (1638) to be sung to this melody. In the same year, the anonymous *Nova canzoneta per la morte del covielo, Sopra l'aria Se per Donna mortale* also went to print. Pesori tells us in his c.1675 book that the song *Cara si bella sei* should also be sung to this melody, as should Britti's *Nuova canzonetta* published in 1680. The melody even featured in the anonymous *Canzonette spiritual e morali* (1657) as the melody of *Gionta è l'ora beata*.

As for how exactly these songs were accompanied, few composers bothered setting down anything in writing. Given that the guitar was so popular in this context, written descriptions of the practice probably seemed counterproductive and unnecessary. However, one does not need to look far

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³⁰ Giovanni Antonio Remondini, *Bellissimo lamento fatto da donna Codognella, & missier Codognon, & anco di tutto il parentado di Codogni per la morte del povero codognin. Sopra l'aria istessa della Codognella* (Venice: the author, c. 1669-1700)

³¹ Angelo, Anibali, *Canzonetta nuova, nella quale un giovine abbandonato dalla sua donna narra tutte le malatie di quella nell'aria se per donna mortale* (Parma: Gio. Maria Spinelli, 1638)

quella nell'aria se per donna mortale (Parma: Gio. Maria Spinelli, 1638)

Anon, Nova canzoneta per la morte del covielo. Sopra l'aria Se per Donna mortale. Dove si intende un testament chef a per soddisfare a tutti, e la causa della morta. Vignette (Venice: Gio. Battista Surian, 1638)

³³ Pesori, *Ricreationi Armoniche* (s.p.: s.n., c.1675)

³⁴ Paolo Britti, Nuova canzonetta nella qual s'intende un amante abbandonato dalla sua donna per esser decaduto in povertà, sopra l'aria chiamata se per donna mortale (Venice: Domenico Lovisa à Rialto, 1680)

Anon, Canzonette spirituali, e morali, che si cantano nell'oratorio di chiavena, eretto sottola protettione di S. Filippo Neri accommodate per cantare à 1.2.3. voci come più piace, con le lettere della chitarra sopra aria communi, e nuovi date in luce per trattenimento spirituale d'ogni persona (Milan: C. Francesco Rolla, 1657). This source is available in the Special Collection in the University of Glasgow library. This is not the only sacred source of popular melodies of the day. Matteo Coferati's Corona di sacre canzoni (1689) features a great many, including the codognella. Although these songs are all assigned religious texts, they are listed in the index under their secular titles to make the desired melody easier to find. There is a digital copy of this book accessible at the following link [accessed 18/09/12]: "http://www.bsb-muenchen-digital.de/~web/web1059/bsb10593452/images/index.html?l=de&digID=bsb10593452&v=150&nav=0>"http://www.bsb-muenchen-digital.de/~web/web1059/bsb10593452/images/index.html?l=de&digID=bsb10593452&v=150&nav=0>"http://www.bsb-muenchen-digital.de/~web/web1059/bsb10593452/images/index.html?l=de&digID=bsb10593452&v=150&nav=0>"http://www.bsb-muenchen-digital.de/~web/web1059/bsb10593452/images/index.html?l=de&digID=bsb10593452&v=150&nav=0>"http://www.bsb-muenchen-digital.de/~web/web1059/bsb10593452/images/index.html?l=de&digID=bsb10593452&v=150&nav=0>"http://www.bsb-muenchen-digital.de/~web/web1059/bsb10593452/images/index.html?l=de&digID=bsb10593452&v=150&nav=0>"http://www.bsb-muenchen-digital.de/~web/web1059/bsb10593452/images/index.html?l=de&digID=bsb10593452&v=150&nav=0>"http://www.bsb-muenchen-digital.de/~web/web1059/bsb10593452/images/index.html?l=de&digID=bsb10593452&v=150&nav=0>"http://www.bsb-muenchen-digital.de/~web/web1059/bsb10593452&v=150&nav=0>"http://www.bsb-muenchen-digital.de/~web/web1059/bsb10593452&v=150&nav=0>"http://www.bsb-muenchen-digital.de/

to find sources of basic strum patterns that can shed some light on how the chords were executed.

Some manuscripts of *alfabeto* songs have notated rhythms for the guitarist. These appear alongside the chord symbols above the song text. There are several manuscript sources of *alfabeto* song that feature rhythmic guidelines for the guitarist, including:

I-MOe Ms. Camp. App. 719 (fol. 24^v)

F-Pn Res Vmc. Ms. 59 (fol. 60^r-60^v)

F-Pn Ms. Español 390 (fol. 36^r)

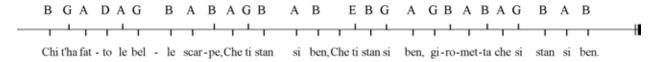
I-Fn Ms. Magl. VII 618 (fol. 18^v-19^r)

I-Fc Ms. CF.108 (fol. 53^r-60^r)

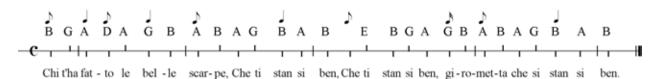
I-Fr Ms. Ms. 2774 (fol. 82^v)

I-Fr Ms. 2774 features the popular song *Girometta* with rhythmic strum strokes for the guitarist (transcribed in Example 2:15(a)). When cross-referenced with arrangements of the song in solo guitar books by Carbonchi (1643), Valdambrini (1647) and Pesori (1648), the intended rhythms can be more accurately inferred (see Example 2:21(b)).

Example 2:15 (a) *Girometta*, I-Fr Ms. 2774 fol. 82^v (as it appears in the original) and (b) with barlines and mensural notation (a)



(b)

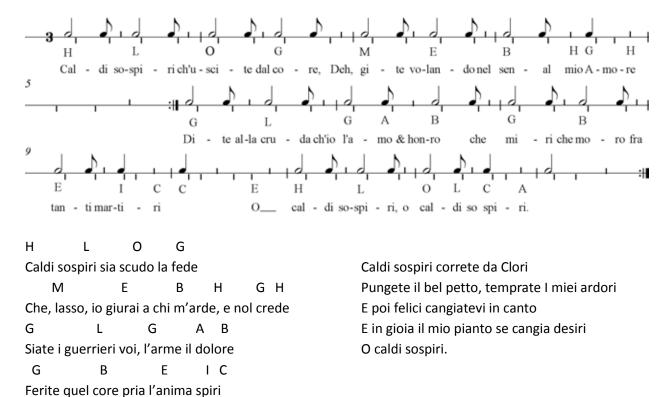


There are also some printed songbooks with rhythmic guidelines for the guitarist, such as those by Sanseverino and Briceño, though, admittedly, Sanseverino's rhythms are much easier to interpret. There is also a rare example of a French songbook with fully notated strummed accompaniment by Étienne Moulinié, published in 1629.³⁶ In Example 2:16 we see a transcription of one of the songs in Sanseverino's 1622 book as it appears in the original. This effectively demonstrates the difference in appearance between guitar accompaniments as they were played and as they were most commonly notated. The second verse is presented with chord symbols above the words of the text, yet it should be executed in the same manner as shown in verse 1, which is hard to infer from text and chord symbols alone. Cardamone observed that in the popular repertoire there was a close relationship between rhythmic patterns and text accents, and this is evident in Example 2:16 if one observes the placement of the strum strokes in relation to the syllables of the words.³⁷ The strumming of the guitar closely shadows the natural speech rhythms of the text. This is where the vast repertory of song accompaniments captured in solo guitar anthologies comes in useful. Although the song texts are absent in these sources, many composers did indicate on the accompaniments the point at which each line of verse ended, usually with a dot. Texts can thus be extracted from alternative sources and transplanted above the guitar accompaniments with quite a high degree of success.

³⁶ Étienne Moulinié, *Airs de cour avec la tablature de luth et de guitarre . . .* (Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1629)

³⁷ Cardamone, "The Debut of the Canzone Villanesca alla Napolitana", p. 86

Example 2:16 Sanseverino, Caldi sospiri (1622)



One popular song we can be more certain about is the *Monaca*, which tells of a girl forced against her will to become a nun by her family who were too poor to provide a dowry to allow her to marry. This well-known tune is found in Michele Pario's *Canzonette e madrigaletti spirituali* (1610).³⁸ If Pario's melody is transplanted above Foscarini's guitar chords from his 1629 book,³⁹ we find that melody and accompaniment marry well together (see Example 2:17).

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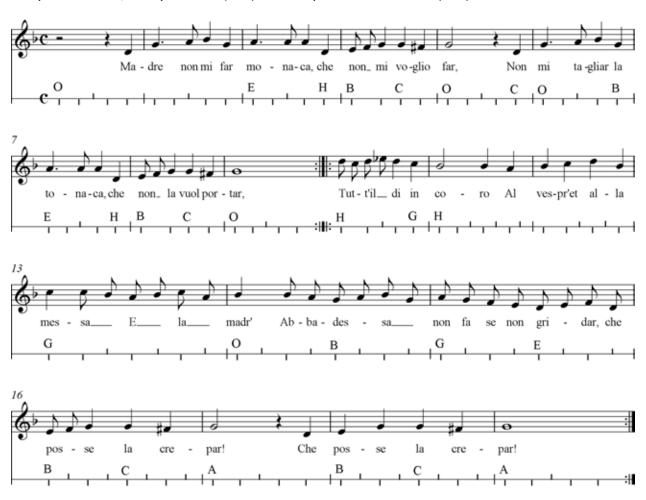
O caldi sospiri, O caldi sospiri.

OLCA

³⁸ I-BRq L.IV.99, Michele Pario 'Canzonette e madrigaletti spirituali a 2 e 3 voci d'autori diversi' (1610)

³⁹ Foscarini, *Intavolatura di chitarra spagnola, libro secondo* (Macerata: Gio. Battista Bonomo, 1629)

Example 2:17 Monaca, Melody from Pario (1610) and Accompaniment from Foscarini (1629)



An important skill that was expected of the guitar accompanist was the ability to transpose a song accompaniment at will. This much can be inferred from the presentation of individual dances and accompaniments in solo guitar volumes in a wide range of different transpositions, but the importance of this skill is made explicit in a manuscript housed in the British Library. GB-Lbm, Add. 36877, fol. 98^r, features three verses of the popular song *Quella bella amore*, yet the accompaniment of each verse is in a different key, the first in G major, the second in D major and the third in E major (see Example 2:18). Each accompaniment demonstrates a possible transposition depending on the voice range of the singer.

We get another rare insight into guitar accompaniment in I-Fn Fondo Landau-Finaly Ms. 252, as the songs on fol. 64^r - 64^v feature transposing chord notations. These symbols are not commonly found

in this context (though they do appear in Stefani (1621, 1622) Manzolo (1623) and Anonymous (1657), but here is some concrete evidence that guitarists did vary the chord voicings of their accompaniments, a technique that is absent in all but a few *alfabeto* songbooks.

Example 2:18 Quella bella amor, GB-Lbl Add. 36877 fol . 98°

G H E BG X C A Questa bella Amor Dung io partiro Del non consentir CLCВ В I E I С R Z R Che sospirar mi fa Per lo consent' il Ciel Che del mio grave ardor DO G EL H TD A Di mia dipartite Oh mio fato rio Altri goda i rai OLCA В Α EAIC 1 X DR F Che non sente al cor' pieta Che mi giova esser fedel S'io ne porto accesso il cor G G X C A Oh fatal dolor Ahi che moriro Al mio gran martir 0 С A E Χ Moriro mio caro ben' Chi m'ait al piant ahime Non negar giusta mer le D O G C D A Ε LH Fonti, fiumi, e mari Questo sol desio fa che premio sia B OLC A EAIC IXDRF Lacrimate voi per me. Che l'mio cor ti viva in sen. Del mio fido amor la fè.

The Use of Dissonance in Strummed Accompaniment

What, though, of the dissonant harmonies that were documented in the previous chapter?

What role did they play in accompaniment? It has already been ascertained that printed sources shed little light on this matter. The reality is that in manuscript sources the evidence still appears pretty scant. There are some isolated examples worthy of mention, however, as they do feature dissonant harmonies notated in the song accompaniment. I-Fr Ms. 2774 features some Spanish verse beginning A las espaldas de un monte. This anonymous poem was well known and was quoted in several seventeenth-century works of Spanish literature.⁴⁰ The accompaniment features two tagliate chords, &

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⁴⁰ I am grateful to Abraham Madroñal for clarifying that with me. Two examples of works that feature this popular verse are Alonso de Salas Barbadillo's *El sutil cordobes* (1620) and Mosén Pedro Morlá's *Sátira en defenso de las comedias* (c.1649).

and ϵ . Helpfully, the song also appears in I-Fr Ms. 2952. This version is in the same key and the chords closely resemble those employed in the former manuscript with the exception of the dissonant harmonies, which are absent. This allows us to compare the two versions and assess the function of the dissonant harmonies in the former (see Example 2:19).

Example 2:19 A las espaldas de un monte, (a) I-Fr Ms. 2774 fol. 26^r and (b) I-Fr Ms. 2952 fol. 52^r-53^r

(a) (b) ас ОС d r f A las espaldas de un monte A las espaldas de un monte ic e a b c a iс a b c a Murmura una fuente clara Murmura una fuente clara a d d f c r f c Que por ser tan poderosa Que por ser tan poderosa b a b а с а Le murmura a las espaldas. Le murmura a las espaldas.

In both cases the added dissonances are part of a cadential figure. The progression + - d - r - f over the first line of text in example (a) is a straightforward i - iv - v - I progression, and the inclusion of a dissonance, in this case on chord iv, results in the melodic motif transcribed in Example 2:20.

Example 2:20 The Use of Chord # in I-Fr Ms. 2774



The use of chord e on the second line of verse results in a standard 4-3 resolution in a V-I progression, as transcribed in Example 2:21.

Example 2:21 The Use of Chord ϵ in I-Fr Ms. 2774



As is clear, there is greater harmonic interest in the accompaniment in I-Fr Ms. 2774 than there is in I-Fr Ms. 2952. This demonstrates how approaches to accompaniment could vary depending on a performer's level of ability. Accompaniment (b) can be regarded as the skeleton of the song and accompaniment (a), a version that has been adorned very simply with a few additional chords. This gives us a rare glimpse into the practice of independently adding dissonance to a song accompaniment, and thus one becomes increasingly sceptical that an absence of dissonance on paper signifies an absence in practice. Another song accompaniment that featured dissonant harmonies appears again in I-Fr Ms. 2774, and this too can be compared with an unadorned version that is included in I-Fr Ms. 2951 (written in the same hand as I-Fr Ms. 2952). The song, *O Clorida* was very well known and appears in multiple manuscripts and guitar prints. There is great variation in the accompaniment of this song. Even the versions in Mss. 2951 and 2952 are different, which again emphasises the flexibility exercised by guitarists when approaching this repertoire. The two versions transcribed below (as they appear in the original sources) are only samples of a great many alternatives.

Example 2:22 (a) *O Clorida*, I-Fr Ms. 2774 fol. 166^v, (b) I-Fr Ms. 2951 fol. 199^r
(a)

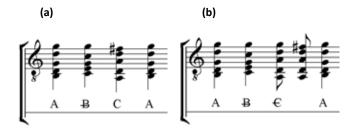
a
O Clorida
b a d a x c a b € a c a
Già che s'adornano i prati' e tornano piu lieti i' di
e i e
Deh rigida Hor perchè tu
a d a b c a
Qual neve frigida e induri più?

(b)

Rit. abca
a
O Clorida
b a d a b b d c a
Già che s'adornano i prati' e tornano piu lieti i' di
c e e i c
Deh rigida i cor Vecchi tu
c a b c a b c a
Qual neve frigida s'induri più?

We find chord ϵ in the same context as it occurred in the Spanish song; preceding chord a. This therefore results in the same progression as was found in Example 2:21. The choice of chord b is a little harder to explain. It may have been a simple preference of voicing on the part of the performer (see Example 2:23 (a) but it could also be explained in terms of a cadential progression, as, if it were to precede chord ϵ , the dissonant G natural in this chord would be prepared as in Example 2:23 (b). The author does not notate chord ϵ in this context, but then maybe chord b served as a sufficient reminder to play this progression.

Example 2:23 (a) Transcription of Chords a - b - c - a (b) Possible Cadential Progression Using Chord b



Another source worthy of mention, as one of its songs features the *tagliate* chord d, is F-Pn Rés Vmc. Ms. 59 (c.1620-30). On fol. 92^r there is a song entitled \dot{E} ver ch'io parto amore, and the accompaniment is of interest as the dissonance does not seem to have a cadential function.

Example 2:24 È ver ch'io parto amore (first stanza)

d d d c a d
È ver ch'io parto amore
d d d
Non te lo celo no
d d d e b
Ma s'io ti lascio il core
b e f d
Resta qui tego e vo

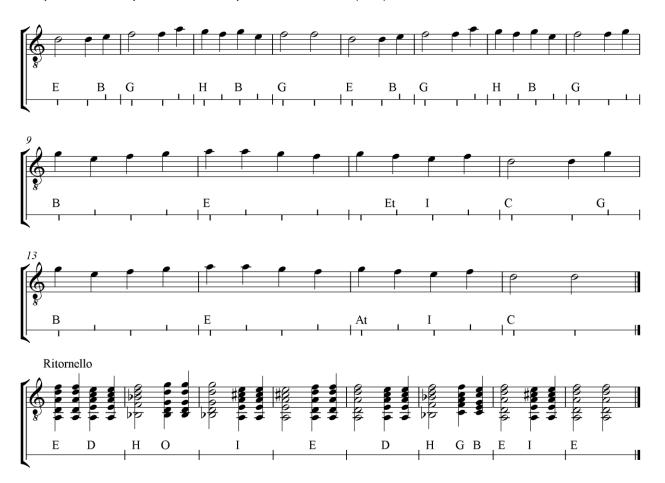
As this dissonance does not resolve into a new harmony (see Example 2:25), its purpose seems to be melodic embellishment, employed probably to inject interest into a passage heavily characterised by A minor chords.

Example 2:25 The Use of Chord d in F-Pn Rés Vmc. Ms. 59

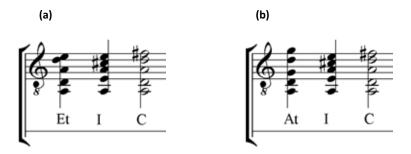


Manuscript sources of guitar accompaniments featuring dissonant chord symbols over song lyrics are rare. The symbols are far more prevalent in strummed dances such as the chaconne or passacaglia. More light can be shed on the use of strummed dissonance in accompaniment with the help of the few printed sources that feature *tagliate* chords in solo *alfabeto* arrangements of well-known songs. Example 2:26 shows the melody of the well known song *Quest e' quel loco* (extracted from Coferati (1689) and transposed to D minor) and the guitar accompaniment from Millioni's 1661 book. Millioni uses two *tagliate* chords in this piece, *At* and *Et*.

Example 2:26 Quest e' quel loco with Accompaniment from Millioni (1661)



Example 2:27 (a) Millioni's Use of Chord Et, (b) Millioni's Use of Chord At



The progression Et to I creates a typical 4-3 resolution at a V-I cadence, whilst chord At serves as chord IV in a IV – V – I progression, except that it anticipates the A^{l} in the bass that is common to the chords that follow. Tagliate chords make a few appearances in accompaniments elsewhere. Millioni includes them in his accompaniment of the Litany of the Saints in the same book. Micheli also includes the odd

dissonant chord in his selection of Sicilian songs in his 1680 book.⁴¹ Aside from these isolated cases, however, dissonant *alfabeto* symbols are not to be found above song texts. However, that is not to say that they are not to be found in song accompaniment. It is possible that the reason there is so little trace of these chords in this context is because we are looking in the wrong place. While fixated on the accompaniment above the text it is easy to overlook a fundamental element of the repertoire and that is the *ritornelli*.

Ritornelli

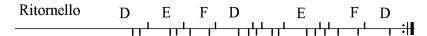
It has already been observed that most dissonant chord symbols appear in dances and, in particular, in *passacaglie* and *ciaccone*. One of the most common uses of dances such as these was as *ritornelli*, separating the individual stanzas of a song. If one takes into account the large number of examples captured in manuscripts that demonstrate the use of dissonance in this context, then all of a sudden the symbols become potentially quite a prominent feature of the song repertoire. It may have been, then, that guitarists focused more on articulating the rhythm whilst the text was being sung, and took greater liberties with harmonies and possibly plucked melodies whilst the singer paused for the *ritornelli*. Supporting evidence that guitarists incorporated dissonance into the *ritornelli* of *alfabeto* songs is found in two songs in I-Fr Ms. 2951. On fol. 220^{v} the song entitled *Palermitana* features the symbol *f* above the Sicilian text. The same symbol is also indicated in the *ritornello* (d - e - f - d), a i – iv – V – i progression in A minor, which we know is the key that most commonly featured dissonant chord symbols in the dance repertoire. There is a similar example on fol. 221^{r} . Above the text of *La Brancaccia* are the symbols *f* and *g*. The chord progression above the first line of text is d - f - g - e - f - d (a progression very similar to that encountered in Example 1:59 in Chapter 1). The *ritornello* is notated alongside thus: d - d - f - d. The *ritornelli* contained in manuscript sources thus deserve a closer look as

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⁴¹ Antonio Micheli, *La nuova chitarra* (Palermo: P. Coppula, 1680). The symbol *Dt* appears twice in the song *Tantu tintu ti paru*. I am grateful to Monica Hall for pointing that out to me. See Salvatore Enrico Failla, 'La nuova chitarra composta da Don Antonio di Micheli della città di Tusa', *Analecta Musicologica*, Vol. 19 (1979), pp. 244-271

they could help explain the absence of dissonant chord symbols from *alfabeto* songs. A guitarist would have needed to be able to provide *ritornelli* almost without thinking about it as they were such common features of the repertoire. This would have necessitated a sufficient repertoire of memorised formulas and cadential figures, and dissonance may have been part and parcel of this practice. Harpsichord players did not need to notate a 4 beneath every V-I progression; they did this automatically, and the same may have been true of guitarists. How then, may a *ritornello* such as the one in Example 2:28 have been executed? The song, *Due fresche rose* appeared originally in Sabbatini's 1631 songbook, and again in his 1652 volume, but this ritornello has been transcribed from the version in I-Fc CF.108, which dates from the mid-seventeenth century.⁴²

Example 2:28 'Ritornello' from *Due fresche rose*, I-Fc CF.108, fol. 55^v



The *ritornello* has already been elaborated to a certain extent, as the second cycle incorporates the rhythmic ornament known as a *repicco* commonly used by guitarists. ⁴³ This was simply a means of varying the strum pattern to add rhythmic interest to a chord progression. The ornament is also found in I-Fn Ms. Fondo Landau Finaly 175 on fol. 10° in a *sarabanda* that also features *tagliate* chords. I-Fr Ms. 2793, too, features the *repicco* and a *repiccodoppio* on fol. 15°. Alternatively, however, one could vary a simple *passacaglia* in A minor harmonically and/or melodically. A few examples of this variation process have already been presented in Examples 1:22 and 1:25 in Chapter 1, but there are other possibilities. Fol. 32° of I-Fr Ms. 2804 provides multiple examples (see Example 2:29).

⁴² A digital version of manuscript may be consulted at the following link:

<http://www.internetculturale.it/opencms/opencms/it/viewItemMag.jsp?id=oai%3Awww.internetculturale.sbn.it %2FTeca%3A20%3ANT0000%3AIFC0000125&case=>

Alexander Dean provides a modern transcription of this song in 'Strumming in the Void: A New Look at the Guitar and Rhythm in Early 17th Century Canzonettas' (online article), *EM* (2012) [accessed 30/05/13] http://em.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2012/09/21/em.cas074.abstract>, pp. 1-19, p. 11

For a discussion of the *repicco* see Joseph Weidlich, 'Battuto', pp. 63-86

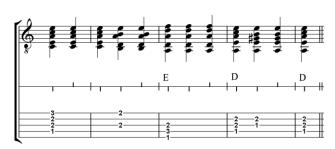
1) 2) 3) 4) 5)

There is another manuscript (I-Bc Ms. V.280), however, dating from c.1614-25 that is a rich source of *passacaglia* progressions and is rather more adventurous with dissonance. The author, Petrus

Jacobus Pedruil, uses an early form of mixed tablature that combines the familiar strummed notations of *alfabeto* with a separate stave on which he notated the dissonances. This cleverly allowed him to notate dissonant chords without using chord symbols and thus lifted the harmonic restrictions that such notations imposed. He provided *ritornelli* for the most commonly used keys: A minor, G minor and D minor, and a selection of his *ritornelli* in A minor are transcribed in Example 2:30.

Example 2:30 Pedruil, Ritornelli con false in A minor, I-Bc Ms. V. 280, fol. $29^{v} - 30^{r}$

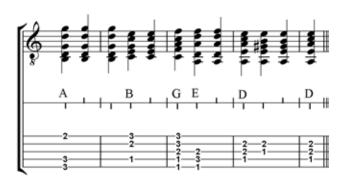
1)



2)



3)

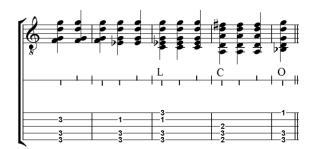


The first example has an opening A minor chord with a $C^{\frac{1}{2}}$ in the bass because the lowest note of the following dissonant harmony is a $B^{\frac{1}{2}}$, which is then followed by a D minor chord with the fifth in the bass. This results in a descending melodic bass line. The second example features a D minor harmony with an open $E^{\frac{1}{2}}$ before the final cadence. The fact that the following chord V also features a dissonant A in the bass means that the iv - V - i progression has an A in the bass and an E in the top part throughout. The effect is a sort of A minor drone which sounds around the moving inner voices and is very common in the guitar repertoire (it is in fact identical to the cadential progression employed by Corbetta in Example 1:59 in Chapter 1). The final example has an extended framework. This time the additional chords VII, III and VI open the progression.

Other interesting demonstrations of dissonance can be found in Pedruil's *ritornelli* in other keys. Example 2:31 shows several transcriptions in G minor that feature chords with added sevenths. The first two examples open with a seventh chord on G that Colonna included in his 1620 chord chart under the symbol *. This harmony could potentially have been in use, therefore, before Colonna's book went to print. Interestingly, in both examples this harmony resolves into another seventh chord on Eb. The purpose of this is again to create a descending bass line from F to D. This harmony resolves to yet another dissonance in the second example as it progresses into a G chord with an added 4th in the bass.

Example 2:31 Pedruil, Ritornelli con false in G minor, I-Bc Ms. V. 280, fol. 28^v

1)

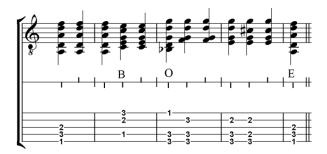


2)



In Example 2:32, the seventh chord on G again precedes an E chord with an added seventh, that in turn resolves to a #6 in the traditional manner.

Example 2:32 Pedruil, *Ritornello con false* in D minor, I-Bc Ms. V. 280, fol. 29^v

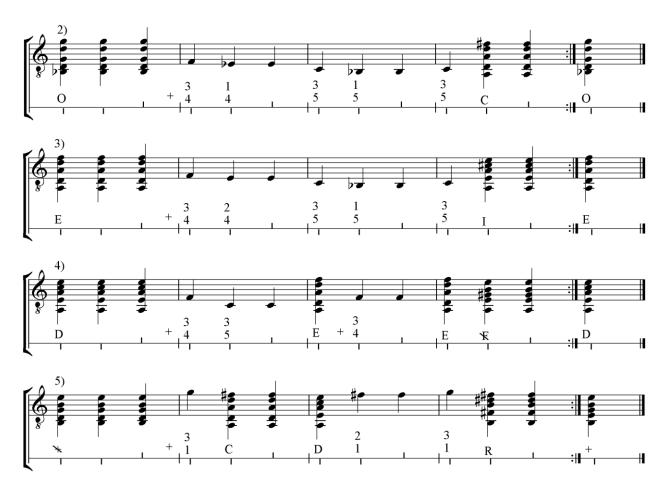


One final manuscript worth mention is I-PEc Ms. H72 (c.1640), as it includes several 'passacagli con numeri è lettere tagliate'. The author makes explicit that the plucked notes are to sound alone and are not meant to be included in the strum whenever a cross is notated next to a chord symbol.⁴⁴ These examples follow a similar model to those in I-Fr Ms. 2804. The opening and close of the progression are strummed and the bars in between are plucked.

Example 2:33 Carbonchi?, I-PEc Ms. H72, Passacagli con numeri e lettere tagliate, fol. 25^v-26^r



⁴⁴ fanno a mano ferma quando vi è la croce accanto la lettera' (stop the hand when there is a cross beside the letter), fol. 6^r [bis]



The second transcription is very similar to Example 2:31 (2) by Pedruil. The difference is that the harmonies notated by Pedruil are omitted and merely implied by the bass line, which has taken on a new, melodic role. This seems to indicate two possible performance options; one that exhibits the harmonies and one that is predominantly melodic in conception. A guitarist can get away with playing a single melodic line in a *ritornello* because it will not be overpowered by the singer. Guitarists possibly had, therefore, a memorised repertoire of melodic formulas for this purpose. The fact that several of the examples above have such similar melodies would seem to support this notion. The plucked passages in (2) and (3) are almost identical. As (5) demonstrates, however, plucked passages need not be a semi-improvised bass line. Instead, they could be in the upper voices.

What conclusions can be drawn, therefore, from the observations in this chapter about guitar accompaniment prior to the 1640s? Although guitar accompaniment at this time is traditionally

regarded by modern scholars as having been a somewhat low-brow musical practice (a notion misguided by too literal an interpretation of alfabeto notations in print), the reality is that much the same demands were placed on guitarists as on other accompanists. It seems they required a large repertoire of memorised cadential figures and melodic formulas from which to generate their semiimprovised accompaniments, as well as a wide repertory of popular songs whose melodies might be adopted for new texts. Without a sizeable knowledge of the many ways in which one could vary a common chord progression, a limited number of chords repeated many times would breed monotony. Clearly, a familiarity with all the common dance progressions, poetic models and melodic formulas used by singers was also necessary if one was to know which dance would suit which text, and which chords make up that dance. If a guitarist were to expand a chord framework, add dissonance, transpose at will or pluck a semi-improvised bass line, then some knowledge of harmony would be a prerequisite. Nevertheless, it does seem that the guitarists reserved their more advanced performance practices for ritornelli. When the singer had stopped to rest and no longer needed the rhythmic support afforded by the persistent strumming, the accompanist was free to indulge in the more delicate art of plucking, or, conversely, the more exhilarating art of repicco. When accompanying singing, on the other hand, rhythmic articulation becomes the more important task, though dissonance was still an important feature at cadences. Perhaps the most uniquely guitaristic characteristic of accompaniment with this instrument is the practice of using dissonant chord symbols to allow the creation of melodic motifs. This allowed guitarists to incorporate very brief passages of melody, maybe limited simply to passing notes, but the important thing was that they did not need to stop strumming in order to do so, and so the rhythmic support was maintained.

As the performance practices associated with popular song were so embedded in guitar performance in the early decades of the seventeenth century, guitar accompaniment at this time has a distinct character that places it outside the norms of convention. Even when guitarists played from a

bass, the resulting accompaniment cannot be described as a continuo accompaniment, but rather a hybrid of two performance practices. The merging of alfabeto and continuo basses produced accompaniments that were informed by conventional theory but were ultimately popular in character. The fundamentals of continuo playing, i.e. the sounding of the true bass and adherence to the conventions of voice leading, would never dominate guitar accompaniment as long as guitarists clung to alfabeto. This notation and its associated practices are incompatible with the requirements of continuo performance, because continuo playing is a practice dominated by theory, whereas alfabeto strumming is a practice dominated by practicality. To adhere more strictly to the rules of counterpoint the guitarists needed to be free from the command of alfabeto; this is why continuo treatises for guitarists do not appear before the advent of 'mixed' tablature. Guitarists embraced the harmonic and melodic freedom made permissible by tablature, and by the 1640s the publishing of Alfabeto songbooks had slowed considerably. Nevertheless, alfabeto remained highly influential over guitar accompaniment; indeed, there are few continuo treatises for the instrument that do not feature the symbols or the harmonies fully notated in tablature, demonstrating that although it had become possible for guitarists to abide more rigorously with continuo conventions, the practices associated with alfabeto were deeprooted, and their survival into the eighteenth century reveals a reluctance to sever the ties with them completely.

Chapter 3 THE 1640s: ACCOMPANIMENT IN THE 'MIXED' STYLE

In the 1640s guitarists were enjoying the liberating benefits of tablature, which enabled the notation of melodies and a variety of new textures. As composers could now notate contrapuntal passages, the guitar was elevated to a more equal status with the lute and theorbo. The solo repertoire of the instrument reached unprecedented levels of sophistication as composers were able to tackle refined dance suites, and some even transcribed lute music into guitar tablature. Guitar anthologies ceased to feature easy pieces for novices. These were replaced with allemandes, sarabandes, free-style preludes and all manner of French dances then in vogue. The simple four-bar strummed passacaglia was gone and replaced with a much extended model, often lasting pages and modulating through a range of keys. It is logical, then, that a surge of continuo treatises for guitar should appear at this time. As one would expect, significant advances were made to the rudimentary guidelines of the previous decades in light of the new technical and harmonic possibilities afforded by tablature. True, the restricted lower range of the instrument meant that guitarists still had to approach accompaniment with some rather unorthodox chord voicings, but now at least the performer was unconstrained by the need to provide strummed chord shapes. Nevertheless, there was still demand for guidance in exclusively strummed accompaniment. Alfabeto was still an important feature of the guitar repertoire, and alfabeto songbooks continued be published during this decade. The authors of the earliest continuo treatises for guitar therefore provide teachings that cater for both the strummed and the 'mixed' style.

Five Italian treatises were published between 1640 and 1648. The first, by Foscarini, was published in Rome in 1640. Foscarini was a gifted lutenist, theorbist and guitarist, though he was best known in Italy and abroad for his skills with the lute. Many of the details known about his life come

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¹ Foscarini, *Li cinque libri della chitarra alla spagnola* (s.l.: s.n., 1640)

from his extant publications. He authored five books for guitar, the earliest surviving of which is the second, dating from 1629. It is known that Foscarini was a member of the *Compagnia del santissimo* sacramento d'Ancona, and also of the learned society founded by Prospero Bonarelli, the Accademia dei Caliginosi, in which Foscarini inherited the nickname il furioso, under which name he authored his earlier guitar books. In his third book (c.1630), he combined tablature with alfabeto symbols, making him one of the earliest exponents of the 'mixed' style in print, though he seems to have done so reluctantly, as he states in his preface that the lute was better adapted to this style.

Corbetta's continuo guidelines were published in 1643 and reprinted with minor alterations in 1648.² Corbetta was a performer, composer and teacher who was well travelled and whose international reputation as one of the finest guitar virtuosos was well established in his own lifetime. His influence was far reaching and his music is found in sources as far afield as Bohemia.³ He is also believed to have taught Granata, who went on to produce his own continuo treatise in the following decade. Corbetta had some important performing roles on stage during his time in France and England, including Lully's *Ballet de la galanterie du temps* (1656), *Psyché* (1678) and John Crowne's *Calisto* (1675). He was much sought after as a teacher and is known to have taught Princess Anne (later Queen Anne of Great Britain).

Two more printed accompaniment guidelines were provided by Valdambrini in 1646 and 1647.⁴ Valdambrini is one of the most obscure guitar authors; little is known about him other than his Roman origins and his familiarity with the works of Kapsberger, to whom he claimed to be indebted for certain

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² Francesco Corbetta, *Varii capricii per la ghittara spagnuola* (Milan: s.n., 1643); *Varii scherzi di sonate* (Brussels?: s.n., 1648)

³ See Richard T. Pinnell, 'Alternate Sources for the Printed Guitar Music of Francesco Corbetta (1615-1681), in *JLSA*, Vol. 9 (1976), pp. 62-85

⁴ Ferdinando Valdambrini, *Libro primo d'intavolatura di chitarra a cinque ordini.* (Rome: s.n., 1646); *Libro secondo d'intavolatura di chitarra a cinque ordini.* (Rome: s.n., 1647)

symbols and ornaments used in his own works.⁵ Beyond this, and the observations one can draw from his music, namely that he enjoyed experimenting with pungent dissonances and was an able exponent of the 'mixed' style, nothing is known, though Tyler suggested a faint possibility that he may have been Valdambrini the artist (1623-c.1690).⁶

One of the most interesting differences between the teachings of the three authors is the tunings employed. Foscarini favoured bourdons on both lower courses (tuning A), while Corbetta placed a bourdon on the fourth course only (tuning B), and Valdambrini used a fully re-entrant tuning (tuning C). Yet what is striking is that in many instances the three composers employ the same strummed voicings. This is significant, as it demonstrates that all three tunings were used in accompaniment. Whatever tuning one adopts, there will always be some resultant inverted harmonies, and so each composer prescribes standard *alfabeto* voicings without concern for which voice will sound in the bass. One could add bourdons to improve the lower range and projection of the instrument, and in plucked accompaniments they can facilitate the sounding of the true bass. In strummed accompaniments, however, they often result in second inversion chords, so one must make compromises for the increased audibility. It should be plain, therefore, that the maintenance of the true bass is of small concern in accompaniments that are entirely or mostly strummed. Accompaniments in this style are discussed in the first part of this chapter before exploring the more sophisticated examples in the 'mixed' style. One should bear in mind that in all of the music transcriptions that follow, Valdambrini's fourth and fifth courses will sound an octave higher than written, as will Corbetta's fifth course.

⁵ Valdambrini, *Libro secondo*, p. 2

⁶ Tyler, A Guide to Playing the Baroque Guitar, p. 41

Exclusively Strummed Accompaniment

Modern performers wishing to provide accompaniments in this manner, or to correct the all too common erroneous *alfabeto* notations in the printed songbook repertoire, will profit from the guidance provided on this topic by Foscarini, Corbetta and Valdambrini. Not only are more alternative voicings provided than those typically indicated in songbooks, but also the extensive demonstrations of strummed 6th chords can helpfully remedy the incorrect root position chords usually notated where first inversions are needed. Also beneficial are the guidelines provided for the right hand with clear examples of how passages ought to be strummed, none of which can be deduced from printed songbook notations.

Scale Harmonisations

Foscarini and Corbetta both continue the tradition of harmonising two ascending *scale di musica* with *alfabeto* chords, though the resulting harmonies differ as each composer provides the scales to different ends. In Foscarini's book they are a means of demonstrating triads and the treatment of accidentally sharpened notes (see

Example 3:1). In this regard they resemble Aldigatti's chromatic scales of 1623. As was encountered in the scale harmonisations of the 1620s, Foscarini employs an E major chord on the seventh degree of the *b molle* scale. These scales, then, continue the practice initiated by Milanuzzi of providing a simple means of allocating chord symbols to bass notes governed largely by probabilities based on the keys most frequently played.

Example 3:1 Foscarini's Scale Harmonisations





Corbetta's scale harmonisations are more forward looking in that they do not include any triads that are foreign to the *b molle* and *b quadro* key signatures, nor do they feature any false 5ths. Thus the *mi contra fa* rule that was partially adhered to in earlier scale harmonisations is finally cemented in Corbetta's book (see Example 3:2). In other words, E major chords previously found on the sixth degree of the *b quadro* scale and the seventh degree of the *b molle* scale are replaced with E minor and first inversion C chords respectively. Corbetta's inclusion of a reduced texture first inversion C chord signals a stricter observance of the true bass when it assumes the role of a leading note. Whereas he could have notated a fully strummed chord *B*, the importance of the 3rd in the bass is such that an alternative voicing in tablature is necessary.⁷ The same treatment of the first inversion G chord on the third degree of the *b quadro* scale was not necessary, however, as the standard voicing of chord *A* already featured the 3rd in the bass.⁸ However, as implied by the remaining harmonies in Corbetta's scales, strict maintenance of the true bass in this context is not always prioritised. His use of transposing notations

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⁷ Note that the E would have been the lowest sounding note of the chord even if the fifth course was included, though this would have reinforced the tonic of the chord and weakened the accentuation of the 3rd.

⁸ That said, the D is still the lowest sounding note, though as the fifth course doubles the open Bs that sound on the second course, the 3rd of the chord is reinforced.

Example 3:2 Corbetta's 1643 Scale Harmonisations

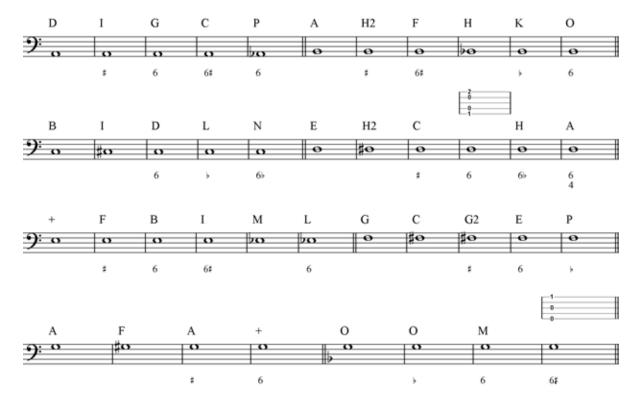


implies a desired sensitivity to the contours of the bass line and encourages the exploitation of the resources available in higher positions along the neck. The penultimate leading note in the *b quadro* scale does not sound in the bass of the harmonisation as a strummed voicing that observes the change of register is more important. Foscarini's harmonisations of artificially sharpened notes make no attempt to maintain the true bass; this indifference in the context of strumming was shared by Valdambrini, who provides some of the most comprehensive guidance on the strumming of 6th chords.

Triads and Inversions

Valdambrini provided a reference chart in his 1646 book to demonstrate the implications of the most common continuo figures (\sharp , \flat ,6,6 and 6 \flat) as applicable to each bass note in turn. As Example 3:3 makes clear, it is taken for granted that, without figures to the contrary, the notes B, C \sharp , D \sharp , F \sharp and G \sharp are leading notes in need of 6th chords. With the specified re-entrant tuning, only the 6th chord on G \sharp will maintain the true bass. Valdambrini nearly always uses the figure \sharp 6 to imply a \sharp 6/4 chord. The exception is in the last bar, where it indicates a \sharp 6/3 chord. The two instances where Valdambrini resorts to tablature occur out of necessity, as there are no equivalent *alfabeto* symbols for these harmonies; thus should these chords be required, they will need to be plucked.

Example 3:3 Valdambrini's Table of Figures (1646)



In 1647, Valdambrini provided an expanded version of this chart that presented up to five voicings of each given bass note (see Example 3:4). It is ingeniously presented so that the top stave features root position triads and the lower stave features triads in first inversion. As the presentation makes clear, each of the interchangeable *alfabeto* harmonies applicable to the notes on the top stave is also suitable for those beneath; thus the lesser importance of the true bass is made plain. Also noteworthy is how individual symbols may cater for two enharmonically equivalent bass notes, as is implied in bars 2 and 9 of the top stave. In bar 4, we see that chord *K* may cater for a Bb minor triad; thus it will also suffice for a 6/3 chord on Db, though it is the enharmonic C# that is notated.

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 $^{^9}$ Note that in this Table the $\sharp 6$ figure always implies a $\sharp 6/3$ chord.

Example 3:4 Valdambrini's Table of Figures (1647)

.	O P3 S5	A G3 M5 &7	P4 S6 K11	N G4 M6 &8 H11	D P5 S7	I N2 G5 M7 &9	K P6 S8	H N3 G6 M8 &10	K2 P7 S9	H2 N4 G7 M9	L K3 P8 S10	B H3 N5 G8 M10	
9	:	0	Þo ∦	O 70	0	0	ю	bo	О	0	0	0	∄
	,		· "			:	>		-	*	,		
9	: ••	ļю	0	0	O	#0	‡o	-0	o	#o	20	ю	∄
•	6		6#	6>	6		6#	6>	6#		6	6	
,	K4 P9 S11	& H4 G9 M11	E K5 P10	C &2 H5 G10	S K6 P11	M H6 &3 G11	+ S2 K7	F M2 &4 H7	P K8 S3	G M3 H8 &5	P2 S4 K9	G2 M4 H9 &6	
19	ij _e	#0	0	-0	JO #	O 70	O	o	О	-0	‡e	‡e	1
		:		;	>			;	>		b	;	
2	. 0	ө	О	‡o	Þo	ю	o	‡e-	20	ļo	0	ю	1
	6#	6>	6		6#	6⊦	6		6	6	6#	6>	

That guitarists could associate multiple harmonies with one finger pattern was part of the appeal of the instrument. One could play in less well-known keys without much mental labour and bypass the study of music theory by learning *alfabeto* chord shapes. Of course, this also contributed to the derision of the guitar by more learned continuo practitioners, and it still does. Nevertheless, Valdambrini's reference table can aid the variation of one's chord voicings and may be usefully employed in varying the printed *alfabeto* accompaniments found in songbooks. Admittedly, a guitarist is unlikely to have provided accompaniments in eleventh position as the chart suggests, but the voicings proposed are clear indicators that guitarists were not expected to linger in lower positions, as would occur if they played *alfabeto* accompaniments as notated in songbooks. Departure from the written notations is therefore encouraged.

The Perfect Cadence

This cadence occurs when the bass rises a fourth or descends a fifth, and the unbreakable rule of thumb surrounding it is that the initial bass note must bear a major 3^{rd:}:

'when it [the bass] rises a Fourth, we give it the major Third, and, if it is not naturally major, it is made so by adding the *Diesis*, because it is by this progression that the close is made'.¹⁰

It was also common practice in music in a minor key for the final note to have a raised (piccardy) 3rd. The progression was most typically embellished with a 4-3 suspension, though this was not usually indicated in the figures, as it was taken for granted that an accompanist would employ the suspension whenever the bass progressed in this manner:

'Furthermore. . . when it [the bass] falls a Fifth, or rises a Fourth, one can use the Fourth resolving on the major Third in making a close'. 11

Foscarini's examples of this cadence all serve as demonstrations of the strummed 4-3 cadential figure; in accordance with convention he does not bother to indicate the dissonance in the continuo figures, nor does he indicate the note of resolution as was his usual custom (see Example 3:5). One must speculate about the way in which guitarists sounded the note of resolution, as the notations do not usually make this explicit. When strumming, one could incorporate it into the upward strum on the weak beat so that it sounds against the repeated harmonies of the initial chord. However, the presence of a strum stroke does not always necessarily imply the sounding of all five courses. Hall has argued that strum strokes served a dual purpose of clarifying rhythms by highlighting the placement of the strong and weak beats.¹² There is a wealth of examples in Foscarini's books where the interpretation of his strum marks is ambiguous: it is possible that in some of his cadences in Example 3:5, particularly those where the dissonance is in the top voice, the guitarist could have plucked the resolution. It is more likely, however, that the guitarist would simply have reduced the texture of his upward strum, maybe catching only the first few courses. This way, the resolution is not clouded by the thick texture of the harmonies and the rhythmic accentuation, an important characteristic of the popular repertoire, is maintained.

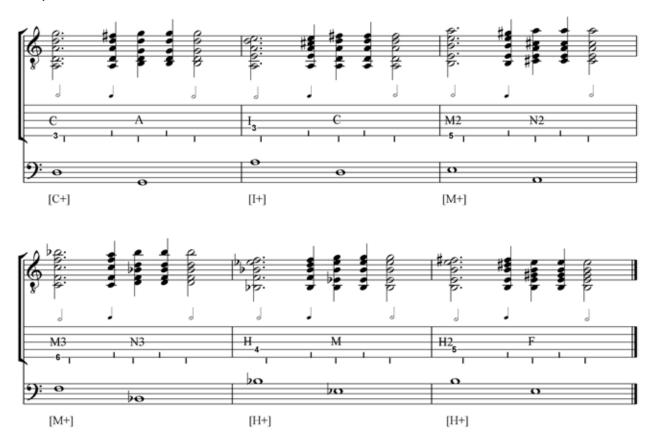
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¹⁰ Bianciardi, *Breve regole*, translated in Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment*, Vol. 1, p. 76.

¹¹ *Ibid,* p. 77

¹²Hall, 'Giovanni Paolo Foscarini – Plagiarist or pioneer?' (Online essay), *Monica Hall: Baroque Guitar Research*, p. 14 [accessed 28/03/11] <www.monicahall.co.uk/Foscarini.htm>

Example 3:5 Foscarini's Strummed Demonstrations of the 4-3 Cadence



What is of greater interest in the strummed examples is the presence of some of Foscarini's dissonante harmonies. Although they are not notated with their original symbols but rather written out in full in tablature, harmonies matching those of chords C+, I+, H+ and M+ all appear in Example 3:5 (placed in brackets beneath the original notations). Foscarini's dissonante chords were first published in c.1632, but without any accompanying explanation regarding their use. In 1640 however, Foscarini demonstrated that the chords were to be employed at cadences, regardless of whether or not they were prescribed in the continuo figures. It would seem, then, that Foscarini did not think it was necessary to explain the use of the chords in his earlier, non-pedagogical work. It has also been observed that several of Foscarini's dissonante chords are found in manuscripts predating his books, thus we have an example of a performance practice long pre-dating its prescription in theoretical

writings. Such examples highlight the need for caution when attributing any individual performance characteristic to a particular timeframe based on recorded use.

Guidelines for the Right Hand

Foscarini is one of the only guitar composers to offer any practical advice on strumming.¹³ His directions are all given in relation to bass notes of different length in both duple and triple metres and some of his key points can be summarised as follows:

- 1. One does not strum values smaller than a quaver.
- 2. One divides the value of a long sustained note into smaller values.
- When the harmony changes on a succession of bass notes that are of equal value, each harmony is strummed to the same value of those notes.
- 4. If the bass moves in notes of unequal value, they are usually divided by half, i.e. a crotchet is treated as two quaver strums, a minim is treated as two crotchet strums etc.
- 5. For variation, these subdivisions can themselves be divided.

Example 3:6 Foscarini's Strumming Guidelines

2) 3)

E E G B E A B G G B E

4) 1 5) [] 5) [] 7]

A B G B B

3 G B B

¹³ Anyone seeking further instruction, particularly in relation to the accompaniment of *alfabeto* song, may also consult Oscar Chilesotti's handwritten transcriptions of Giovanni Battista Fasolo's now lost *La Barchetta passaggiera* (1627), available in facsimile in volume 4 of the *Quaderni di San Maurizio: La musica a Milano* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1994), in which Fasolo indicates above the *alfabeto* notations how many times each

chord ought to be repeated when strumming.

The guidelines for exclusively strummed accompaniment discussed so far have revealed that this style was practised at a higher level of sophistication than is apparent from the notations in alfabeto songbooks. Guitarists had far more harmonies at their disposal thanks to transposing notations, and as Foscarini and Marini before him demonstrate, strummed dissonance could be employed effectively at cadences. However, deciding which harmonies to play was only half of the process. The remaining task was to execute them in such a manner that they would complement the meanings of the text, and dynamic variation and changes in tone were an important part of this practice. This is illustrated as early as the first decade of the seventeenth century by Montesardo's discussion of strumming in his 1606 alfabeto anthology. He wrote 'those who wish to do it more sweetly, should play on the hole, sometimes near the neck of the guitar and also, to sweeten the sound, sometimes on the neck itself'. 14 Colonna, whose books span 1620 to 1637, indicated that dynamics were important in enhancing one's performance, stating that one should play lightly, 'touching now softly and then strongly, in the Spanish and Neapolitan way'. 15 Colonna was one of the earliest composers to include the term 'ecco' in his notations; the standard piano and forte dynamic markings were in guitar books by at least 1635, when they appeared in Abatessa's book of alfabeto dances. Thus, an effective accompanist should be able to accentuate the main beats of the bar but also vitalise passages with rhythmic subdivisions; vary his voicings and exploit the full harmonic resources available; add dissonances where appropriate and respond to the text with varying shades of tone and dynamic.

However, what is also apparent in the treatises is how much more restrictive this style of accompaniment is in comparison with 'mixed' accompaniments. In the latter style one has at his disposal greater textural variety and also greater harmonic freedom. It is in the teachings of this more progressive style that we find new cadences and progressions that are not possible when strumming

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¹⁵ *Ibid*, 67

¹⁴ Joseph Weidlich, 'Battuto Performance', pp. 63-86, p.69

alone: this was the style that was professed in the majority of guitar treatises in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

'Mixed' Accompaniment

Triads and Inversions

As guitarists were not obliged to play exclusively five-part chords in the 'mixed' style, they could be stricter with their treatment of the bass. We find, therefore, that notated examples of accompaniments in this style more closely resemble the continuo realisations of other plucked string instruments, though they remain distinct in that they are still heavily characterised by strumming. As a general rule of thumb, if the bass was providing a predominantly structural role consisting of mostly root position triads, these could be strummed without concern for the correct position of the bass. If, however, the bass note assumed a harmonically significant role, i.e. leading, modulating or dissonant, this function needed to be made clear, which usually demanded a plucked, rather than strummed execution. This distinction is clear in the guidelines, as each composer is happy to provide *alfabeto* harmonies when demonstrating root position triads but use tablature to show their inversions. Example 3:7 shows some tablature voicings of raised bass notes. Each is harmonised with a sixth in accordance with convention, and most are reduced to three parts. A comparison of these voicings with those in Example 3:1 makes clear the marked increase in strictness in the 'mixed' style. The difference is also

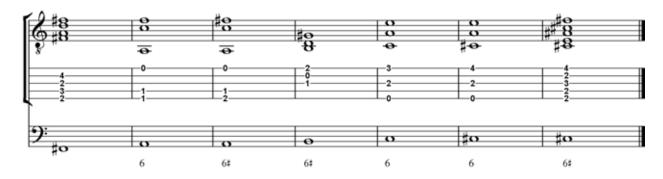
Example 3:7 Tablature Voicings of Artificially Sharpened Notes

apparent if one compares Valdambrini's inversion chords in Example 3:3 with those provided by Corbetta in Example 3:8 and 3:9. Corbetta does not bother to figure notes that would typically be associated with 6th harmonies, such as those artificially sharpened. B naturals are also regarded primarily as 6th chords so as to avoid the diminished interval between B and F. Given this common practice, they are not normally figured as such.

Example 3:8 Corbetta's 6th Chords (1643)

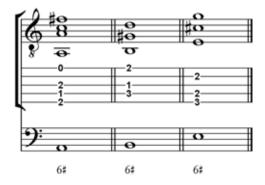


Example 3:9 Corbetta's Variant 6th Chords (1648)



As Foscarini's treatise is intended for complete beginners, he provides only three \$6 chords (see Example 3:10), shrewdly chosen because in practice they resolve respectively into G major, A major and D major, three of the most common keys in the repertoire.

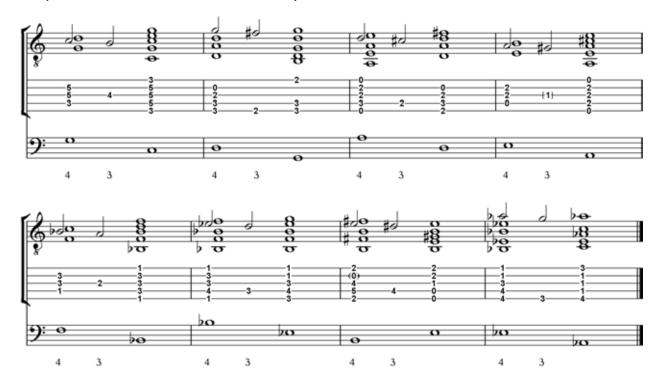
Example 3:10 Foscarini's **♯6** Chords



Plucked Perfect Cadences

It will be borne in mind that Foscarini included a set of *dissonante alfabeto* harmonies in his c.1632 book and that many of these catered for the 4-3 progressions typically found at cadences. A second rule of thumb when playing in the 'mixed' style was that if a bass note bore a dissonant harmony, one should be strict with the voicings so that the true character of the harmony is not clouded. This often meant a reduction in texture to three or four parts. However, this rule may be broken if an *alfabeto* harmony devised specifically to cater for this cadential dissonance is available. One may choose, therefore, between the strict treatment and the guitaristic harmonies. In Example 3:11, Foscarini demonstrates both possibilities, though his strummed examples differ from those in Example 3:5 in that he makes explicit the need to pluck the note of resolution alone.

Example 3:11 Foscarini's 4-3 Cadences in the 'Mixed' Style



Corbetta's demonstrations of the 4-3 cadence feature a leap of a diminished 5th, which creates an instability that is resolved by the tonic chord (see Example 3:12). Like Foscarini, he sounds the note of resolution alone, though he does not employ any dissonant *alfabeto* harmonies.

Example 3:12 Corbetta's Demonstrations of the 4-3 Cadence 16



¹⁶ There are some instances in the transcriptions in this Chapter where the audible result does not match the notations precisely as written. For example, in the first cadence on the second system of Example 3:12 the passing 7th sounds on the second course and so the D stopped on the same course in the initial chord will not be sustained for the whole bar. To avoid over-complicating the appearance of the transcription the staff notations aim to make the distinction between the initial struck harmony, the note of resolution and the passing 7th clear. The durations of notes prematurely cut short by the passing 7ths are therefore not reflected in the notations.



Valdambrini's 4-3 progressions resemble those of both Foscarini and Corbetta in that they feature strummed dissonances and added 7ths (see Example 3:13). He continues the *dissonante* tradition by including the voicings of chords *C+*, *I+*, *H+* and *K+*, as well as including *tagliate* harmonies *P*, *D* and *K*. Interestingly, in his 1646 book the note of resolution sounds alone, while in the 1647 book it is incorporated into an upward strum. The cadence on E minor is noteworthy, as the major 3rd of the dominant chord sounds against the dissonant 4th. It is unlikely that the resulting clash is an error, as this harmony is employed frequently in the context of E minor by Valdambrini in his solo music. Example 3:14 demonstrates its use in a passacaglia in E minor taken from his 1647 book. He seems to have taken particular pleasure in unorthodox note clusters, and whilst his cadence can be taken as an extreme example of guitaristic dissonance that was probably not a part of mainstream guitar playing at the time, it is possible that Valdambrini coloured his own accompaniments in this manner. The 1647 book contains many more examples of this peculiar harmony, so it seems to have been a characteristic of

Example 3:13 Valdambrini's Demonstrations of the 4-3 Cadence (1646 and 1647) 17

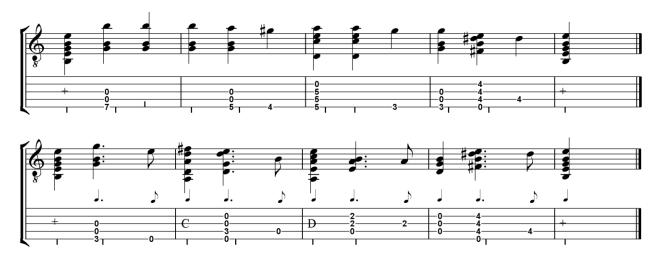


 $^{^{17}}$ Note that on his cadence in C flat (penultimate bar) he notates the tonic note as B natural.



Valdambrini's compositions in this key. It serves as an example of the licence that individual guitarists took with their chord voicings when trying to add harmonic interest to their accompaniments. Anyone wishing to expand their harmonic repertoire with more daring voicings would profit from a familiarity with Valdambrini's work.

Example 3:14 Extracts from Valdambrini's Passacaglia Quinto [sic] (1647)



The Tenorising and Phrygian Cadence

Tenorising and Phrygian cadences occurred when the bass descended stepwise by either a tone or a semitone respectively. Bianciardi stated that 'when it [the bass] falls a degree [a tone], we always give it the major sixth' (see Example 3:15). In practice it also took a minor 3rd, while the 3rd of the final note of this progression should be natural to the key signature. Conversely, when descending a semitone a bass note should have a major 3rd and a major 6th (see Example 3:16), ¹⁸ and the final note should have a major 3rd. In both cases the major 6th resolves into the octave of the final note. Bianciardi elaborated on how one might embellish the progression, stating 'furthermore, when the Bass falls a degree, or a Fourth, one can use the Seventh resolving on the Major Sixth'. ¹⁹

Example 3:15 Bianciardi's Treatment of a Bass Falling a Degree



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¹⁸ Translated in Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment*, Vol. 1, p. 76

¹⁹ *Ibid,* p. 77

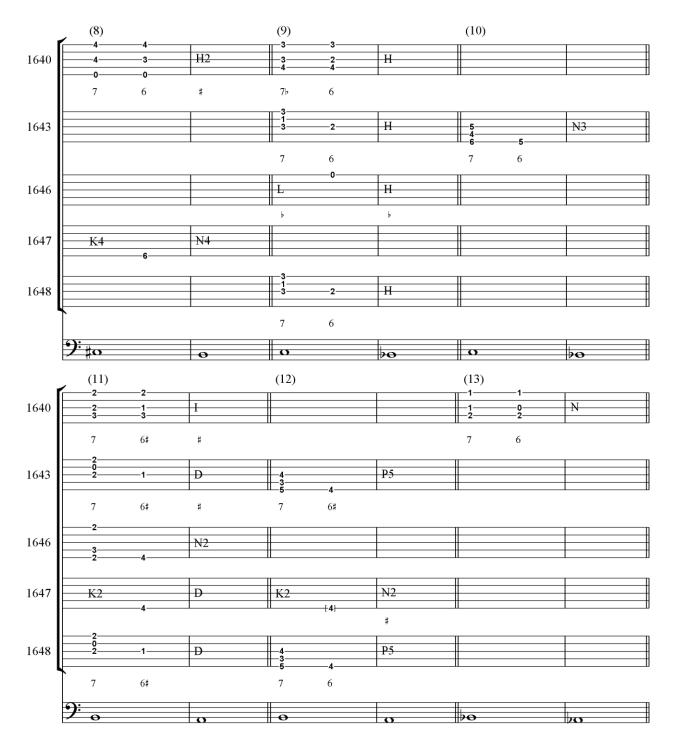
Example 3:16 Demonstration of the Tenorising and Phrygian Cadence



The demonstrations of the tenorising cadence as found in guitar treatises in the 1640s are compared in Example 3:17. From this transcription it can be determined that while in the majority of cases the passing 6th was plucked alone, Foscarini provides several examples where the 6th is harmonised, an approach that would be necessary in slower music to combat the diminishing sound of the initial chord. It will also be observed that Valdambrini does not employ any 7ths in his examples. This is because his demonstrations are heavily geared towards strumming and there are few alfabeto harmonies that feature added 7ths; this is why the other composers notate their harmonies in tablature and why these cadences do not feature in the guidelines for strummed accompaniment alone. Instead, Valdambrini employs a voicing similar to that prescribed by Bianciardi in Example 3:15. A byproduct of strumming this progression, which also appears in Foscarini's examples where he employs strummed dissonances (as in numbers 1 and 5), is the simultaneous sounding of the 5th of the initial chord against the plucked 6th. Where the voicings are plucked this does not occur, so again the guitarists demonstrate a more relaxed attitude towards their voicings when strumming. It is worth noting that in cadence number 3 Foscarini harmonises the G in the bass with a Bb on the fifth course. As he specified bourdons in his tuning instructions, this would make the Bb the lowest sounding note of the chord. He arranges the chord in this way because it is the most practical way to play the required harmonies; thus strict observance of the bass is desirable but should not be prioritised over a manageable chord voicing.

Example 3:17 Tenorising Cadences Compared





Much the same comments may be made of the treatment of the Phrygian cadence. Again, Foscarini reduces the texture of his dissonant chords to three voices in his examples unless there is a pre-existing chord shape associated with the desired harmonies, in which case he notates the traditional *dissonante* or *falso* voicing. He does this twice, employing the voicing of chord G^* in cadence number 2, and the

voicing of *N+* in cadence number 9. Other strummed dissonances notated by Foscarini include those in cadence numbers 1 and 5 in Example 3:17 and cadence number 3 in Example 3:18. Although these voicings do not correspond with common dissonant *alfabeto* chords, the fact that Foscarini chose them

Example 3:18 Phrygian Cadences Compared²⁰



 $^{^{20}}$ The bracketed notes in Corbetta's examples appeared originally in error on the 5 $^{\rm th}$ course.

rather than plucked, three-voice alternatives suggests that these chords may have been familiar to guitarists. They are worth adding to the repertoire of strummed dissonant voicings for anyone interested in strummed accompaniment.

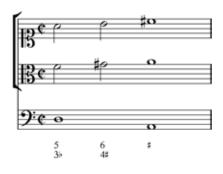
The Imperfect and Plagal Cadence

A distinct feature of Valdambrini's teachings is his inclusion of a type of cadence not discussed by the other composers. In fact, his demonstrations of a bass that rises a fifth or descends a fourth are some of the most extensive guidelines in his 1647 treatise. Depending on the key of the music, this progression could result in either an imperfect or a plagal cadence. Bianciardi's instructions regarding its treatment were thus:

When it [the bass] rises a Fifth, we give it the natural Third; but in many cases one gives it the minor Third, and particularly in proceeding to a close. . . When it falls a Fourth, we do the same as when it rises a Fifth.²¹

Valdambrini's treatment of this progression largely matches that described by Penna a quarter of a century later.²² Essentially, both chords have 3rds natural to the key signature (unless at a close, in which case the final note has a major 3rd). In Penna's versions, the two chords are connected by an intermediate chord of a major 6th and an augmented 4th, which functions as leading note into the tonic chord (see Example 3:19).

Example 3:19 Penna, Li primi albori musicali, p. 158 (demonstration of a IV-I cadence in A)



²¹ Translated in Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment*, Vol. 1, p. 76

²² Lorenzo Penna, *Li primi albori musicali*, III, (Bologna: Monti, 1672)

Valdambrini's demonstrations are very similar, but in only one example does he place both a major 6th and an augmented 4th between the two chords, and that is the progression from Bb to F in the 1647 book (see Example 3:20). In all other cases he notates either a single plucked 6th or an augmented 4th.

Example 3:20 A Selection of Valdambrini's Imperfect and Plagal Cadences (1646 and 1647)

Descending Bass Lines

Both Foscarini and Valdambrini provide examples of how to treat a bass line descending by step. Foscarini notates his examples mostly in three-part tablature, but Valdambrini provides demonstrations in *alfabeto*. There is no accompanying explanation given by either composer but both aim to show how consecutive 5ths can be avoided in this context with passing notes. This practice has been documented in earlier treatises such as those by Bianciardi, who wrote 'if the bass note descends stepwise in small note values, one plays the fifth above the first note, the sixth above the second note, and one accompanies these with tenths above them'. ²³ Foscarini demonstrates two possible treatments of the

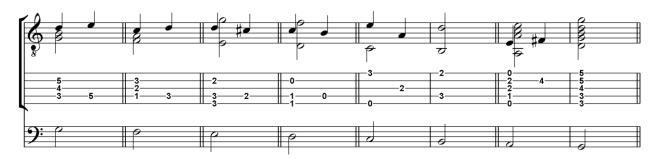
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²³ Translated in Thérèse de Goede-Klinkhamer, 'Del Suonare sopra il basso: Concerning the Realization of Early Seventeenth-Century Italian Unfigured Basses', *Performance Practice Review*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Art. 8 (1997), p. 18 [Online]

http://scholarship.claremont.edu/ppr/vol10/iss1/8 [accessed 10/12/12]

descending bass. The first matches that prescribed by Bianciardi, and the second features the 7-6 progression. Both approaches can be found in Example 3:21.

Example 3:21 Foscarini's Harmonisation of a Stepwise Descending Bass



Valdambrini's examples are all strummed *alfabeto* harmonies connected with a single plucked passing note, which is always the sixth of the chord. Thus he tries to provide a version of Bianciardi's rule that is more conducive to strumming in the popular vein.

Remaining Continuo Figures

Only Valdambrini makes any attempt to provide a comprehensive reference chart for all continuo figures from 2 to 14, which is unexpected as his guidelines are so engineered towards strumming. This chart, which appears in the 1647 work, is very much for the guitarist wishing to pluck his accompaniments. Valdambrini notates nine staves, each assigned a bass note (C, D, E, F, Bb, Eb/D \sharp , F \sharp /G, G \sharp /Ab and C \sharp /Db), though strangely he omits the notes A and G. Firstly he indicates the position of the bass note on the fretboard and then he provides the position of a whole range of figures in relation to that bass note. Thus, if one were to encounter a C in the bass with the figure 2b underneath it, then one could consult the relevant stave on the reference chart to discover whereabouts on the fretboard is a minor 2nd above C, which, it tells us, is the second fret of the second course. The figures explained in this chart include: 2, 2b, 2 \sharp , 3, 3b, 3 \sharp , 4, 5, 5b, 6, 6b, 6 \sharp , 7, 7b, 7 \sharp , 8, 9,

9b, X, Xb, 12, 12b, 13, 13b, 13\pounds, 14 and 14b, but there are gaps. Not every figure is provided for each note. Again there is no accompanying explanation, suggesting a presupposition that the significance of the chart will be understood. Still, a novice would struggle to know what to do with a sharp 7th once he had found it without instruction from a teacher. Valdambrini's guidelines on the whole are a little puzzling. They are rudimentary in scope, yet the reference chart goes well beyond what would normally be considered sufficient for beginners to demonstrate figures that were rarely or never encountered. The fact that the bulk of the examples are aimed primarily at performers intending to strum accompaniments in the alfabeto tradition is also odd, given that the guidelines supplement an anthology of dances notated in mixed tablatures full of complex harmonies that necessitated plucking. He seems to have been hedging his bets by catering for both performance styles. Then again, maybe this is indicative of how most guitarists approached accompaniment at this time. Perhaps they chose to be more dexterous in their solo playing and predominantly to strum when giving accompaniments. In any case, Valdambrini's reference chart is significant as it is an early model of what would become a common inclusion in late seventeenth-century guitar treatises. It is a precursor of Nicola Matteis's Universal Chart (discussed in Chapter 6), and is an early attempt to promote the guitar as an instrument capable of playing any harmony.

Guidelines for the Right Hand

Although Valdambrini's reference chart is designed for performers wishing to pluck their harmonies, the particulars of how one executes such an accompaniment is left for the student to ponder. Happily, Foscarini provides some guidelines in this respect which are of benefit for those wishing to pluck. His instructions are given in relation to bass notes that are either of large or of small value, namely:

1. One may play parallel 3rds above a bass line moving in quavers.

- 2. A bass moving in semiquavers need not be harmonised at all. These notes should be struck alone and may be freely slurred for ease of execution.
- Long, sustained bass notes should be accompanied with arpeggiated harmonies to combat the rapid sound decay of the instrument.

Example 3:22 Foscarini's Plucking Guidelines



These guidelines may be somewhat concise, but they do draw attention to the considerations that were essential to the mid-seventeenth-century guitarist when working out an accompaniment. Guitarists competent in the mixed style of performance had greater resources at their disposal to complement the sung text as they were not obliged to strum alone and texture variation was an important means of achieving that goal. They could reduce the texture of their accompaniments to two parts, or play the bass line alone. They could strum harmonies for accentuation as desired, and could give more solemn, plucked accompaniments when strumming was not appropriate. Most seventeenth-century theoretical writings about varying the fullness of the harmony are aimed at organists and largely inform the

performer to reduce the texture of the chords when there are few singers to accompany. Directions for plucked stringed instruments are less common, but there are a few writings worth mentioning. Some of the most comprehensive guidelines come from Agostino Agazzari (1607), who wrote:

When they [lute, harp theorbo] serve as foundation with one or more voices singing above them, for in this case, to support the voice one must maintain a solid, sonorous, sustained harmony, playing now piano, now forte, according to the quality and quantity of the voices, the place and the work, while, to avoid interfering with the singer, they must not restrike the strings too often when he executes a passage or expresses a passion.²⁴

Thus Agazzari stresses the importance of being fully responsive to the singer(s), crafting the chords so that they are not invasive, and providing an appropriate level of support dynamically depending on the performance circumstances. In the same year, Bianciardi also contributed some wisdom to this topic, writing:

It is quite true that, by using compound intervals, we shall make the harmony more varied: that is, if, instead of the Third, we take the 10^{th} or 17^{th} , and, instead of the 5^{th} , the 12^{th} or 19^{th} , and so on. But, because the harmony would be too poor if we only put it in three parts, it is very useful to add Octaves to the Bass and to the other parts, in order to enrich it, and to give the opportunity of passing from one consonance to another more smoothly, with more elegance, and with greater convenience to the hand. . . Oftentimes, too, the words necessitate recourse to full harmony, and in exclamations, the support of the highest notes. 25

Here, Bianciardi describes a process of varying one's chord voicings with compound intervals. If Valdambrini had this process in mind when he authored his chart on continuo figures, this could explain why he included figures up to 14. Guitarists were, after all, accustomed to charts of variant chord voicings. Perhaps a chart of intervals and their compound equivalents could have been used in the same way. Again in the above quotation we have a reference to chord textures being responsive to the sung text and of the higher registers of the instrument being recommended for exclamations.

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Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra a'l basso con tutti li stromenti* (Siena: Domenico Falcini, 1607). Translated in Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History: The Baroque Era*, Vol. 3, (London, Faber and Faber, 1981), p. 67 Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment*, Vol. 1, p. 77-78

Galeazzo Sabbatini (1628) highlighted a practical consideration when determining the texture of one's chords when he wrote, 'It is evident that the manner of distribution of the intervals of a chord is to some extent determined by the depth, or the reverse [tessitura], of the bass'. Whilst this was intended for an instrument with a much lower bass range than the guitar, his point is still relevant; as was illustrated in Example 3:2, Corbetta, too, encouraged a sensitivity to the contours of the bass part.

Generally, when guitarists plucked their chords they were stricter with the bass, keeping it in the bottom voice. They were not necessarily able to play it at the notated octave, but whichever course they chose to bear the bass would largely determine the arrangement of the remaining harmonies. A bass note played on the 3rd course left just the upper two courses to bear the harmony. 27

The Italian guitar treatises of the 1640s provide newcomers to the instrument with firm enough groundings to play from simple basses in familiar keys, and are both concise and practical in that they are little concerned with theory. The demonstrative examples are left to speak for themselves, prescribing straightforward harmonisations of the most common progressions. By focusing almost exclusively on triads and cadences, they are similar in scope to the early continuo treatises of Bianciardi and Agazzari, yet they are still rooted somewhat in the traditions of *alfabeto*. The notations are still employed, and certain liberties with voicings are taken in the interests of strumming. These books are very much a product of two separate practices. They attempt to make continuo playing and strumming in the popular vein compatible by compromising the strict rules of counterpoint. Ironically it is the ongoing cultivation of *alfabeto* strumming that renders these accompaniments so peculiar to the uninitiated, and yet it is also what validates them. Voicing chords in the interest of practicality and playing in a manner that is not sanctioned by theory but 'traditional' is something one does not find in

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²⁶ Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile, e breve per sonare sopra il Basso Continuo* (Venice: il Salvatore, 1628) translated in Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment*, Vol. 1, p. 112

²⁷ Of course, this is not strictly true if one is playing a guitar with a re-entrant tuning (as Vadambrini did), in which case, melodies and harmonies are freely notated on the lower courses.

treatises for other instruments of accompaniment. Lutenists and organists were bound by the rules of counterpoint, and would never have sanctioned the harmonies prescribed in guitar treatises. Yet owing to sixteenth-century popular performance practices, and the peculiar tunings of the guitar, seventeenth-century practitioners of the instrument enjoyed far greater liberties from the command of theory.

This did not necessarily meet with approval from all guitarists, however. Some lamented the fact that such licence was taken in accompaniment and were concerned about the negative image that this might generate of the instrument. In their view, for the guitar to really be considered on the same level as the lute, guitarists needed to play by the same rules. This meant adhering to the rules of counterpoint and treating their voicings with utmost strictness. One guitarist who attempted this was Nicoláo Doizi de Velasco, a Portuguese musician who played at the courts of Spain and who set down a treatise on guitar accompaniment in 1640 that was starkly different to those just discussed.²⁸

Velasco (1640)

Unlike his contemporary Italian composers, Velasco accompanies his music examples with a theoretical discourse. He was keen that guitarists were familiar with the rules of counterpoint and that they should follow them when crafting their accompaniments. This approach is completely contrary to that displayed in the Italian treatises, in which theory is largely absent and, instead, practical demonstrations are left to speak for themselves. In Velasco's view, this approach to accompaniment was lazy and unnecessary, giving less than satisfactory results:

For pasacalles and playing tonos by ciphers, some by numbers, others by letters, so limited that they lack many consonances [those players] put in their place other inappropriate and imperfect ones. . . Because of that I spent some hours investigating whether the imperfection of the guitar comes from the guitar itself, or rather from those who do not know the perfection it has. I also

²⁸ Nicoláo Doizi de Velasco, *Nvevo modo de cifra para tañer la gvitarra con variedad, y perfeccion, y se muestra ser instrumento perfecto, y abundantissimo* (Naples: Egidio Longo, 1640). This work is discussed in Neil D. Pennington, *The Spanish Baroque Guitar: With a Transcription of De Murica's Passacalles y Obras* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), pp. 90, 125, 174

wanted to create a new way of ciphering, including all variety of consonances that music usually has, with which one can play any music in twelve different keys.²⁹

Thus he devised a new, complex system of notation that would correct the inadequacies of *alfabeto*. It is yet another system consisting entirely of chord symbols and it features harmonies in 3 to 5 parts. A stark difference between Velasco's system and *alfabeto* is the sheer breadth of harmonies included in the former. In total, there are 228 chords, which was probably the reason why the notation was not adopted by later guitarists. This much is claimed by Sanz, writing in 1674, who praised Velasco for his endeavours but noted that the complexity of the notations was off-putting to students.³⁰

In reality, there is logic to Velasco's system, which relies a great deal on transposition. It is not the case that the student has to memorise over 200 independent chords. Each symbol consists of a letter and a number. The letters correspond with a particular bass note, i.e. A = G, B = Ab, C = A, D = Bb etc.; thus there are twelve letters in total. The numbers correspond with a particular continuo figure and are listed accordingly:

 $[no number] = 5 + 3ma^{31}$ 1 = 5 + 3me10 = 5me + 6ma2 = 6ma + 3ma11 = 7ma + 3ma3 = 6me + 3me12 = 7me + 3ma4 = 6ma + 3me13 = 7me + 3me5 = 6me + 3ma14 = 2ma, 4 + 515 = 2ma, 4 +6ma 6 = 4 + 57 = 4 + 6ma16 = 2me, 4 + 6me8 = 4 + 6me17 = 2ma + 49 = 5me, 6me + 3me 18 = 2me + 4

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²⁹ Translated in Rogério Budasz, 'The Five-Course Guitar (Viola) in Portugal and Brazil in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries' (doctoral thesis, University of Southern California, 2001), p. 54

³⁰ Sanz, *Instruccion de música*, 'Prologo' [p. iii]

³¹ Velasco uses the terms *major* and *menor* to indicate a major or minor interval.

Example 3:23 Extract of Velasco's 1640 chord Chart³²



Many of Velasco's chord shapes are transposable, so learning his harmonies would perhaps have been less arduous than it appears at first glance. Still, to a student accustomed to twenty-five or so *alfabeto* chords this system must have been intimidating. In essence, this was Velasco's point. There are so many harmonies that are absent from traditional *alfabeto* charts that one is restricted when giving accompaniments. Thus he provides nineteen harmonies, consonant and dissonant, for each note of the chromatic scale. This is a far more comprehensive approach than any given before. Foscarini and the other Italian authors of continuo treatises only tackle 4ths and 7ths in their demonstrations of dissonance, whilst Velasco includes figures as rare as 4/b2.

A full complement of harmonies that maintained the true bass in the lowest voice was Velasco's ultimate aim. The only concession he makes regarding the true bass is in the context of strumming. He

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 $^{^{}m 32}$ The complete chart can be consulted in Appendix 2.

indicated in his writings that when playing continuo a guitar is best strung with bourdons on the lower two courses, and he acknowledged that this could result in inverted harmonies when strumming a fully voiced chord, stating 'whichever way it is strung, some chords will have fourths between the lowest voices. These will not matter when playing *rasgueado*'. Sometimes he provides two possible harmonisations for each symbol, and in certain cases he indicates which is preferable by writing '*mejor*' next to that voicing (see Example 3:23, chords *a*, *a1*, *a2* and *a6*). In all cases the version that is *mejor* is the one that maintains the true bass, but the alternatives are acceptable given that in most cases they will be strummed. In the case of chord *a2* (see Example 3:23) the *mejor* version is that with the fuller harmony.

Seemingly aware that his chart may be off-putting to novices, Velasco provided a shortened version, featuring the chords that he considered the most important with which to be familiar. These were major and minor triads, their inversions and the first inversion dominant 7th chord. He provides the following demonstration of consonant harmonies:

Example 3:24 Velasco's Consonant Harmonies

2 0	О	0	90	0	PO
5	5	6ma	6me	6ma	6me
5 0	20	O	20	20	O
3ma	3me	3ma	3me	3me	3ma

Unlike his Italian contemporaries, his musical examples are provided in standard staff notation (assuming a musical literacy that is not normally expected of guitarists) and on two or three staves with C clefs, much as they are in early theoretical writings for organists. Velasco's belief that guitarists should

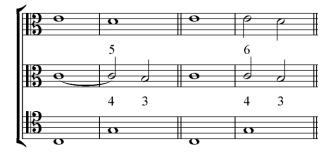
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³³ Translated in Hall, The Stringing of the 5-Course Guitar' (Online essay), *Monica Hall: Baroque Guitar Research*, p. 9 [accessed 06/07/09] < http://www.monicahall.co.uk/pdf/Stringing.pdf>

be as committed to the study of harmony and counterpoint as other instrumental accompanists is thus made clear. That these rules had previously been of secondary importance mattered little to Velasco. Guitarists could, and should, in his opinion, adhere to the rules if they wished to elevate the status of their instrument. (Note that the six chords above are presented in such a way that they correspond with the numbers 0 to 5 of his new chordal notations.)

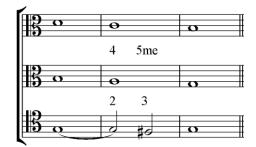
The discussion of the use of dissonance opens with a definition. The dissonant intervals are the 7th and the 2nd. The 4th and the tritone are more ambiguous, as they will sound more or less dissonant depending on how they are used. Velasco tells us that the use of these intervals depends on the voice in which they appear. For example, he gives the following demonstration of the 4-3 suspension:

Example 3:25 A 4th between the Lower Voices



In this example, we see two possible harmonisations of the 4th, one with a 5th and one with a 6th. In both cases the 4th resolves downwards to the nearest consonant interval, the 3rd. In the next demonstration of the 4th, however, the dissonance occurs between the outer voices:

Example 3:26 A 4th between the Outer Voices



In this configuration, the 4th is accompanied with a 2nd. Under these circumstances it is the bass note that is dissonant, and so it resolves downwards, resulting in a diminished 5th. This is why there is ambiguity surrounding the 4th and the tritone. The 4th is not considered dissonant when it appears between the outer voices; as for the tritone, in normal practice dissonances do not resolve into other dissonances, but this interval is often used in this manner at cadences.

The treatment of the diminished 5th as a consonance, as in Example 3:26, seems to have been regarded by some theorists as a characteristic of popular music. Berardi wrote in 1687 that 'some moderns have resolved the suspended second to the false fifth; one allows this method of resolution, it being hard and harsh, only in the popular song for the expression of certain words. Thus one should use it with caution'.³⁴

Velasco then moves on to 7ths, providing the following demonstrations:

Example 3:27 Good and Bad Resolutions of the 7th



The suspended 7th, we are told, must always occur in the upper voice. In this manner, the dissonance will resolve downwards to the nearest interval, the 6th. If the 7th is suspended in the bass, the resolution will be to the octave, which is as unacceptable as a 2nd resolving to a unison. The effect is detrimental to the harmony, giving the temporary impression of a missing voice, and is to be avoided. Given that a resolution to the unison is considered poor, this explains Velasco's next demonstrations of the 2nd:

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³⁴ Angelo Brerardi, *Documenti armonici* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1687). Translated in Ludwig Holtmeier, 'Heinichen, Rameau and the Italian Thoroughbass Tradition: Concepts of Tonality and Chord in the Rule of the Octave', *JMT*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Spring, 2007), pp. 5-49, p. 15

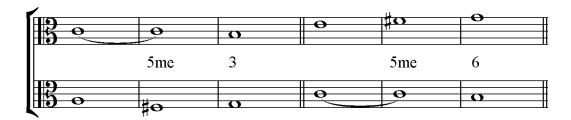
Example 3:28 The Resolution of a 2nd



The 2nd must be suspended in the bass to allow a downward resolution to a 3rd and not a unison, as would occur if it was suspended in the upper voice.

Finally, Velasco demonstrates the tritone, 35 which has two possible resolutions:

Example 3:29 The Resolution of a Tritone



When the dissonance is suspended in the upper voice, the parts resolve inwards to a major 3rd. When it is suspended in the bass, the parts resolve outwards to a minor 6th.

Velasco goes on to say that compound intervals should be treated as their simple equivalents (i.e. treat an 11th as though it were a 4^{th)}, and concludes by acknowledging that there are an infinite number of examples that one could provide, along with many exceptions, but that his intention was merely to provide a student with the ground rules from which to progress.

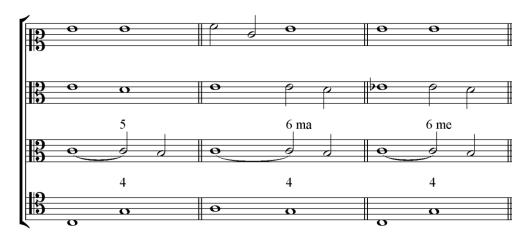
The contents of Velasco's theoretical writings are very typical of those included in earlier treatises for keyboard instruments. A comparison between Velasco's music examples and those from

³⁵ Although Velasco labels both tritones '5me', the second is in fact an augmented 4th.

Johann Staden's 1626 treatise reveals some near identical demonstrations of the resolutions of dissonance.³⁶ The only revolutionary aspect of Velasco's work is its target audience, guitarists.

Velasco supplements his discussions with a selection of progressions, all in four parts, that demonstrate each of the harmonies for which he provides a chord symbol. In other words, here he demonstrates the use of harmonies equivalent to chords 6 to 18. All the prerequisites shown in the previous examples are present here. The dissonances are prepared and resolved to the nearest consonant interval, and unsatisfactory resolutions are avoided.

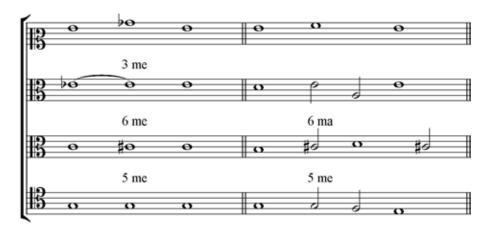
Example 3:30 Theoretical Uses of Chords 6, 7 and 8 in G.



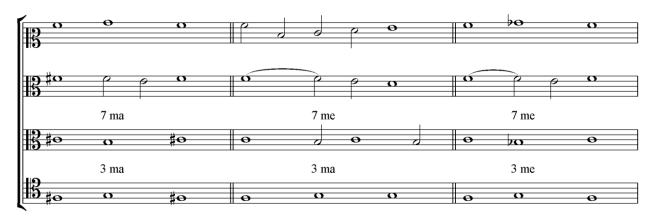
³⁶ Johann Staden, *Kurzer und einfältiger Bericht für diejenigen* (Nuremberg: Simon Halbmayer, 1626). Compare, for example, Staden's resolution of a 2nd with Example 3:26 above. This example was taken from Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment*, Vol. 1, 106



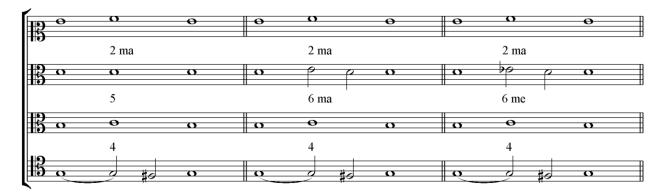
Example 3:31 Theoretical Uses of Chords 9 and 10 in G³⁷



Example 3:32 Theoretical Uses of Chords 11, 12 and 13 in G³⁸



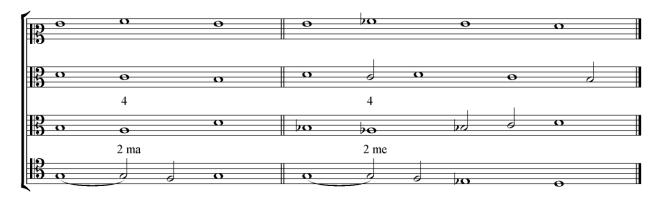
Example 3:33 Theoretical Uses of Chords 14, 15 and 16 in G



³⁷ Notice that in these examples the interval designated 5me is actually an augmented 4th. Velasco clearly didn't distinguish between the enharmonic identities of a note, regarding them as the same. Note also the incorporation of a 7-6 suspension in the second example.

³⁸ Note in the middle example the clashing upper parts on the fourth minim beat, and the incorporation of a 4-3 suspension.

Example 3:34 Theoretical Uses of Chords 17 and 18 in G³⁹



One of the most unusual things about Velasco's treatise is the fact that he felt the need to continue the tradition of notating guitar music with chord symbols. It is not obvious how guitarists would have resolved the harmonies in the above example in practice. Chord symbols do not allow composers to notate subtle horizontal progressions such as the 7-6 suspension, and as is by now clear, the configuration of the fretboard does not always allow guitarists to voice their chords as treatises prescribe. Music demonstrations in tablature would have been more useful, and would not have been any more intimidating to the novice than staff notations and C clefs. However, Velasco seems to want his students to internalise the theory and then put it into practice themselves. Providing guitar-friendly equivalents of the above examples would have obscured the teachings, which were of greater importance to Velasco than adapting the rules to the guitar. This is a major difference between his treatise and those already discussed. It was the imperative of Foscarini et al to get the student to play from the outset, and to provide them with a means of playing from a bass without internalising any ground rules beforehand, something unthinkable to Velasco.

Velasco's treatise concludes with a discussion of transposition, which is demonstrated through numerous musical 'circles' devised by the author. Each circle provides a means of moving through different keys before returning to the home key. One can progress in ascending semitones, ascending

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³⁹ Note the chain of 7-6 suspensions between the second and last voice in the last example.

⁴⁰ These are transcribed in Appendix 2.

5ths, descending 4ths, ascending major or minor 3rds, descending major or minor 3rds (see Example 3:35) or ascending major 2nds. Presumably these would be of use to a guitarist wishing to improvise and to temporarily leave the home key.

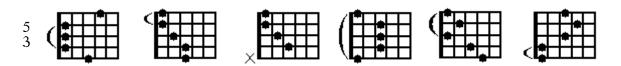
Example 3:35 Progression of Ascending Minor 3rds

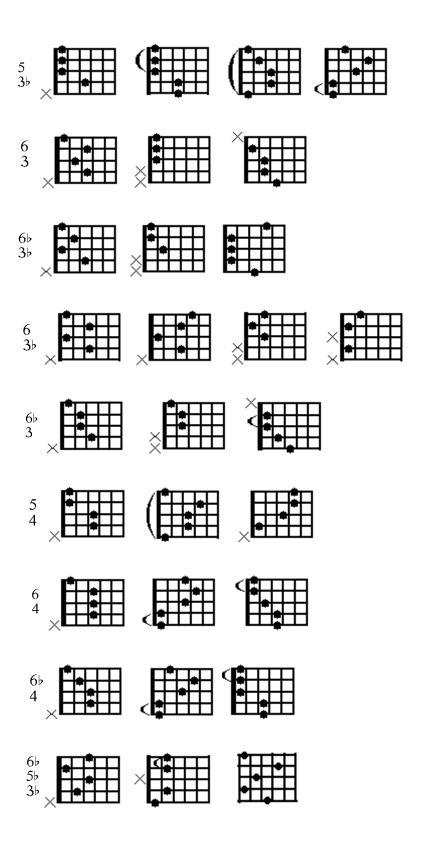


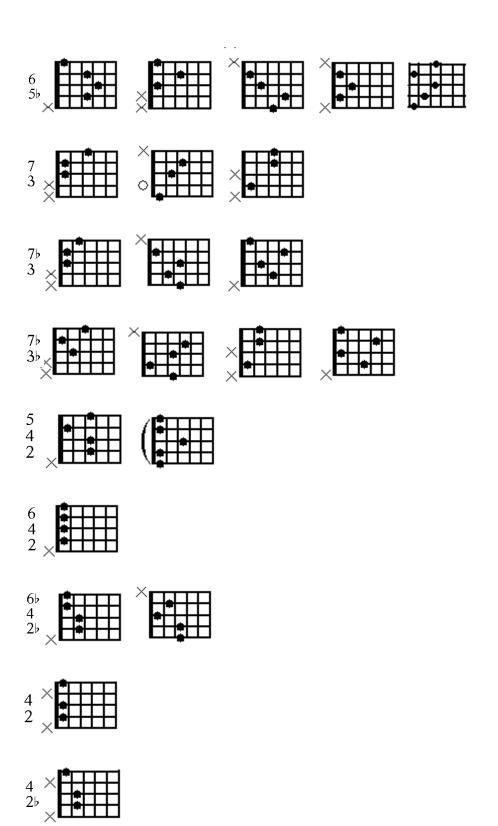
The importance of Velasco's treatise lies in the fact that this was the earliest attempt to teach guitarists to play from a bass in accordance with the traditional rules of counterpoint; it made a point of stressing that this was by no means beyond the capabilities of the guitar, and it provides explicit instruction regarding the treatment of dissonances, some common and some less so. That this book was not more successful is due in part to the unfamiliarity of its notations and in part to its publication at a time when guitarists were still in the habit of compromising theory and prioritising practicality.

Nevertheless, Velasco's demonstrations are some of the clearest in the guitar literature and worthy of study. For modern guitarists, for whom there is precious little published about continuo accompaniment, Velasco's charts are a valuable source of chord voicings; it has already been noted that many of his chords are transposable. The following selection may prove useful:

Example 3:36 Transposing Chords from Velasco's Chart







The 1640s is one of the most interesting decades in terms of how guitarists were approaching accompaniment. The popular performance practices of the early decades still impacted on chord voicings, and many compromises were made with the traditional rules of counterpoint to allow more practical chord arrangements. Yet guitarists were not ignorant of the established rules. They were simply more selective of where they implemented them. Certain bass notes were afforded a higher status than others. Those with leading functions or those bearing dissonant harmonies were generally treated more strictly than simple consonances, of which the bass note could sound in any voice. In some respects the treatises seem to disregard convention; it was perfectly all right to double dissonances if this made executing a passage easier, and it was also acceptable to sound a dissonance in one voice and to resolve it in another (see Example 3:13 bar 7). However, an underlying appreciation of convention is apparent. The treatment of cadences largely mirrors that prescribed in 1607 by Bianciardi, and in some cases looks forward to those prescribed by Penna.

One of the most interesting observations that can be made after exploring the treatises of the 1640s is how little impact the various tunings of the guitar would seem to have had on continuo accompaniment. All three common tunings are employed in the treatises above - tuning 'A' by Velasco and Foscarini, tuning 'C' by Valdambrini, and tuning 'B' is assumed to be the favoured tuning of Corbetta, as he prescribes it in later works. Although there is an increasing tendency at this time to maintain the true bass, all three composers happily prescribe the traditional *alfabeto* harmonies. It was accepted that if one were to strum, certain inversions were unavoidable, and so one could only be so strict with the bass. Peculiar quirks of the guitar, such as its tuning, most likely contributed to the somewhat lax attitude of the guitarists to the rules of counterpoint. There is little point in agonising over the rules of accompaniment that one's instrument is unable to deliver.

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⁴¹ These tunings are transcribed on p. xv

Chapter 4 THE 1650s: INSTRUMENTAL ACCOMPANIMENT

Instrumental genres such as solo and trio sonatas developed in the course of the seventeenth century, eventually culminating in the multi-movement exemplars perfected by Arcangelo Corelli. Later seventeenth-century composers tended to distinguish between sacred and secular sonatas, with the former following a slow – fast – slow – fast model and the latter typically consisting of dances or variations over a repeating bass. Such distinctions were not commonly made in the first half of the seventeenth century, indeed the term sonata itself was initially used to designate a non-specific instrumental piece. It was interchangeable with a number of other designations, including canzona, concerto, sinfonia, fantasia, and capriccio. Instrumental music was prevalent in both sacred and secular settings. In church it could be heard in place of organ solos or as background music during liturgical ritual. In non-religious settings it could be found in social dances, in academies, on stage or in domestic chambers. This has inspired past debate regarding which instrumental works were suitable in each context or whether they were equally suited to both. Mixed volumes, with titles indicating both performance contexts, such as Marini's Per ogni sorte di stromento musicale diversi generi di sonate, da chiesa, e da camera, op. 22 (1655)² have raised questions in this regard. Did the author intend some of the works in this volume to be played in church and others not, or does his title imply that the entire contents are apt to be performed in either setting? The first part of Marini's volume comprises various dances, the second section is a selection of sinfonie and the work closes with six sonate and one passacaglia for various combinations of instruments. It has been suggested that the dances form the

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¹ See Gregory Barnett, 'Form and Gesture: Canzona, Sonata and Concerto' in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 479-532, p. 489

² Marini, Per ogni sorte d'istromento musicale diuersi generi di sonate, da chiesa, e da camera. A due, tre, & à quattro. Con l'alfabeto alle più proprie, per la chitarra alla spagnola a beneplacito (Venice: Francesco Magni, 1655)

secular portion of the work whilst the *sinfonie* and *sonate* form the sacred material.³ It has also been argued, however, that mixed volumes are evidence that instrumental music composed initially for church also found venues in secular settings.⁴ Sandra Mangsen states that the content and scoring of instrumental collections would generally have made the intended function understood, adding that the distinction was even more explicit in early collections mixing vocal and instrumental works. Sacred collections tend to feature sonatas and canzonas, while secular volumes tend to feature dances or variation sonatas.⁵ It has also been suggested that sonatas designated *da chiesa* bear characteristics that made them suitable for liturgical performance but were not intended exclusively for sacred performance contexts.⁶ In this respect, then, the term *da chiesa* would refer to musical characteristics rather than to the intended venue.

Sonatas were typically characterised by contrasts in metre and tempo, virtuoso writing for the upper parts and imitative counterpoint. There was a strong influence of the vocal repertoire on the development of this genre as its constant shift in mood and contrasting subsections can be seen to mirror the capturing of the emotional essence of different texts by composers of monody. By naming his Opus 1 collection of instrumental works *Affetti musicali* (1617), Marini draws attention to devices typically used by vocal composers to communicate the meaning of a text and to intensify its emotional character, which he uses in an instrumental setting to heighten the expressive content of the music and to contrast the different sections of the works:

³Rebecca Cypess, *Biagio Marini and the Meanings of Violin Music in the Early Seicento* (doctoral thesis, Yale University, 2008), p. 282

⁴ Sandra Mangsen, et al., 'Sonata' in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, [accessed February 26, 2013] < http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26191> | bid

⁶ Barnett, 'Form and Gesture', p. 507

For composers of ensemble music, 'affetto' was applied in a specific sense to moments of harmonic intensity in slow, chordal sections, with chromaticism, cross relations, dissonances and unusual melodic movement.⁷

Marini's aim was to move the emotions as effectively as if he were setting a text, and as he sought new ways to make instrumental music more expressive, he made significant advances in violin technique, including double and triple stopping and *scordatura* tunings. Marini was not the only instrumental composer to experiment with violin technique. Carlo Farina's *Capriccio stravagante* (1627) has bowed instruments imitate animals and other instruments (including the guitar via *pizzicato* chords) through the use of *glissandi* and *col legno* playing.⁸

The instrumentation of sonatas was rather more flexible in the earlier decades than after around 1660, when string instruments came to dominate the genre. Provided the instruments could meet the expressive and dynamic needs of the work, they could take part. Violins and *cornetti* were common solo instruments. If the composer bothered specifying the instruments involved, it was usually those playing the melody. The continuo forces were rarely specified, and the term *basso* merely indicated the register. Violone was another ambiguous term that did not necessarily specify any bowed bass in particular. Bassoons and trombones could make suitable bass instruments, as could plucked strings (theorbo, harp) or keyboard instruments (organ, harpsichord).

Guitar composers did not overlook the sonata, and a few isolated examples of solo sonatas (or *sinfonie*) for guitar and bass appeared from the 1640s onwards. There are sinfonias for guitar in the works of Foscarini (1640) and Corbetta (1643) and there is a sonata in Granata's 1651 book. This is significant, as it elevated an instrument traditionally associated with accompaniment to the position of soloist and is another indicator of the social rise of the guitar. Nevertheless, accompaniment continued

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⁷ *Ibid*, p. 493

⁸ Carlo Farina, Ander Theil Newer PADUANEN, GAGLIARDEN, COURANTEN, Frantzösischen Arien, benebenst einem kurtzweiligen Quodlibet von allerhand seltzamen Inventionen, dergleichen vorhin im Druck nie gesehen worden Sampt etlichen Teutschen Täntzen alles auff Violen anmutig zugebrauchen (Dresden: Bergen, 1627)

⁹ See Francis Baines, 'What Exactly is a Violone?: A Note Towards a Solution', *EM*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1977), pp. 173-176

to be an important role for the instrument. Three works were published during the 1650s that are relevant to guitar accompaniment: ¹⁰ two continuo treatises and one collection of instrumental music - Marini's Opus 22 (1655) already cited. Marini's publication and Giovanni Battista Granata's 1659 treatise are particularly illuminating on the use of the guitar in instrumental accompaniment.

Marini (1655)

One of the more perplexing attributes of Marini's 1655 work is his inclusion of *alfabeto* notations for the guitar. They have sparked debate in recent scholarship as they raise several questions about the composer's intentions for the performance of these works. Firstly, it has already been commented that Marini's title implies instrumental music for both sacred and secular settings and that the *sinfonie* are believed to form part of the sacred material. Barnett states that the *sinfonie* were intended as 'versets for alternatim psalmody scored for violins, violone and continuo'. The presence of *alfabeto* in the accompaniment of these pieces then raises the question, whether guitars were involved in sacred performances. Barnett does not comment on the inclusion of the guitar but Rebecca Cypess addresses this question in her thesis on Marini's violin music. She comes to two conclusions. Firstly she explains Marini's addition of *alfabeto* to the score thus:

It seems quite possible given these factors and Marini's penchant for irony, that the notation was included to highlight and comment upon the growing distinctions between secular and sacred, between 'folk' and 'high' art, and between 'amateur' and 'virtuosic' music.¹²

Secondly, her reference to the 'debasing of the *sinfonie*' ¹³ through the addition of *alfabeto* chords would seem to indicate an attitude towards *alfabeto* much like what has typically been expressed in past scholarship, which is that it was not for music of a serious nature and was only appropriate for light genres. Her scepticism regarding whether a guitar could have performed in a sacred setting is

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¹⁰ Giulio Banfi, *Il maestro della chitara di Givlio Banfi nobile Milanese* (Milan: s.n., 1653); Giovanni Battista Granata, *Soavi concerti di sonatate musicali per la chitarra spagnola di Gio. Battista* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1659)

¹¹ Barnett, 'Form and Gesture', p.510

¹² Cypess, *Biagio Marini*, p. 322

¹³ Ibid

communicated via observations regarding the lack of sacred repertoire in the guitar *oeuvre*, and she suggests that it could perhaps have been used in secular performances of the same works.¹⁴ Actually, only two years after the publication of this work a whole volume of sacred *canzonette* with *alfabeto* accompaniment was published in Milan.¹⁵ Millioni, too, included an *alfabeto* accompaniment of the Litany of the Saints in his 1661 book,¹⁶ and there is a substantial body of sacred songs, including liturgical texts, with strummed guitar accompaniment preserved in the Samuel Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge (discussed in Chapter 7).

Finally, Cypess points out that Marini omitted the guitar from some of the pieces in this volume, thus implying that it was not appropriate in all circumstances. It is hard, however, to justify the exclusion of the guitar from certain genres on these grounds, as Marini is inconsistent with his use of the guitar in the accompaniment of the *balletti*, a genre it was clearly suitable to accompany. This was probably due to the prevalence of chords not in common usage in the *alfabeto* repertoire, the high degree of chromaticism and the presence of dissonances, all of which made the work less suitable for a guitar accompaniment (see Example 4:1). This raises the further question: what did Marini mean by 'con l'alfabeto alle più proprie, per la chitarra alla spagnola a beneplacito'? Words to this effect were commonly added to title pages of *alfabeto* songbooks and are usually supposed to mean 'in those pieces for which a guitar is a suitable instrument of accompaniment'. Vitali (1620), Veneri (1621), Rontani (1623) and Crivellati (1628) all published songbooks stating that *alfabeto* has been added 'in quelle più a proposito per tale strumento', from which Nigel Fortune drew the following conclusion:

Usually kept for light and frivolous canzonets; this is what some composers imply when, later listing the guitar, they add the rider 'in those songs in which it is most important'. But others do not bother to say

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¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 320

¹⁵ Anon, *Canzonette spirituali, et morali* . . . (Milan: C. Francesco Rolla, 1657)

¹⁶ Millioni, *Nuova corona d'intavolatura di chitarra spagnola* (Rome: heirs of Mancini, 1661)

this much; and so we find guitar letters above some of their most serious songs, where they are wildly inappropriate.¹⁷

This viewpoint was echoed in an article by Jensen, who wrote: 'furthermore it seems safe to assume that the phrase "with guitar chords for those songs in which guitar accompaniment is most appropriate" . . . indicates that guitar accompaniment was not always considered desirable'. ¹⁸

Example 4:1 Marini, Balletto secondo (1655)



An alternative interpretation, however, is that guitar accompaniments were added to pieces in which the harmonies could be interpreted effectively by *alfabeto*. Where this was not the case the guitar was omitted. This is the view of Treadwell, who stated:

the limited sustaining power of the guitar for recitative-like passages, coupled with its limited harmonic vocabulary defined by the *alfabeto* system, made it less preferable for accompanying madrigals. . .

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¹⁷ Nigel Fortune, 'Continuo Instruments in Italian Monodies', p. 12

¹⁸ Jensen, The Guitar and Italian Song', p. 378

D'India's particular preference for rich chromaticism, stand[s] in direct contrast to the idiomatic features of the guitar.¹⁹

Harmonies that extend beyond the scope of *alfabeto* notations seem to be the motive for omitting the guitar from the *balleto* in Example 4:1. As for why the guitar is absent from the sonatas, given the melodic character of the bass, its lively character in *allegro* sections, and its ability to work in dialogue with the upper parts, this is a context in which the strumming of simple *alfabeto* harmonies is less effective.

This raises yet another question: why was Marini still using *alfabeto* in 1655? Guitarists had long been notating music in mixed tablature and the guitar was capable of sounding complex dissonances, so why was Marini using an obsolete notation? There could be various reasons why. One suggested by Cypess is that the chords were added by his publisher.²⁰ This does not seem very likely, as some of the chord symbols were of Marini's own invention (they featured dissonances for use at cadences); it would seem more likely that he was personally involved in the notation of the guitar part, as no other composer adopted his symbols. Also, actually composing a guitar accompaniment would have gone against the *ad lib* convention of accompanying these pieces with whatever instruments were available. Furthermore, the harmonic accompanist was supposed to craft his own accompaniment. While one could argue that Marini's *alfabeto* notations are prescribed accompaniments, it has already been commented in earlier chapters that guitarists did not necessarily regard these accompaniments as set in stone, and could use them as points of departure from which to improvise. If they were not able to improvise from a bass directly, they could possibly use *alfabeto* symbols to the same end. Furthermore, accompaniments in the strummed, *alfabeto* idiom are far more prevalent than contrapuntal bass realisations (they remain so into the eighteenth century), and a guitar playing in a small ensemble needs

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¹⁹ Treadwell, 'The Chitarra Spagnola', p. 12, 19

²⁰ Cypess, *Biagio Marini*, p. 322

to stay audible; one could argue therefore that *alfabeto* was the more suitable and less laborious notation than tablature in this context.

One could also argue that as there are places where the guitar chords and string parts clash, this suggests an involvement of somebody other than the composer in assigning *alfabeto* symbols to the bass line. This is not necessarily so. If one looks at the instance where this occurs in Example 4:2, one realises that the cause is a lack of suitable *alfabeto* symbols, not a lack of harmonic understanding on the part of an editor. In bar 6, the strings play a G, an E and a Bb, thus resulting in a diminished 5th.

There is no *alfabeto* symbol that can cater for this harmony, so chord O has been selected as it contains two of the desired notes. Thus composers wishing to include the guitar in their music had to contend with the obstacles that arose when accompanying common dissonances, though this was the fault of

Example 4:2 Marini, Sinfonia primo tuono²¹

the notation, not of the instrument.



 21 The notation of chord $\it F$ in bar 11 is likely an error and should in fact be chord $\it B$.



Regarding the accompaniments themselves, they have little to offer beyond what was learnt from Marini's vocal music in Chapter 2. The guitar offers rhythmic and harmonic support, adding and resolving dissonances at cadences as appropriate. It is worth observing, though, that Marini's consonant C minor symbol (*) is not used in his instrumental volume; thus the dissonant C minor chord (L) seems to be acceptable in all circumstances in an instrumental setting. The main importance of Marini's book is in highlighting the use of the guitar as a chamber instrument and also, possibly, in the context of religious settings, though that will remain debatable.

Banfi (1653)

Two publications with guidelines on continuo playing for the guitar appeared in the 1650s. The first was authored by Giulio Banfi and published in Milan in 1653.²² Consisting of only two pages at the close of his heftier dance anthology, the notations are poorly printed, difficult to read and largely unremarkable as they have very little to add to the teachings of the previous decade. They are heavily characterised by *alfabeto*, which is used to notate many of the music examples, and the content largely mirrors that of earlier continuo methods. The first example is a harmonisation of a *b quadro* scale (with *alfabeto* symbols), and the treatment of accidentally sharpened notes is briefly covered. This is followed by examples of the 4-3 and 7-6 cadential figures, before Banfi then provides much the same material again in a *b molle* key signature. His cadential progressions are almost identical to those given by Foscarini in 1640, so it will suffice to close this discussion of his work without any further comment.

Granata (1659)

The second publication containing continuo guidelines for guitar was authored by Giovanni Battista Granata and published in Bologna in 1659. These guidelines are very unlike those that preceded, and indeed, those that followed this treatise. Granata was one of the few guitar composers who wrote guidelines with the accompaniment of other instruments in mind, rather than voices. Seeped in the Bolognese instrumental tradition, Granata provided many works for guitar, violin and continuo bass in his 1659, 1674, 1680 and 1684 books. His continuo guidelines, therefore, give us a glimpse at how guitarists went about giving accompaniments when they had the added support of a bass instrument. Freed from the need to sound the true bass, Granata provides music examples that are at liberty to explore the whole fingerboard. His is not a treatise that is concerned so much with harmony, but rather with inventive, improvised counterpoint.

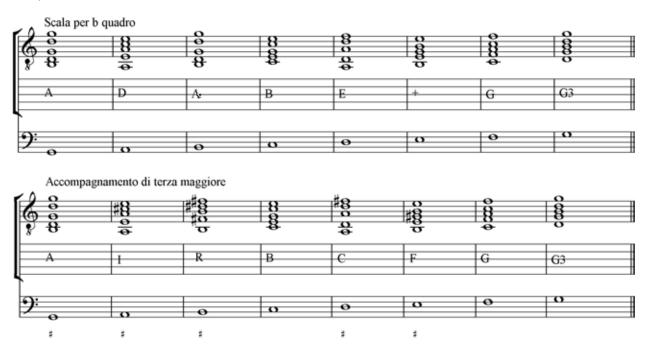
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²² Not a great deal is known for sure about Banfi. There is a remarkable biography of his life that was published in Filippo Picinelli's *Ateneo dei letterati Milanesi* in 1670, which includes an account of his capture and servitude aboard a slave ship before his skills on the lute won him a favoured place at the vizier's court of Tunis. The reliability of this tale, however, is questionable.

Scales

Gaspar Sanz was a keen admirer of Italian instrumental music (he studied with several Italian musicians including Lelio Colista) and in his own treatise, published in 1674, he recommended Granata's continuo treatise to keen guitar students, praising its comprehensive presentation of scale harmonisations. In this regard he was not wrong, as Granata included fourteen scale harmonisations at the start of his work. Sanz also commented that one was likely to encounter in Italian instrumental music many accidentals and key signatures with multiple sharps or flats, particularly in violin sonatas and concertos. A quick glance at Granata's scales (see Example 4:3) would seem to confirm Sanz's observation, as he even goes so far as to provide triads on Cb and Fb. The range of harmonies covered by these examples is, therefore, considerably more extensive than previously encountered. Granata's scales are ordered thus:

Example 4:3 Granata's Scale Harmonisations





Like the examples provided by Foscarini and Corbetta, 5/3 harmonies are notated with *alfabeto* symbols while 6/3 harmonies are reduced to three parts. The 3rds in the 6/3 harmonisations are natural to the scale and Granata adds a temporary 4th voice to the 7th degree by doubling the bass note.



All 3rds are minor when playing minor 6th harmonies. It is curious that Granata prescribes an *alfabeto* chord on the 5th degree while notating all other harmonies in tablature. Although he tries to keep the bass in the lowest voice where possible, sometimes it is more practical for it to sound in a middle voice, as in the first chord of this scale.



Sharp notes are harmonised with minor 6ths and minor 3rds. Again, the bass appears in the middle voice of the last chord.



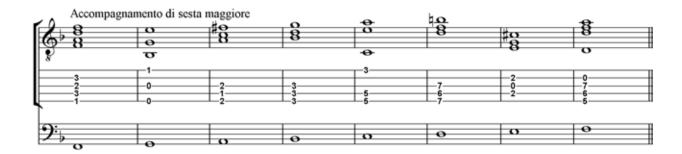
Granata's harmonisations of sharp notes with 5/3 chords reinforces Sanz's observation that less common keys were to be found in Italian instrumental music. These harmonies are not widely demonstrated in earlier teachings. While the previous examples of 5/3 chords were notated in *alfabeto*, Granata notates nearly all of these harmonies in tablature. This is because the *alfabeto* symbols associated with the majority of sharp notes were not commonly used and may not have been familiar to his readers. The exception is chord F, which was readily associated with $G\sharp$, so he employs this symbol in accordance with common practice.



The true bass is maintained where 6/3 chords are employed.



Again, in the minor 3rd examples the inverted harmonies are given in tablature to maintain the true bass. There is some inconsistency in the voicings, as both the 4th and 5th degrees can be harmonised with chord *K*, and yet the 4th degree is reduced to three voices. While Granata generally harmonises 5/3 chords with fully voiced *alfabeto* chords, this is an indicator that reduced textures may also be employed.



These examples again feature instances of bass notes in inner voices and of temporary fourth voices.

More importantly though, they demonstrate a sensitivity to the contours of the bass line, as was taught by Corbetta (Granata's teacher). The higher regions of the fretboard are employed as the bass ascends.

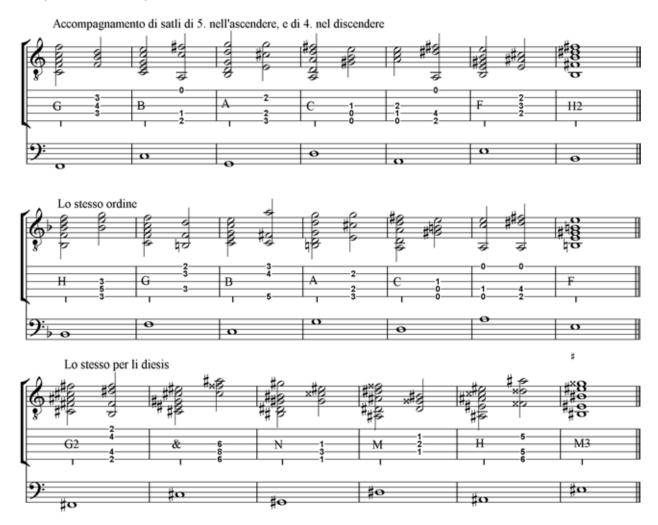


We see that with the exception of 5/3 harmonies, which are usually harmonised with *alfabeto* symbols, the norm for most of the harmonies is three-part chords. On occasion one of the voices (usually the bass note though not necessarily) is doubled to create a temporary fourth part. Two further observations worth making are that the bass note usually remains in the lowest voice but can appear in a higher voice if more practical and, linked to this point, one may sound harmonies on the lower courses, particularly if using a re-entrant tuning, though it is not known what was Granata's preferred tuning. If he did use bourdons, then the fact that he notated chords in which the bass note is the middle voice shows that he willingly prescribed inverted harmonies. The strict sounding of the true bass, then, remained desirable but was not an unbreakable rule.

Imperfect Cadences

The only guitarist prior to Granata who demonstrated the imperfect cadence in his teachings was Valdambrini. However, the restriction he placed on himself by notating his examples almost entirely in *alfabeto* symbols and by allowing only a single plucked intermediate note between chords V and I resulted in harmonisations that, whilst satisfactory, lacked the sophistication of the voicings that would be prescribed by Granata just over a decade later. Granata's examples resemble much more those that would be prescribed by Lorenzo Penna in 1672. Although he does not include any figures, he treats the progression in the conventional manner, with a 6th and an augmented 4th.

Example 4:4 Granata's Imperfect Cadences





Perfect Cadences

In earlier teachings, chord V of the V-I progression was prescribed a 4-3 suspension. Granata's treatment was more elaborate and intended for bass notes of the value of a semibreve. He precedes the standard 4-3 suspension with a 7/3 and a 6/4 chord.

Example 4:5 Perfect Cadences in G, A and B



It is his usual practice to restrike the bass with each new harmony, but there is an exception in the first bar as the bass D sounds only with the first chord. Granata also typically harmonises 7^{th} chords with the 7^{th} and 3^{rd} only, though on occasion he also sounds the 5^{th} , as in the cadence in B above.

Example 4:6 Perfect Cadences in C, D, E and F



In the first bar of Example 4:6, the bass G is harmonised on the lower courses of the guitar. Note also that Granata adds an unfigured 7^{th} to the penultimate chord in this example, as was commonly demonstrated in the treatises of the previous decade. The fourth bar is curious as it is notated almost entirely with *alfabeto* symbols, which means Granata was unable to notate the 7^{th} on the first beat. The choice of chord M3 is valid as it is a second inversion F major chord; thus the appropriate bass note is the lowest voice. Oddly, however, the 5/4 chord, which is notated in tablature could have been notated with *alfabeto* chord H^* . At no point in his treatise, however, does Granata include any of his dissonant *alfabeto* symbols.

Example 4:7 Perfect Cadences in B, F♯ and C♯



The transfer of a dissonant note in one voice of a chord to another voice in a subsequent chord was an effective way of avoiding awkward voicings for the left hand. This is well demonstrated in the second bar above. In the 6/4 chord, the $F\sharp$ is in the top voice, but in the chord that follows, it is transferred to the 4^{th} course. This makes the resolution to the 3^{rd} more practical for the left hand.

Example 4:8 Perfect Cadences in F, G minor, A , B flat and C



Guitaristic voicings are well illustrated in the second bar above, as the bass D of the 6/4 chord sounds in the top voice and then in the middle voice of the 5/4 chord.

Example 4:9 Perfect Cadences in D, E flat and C flat



Example 4:10 Perfect Cadences in G flat, D flat and A flat



These examples demonstrate that the maintenance of the bass note in the lowest voice or even in the same voice throughout the cadential progression was unimportant to Granata. Like many earlier guitarists he prioritised the sounding of the bass in the lowest voice when it served as a leading note, i.e.

when modulating. In an extended cadential progression it was enough to sound the true bass on the first chord alone and to let it be implied for the rest of the progression. Bear in mind also that Granata probably had the support of a bass instrument in mind when he notated these examples, though that is not to say that that is the only circumstance in which these cadences are appropriate. Unorthodox chord voicings had long been characteristic of guitar accompaniment and would continue to be so for many decades to come.

Divisions

That Granata's teachings are engineered towards instrumental accompaniment is highlighted by his teachings of extemporaneous counterpoint over a bass. In the previous century, instrumentalists were adept at this practice, and the technique was outlined in manuals such as those by Ganassi (1535), Ortiz (1553), Bovicelli (1594) and Rognoni (1620). ²³ Neumann highlights the continued importance of the art of diminution in later-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century instrumental accompaniment, stating:

In instrumental music a species of contrapunto alla mente survived throughout the 18th century in thorough bass practice at the hands of players who realised the accompaniment in an impromptu polyphonic rather than chordal style.²⁴

What is remarkable about Granata's work is that it is a rare indicator that guitarists underwent similar training. This source was clearly unknown to Tharald Borgir, who, in a discussion of Gasparini's 1708 treatise, ²⁵ claimed that 'the chapter on diminutions . . . give hints about the flavour of the realisation totally absent in seventeenth-century sources'. ²⁶ He goes on, stating that:

²³ Sylvestro di Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (Venice: Sylvestro di Ganassi dal Fontego, 1535), Diego Ortiz, Tratado de glosas (Rome, 1553), Giovanni Battista Bovicelli, Regole, passaggi di musica (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1594), Francesco Rognoni Taeggio, Selva de varii passaggi (Milan: Filippo Lomazzo, 1620)

²⁴ Frederick Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music* (Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 19

²⁵ Francesco Gasparini, *L'armonico pratico al cimbalo*, (Venice: Antonio Bortoli, 1708)

²⁶ Tharald Borgir, *The Performance of the Basso Continuo in Italian Baroque Music* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1987), p. 137

Taken at face value, Gasparini's diminutions and their purported use by good performers constitute a remarkable invitation for the continuo player to improvise an elaborate accompaniment. That is a complete departure from the ideals of a century earlier when several writers warn against drawing the listener's attention away from the solo part . . . Nothing in theoretical literature prepares us for this complete turn-about in the view of the accompaniment. ²⁷

Granata's work is highly significant, therefore, as it provides us with evidence (albeit in an unlikely source) that Gasparini's chapter on diminution was not so novel as was previously believed and that diminution was not a hallmark of an eighteenth-century departure from past conventions.

In Granata's demonstration of the practice, he provides several common bass progressions, including those ascending and descending by degrees and those that ascend a 4th or descend a 5th. In each of his examples the improvised melodic figure corresponds to a bass note lasting either a whole bar or half a bar. The remainder of the progression is strictly formulaic, as the figure is repeated in sequence with each subsequent bass note. John Walter Hill elaborates on the straightforwardness of the process:

If the bass consists of equal note values, the improviser could, at minimum, use a simple figure like this for every measure within a passage. As long as the first note of the figure stands at the proper interval from the bass note, the rest will take care of itself. If the bass notes form a sequential pattern, the solo part above it will also.²⁸

Most of Granata's examples do feature basses of equal note value that progress sequentially, so he demonstrates the practice at the most basic levels. A guitarist who memorised these melodic figures would have a starting repertoire from which to improvise over simple basses and would have acquired sufficient foundations to allow further development. As is demonstrated in Examples 4:11 to 4:16, each repetition of the melodic figure must begin at the correct interval above the bass note. Of course, as the guitarist is not providing harmonies during this process, he is free to explore the whole fretboard and to execute virtuosic figures in small note values.

²⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 162-3

²⁸ John Walter Hill, *The Norton Introduction to Music History: Baroque Music: Music in Western Europe 1580-1750* (London: W. W. Norton & Company Ltd, 2005), p. 81

In Example 4:11, the pattern that will determine the whole progression is established above the first minim beat. The semiquavers begin a 3^{rd} above the bass G, therefore each subsequent repetition of this semiquaver figure must start a 3^{rd} above the bass.

Example 4:11 Treatment of an Ascending Bass Line



In the following pattern, which again lasts for half a bar, the first quaver is always a 5/3 chord (except on mi, which takes a 6/3 chord) and the semiquaver figures begin a 4^{th} above the bass. The rhythm is a simple embellishment of that given in the previous example.



The same process is applied to all subsequent examples.

Example 4:12 Examples in Triple Time



Example 4:13 Treatment of a Descending Bass Line



Example 4:14 Treatment of a Bass Descending by Degrees in Triple Time

Modo di passeggiare per grado che discenda

Example 4:15 A Bass Line Ascending a $\mathbf{4}^{\text{th}}$ or Descending a $\mathbf{5}^{\text{th}}$

Modo di passeggiare un Basso, che salti di 4. nell'ascendere, e di 5. nel discendere.







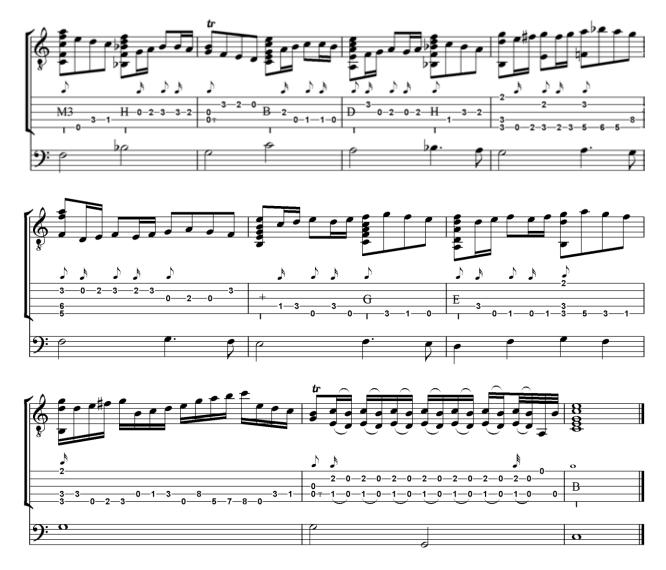




In the following sample bass Granata demonstrates how the process may be applied to basses of mixed conjunct and disjunct progressions, as well as long sustained basses. Noteworthy is the elaborate double trill used to embellish the final cadence, a useful way of sustaining the harmonies for a long duration.

Example 4:16 A Sample Bass





Also noteworthy is the fact that nearly the whole accompaniment is crafted from two simple rhythmic



Demonstrations such as these are found in eighteenth-century continuo treatises such as that of Gasparini (1708). He outlines much the same approach as had been taught since the sixteenth century and presents his diminutions in the context of a particular bass progression, i.e. descending by step. The following transcription shows Gasparini's treatment of a bass with leaps of a third.

Example 4:17 Gasparini's Diminutions²⁹



This approach is not to be found again in guitar teachings, however, making Granata's 1659 book a unique record of the guitarist improvising counterpoint in this manner.

Sonata for Violin, Guitar and Basso Continuo

Preceding the continuo guidelines in the 1659 book, Granata included a sonata for violin, guitar and bass. This piece is of interest because unlike the later chamber works by Granata, in which the bass and violin more often than not simply reinforce or double what the guitarist is playing, in this sonata the three instrumental parts are independent. As the guitar is showcased in this piece as a solo instrument, one must be cautious before assuming that any of the writing is representative of how a guitarist may have realised the bass, but there are some potentially valuable insights into the effective use of dissonance and of broken accompaniments to maintain volume over long sustained basses.

Example 4:18 shows some of the considerations guitarists took into account when varying the texture of their accompaniments. As there is a supporting bass instrument, the guitarist is able to reduce the texture of his chords to two parts, usually the root and the 3rd or the 3rd and the 5th.

Passages of parallel 3rds or 6th, such as those recommended by Foscarini in 1640, are effective over quaver basses, as the thinned texture assists the swift chord changes. Fuller chords are included to accentuate the rhythm of the dotted crotchets.

²⁹ Transcribed from David Burrows (ed.), Francesco Gasparini, *The Practical Harmonist at the Harpsichord*, trans. Frank S. Stillings (London: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 86

Example 4:18 Granata: Sonata (excerpt) bar 30-35



Example 4:20 is of interest as it contains figures not included in the continuo guidelines, thus giving us a glimpse into the practice at a more advanced level. Bars 76, 82 and 84, for example, each feature $\flat 6/4/2$ chords above a sustained bass that descends chromatically and then returns to the initial note. This creates a type of cadence that was discussed in greater detail in the treatises of the 1670s by Penna (1672), Sanz (1674) and Perrine (1679). Sanz's treatment is discussed in the following chapter (see Example 5:19); Penna named this progression the 'cadence of the 4th order' and demonstrated it as follows:

Example 4:19 Penna's 'Cadence of the Fourth Order'30



In this type of cadence it is the bass note that is dissonant, an effect created by suspending the bass beneath the moving upper parts. Both Penna and Granata sound 4/2 chords above the suspended bass (though Granata also includes the flat 6^{th}), which then resolve by falling a semitone. Regarding Penna's second example, the author wrote: 'here, too, the dissonances can be accompanied (if desired) with the consonances of the written note, and the Seventh, minor or major according to the nature of the composition'. Thus the 5^{th} is added to the 4/2 chord and the flat 7^{th} is added to the resolution. The inclusion of the flat 7^{th} in the harmony above the resolving bass note is demonstrated fourteen years earlier in Granata's sonata. Commenting on Penna's treatment, Arnold wrote 'that the 5^{th} should be associated with the 4/2 on $d \dots$ is in no way remarkable, though, at a somewhat later period, the Sixth (major or minor in accordance with the mode) was usually employed in the progression in question'. As can be seen, Granata was already employing the 6^{th} much earlier.

Also noteworthy is the fact that Granata frequently prepares dissonant notes in a different octave, as in bar 80, where the 7th above the F is prepared on the 4th course of the previous \flat 6/5 chord, and in bar 77, where the dissonant 9th is prepared on the 5th course of the previous chord. Bars 80 and 86 also feature 7-6 tenorising cadences, which were not included in the continuo guidelines. Granata's treatment shows that the 3rd is to be included in the chord, the dissonance must be prepared and the harmony should be restruck beneath the note of resolution.

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³⁰ As transcribed in Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment*, Vol. 1, p. 146.

³¹ Translated in ihid

³² *Ibid*, p.146-147, f.n. 41

Regarding longer duration bass notes, in bar 80 Granata employs quaver passing notes to vary the texture as an alternative to successive D chords. Bars 90 onwards are of interest as they show the use of arpeggio figures above a long, sustained bass. Figures like these are more akin to guitar playing in the eighteenth century, so it is interesting to see them used as a sustaining device above an unchanging bass in these early decades. It is also worth pointing out the number of accidentals encountered in this piece, again reinforcing Sanz's observations on Italian instrumental music.

Example 4:20 Granata: Sonata (excerpt) bars 76-92



What arises from Granata's sonata is the realisation that the zenith of improvised guitar accompaniment is not to be found in continuo guidelines. Guidelines do not convey the complexities of the practice as exhibited by more advanced performers because their purpose was to provide beginners with the necessary grounding. They can give the misleading impression that certain dissonances or progressions were not part of a guitarist's education at a given time. The 'cadence of the 4th order', freely employed by Granata though not mentioned in his teachings, is not discussed in a guitar treatise for another fifteen years, and 9ths are not given any specific attention in pedagogical guitar works until the 1680s. As was expected of guitarists in the seventeenth century, once the guidelines had been thoroughly learnt, one needed to progress to more advanced material. Modern guitarists should become familiar with the solo works of composers such as Bartolotti, Corbetta and Pellegrini to this end.

Granata demonstrates a firm understanding of counterpoint and an advanced harmonic language appropriate to the Italian instrumental tradition. His examples demonstrate the liberating benefits made possible by a supporting bass instrument. Accompaniments could be as daring or florid as one desired when unconstrained by the necessity to play every voice of a chord. Much of his material echoes the guidelines of the 1640s. 5/3 chords are generally strummed, 6/3 chords and dissonances are plucked, the contours of the bass line are observed and the bass is maintained wherever practical. The guidelines regarding improvised passagework, however, are significant not only for their uniqueness in baroque guitar literature but also in that they demonstrate a contrapuntal Renaissance practice, totally removed from *alfabeto* strumming, being absorbed into guitar playing in ensemble performance.

Admittedly, the guidelines do not demonstrate how to accompany a solo instrument, as all of the examples provided are for guitar and bass alone. The further question therefore arises of when such elaborate passagework is appropriate. Example 4:18 seems to suggest the answer. When accompanying a soloist the guitar should refrain from passagework and instead either play chords or play parallel 3rds or 6ths with the bass. The accompanist could employ greater creativity when the solo

instrument(s) were resting. Theoretical writings regarding the incorporation of independent melodic interest into continuo accompaniments are few and far between. More often than not they are warnings against spoiling the music by being too bold in the accompaniment. Bertrand Bénigne de Bacilly, for example, wrote in 1668:

If the theorbo isn't played with moderation – if the player adds too much confusing figuration (as do most accompanists more to demonstrate the dexterity of their fingers than to aid the person they are accompanying) it then becomes an accompaniment of the theorbo by the voice rather than the reverse.³³

Andreas Werckmeister communicated similar concerns in 1698, writing:

. . . if the vocalists and instrumentalists are executing their runs or passages, as the composer wrote them, and the Organist were to put in his own embellishments in the upper parts [of the accompaniment], the harmony would be spoiled.³⁴

Penna (1672) stresses the need for a more creative realisation of the bass when it is playing alone, stating 'in the Ritornelli, or in the pauses intended to rest the singer, the organist must perform something of his own invention, in imitation of the Arietta or other lively matter which has just been sung'. Granata, however, is not advocating imitation in his continuo guidelines but rather an approach to diminution based on the observance of the movement of the bass. Johann David Heinichen, writing in 1728, advocates an approach to the embellishment of the accompaniment that more closely resembles that demonstrated by Granata. Embellishments that 'must be invented by ourselves and which depend on the fancy of the individual' include, according to Heinichen, 'melody', 'passages' and 'arpeggios'. Regarding passages, these are most suitable in lively pieces, and if these works already feature a quick bass, then it is enough to play in 3rds or 6ths above the bass, ³⁷ an approach employed by

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³³ Bertrand Bénigne de Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter* (Paris: the author and Ballard, 1668). Translated in Jack Ashworth and Paul O'Dette, 'Basso Continuo', p. 322

³⁴ Andreas Werckmeister, *Erweiterte Und verbesserte Orgel-Probe* (Quedlinburg: Theodor Philipp Calvisi, 1698). Translated in Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment*, Vol. 1, p. 209

³⁵ Penna, *Li primi Albori musicali*. Translated in Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, p. 287

³⁶ Johann David Heinichen, *Der General-Bass in der Composition* (Dresden: the author, 1728). Translated in Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment*, Vol. 1, p. 448

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 456

Granata in Example 4:18. If the bass is not quick, then 'the right hand may seek to introduce such passages wherever it can be done without damaging the effect of the principal parts'. Regarding arpeggios, Heinichen makes it clear that the order in which one plays the intervals is a matter of taste, and he extends the definition of arpeggio to include broken two-part harmony. Granata's use of arpeggio figures above a long sustained bass has already been observed.

What is fascinating about the comparison of Marini and Granata's treatment of the guitar in instrumental ensembles is the wildly different approaches to accompaniment by the two composers. We get the impression from Marini's work that the purpose of the guitar was to provide rhythmic and harmonic support, typically in pieces where the bass part is not too animated and where the rate of harmonic change is slower. Granata, on the other hand, thought of accompaniment in melodic terms, giving the accompanist free reign to indulge in flights of fancy. The two starkly different approaches to accompaniment demonstrated by Marini and Granata can be explained in part by the ensembles that each composer had in mind. It is now clear that the elaborate passagework favoured by Granata was most suitable for works in which there was only one soloist, thus increasing the likelihood that there would be extended passages where the soloist was resting and where the guitarist could improvise without encroaching on the solo part. Marini's Op. 22 employs the guitar in the accompaniment of three instruments, thus significantly reducing any likelihood of guitar and bass sounding alone. In these works then, a harmonic accompaniment is necessary.

The accompaniments of the 1650s are interesting because they demonstrate the on-going importance of the *alfabeto* tradition alongside the desire to heighten guitar writing to a level of virtuosity that could compete with that of the solo instruments. The 1650s also mark the end of *alfabeto* songbook publishing, as the last to leave the press was the anonymous *Nuove canzonette*

38 Ibid

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 457

musicali de diversi auttori published in Venice in 1659, now lost.⁴⁰ The close of this decade also marks a watershed in guitar continuo publication, as all remaining works addressed in this thesis are provided for audiences outside Italy. Italian guitarists continued to provide continuo guidelines, but the later teachings of Corbetta and Matteis were provided for an English audience. Elsewhere, continuo publications are found in Spain, France and the Low Countries, indicating a new-found enthusiasm for the guitar as a continuo instrument in these countries.

 $^{^{40}}$ Tyler and Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music*, p. 99

Chapter 5 THE 1670s: CONTINUO PLAYING OUTSIDE ITALY

One of the most detailed and fascinating extant accounts of seventeenth-century keyboard accompaniment, Lorenzo Penna's Li primi albori musicali, was published in Bologna In 1672. This work survives as a pinnacle of what had been to this point the primarily Italian enterprise of continuo treatise publication. However, during the 1670s the fruits of the successful transportation of continuo practices beyond Italian boundaries manifested themselves in treatises published elsewhere in Europe. In England, for example, the subject of continuo is found in the writings of Matthew Locke, Thomas Mace and John Blow.² France, too, had continuo treatises published at this time, perhaps most significantly that of 'Perrine' for the lute in 1679.³ The core subject matter common to all theoretical works published during this decade includes: triads; bass notes that naturally take a 6th; the avoidance of consecutive parallel 5ths and octaves, primarily through contrary motion; the treatment of accidentals; ascending and descending stepwise basses; the treatment of basses moving in small note values; the preparation and resolution of suspensions; and cadences. Some offer further guidance pertinent to the instruments for which their works were tailored, such as fingerings and the distribution of parts between the hands, and the ways in which accompaniments may be ornamented. Mace, writing for theorbists, discusses 'the breaking of parts' to combat sound decay. Penna discusses the acciaccatura for the benefit of aspiring harpsichord accompanists, and both he and Perrine offer guidance on playing from an unfigured bass by discussing all the possible conjunct and disjunct movements of the bass line, much in the manner of Bianciardi some seventy years earlier.

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¹ Lorenzo Penna, *Li primi albori musicali* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1672)

² Matthew Locke, *Melothesia or Certain General Rules for Playing Upon a Continued-Bass* (London: J. Carr, 1673); Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London: T. Ratcliffe & N. Thompson, 1676); John Blow, *Rules for playing of a Thorough Bass upon Organ & Harpsicon*, (Lbl Add MS 34072,ff.1-5). The date of the John Blow manuscript is uncertain but it is roughly contemporary with Locke's work.

³ Perrine [first name unknown], *Livre de musique pour le lut* (Paris: Perrine, 1679)

Three continuo treatises specifically for guitar appeared during this decade; one French, one Italian and one Spanish. The first two, authored by Antoine Carré and Corbetta, respectively, were published in 1671.⁴ Carré's treatise demonstrates an approach that differs from earlier Italian practices in that he refrains from notating 5-part chords and instead prefers to reduce the texture of his accompaniments; thus he does not subscribe to the habitual practice of employing *alfabeto* harmonies wherever convenient. Instead, his voicings demonstrate a greater consideration for the bass line.

Corbetta's guidelines, on the other hand, are almost identical reproductions of those he had published in the 1640s. Their main distinguishing feature is the replacement of the original *alfabeto* symbols with fully notated tablature equivalents.

It is the Spanish guitar treatise by Gaspar Sanz, however, that eclipses the others with its clear music examples and its comprehensive discussions not just of how to approach accompaniment but also of why it is done in that manner. Sanz's writings make for fascinating reading as he appraises past guitar methods and tells us how he learned his art. He is full of praise for Amat and Velasco, essentially because their works are comprehensive enough for anyone to understand the basics behind composition and transposition, thus paving the way for them to obtain a greater mastery of accompaniment. Sanz clearly did not approve of leaving out the whys in this matter, as it left the guitarist dependent on his teacher. It would seem that he held a similar position in this regard to Locke, who complained that students of accompaniment who are taught only 'number and distance [i.e. intervals] . . . after all their Labour and Expense, remain compleatly ignorant of what they've done'. Corbetta's and Granata's treatises are cited as valuable sources of scale harmonisations, and Sanz tells us that his own treatise is essentially an amalgamation of what he has learned from various Spanish and

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⁴ Antoine Carré, *Livre de guitarre* (Paris, 1671) and Corbetta, *La guitarre royalle* (Paris: H. Bonneuil, 1671)

⁵ Gaspar Sanz, *Instruccion de musica sobre la guitarra* (Zaragoza: heirs of Diego Dormer, 1674)

⁶ Sanz, *Insruccion de musica*, *prologo*, [ii-iii]

⁷ Locke, *Melothesia*, p. 9

Italian musicians. In particular, his scale harmonisations and cadential figures resemble those of Spanish organists; his ligatures [suspensions] resemble those of Lelio Colista; and his syncopations he learned from Christoval Carisani, organist at the Royal Chapel of Naples. Frustratingly, Sanz finished his treatise with a promise to follow up the volume with a more in-depth sequel, which either did not come to pass or is now lost to us. To fully appreciate the value of his continuo method, it is necessary first to explore the less comprehensive guidance offered by Carré and Corbetta.

Carré (1671)

Little is known about Carré though he is suspected to have operated as a guitar teacher in Paris, as he advises in his 1671 book that he may be contacted in person if anyone requires further assistance with his music examples. He was clearly influenced by Corbetta, as is attested by his unattributed inclusion of some of Corbetta's music in both of his guitar books (1671 and c.1678). A comparison of their continuo guidelines, however, reveals that Carré preferred plucked accompaniments in two to four parts rather than the fuller textures employed by Corbetta, and that he was stricter with his treatment of the bass. Indeed, there are very few instances where full, five-part harmonies are employed, thus distancing Carré's teachings from *alfabeto* practices. His chords are reduced to three or four voices and Carré typically tries to keep the bass note in the lowest voice, though on occasion he sounds harmonies on the lower courses of the instrument, in respect of which he tells us there should be a bourdon on the fourth course.

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⁸ Sanz, Documentos y advertencias generales, pp. 4-5. See also Maurice Esses, Dance and Instrumental 'Diferencias' in Spain During the 17th and Early 18th Centuries, 3 Vols. (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1992), p.122

⁹ Carré, *Livre de guitarre*, facs. edn. (Westminster, CA: LGV Publishing. Inc, 2009), pp. i-ii ¹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. iii

¹¹ This practice had become standard decades earlier. Heinrich Albert wrote in his 1640 treatise 'In addition to the three sounds you can play another part, or, occasionally, several; and the best one is, first, the Octave of the Bass, and, next, that of the Fifth'. Translated in Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment*, p. 127

¹² It should be borne in mind, therefore, that in the transcriptions of Carré's examples the notes on the fifth course will sound an octave higher than written, and notes on the fourth course will be doubled at the higher octave.

Carré provides two ascending scales, one in each hexachordal key signature, and harmonises each note with a triad (see Example 5:1). The allocation of 6^{th} chords to notes lacking a perfect 5^{th} is not observed in his examples, as instead the 5ths are raised to avoid the offending tritone. This can be observed above the E th in the *b molle* scale and above the B th in the *b carre* scale. It will be noticed also that the two Cs are harmonised differently in the *b molle* scale, one with a major 3^{rd} and one with a minor 3^{rd} . It is clear, then, that these scales are not intended to demonstrate a functional relationship between the adjacent chords, but rather that they demonstrate triads as they may appear in both key signatures, as well as the necessary sharpenings that must take place to avoid tritones. In this respect they echo the scale harmonisations of the 1620s, which were provided to demonstrate harmonic likelihoods in a piece of music.

Example 5:1 Carré's Scale Harmonisations

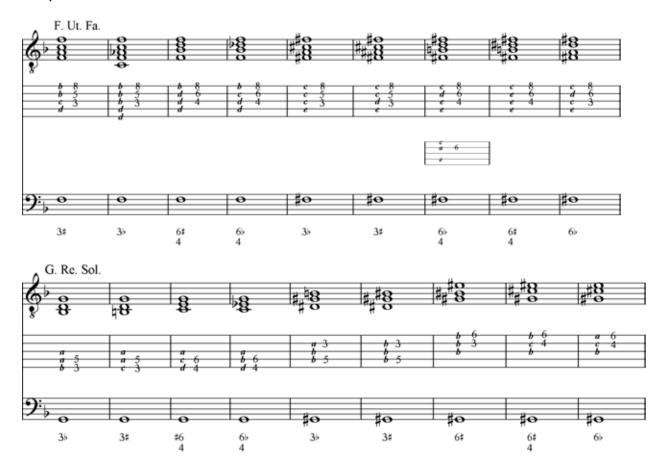
Eschelle de B. Mol



Carré then provides a selection of triads and their inversions, which he helpfully annotates to show the corresponding interval of each voice. Thus, as well as providing the voicings, he lays bare the

Intervallic arrangement of the chords, an attention to detail not apparent in guitar teachings since Velasco's 1640 work. This concern that the accompanist should understand the harmonic composition of the chords again separates Carré's teachings from those steeped in *alfabeto* traditions, which allocate voicings determined by the *alfabeto* symbols. Interestingly, Carré provides few examples of first inversion triads, focussing mainly on second inversion chords (see Example 5:2). He only demonstrates the 6/3 harmony on the note B (which commonly functions as *mi*), as well as F♯ and G♯, both of which commonly function as leading notes in the more frequently played keys in the repertoire. His greater focus on the 6/4 chord is probably due to its increasingly commonplace use at cadences, as he would later demonstrate.

Example 5:2 A Selection of Carré's Acords



After a demonstration of miscellaneous figures in two parts, Carré concludes his treatise with some demonstrations of the V-I cadence Unfortunately, he provides no figures beneath his realisations, but essentially he demonstrates the use of the 5/4 and 6/4 chords in this context, with the occasional passing 7th as was common in earlier guitar teachings (see Example 5:3). One curious aspect of Carré's treatise is his marked preference for the *b mol* key signature, in which he notates the bulk of his examples. It is odd that he provides sixteen examples of the V-I cadence, eight in *b mol* and eight in *b carré*, and yet the latter feature no dissonance. Each chord is simply harmonised with a 5/3. It is also noteworthy that he does not raise the thirds of cadences in a minor key as was standard practice outside France.¹³ Friedrich Niedt would comment on the French tendency to end a phrase in a minor key in his treatise in 1700, writing: 'I know very well, it is true, that French composers do the opposite [to the standard practice of raising the third in a final chord], but everything is not good just because it comes from France'.¹⁴



Example 5:3 Carré's V-I Cadences [figures are mine]

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¹³ Goede-Klinkhamer, 'Del suonare sopra il basso', p. 97

¹⁴ Friedrich Niedt, *Erster Theil: Handelt vom General-Bass, denselben schlechtweg zu spielen* (Hamburg: Nicolaus Spieringk, 1700). Translated in Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment*, Vol. 1, p. 228



Though limited in scope (Carré provides no examples of the tenorising or imperfect cadence as earlier guitarists had done), his teachings are refreshingly clear and would be of good practical use for newcomers to continuo-playing on the guitar. His reduced textures, emphasis on the 6/4 chord and attention to the intervallic make-up of the chords make his teachings more progressive than those reproduced by Corbetta in the same year. Yet Corbetta's book remains valuable as a continuo instruction because unlike Carré, he supplements his teachings with fully notated guitar

accompaniments for songs for two to three singers, and these give us a valuable insight into guitar accompaniment in the 'mixed' style.

Corbetta's Song Accompaniments

It has already been commented that Corbetta's 1671 continuo guidelines barely differ from those he had published twenty eight years earlier. The musical content of the 1671 book, however, concludes with four songs, all with French texts and some with Italian alternatives. An analysis of the notated guitar accompaniments allows us to grasp Corbetta's approach to accompaniment with much greater clarity. In particular, they shed light on the ways that a guitarist may enhance an accompaniment by varying its texture and employing dissonant harmonies. What follows is a summary of the characteristics of Corbetta's accompaniments amassed from observations drawn from a detailed analysis of each of his songs. Full transcriptions of the songs are provided, and these have been annotated to facilitate the cross-referencing of the music with the points set out below. Any points relating to texture are indicated with boxed numerals, while points relating to dissonance are indicated with encircled numerals. The numbers will correspond with the following lists:

Texture

- 1) A full harmony typically opens and closes a phrase.
- 2) Strong beats, too, are normally accented with fuller chords whilst weak beats may bear chords with a reduced number of voices.
- 3) If the singers are resting or sustaining long notes, a guitarist may resort to plucking or reduce the chord voicings to two or three parts as the delicacy of the accompaniment will not be lost.
- 4) Long sustained bass notes may be either strummed and rhythmically subdivided to combat the rapid sound decay of the instrument, or given a broken accompaniment in the plucked manner to the same ends.

- 5) There is greater opportunity to reduce the texture of the accompaniment if there are fewer voices to be accompanied.
- 6) Emotionally charged words tend to receive fuller harmonies in the accompaniment.
- 7) As a general rule, five-part *alfabeto* harmonies are acceptable when the bass is serving a structural purpose. If the bass is melodic in character it is usually plucked.
- 8) One may imitate or mimic one of the vocal parts if practical, but this is of secondary importance to the provision of rhythmic support.
- 9) If one must repeat the same harmony in succession multiple times (as when a long sustained bass is rhythmically sub-divided), then it is good to vary the texture and/or voicing of the chords.

In general, Corbetta's accompaniments demonstrate the importance of varying the texture for a variety of practical and expressive reasons. Strumming is a means of accentuating the rhythmic character of the piece and also of amplifying the guitar. To vary the texture effectively, one must be aware of the text being sung, the phrasing of the passage, the character of the bass line and the activity of the vocal parts.

Dissonance

- 1) Wherever possible one prepares and resolves dissonances.
- 2) The preparation and/or resolution need not take place in the same voice as the dissonant note.
- 3) Unfigured 7ths or 4ths may be employed at cadences.
- 4) Notes of resolution are typically ornamented
- 5) Final chords, too, may be embellished with an appoggiatura.

- 6) If a bass note ascends a semitone, it may take a 6/5 chord.
- 7) The doubling of the dissonant note on the 5th course (when playing a 5/4 bar-chord) can be justified on practical grounds if it facilitates the smooth execution of the subsequent chord. The 4/3 clash that commonly results from this doubling is typical in much contemporary guitar music and is perfectly acceptable.¹⁵ Indeed, Corbetta employs clusters such as 4/3 or 7/6 in the accompaniment of certain loaded words such as 'pain'.
- 8) Breaking one's accompaniment into plucked crotchets or quavers can be a useful way of preparing a dissonance (see bar 13 of *J'ay* [sic] *bergère et nuit et jour*).

Corbetta's treatment of dissonance demonstrates that it was used on both practical and expressive grounds. On a practical level it could facilitate the smooth transition from one chord to another, but Corbetta also freely employs it to expressive ends whether figured or not. He does not adhere religiously to the bass figures. There are numerous occasions where he adds unfigured dissonances, particularly 6/5 chords, and also examples where he notates dissonant harmonies that differ from those indicated by the bass. This can be seen as an indication that continuo lines could be approached with a degree of flexibility. There are two instances of dissonance use that may be singled out as they feature characteristics not previously taught in guitar treatises. Example 5:4 demonstrates a slight modification to the bass. The first bar shows the unembellished harmonisation as it might have been notated. The second bar, however, shows Corbetta's realisation, in which the value of the second bass note is halved and approached from a semitone below, thus allowing him to sound a 6/5 chord on the first bass quaver.

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¹⁵ It is not definite that the clash would have sounded. It is possible that on the upstroke the guitarist may have sounded only the first few courses. Varying the weight and texture of one's strumming was a way of accentuating the rhythm of a piece and so sensitivity to the strong and weak beats of a piece of music is important when crafting one's accompaniment in this manner. However, for the purpose of this analysis, it will be assumed that all notated notes of a chord would sound.

Example 5:4 Corbetta's Modification of the Bass (J'ay [sic] bergère et nuit et jour, bar 19)



In Example 5:5 Corbetta employs an auxiliary 6/4 chord between two tonics, as was the conventional use of this embellishing dissonance. This chord was not included in continuo teachings for guitar until Matteis's treatise was published in 1680, and yet Corbetta's examples demonstrate that the progression was not foreign to accompanists playing in the mixed style a decade earlier – a subtle reminder that continuo treatises cannot provide us with a complete picture of this deeply subjective, semi-improvised practice.

Example 5:5 Corbetta's Auxiliary 6/4 Chord (Chi vuol la libertà, bar 11)



Song Transcriptions

Example 5:6 J'ay [sic] bergère et nuit et jour





It is noteworthy in bar 9 that Corbetta employs some of the most dissonant voicings beneath the words 'peine' (pain) and 'souffrir' (suffering). On beat 3 the F^{\natural} in the top voice of the previous chord is retained, thus creating a 6/5/2 chord.



To execute the \$4/2 harmony on beat 3 of bar 17, Corbetta simply adds a B flat on the 3rd course to the previously strummed chord. Thus the distribution of the bass around the different courses is of little concern when strumming.



In bar 22 Corbetta ignores the 4/2 chord on F and instead plays a 6/5 chord on E.



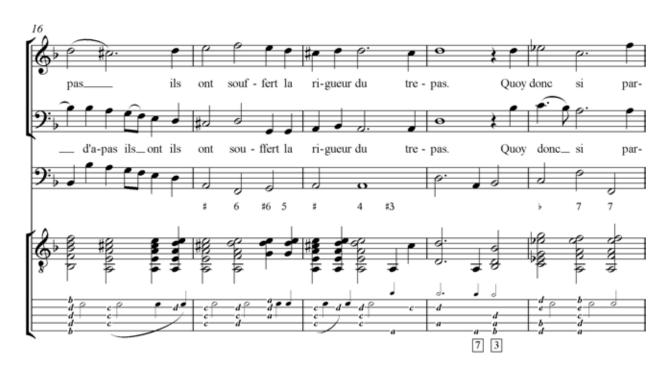


Example 5:7 Falloit il o' Dieux









On the second minim beat of bar 17, Corbetta incorporates the open first course to create a 7/6/3 cluster, followed by a 6/5 chord on G. These dissonances correspond with the word 'souffert' (suffered).



Note the use of the C minor harmony with an added 9th on the 1st minim beat of bar 25. Corbetta adds an unfigured 7th on the last minim beat of bar 26. This allows him to break up the accompaniment above a long sustained bass and combats sound decay. Note that the leading note on the last quaver beat is on the first course and that the G to which it leads is played on the open third course on the first minim beat of the next bar.

Example 5:8 Chi vuol la libertà











Example 5:9 Non si può star sempre altero contro amor



The C minor harmony with an added 9^{th} (a harmony equivalent to that of *alfabeto* chord L) on the 3^{rd} crotchet beat of bar 4 is a practical choice, as it facilitates the playing of the G major chords on either side.

Corbetta's choice of chord voicing on the second crotchet beat of bar 6 allows the left hand to stay fixed in position. Then, instead of voicing a Bb major chord on beat 3 (as the bass part indicates) he simply retains the same harmony, creating a 7th chord with an absent tonic, which does not appear until beat 4. Voicing his accompaniment in this way avoids quick, successive chord changes, thus lessening the demands on the left hand and making for a smoother execution.















In comparison with Carré and Sanz, Corbetta's approach to accompaniment was the least progressive and continues in the same vein as that taught by himself and his contemporaries in the 1640s. Yet this does not imply that his approach was old-fashioned, as the mixed style of accompaniment would continue to be widely practised into the eighteenth century. Instead, it shows that Carré and Sanz were presenting alternative approaches, more distantly removed from those associated with *alfabeto*, though Sanz does cater also for the strummed manner of performance in his preliminary teachings. Corbetta's harmonic vocabulary is strongly influenced by *alfabeto* and numerous dissonant *alfabeto* harmonies can be found in his accompaniments (unsurprising, as many of the equivalent chord symbols were devised by him and published in 1639). In the four transcriptions can be found chords B^* , C^* , E^* , H^* , I^* , P^* , K^* and also the dissonant chord L, demonstrating the on-going importance of strummed dissonances, some of which date back to c. 1610. Corbetta's accompaniments are among the most valuable surviving demonstrations of the 'mixed' style (the others being Morelli's

manuscripts, discussed in chapter 7), and one will profit from exploring his use of different textures and pragmatic dissonances, as these aspects are precisely what is missing from continuo teachings. Sanz, on the other hand, preferred that his readers should not deduce the basics of accompaniment from notated examples, nor did he let his demonstrations speak for themselves. His emphasis on understanding the practice, rather than simply memorising and reproducing stock harmonisations, resulted in some lengthy and comprehensive verbal explanations, such as had not been encountered since Velasco in 1640. His detailed exposition thus provides us with a great deal more concrete information than has thus far been available.

Sanz (1674)

Sanz includes some valuable snippets of information regarding accompaniment in his general introduction to his 1674 method. Firstly, on the subject of tuning, he states that different tunings are appropriate in different circumstances, namely, that a totally re-entrant tuning is best suited to the plucking of campanella passages when playing solo instrumental music, but when playing predominantly in the strummed manner, and when giving accompaniments, it is better to play with bourdons as these allow greater amplification and a much extended bass range. Also of interest in these preliminary writings is a discussion of dissonant chord shapes. Sanz points out the difficulty in setting down a comprehensive discussion on the use of dissonance, because, depending on context, the ear interprets dissonances differently. In other words, such a discussion would require a weightier treatise than he intended to provide. Instead, it sufficed for Sanz to demonstrate the most common usage of dissonance in what he called his 'Labyrinth of Difficult Flourishes and Unusual Chords for the Guitar' (see Example 5:10).¹⁶

He explains that this 'labyrinth' consists of cadences and phrases typically practised on the guitar and he stresses that they should all be properly prepared and resolved 'as a good composition

¹⁶ 'Labertinto 2°, delas falsas, y puntos mas estraños y dificiles que tiene la Guitarra', *Instruccion de música*, p. 2



¹⁷ Note that on occasion in the transcription, a phrase will end on a final chord, and then the new phrase will begin



requires'. At first glance one may question this claim. The 'labyrinth' consists entirely of sequences of resolving 7th chords progressing via the circle of 5ths from E minor and back again. In strict counterpoint, 7^{ths} are supposed to resolve downwards to the next nearest consonance. This practice is clearly not adhered to in Sanz's demonstration, but, importantly, he is mid-way through a discussion of playing in the strummed manner. It has already been seen in Corbetta's song accompaniments that a dissonance could be resolved in any voice when strumming, and so Sanz verbally confirms that this procedure is deemed proper in this context. The labyrinth is useful in more ways than one, as the cycle that leaves and returns to E minor occurs three times in total, and the chord voicings are varied each

on that chord's enharmonic equivalent. This occurs where I believe one progression is more likely to be encountered by a performer than the other, i.e. at the time a guitarist would more likely play a IV - V - I progression in A flat than G sharp. The specific choice of chord made in the transcription is actually of minor importance as guitarists would have used identical fingerings for both keys. Note also that the dissonant chord in bar 56 is impossible to play and likely an error.

time; thus Sanz encourages his students to experiment with different arrangements of the voices. The voicings can be compared in the transcription in Example 5:11.

Example 5:11 Sanz's Dissonant Chord Voicings Compared¹⁸



Continuing his discussion of strumming, Sanz tells us that this is the fullest way to play the guitar and that anyone wishing to give accompaniments in this manner will find the chords in the 'labyrinth'

¹⁸ To better illustrate the variation in chord voicings, where enharmonic equivalents are concerned I demonstrate the same harmony in each cycle, i.e. F sharp is always chosen over G flat etc.

very useful as a foundation on which to build.¹⁹ The expressive power of these chords is hinted at when he says they can be played sweetly (con dulçura), sombrely (gravedad), forcefully (fuerte) or lightly (suave) at your discretion.

Following the 'labyrinth' is another selection of dissonant chords entitled 'otras falsas de 7^{as}.

They are presented in a rather peculiar progression with the purpose of demonstrating major 7th harmonies on each degree of the chromatic scale. Once again the chords move through a cycle of 5ths:

$$E - A^7 - D^{maj7} - G^{maj7} - C^{maj7} - F^{maj7} - Bb^{maj7}$$

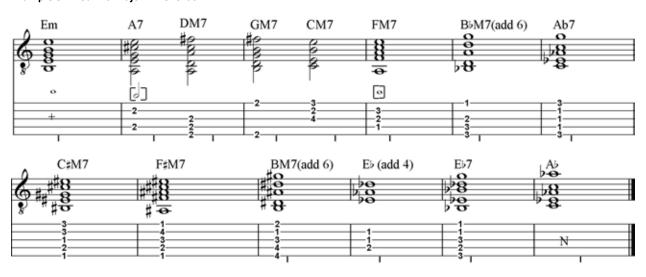
Then we hear part of the cycle again a semitone lower:

$$Ab^{7} - C \sharp^{maj7} - F \sharp^{maj7} - B^{maj7}$$

followed by a cadence on A flat:

$$\mathsf{E} \flat^4 - \mathsf{E} \flat^7 - \mathsf{A} \flat$$

Example 5:12 Sanz's Major 7th Chords



'19 'Hallaràs las quatro vozes, y todo lo mas lleno que se puede tañer en la Guitarra; y finalmente, todos los puntos cromaticos, con sus consonancias, y disonancias, que es lo mas dificil, y son de grande util para el que desea saber con fundamento, y acompañarse con la voz'. p. 6-7

The B/Bb harmonies are actually a little more complex: as well as having a major 7th, there is also a 6th present, giving them the character of G/G\$ harmonies with added 9ths. However, as Sanz stipulates, they are 7th harmonies. The added 6th is necessary because it is very difficult to execute a strum and to avoid the first course, which is what would be necessary to sound a B/Bb major 7th chord. Sanz cannot simply play an open E in the chord on Bb, because it would result in a tritone; the top course must therefore be stopped, which he elects to do at the 3rd fret. In the case of the B major 7th chord, he retains the previous fingering transposed a semitone higher. Thus we have a clear example of dissonance arising out of necessity for practical reasons. One may well wonder why Sanz felt the need to demonstrate chords such as C\$ major 7th in the first place. These harmonies do not appear in his continuo treatise at all, and it is odd that after taking such pains to put the dominant 7th chords of his 'labyrinth' into context, he did not do the same with these more potently dissonant harmonies.

Some observations are worth making regarding Sanz's dissonant harmonies. Firstly, several of the chord voicings employed are identical to those found in the dissonant *alfabeto* chord charts of Corbetta (1639) and Foscarini (c.1632):

Example 5:12, Bar 6: The A flat chord matches Foscarini's chord N+.

Bar 4: The F^{maj7} chord matches Corbetta's chord G^* .

Example 5:10, Bar 13: The D^7 chord matches Corbetta's chord C^* .

Bar 9: The F^7 chord matches Corbetta's chord P^* . This chord shape appears multiple times in the 'labyrinth'.

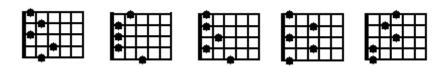
Bar 18: Note the use of Valdambrini's 4/3 chord on B.

Bar 51: Sanz employs Corbetta's 7^{th} chord shape for the A^7 harmony .

Bar 50: This is the same chord shape as Corbetta's 6/5 chord with the 5th course omitted.

Sanz, then, assimilates dissonant *alfabeto* harmonies into his teachings (unsurprising, given that he was familiar with the works of such composers as Foscarini and Corbetta) as well as offering some new chord shapes. His 'labyrinth' may appear intimidating to the student at first glance, but when one realises that he largely relies on only five transposable dissonant chord shapes, the labour involved in learning the harmonies is perfectly manageable. Anyone with an interest in accompaniment in the strummed manner should find Sanz's transposable 7th chords useful.

Example 5:13 Sanz's Transposable 7th Chord Shapes²⁰



One final point in Sanz's introduction is worth mentioning before we move on to his treatise. In his discussion of playing in the plucked manner he makes the following observation regarding the role of the thumb: the thumb was always to play the 'lowest voice. . . because the thumb is the one that has to explain that voice so that it has more body'. The importance of the true bass when plucking is, then, finally made explicit.

Scales

After twelve pages of music in the strummed and plucked manner begins Sanz's *Documentos, y* advertencias generales para acompañar sobre la parte con la guitarra, arpa, organo, o qualquier otro instrumento. This is one of the first treatises to assert that its content is not necessarily guitar specific

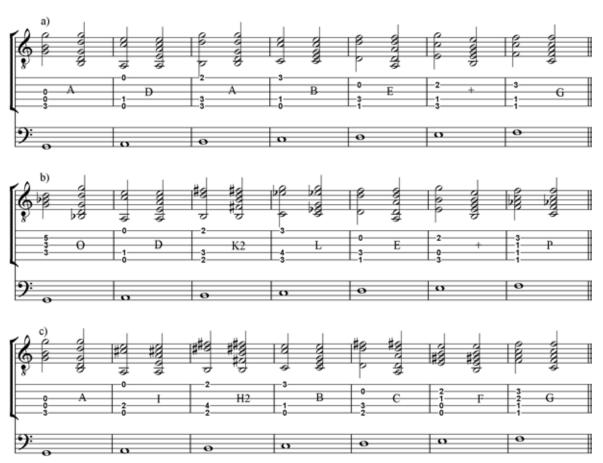
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²⁰ Although Sanz employed the first chord shape three times in the 'labyrinth' it is the most awkward to play of the five. The shape that occurred with by far the most frequency is the third (Corbetta's chord P^*).

²¹ Sanz, p. 7, trans. Jerry Willard, *The Complete Works of Gaspar Sanz*, p. 21

but could be applicable to other continuo instruments. This is primarily because of its focus on contrapuntal accompaniment. Its teachings are therefore more in keeping with mainstream continuo playing. Although this is one of the most comprehensive continuo treatises written for the guitar, Sanz stresses that there is far more to be learnt than can be set down on paper, and that his objective is simply to provide the student with a solid foundation on which he can build. Predictably, then, his treatise begins with a discussion of scales, diatonic, minor and major (see Example 5:14).

Example 5:14 Sanz's Scale Harmonisations: a) Diatonic, b) Minor, c) Major



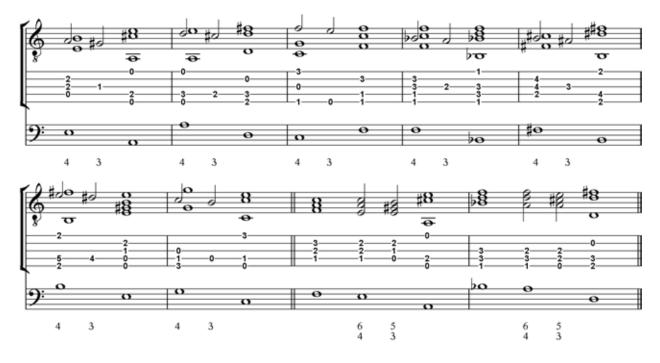
He explains that the diatonic scale will take natural consonances over each degree, with the exception of the *MIs*, which must take a 6th to avoid the false 5th. He provides two kinds of accompaniment, those to be plucked and those to be strummed. As may be expected, the plucked harmonies retain the bass in the lowest voice whilst the strummed harmonies are indiscriminately

inverted. Although the plucked chords are given in three parts, Sanz tells us that a fourth voice would usually be the octave of the bass, and he reiterates that the bass must be played with the thumb. Sanz concludes his discussion of scales by referring the student to the treatises of Granata and Corbetta for further study. Following this he briefly discusses accidentals before moving on to cadences. Note that from this point onwards there are no more examples notated with *alfabeto* symbols. The remaining examples are all to be played in the plucked manner.

The Perfect Cadence

Sanz provides two possible figures for the V-I cadence, the standard 4-3 and the 6/4 - 5/3. The only aspect of his 4-3 harmonies that differs from those given in earlier works is their reduction in texture to three parts, though he states that a 4^{th} voice could be added at the octave of the bass. Helpfully, he includes a preliminary chord in his final two examples to demonstrate how the 6/4 chord may be properly prepared. One might note also how he often omits the 5^{th} from his final chords.

Example 5:15 Sanz's V-I Cadences



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 $^{^{22}}$ Note that the 6^{th} degree of Sanz's diatonic scale is treated as a 6/3 chord in the plucked harmony and a 5/3 chord in the strummed version.

In further discussion Sanz warns that it is not always possible to harmonise this progression with a 4th and that sometimes it is necessary to employ a 7th instead. This circumstance arises when the penultimate note is approached from either a 3rd or a 5th above, because neither of these chords has the necessary consonances to prepare the dissonant 4th. Thus, if the 4th cannot be prepared it is replaced with the 7th (see Example 5:16)

Example 5:16 When to Employ a 7th at Cadences



The Tenorising Cadence

Sanz spends little time discussing this cadence, but speaks of the importance of preparing the 7^{th} in the preceding chord and resolving it onto a major 6^{th} . He also states that, in these examples, a possible 4^{th} voice could be the 10^{th} above the bass.

Example 5:17 Sanz's 7-6 Cadences



The Treble Cadence

The 'treble cadence' is the name that Sanz gives to the progression named by Penna as the 'cadence of the 4th order' (see Example 4:19 in the previous chapter). He explains that it was called a treble cadence because the ligature in the bass part would normally be associated with the treble voice. Sanz's discussion of the treble cadence is of interest as it is not a topic treated by guitarists before, though it is found in earlier guitar music such as Example 4:20 by Granata. Perrine provided the following demonstration of this cadence in 1679:

Example 5:18 Perrine's Treble Cadence²³



As is demonstrated in Example 5:19, Sanz favours the 6th over the 4th which is prescribed by Perrine. Unlike Perrine and Granata, however, he notates a simple 6/3 chord over the resolving bass. The other composers both employ flat 5ths above this note.

Example 5:19 Sanz's Treble Cadence



Sanz writes of this ligature that a 4th voice may double the 2nd or 9th of the bass at the octave.

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²³ Perrine, *Livre de Musique pour le lut* (Paris: the author, 1679)

His final word on the topic of cadences is that the ligatures demonstrated must be carried out whenever the bass allows. In other words, the note values must be of sufficient length to allow the correct execution of the figures.

According to Sanz, the material covered so far has been taught before in other guitar treatises, but the rules that follow have scarcely been dealt with in any detail up to his present work. He was largely right, as past works had provided students with the bare essentials regarding consonances and cadences and had prescribed certain harmonisations in relation to certain progressions (i.e. when the bass falls a 5th), but from this point onwards Sanz concerns himself largely with the exceptions to the common rules, which are not tackled in earlier writings.

Which Notes are Not Accompanied

The fourth rule he sets down concerns the notes of the bass that are left unharmonised. Firstly, in the context of basses that ascend or descend by degree, every other note will be harmonised whilst the intermediate notes will be plucked alone. Secondly, in the context of quick basses, if the bass moves in the same manner in values of a quaver or less, then the first note is harmonised and the others sound alone.

When the Bass Moves by Leap

A bass that does not move by degrees must be fully harmonised, though that does not necessarily mean a change of harmony on every note. The harmony may remain unaltered when the bass leaps an octave, for example, and this can also apply to leaps of a 6th, such as an ascent from E to C, and also to leaps of a 3rd, such as a descent from B to G. In both cases the former note would bear a 6/3 chord and the latter a 5/3, so no change of harmony is necessary. However, Sanz warns that one must be careful when the bass makes the leap of a third as one could end up with a false relation. For example, if a D leaps to an F\$\pm\$ one must not give the D a minor 3rd. Sanz elaborates on this rule in a discussion of the *cadenca sfugita*, or fleeting cadence. In such a cadence, the bass falls a 5th or rises a

 4^{th} , just as it does in a perfect cadence. However, the penultimate note is approached from a minor 3^{rd} above. Under such circumstances, one cannot give the dominant chord a major 3^{rd} because it will create a false relation (i.e. in the progression G - E - A, the major 3^{rd} above the E would clash with the G). On these occasions, therefore, the dominant chord would be given a minor 3^{rd} . Alternatively, however, if one incorporated a 4-3 suspension into the progression, the clashing 3rds would be sufficiently separated to make a perfect cadence allowable (see Example 5:20). Note, however, that the 4^{th} is unprepared in both examples, which conflicts with Sanz's usual strictness in the treatment of dissonance.

Example 5:20 The Avoidance of False Relations at Cadences



A Bass that Rises a 5th or Falls a 4th

Sanz harmonises this progression in the conventional manner with a 6th and a sharp 4th. He adds, however, that one may also use this figure when the bass descends a semitone (see Example 5:21).

Example 5:21 A Bass Rising a 5th, Falling a 4th, or Descending a Semitone

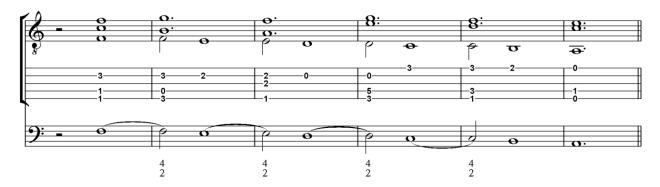


²⁴ Locke, too, wrote of the importance of avoiding false relations: 'But (for prevention of glutting or offending the Ear) never ascend or descend with two Fifts if Eights together between the Treble and Bass, nor Play your Thirds, Fifts or Eights, one Flat and another Sharp at the same time'. *Melothesia*, p. 6

Syncopated Basses Moving By Degrees

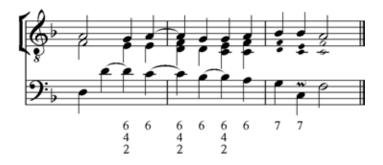
A syncopated bass moving by degrees is harmonised with a 4th and a 2nd (see Example 5:22).

Example 5:22 Syncopated Basses Moving By Degrees



This example is similar to that provided by Blow, though the latter employs fuller, 6/4/2 harmonies (see Example 5:23).

Example 5:23 John Blow's Syncopated Bass Descending By Degrees²⁵



Chromatic Basses

As we have seen from the care that Sanz takes with the subject of false relations, the need for a good sense of key is clearly an important recurring theme in his writings. He returns to this subject at the close of his treatise, as his eleventh rule concerns how one knows in which key to play an accompanying *passacaglia*, which can be determined by looking to see on what chord the music ends. His twelfth rule then tackles key signatures, which, according to Sanz, were commonly used in Italian

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 $^{^{25}}$ As it is transcribed in Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment*, Vol. 1, p. 171

violin sonatas and concertos. His final music example is a chromatic bass, over which he wrote 'the curious musician must accompany this bass with care'.²⁶

Example 5:24 Sanz's Chromatic Bass [figures are mine]



Interestingly, the flat 5th is a harmony that Sanz does not discuss in his treatise. Its use here closely resembles Corbetta's employment of the 6/5 chord on chromatically ascending basses.

Sample Bass

Sanz's treatise concludes with a realisation of a sample bass that incorporates many of his teachings (see Example 5:25). The character of the bass changes from the stately to the fluid as leaping chord progressions contrast with quick, sequential runs, giving the student a valuable exercise in the flexibility of accompaniment. Note in particular:

Bars 1-4: A demonstration of a bass ascending by degrees. The notes on the strong beats of the bar are harmonised and those on the weak beats are plucked.

Bars 5-7: Only the first quaver of the four is harmonised, in accordance with Sanz's instruction. In bar 6 the harmony is unmodified over the octave leap in the bass.

Bars 8-23: Sanz demonstrates the treatment of basses in small note values. Again only the first of each group of four quavers is harmonised while the rest are plucked. Note that the true bass is maintained throughout this passage.

²⁶ 'El Musico Curioso a tienda al acomp^{to} deste Bajo con cuidado'. *Instrucción de Música*, p. 14

Bars 24 and 28: The treble cadence appears in both bars.

Bars 25 and 29: The harmony over the bass leaping a 3rd remains unmodified (except for an alteration in the voicing). The 7th in the tenor cadence that follows is unfigured but properly prepared.

Bars 27: The 4-3 cadence is properly prepared and resolved.

Bars 31: The bass A takes a major 3rd as it leaps to a C#.

Bars 33-34: Sanz adds passing notes in imitation of the bass part in the previous bar. He also demonstrates the treatment of a syncopated bass.

Bars 36-37: Sanz harmonises the bass part with 3rds and then with 6ths, a practice first demonstrated by Foscarini in 1640.

Bar 41: Demonstration of the 7/3 - 6/4 - 5/3 cadence.

Bar 42: The music concludes with a Picardy 3rd.

Example 5:25 Sanz's Sample Bass





What emerges, then, from a study of continuo playing in the 1670s is that guitarists still approached the practice very much on two levels. On the one hand, having absorbed the mainstream practices of keyboard, lute and theorbo players, they were capable of providing accompaniments at the same level of sophistication. Sanz's treatise contains teachings comparable with some of the leading theorists of the day in England and Italy. In his demonstrations we find the first true example of continuo accompaniments that are not subject to compromises on practical grounds. On the other hand, however, strumming continues to be a regular feature of accompaniment, and alfabeto harmonies still have an important role in this context. Corbetta's continuo guidelines are steeped in alfabeto traditions and his song accompaniments are full of pragmatic chord voicings. The rules governing the sounding of the true bass and the avoidance of parallel perfect intervals are still relaxed and accompaniments are coloured throughout with guitaristic dissonances. Even Sanz incorporated alfabeto symbols into his scale accompaniments and his 'labyrinth' of dissonances demonstrates his awareness of the popularity of playing in this manner. The 'labyrinth' contains none of the careful voice leading found in his continuo examples, demonstrating that Sanz acknowledged the secondary importance of theory in this context. As Corbetta demonstrated, however, accompaniment in this style did not necessarily mean a lack of sensitivity to the character of the piece and the meaning of the texts being sung. Rather than being governed by the rules of linear voice leading, strummed accompaniments must be shaped by texture and colour. Indeed, accompaniments continue to be defined by strumming in the teachings of the next decade. Those more characteristically contrapuntal are not really encountered again until the very late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, in the works of Spanish guitarists José Marín and Santiago de Murcia.

Chapter 6 ENGLISH AND FRENCH SOURCES FROM THE 1680s

This chapter explores the continuo guidelines of the 1680s, highlighting new material not encountered in earlier teachings and also drawing attention to practices that are little changed from those of the early seventeenth century. In the 1670s, Sanz had produced a treatise that gave a far more detailed account of accompaniment on the guitar than any that had been published previously, demonstrating new kinds of cadence and the treatment of syncopated and chromatic basses. He was also one of the first guitarists to stress the importance of tonal coherence, by which he meant the avoidance of false relations and major-minor inflection. Additional content was provided in the teachings of the 1680s, such as the expansion of the V-I progression to include a preliminary chord IV, and the use of ornamental dissonance, such as the 9th. Two continuo treatises were published during this decade, a French one by Henri Grenerin and an Italian one by Nicola Matteis. A third source worth exploring and rarely discussed is a short reference table for continuo guitarists authored by Cesare Morelli, which survives in a manuscript in the Samuel Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge. In the following discussion these three sources are compared, revealing both how continuo practices had advanced from past approaches, but also how the practices associated with alfabeto remained highly influential over accompaniment in the late seventeenth century. One need not confine oneself to treatises for this purpose, however, as there are plentiful contemporary sources of tablature accompaniments that reveal some of the stylistically different approaches to accompaniment, both chordal and otherwise. One such manuscript source (F-Pn Vm⁷ 6235) is therefore analysed in this chapter to draw attention to the continued cultivation of alfabeto practices in contemporary working accompaniments.

Grenerin was the most eminent of the three authors. He was a theorbist, guitarist and chamber musician under Louis XIV and was made *musician du roi* in 1641. In the following decade he was regularly employed in the accompaniment of *ballets de cour*, including the *Ballet royal de l'impatience* and *Psyché* by Lully. He was the author of two books, one for theorbo (1668) and one for guitar (1680). Both contained solo music, song accompaniments, and guidelines on continuo playing which are of great value, given that their author was a professional accompanist. The guitar book features solo dance suites, symphonies for guitar, theorbo and two violins, and three airs with fully notated guitar accompaniments, two for four voices and one for three voices.

Little is known about Matteis before he arrived in England in c.1670. Some of the best accounts of his activities come from Roger North and the diarist John Evelyn. Matteis made a name for himself as a virtuoso violinist, stunning his audience at private musical soirées. His reputation grew and he became much sought-after as a teacher of both violin and composition. It is North who draws our attention to his technical brilliance on the guitar, claiming he 'had the force upon it to stand in consort against a harpsichordist'. Matteis had published a lengthy and comprehensive continuo treatise for the instrument in Italian in c. 1680. An English edition followed in 1682. Matteis makes clear in his full title that his continuo demonstrations would be of equal benefit to players of the harpsichord, lute and bass viol, so it would seem that he regarded his accompaniments as legitimate illustrations of continuo practice, and not merely as guitar-friendly adaptations of a higher theoretical ideal. The work is divided into four parts: (i) the elementary rules of continuo playing, (ii) sample basses, (iii) the treatment of dissonances and (iv) a universal scale in which one can look up any figures to find the appropriate harmonies.

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¹ Henri Grenerin, *Livre de théorbe*, (Paris: s.n., 1668); *Livre de guitarre* (Paris: H. Bonneuil, 1680)

² Roger North, *Memoirs of Musick*, (ed.) Edward F. Rimbault (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), p. 126

³ Nicola Matteis, *Le false consonanse della musica* (London: s.n., c. 1680)

⁴ Nicola Matteis, *The False Consonances of Music* (London: J. Carr, 1682)

Morelli came from the Spanish Netherlands but received his musical training in Rome. He was offered a place at the Samuel Pepys household on the recommendation of Thomas Hill, a merchant who had witnessed Morelli's talent at first hand in Lisbon. Morelli came to London in 1675 and assumed duties which included performing, arranging music, composing and teaching guitar. In the substantial manuscript collection in Morelli's hand held at Magdalene, College Cambridge, there is a rich repertoire of English, French, Latin and Italian songs, sacred and secular, as well as a brief overview of continuo playing on the guitar. The full title of the continuo manuscript is A Table to the Ghitarr Shewing the Relation of Each Frett Upon Every String to the Common Scale of Music; and the Generall Chords Proper Thereto, by Notes & Halfe Notes, Through All the Cases and Cadences (of Flatts and Sharps) Incidental to the Same. The treatise is transcribed in full in Appendix 4. The work is intended for reference and therefore lacks any verbal explanation or instances of harmonies placed in their proper context. Presumably Pepys was given the necessary instruction directly by Morelli. Thus the work is of little use to beginners as it stands alone, but for those with some experience of continuo playing on the guitar there are some interesting chord voicings worthy of attention.

The continuo treatises of the 1680s do not feature *alfabeto* notations, though this reflects the intended market for the works rather than a diminishing importance of *alfabeto* practices. *Alfabeto* was not widely used outside Italy, though it was known elsewhere. Late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Spanish guitarists were evidently familiar with the symbols, as were their contemporaries in the Low Countries. In France and England, however, guitar music was notated exclusively in tablature.

4-3 Cadences

There is a noticeable difference between the stricter French treatment of the 4-3 cadence and the more liberal Italian approach. Grenerin maintains the true bass at the bottom of his chords, and

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⁵ Roger Short, 'Morelli, Cesare' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) [accessed 02/07/13] < http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19116>

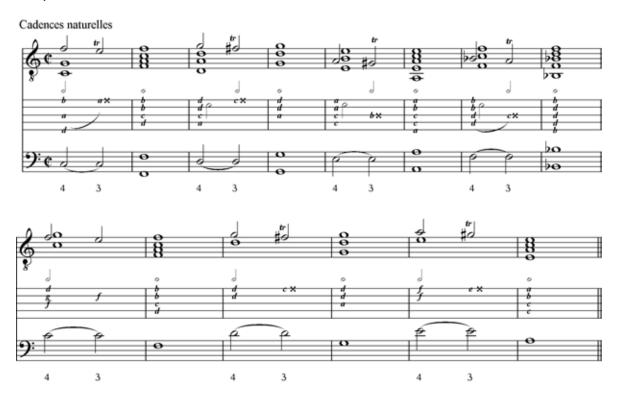
⁶ GB-Cmc MS 2805 (1680)

even takes into account the tessitura of the bass note; hence the high basses sound on the third course and the accompanying harmonies are reduced to two parts (see Example 6:1). Matteis employs voicings that make sustaining the bass impossible (see Example 6:2 nos. 1 and 5) and even voicings in which the bass is absent (Example 6:2 nos. 3 and 9). In both cases, where the bass is absent Matteis includes an unfigured 7th in the dissonant chords. Both he and Morelli offer two versions of this progression, one plucked and one strummed. Plucked voicings in which the bass is one of the middle voices can be found in their examples (see Example 6:2 nos. 7 and 8, and Example 6:3). The strummed versions offered by the two composers are strongly influenced by alfabeto practices. In Example 6:4 Morelli includes dissonant voicings that correspond with chords H+, C+ and D, and harmonies equivalent to chord K+ can be found in Example 6:3. All three composers agree that final chords should be strummed or be thicker in texture than the preceding harmonies, and that when plucking the chords the note of resolution should sound alone. When strumming it may be incorporated into an upwards strum as demonstrated by Morelli. Grenerin and Matteis both incorporate trills into their examples. The consensus is that the note of resolution is ornamented unless this is impractical. Where it is impractical, Grenerin omits the trill. Matteis instead reallocates it to the dissonant note. Matteis is alone in prescribing open octaves as a possible final harmony (Example 6:2 no. 4) and in incorporating an accented appoggiatura in the final chord (Example 6:2 no. 6), though this was also a characteristic of Corbetta's song accompaniments of the previous decade.⁷

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⁷ Refer to Chapter 5 p. 233, point 5.

Example 6:1 A Selection of Grenerin's 4-3 Cadences⁸



Example 6:2 Matteis's 4-3 Cadences



 $^{^{8}}$ A full transcription of Grenerin's continuo guidelines is provided in Appendix 3.

Example 6:3 A Sample of Morelli's 4-3 Cadences



Example 6:4 Morelli's Harmonies Corresponding with Chords H+, C+ and D



Cadential 6/4 Chords

Matteis expands the standard 4-3 progression to incorporate a preliminary 6/4 chord. His treatment of the bass is stricter in these examples. However, for practical reasons, in the 'rare' cadence on Ab the bass temporarily becomes one of the inner voices. He continues to employ a trill on the note of resolution, but in this context he displays a preference for a final chord of bare octaves rather than a full harmony. Again the harmony is restricted to three parts and the note of resolution sounds alone.

Example 6:5 Preliminary 6/4 Cadences

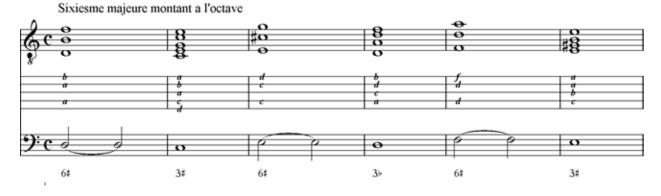


7-6 Cadences

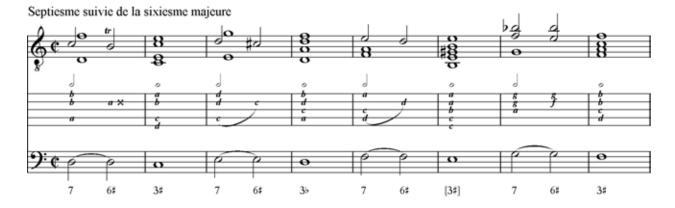
Before introducing the 7-6 cadence, Grenerin demonstrates the treatment of a stepwise descending bass without the dissonance, in which the final chord is preceded by a 6th chord alone (see Example 6:6). The subsequent demonstration of the 7-6 voicing (see Example 6:7) is therefore presented logically as an embellishment of the same stepwise bass progression. Matteis and Morelli are stricter with their basses in 7-6 cadences, and all three composers consistently employ plucked

dissonant harmonies in two or three parts. Grenerin and Matteis prefer fuller, possibly strummed final chords. Morelli does not include the final chord in his examples but again demonstrates his preference for resolutions plucked across the guitar strings, as in Example 6:9. Not knowing Morelli's stringing preference, the note of resolution may well have sounded an octave higher. Either way, these voicings demonstrate nicely how a guitarist could utilise the lower courses of the instrument as bearers of harmony as well as of bass notes.

Example 6:6 Grenerin's Treatment of a Bass Descending Stepwise (Extract)



Example 6:7 Grenerin's 7-6 Cadences



Example 6:8 Matteis's 7-6 Cadences



Example 6:9 Morelli's 7-6 Cadences



Leading Note Cadences

In his discussion regarding the addition of dissonances where they are not indicated in the continuo figures Matteis said of the false fifth that 'you may use [it] upon any note that hath a sharp upon the side of it'. This is well illustrated in his demonstrations of the leading note cadence, that is, the chromatic ascent of the bass from the leading note to the tonic. This kind of cadence has been

⁹ Matteis, *The False Consonances of Music*, p. 78

encountered frequently in the accompaniments discussed in earlier chapters (both Corbetta and Sanz made use of 6/5 chord shapes in this context), but the only guitarist to discuss this progression in continuo teachings before the 1680s was Velasco in 1640. The cadence features a false 5th which resolves onto the 3rd of the tonic, and Matteis provides two versions, one strummed and one plucked. In the strummed examples, the true bass is maintained wherever practical, but there are several instances in Example 6:10 where the bass is in one of the inner voices. The b6/b5 voicing is preferable, but when this proves too awkward for the left hand a b5/3 chord is employed instead. In such instances the chord is plucked rather than strummed. In the plucked versions (see Example 6:11) the flat 5th is an unharmonised passing note. Matteis is stricter with his voicings and he prescribes fully strummed final chords. Trills are executed on the notes of resolution where practical.

Example 6:10 Leading Note Cadences

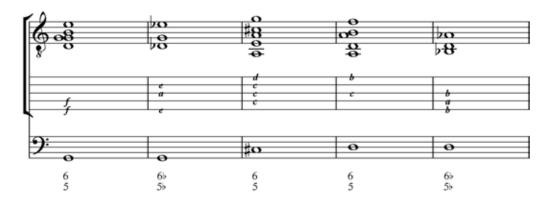


Example 6:11 Plucked Leading Note Cadences



Although Morelli does not include this cadence in his continuo guidelines, he does provide sample voicings of strummed 6/5 chords in which the bass note is often one of the middle voices of the harmony (see Example 6:12), again demonstrating the less rigorous application of theory in the context of strummed accompaniment.

Example 6:12 Morelli's 6/5 Chords



Grenerin helpfully demonstrates the preparation of the dissonant 5th by adding a preliminary chord that approaches the bass from a 3rd above. Example 6:13 shows a strict treatment the bass and also a sensitivity to the *tessitura* of the bass part. In the penultimate bar, for example, he reduces the texture above the high D to two parts. His voicings reveal that one may omit the 6th or the 3rd from the chord, as the flat 5th will suffice alone if more practical. A selection of alternative leading note cadence progressions is provided (see Example 6:14) in which the bass note is tied for a full bar. These examples resemble the plucked voicings prescribed by Matteis, as there are instances of the false 5th being prescribed as an unharmonised passing note. The alternative was to incorporate the 5th into a plucked chord, as can be seen in the first and third bars.

Example 6:13 Grenerin's Leading Note Cadences

La fausse quinte precedée de la tierce mineure et suivie de la tierce majeure



Example 6:14 Grenerin's Alternative Versions of the Leading Note Cadence

La fausse quinte precedée de la sixiesme et suivie de la tierce majeure



V⁷ - I Cadences

Sanz is the only guitarist prior to Matteis to discuss the V^7 - I progression in any depth. Whilst he advocated that it should be employed whenever it is impossible to prepare the dissonant 4^{th} that is more commonly used in a V-I progression, Matteis advocates the more liberal use of the dominant 7^{th} chord in this context:

When y^e Bass makes such a leap [a fourth up or a fifth down] and that you find by the treble that you are coming to that Close, you may take a Fourth and a Third though it be not marked. Instead of y^e said Fourth & Third you may take a Third Major with a 7. ¹⁰

He gives two approaches, one in which the 7th sounds with the dominant chord (Example 6:15) and one in which the 7th is a passing note between strummed dominant and tonic chords (Example 6:16). It is

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¹⁰ Matteis, The False Consonances of Music, p. 17

noteworthy that in the former examples the dissonant harmony is reduced to three parts to maintain the true bass, while in the latter examples the bass is treated more liberally in the interest of strumming. Also noteworthy is the 6th bar of Example 6:16, in which the dissonance sounds on the fifth course of the instrument, demonstrating the idiomatic use of the lower courses as bearers of melody.

Example 6:15 V⁷ - I Cadences



Example 6:16 Strummed V⁷-I Cadences



IV - V - I Cadences

One could give a fuller context for a final cadence by including an antepenultimate chord. Matteis uses chord IV for this purpose resulting in a cadential formula of $IV_5^7 - V_3^4 - I$. The 7/5 harmony is indicated as opposed to the usual 7/3 harmony, because the 5th prepares the dissonant 4th in the subsequent chord (see

Example 6:17). Each of his examples is separated by double barlines, and a repeat sign follows each three-chord progression. The note that immediately follows each repetition is to be treated as a chromatically altered alternative to the initial bass note of each progression. What Matteis is trying to

demonstrate is that regardless of whether the initial bass note is chromatically altered, the subsequent harmonies above the remaining bass notes do not change. For the most part this is true, though there are some instances where this is not the case (marked with a *). To take the second cadence as an example, if one begins the progression with an Ab, the 5th above this note is Eb, which would clash with the Eb that sounds a 4th above the B on the second beat of the bar. To correct this, one needs a 4-3 harmony above a bass Bb instead. Of course, this will have implications also for the final note of the progression, which will need to be chromatically altered as appropriate. In this example, the E would need to be flattened. One must be mindful of these exceptions.

Matteis's voice leading is much stricter in this context, as his examples are nearly all reduced to three-part plucked chords. Again, his usual procedure is to ornament the note of resolution.





Le Cadenze Finali

The extended cadential progressions referred to by Matteis as *cadenze finale* [sic] are similar to those demonstrated by Granata in 1659. Although the resulting voicings prescribed by the two composers differ, similar procedures are implemented (and liberties taken) by both. If one compares Example 6:18 with Example 4:5 in Chapter 4 (p. 206), one can find instances of dissonances being added where not indicated and a relaxed treatment of the bass, if it is included at all.

Example 6:18 Matteis's Cadenze Finali (major)



Interestingly, Granata prefers to realise the progression in three-part plucked chords, while Matteis displays a preference for strummed dissonance. Another difference between the two examples is that Granata harmonises his notes of resolution, whereas Matteis's are ornamented and unharmonised. One may note, however, that Granata adds an unfigured 7th to the note of resolution in his cadence on C. Matteis also adds dissonances, though he adds his to the penultimate chords, making 7/5/4 harmonies, as in his cadences on G and on F. In the cadence on F the dissonance sounds in place of the omitted bass note on the fifth course. As Granata's examples are plucked, one may expect his treatment of the bass to be stricter, but this is not the case. He uses the fifth course to harmonise bass notes in his cadence on C, and the bass is omitted from his cadence on G.

Example 6:19 Matteis's Cadenze Finali (minor)



The importance of *alfabeto* is clear in Granata's treatise, as he employed the symbols in his music examples. Although Matteis does not include *alfabeto* symbols in his treatise the importance of *alfabeto* harmonies is still apparent, particularly given his fondness for strummed dissonances. In the major cadence on B_b (Example 6:18) he notates a harmony equivalent to that of Foscarini's chord *K+*, and included among the minor cadences in Example 6:19 are harmonies equivalent to Marini's chord *.B.* (cadence on C) and Palumbi's chord *.P.* (cadence on F). Matteis's treatise actually displays more of an affinity with *alfabeto* traditions than does Granata's work, which it postdates by over twenty years.

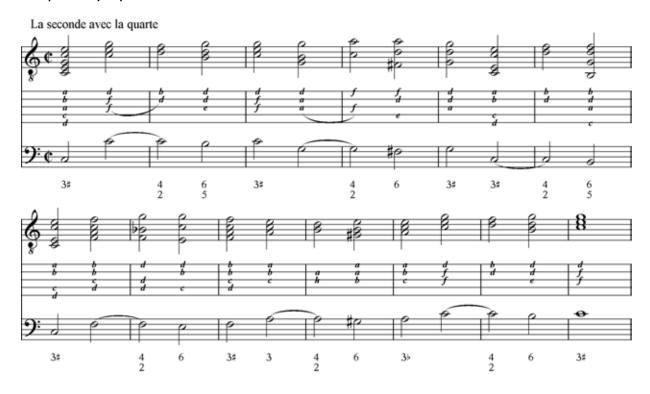
Syncopated Basses Moving by Degrees

In the previous chapter we saw that Sanz realised stepwise descending syncopated basses with 4/2 chords resolving into 5/3 chords. Grenerin extends the progression by incorporating a leading note

cadence; thus his 4/2 chords resolve into 6/3 or 6/5 chords above a chromatically ascending bass.

Grenerin maintains his usual strictness with the true bass, though it will be observed in Example 6:20 that the bass is not maintained where the note is tied, possibly suggesting an expectations of a supporting bass instrument.

Example 6:20 Syncopated Basses



Matteis prescribes a similar treatment of the 4/2 chord, which, he states, 'you may use when the Bass goes so [see Example 6:21] . . . and where y^e star is markt you may apply the same discord'. ¹¹

Example 6:21 Where to Use the 4/2 Chord



Like Grenerin, he uses the 4/2 chord to create an extended version of the leading note cadence, in which the antepenultimate chord bears the 4/2 harmony and functions as chord II in third inversion. In each case the 4^{th} prepares the flat 5^{th} of the following chord. While Matteis is more consistent in his

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¹¹ Matteis, The False Consonances of Music, p. 77

choice of harmony over the chromatically ascending bass, he is less strict with his voicings than Grenerin. His flat 5th chords all maintain the true bass; elsewhere the bass features in one of the middle voices, particularly in strummed final chords (see Example 6:22).

Example 6:22 The Use of the 4/2 Chord



Here, he refrains from strumming, and so his voicings are stricter. He advises that this dissonance may be used even when not indicated in the figures. Not all composers approved of this practice. Nivers wrote in his *L'art d'accompagner sur la basse continue pour orgue et le clavecin* (1689) that 'dissonances are not used, the false intervals even less, unless they are marked by the figures'. Matteis, on the other hand, suggests that one should use dissonances to enliven simple basses: 'for some easy Basses it will be very Agreeable to put a discord now and then which will Grace your tune extraordinary'. His instructions concerning the use of the \$4/2 chord are as follows:

'you may use [it] when the Bass goes a note Lower, or a half and stops to a note, with a Six^{th} , (Example 6:23).¹⁴

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¹² Guillaume Nivers, Motets à voix seule, accompagnée de la basse continue. Et quelques autres Motets à deux voix, propres pour les religieuses. Avec l'art d'accompagner sur la Basse Continue Pour l'Orgue et le Clavecin (Paris: the author, 1689). Translated by Robert T. Kelly in An English Translation of: L'arte d'accompagner sur la basse continue pour l'Orgue et le Clavecin (December, 2001), p. 5 < http://robertkelleyphd.com/nivers.pdf [accessed 20/09/13]

¹³ Matteis, *The False Consonances of Music*, p. 77

¹⁴ ibid

Example 6:23 A Bass Descending by Step to a Chord of a 6th



If one compares this Example with Example 5:21 in the previous chapter (p.266), it will be seen that Matteis favoured a different voicing to Sanz, who preferred the 6/#4 chord in this context. Either way the effect is that of a dominant 7th harmony. The difference is that Matteis's voicing includes the root of the chord. Grenerin's treatment is very similar to Matteis's, though he places it in the context of a syncopated bass and extends the progression by adding a 7-6 cadence (see Example 6:24).

Example 6:24 Expanded Syncopated Bass Progression





Tonal Coherence

What arose in the previous Chapter was the growing importance in theoretical writings of a good sense of key. This involved the avoidance of false relations and major-minor inflections, but it also required the identification of the points at which modulations occur.

In the previous decade, Sanz highlighted some of the errors that can be made when a bass leaps a 3rd. Grenerin echoed those concerns in his own teachings, and provided examples of the proper treatment of basses descending by leaps of a 6th (see Example 6:25).

Example 6:25 The Downward Leap of a 6th

De la tierce majeure a la sixieme mineure per intervalle du sol au mi

Matteis discusses the topic of modulation in depth, and given that it is an important topic, insufficiently dealt with in earlier works, it is worth exploring. The section titled 'where you might give

3#

the sixth' deals with which degrees of the scale take 'natural' 6ths and which notes take 'artificial' 6ths. Matteis warns that 'if you should give a fifth upon that note [that requires a 6th] . . . you would go out of your key'. ¹⁵ To know which notes naturally take a 6th one must be aware at all times of the key in which one is playing, and one must equate the bass notes with the individual scale degrees of that key. Thus, if the key is G major, the 'natural' 6ths occur on the 3rd and 7th scale degrees. This basic principle is demonstrated in scale harmonisations in guitar literature across the seventeenth century and would eventually be refined into the rule of the octave in the early eighteenth century. Matteis goes on to say that one must be aware of any modulations as under these circumstances the notes that would usually take a 6th will take a 5th instead. He demonstrates this with examples in which he clearly marks all instances of modulation with a **** (see Example 6:26).

Example 6:26 Matteis's Demonstrations of Modulation in G Minor¹⁶ #3 #3

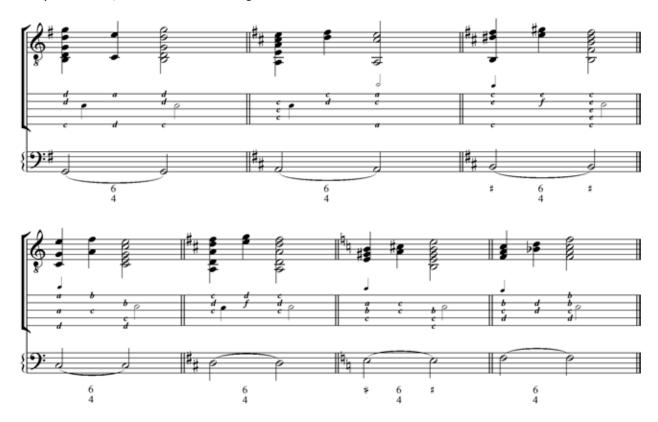
¹⁵ Matteis, *The False Consonances of Music*, p. 21

¹⁶ The [‡] indicates notes that naturally take a 6th.

Non-Cadential Dissonance

There are two chords for which Matteis provides demonstrations but no discussion, and they are the auxiliary subdominant 6/4 chord and the 9th chord. The 6/4 chord is presented as one would expect between two stable tonic chords and closely resembles the usage as prescribed in other theoretical works. Compare Examples 6:27 and 6:28 to see the similarities between Matteis's treatment of the chord and that prescribed in Henri d'Anglebert's 'Les principes de l'accompagnement' (1689). ¹⁷

Example 6:27 The 6/4 Chord as an Embellishing Chord



Example 6:28 Jean-Henry d'Anglebert's Use of the 6/4 Chord (1689)



¹⁷ Jean-Henry d'Anglebert, 'Les principes de l'accompagnement' in *Pièces de clavecin* (Paris : the author, 1689)

Though Matteis offers no guidance regarding when to employ the dissonant 9th, he provides three possible harmonisations: one in which the 9th resolves to the octave over a sustained bass, one in which the resolution is decorated with an escape tone, and one in which the 9th is effectively a passing note between the octave and the 10th (see Example 6:29).

Example 6:29 The Use of the 9th

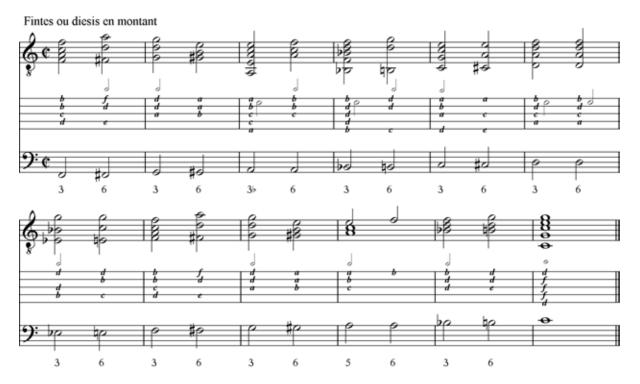


Chromatic Basses

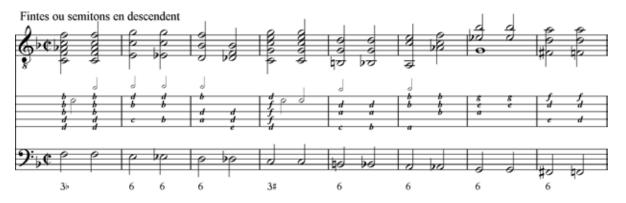
When basses ascend chromatically one employs 5/3 and 6/3 chords above alternate bass notes. Grenerin stressed the need to preserve the true bass in his examples, as its leading function should not be obscured. For this reason the inverted harmonies are usually plucked unless there is a strummed alternative with the appropriate note in the bass (this guideline applies also to his 5/3 chords, see Example 6:30). An alternative realisation involves a sequence of parallel 6th chords. This is demonstrated over a chromatically descending bass in Example 6:31. Of course, chromatically ascending basses were a context in which the \flat 5 chord could be employed, as was expressed by Matteis,

who said it was suitable for use on accidentally sharpened notes. This use of the \$5 chord in this context was demonstrated by Sanz in 1674 (see Example 5:24, p.268)

Example 6:30 Chromatically Ascending Bass



Example 6:31 Chromatically Descending Bass



There is no great leap between the treatises of Grenerin and Sanz in terms of content, but the former presents us with some more complex basses by combining common progressions rather than presenting each in isolation. Although Grenerin does not provide us with a sample bass, as Sanz did, he did include

some fully notated guitar accompaniments to some four-part songs in the same volume, giving us a valuable insight into accompaniment as practised by a seasoned continuo player.

Short Note Value Basses

Matteis helpfully sheds light on how to treat basses notated in quavers or smaller note values.

The demonstrations transcribed in Examples 6:32 and 6:33 are particularly valuable as they provide two possible realisations of the same bass that are stylistically very different. In Example 6:32 the guitarist incorporates the semiquaver bass notes into the accompaniment, harmonising only the first of each group of four. The pairs of quavers in bar 3 are similarly treated, with the first harmonised and the second plucked alone. It is worth noting the employment of a strummed dissonance equivalent to chord *C+* at the 4-3 cadence in the first bar.

Example 6:32 Treatment of a Semiquaver Bass (i)



In Example 6:33 the semiquavers are omitted from the accompaniment and full chords are provided instead. This version may be favoured if a supporting bass instrument is available or if the audibility of version 1 is likely to be an issue. For a guitarist accompanying a single soloist, however, the maintenance of the melodic bass may be the more attractive option.

Example 6:33 Treatment of a Quick Bass (ii)



Example 6:34 shows an alternative approach in which the quaver bass is harmonised with two-part parallel 6ths. The first of each group of three bass notes may be strummed and again Matteis employs dissonant *alfabeto* harmonies *C+* in bar 11 and *t* in bar 5.

Example 6:34 A Harmonisation with Parallel 6ths



Sample Acompaniments

Grenerin's song accompaniments provide us with some principles on which to perform continuo in the 'mixed' style. Example 6:35 is a transcription of one of his songs for four voices, *Aprés avoir souffert*, and the guitar tablature gives us an insight into how one typically varies the texture of an accompaniment in this style. Usually 5/3 chords are fuller in texture or strummed, while 6/3 chords are reduced to three parts. This is because the maintenance of the true bass is more important in inverted harmonies, particularly if the bass assumes a leading role, as the function of the chord should be clear. It matters less in 5/3 chords if the bass note is the lowest voice, as in this context an implied function suffices. It follows, then, that dissonant harmonies are also reduced to three parts. By not strumming, a guitarist is able to employ voicings that are not subject to the same restrictions as five-part chords. Bass notes that are plucked alone are those of short durational value (as in bars 2 and 11) or melodic passing notes (as in bars 7, 9 and 11). This can also apply to chromatic leading notes of small value, particularly if the tempo is too quick for a harmonisation to be practical (as in bar 27). There is an observance of the *tessitura* of the bass, which is reflected in the accompaniment as the harmonisation of high basses is generally reduced to two or three parts (as in bars 10 and 11).

While Matteis provided a wealth of sample basses for study, the real value of his work is the guidance he offered on the stylistic niceties of accompaniment. This is rare in seventeenth-century expositions on continuo playing. Most authors concentrate on the mechanics of chord voicing and leave the unwritten practices (such as deviations from the figures, the addition of unspecified dissonances and other matters pertinent to personal taste) either to the guidance of a teacher or to experience. We have seen that Matteis offers suggestions as to when one may add dissonances effectively, but he also provided a sample bass in which the accompaniment has been crafted in such a way as to give the bass 'spirit' to use his own word (see Example 6:36). He does this by using the dotted rhythm in the opening bar to create a rhythmic motif which recurs throughout the example. Using this motif he adds passing

Example 6:35 Aprés avoir souffert







notes (bar 7), notes of anticipation (bar 2) and dissonances, created by displacing the upper voice of one chord and using it to create an accented appoggiatura above the next, as in the third crotchet beat of bar 3.

Example 6:36 How to Give Spirit to a Bass¹⁸



Recueil de chansons en tablature et musique

F-Pn Vm⁷ 6235 (c.1680) is a valuable source for the insights it offers into late seventeenth-century guitar accompaniment. Although the accompaniments are not continuo realisations (none of the songs has a notated bass part) the variety of styles of accompaniment is telling of how flexible and individual the art of accompaniment really was. Essentially, there are three distinct styles: (i) the exclusively strummed, (ii) plucked chords, and (iii) the 'mixed' style. Interestingly, some of the songs appear more than once with accompaniments that are starkly different in character.

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¹⁸ Note Matteis's use of 2 to mean 5/2.

Strummed Accompaniments

Exclusively strummed accompaniments most closely resemble those employed in the accompaniment of popular songs in early seventeenth-century manuscripts. The harmonies consist mostly of those corresponding to *alfabeto* chords, with occasional strummed dissonances though predominantly consisting of only major and minor triads. The guitarist's role is to punctuate the main beats of the bar, providing a steady rhythm and a transparent accompaniment that in no way clouds or duplicates the vocal part. Melody and accompaniment are very much separate entities in this approach. The voice retains all melodic and ornamental interest. The guitarist simply provides rhythmic and harmonic support, as in Example 6:37. In Example 6:38 there is a rare inclusion of a dissonant chord equivalent to chord # in bar 7. The guitarist also imitates the dotted vocal rhythm in bars 3 and 15.

Example 6:37 Pour soumettre un volage



Example 6:38 Qui'ls ont l'Eclat les beaux yeux que j'adore



Plucked Chords

Accompaniments consisting entirely of plucked chords mimic strummed accompaniments in reduced form. The steady punctuation of the main beats of the bar is still an important task, but without the need to strum, the guitarist was at greater liberty to vary chord voicings (as in bar 9 of Example 6:39). Typically the accompaniments consist of three-part chords and dissonant harmonies; particularly 7th chords are more common in this context. 7th chords are used predictably in V-I progressions, but they could also be used to make long passages of tonic chords less monotonous;

hence the progression $I-V^7-I$ is common on such occasions (see Example 6:39 bars 4-5). The accompaniments in this style remained unobtrusive, allowing the vocal part to retain its melodic independence.

Example 6:39 Je vais partir belle Lisette



Mixed Accompaniments

Accompaniments in the mixed style were more technically demanding and elevated the guitar to a more equal level with the vocalist, as they contained a great deal more melodic interest, often doubling the vocal part. Thus the distinction between soloist and accompanist is blurred as the singer

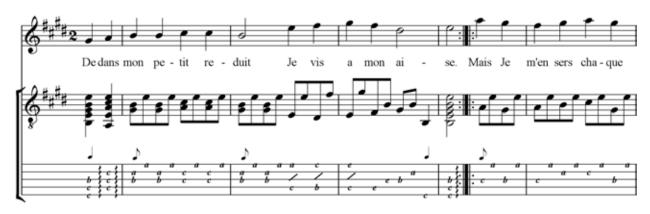
loses his or her melodic independence. Instances of vocal doubling even include vocal ornaments, as can be seen in the opening one and a half bars of Example 6:40. The guitarist could double melodies or play passages in 3rds or 6ths with the vocal part. In the opening of *De dans mon petit reduit* (Example 6:41) the broken chords of the guitar accompaniment incorporate the vocal melody as written, whereas in bars 5-7 they mostly double the melody at the 6th below. The texture of the guitar accompaniments varies from single plucked melodies, to two-part harmony, to strummed chords. The single plucked melodies are particularly effective when functioning as bass lines moving in contrary motion to the vocal part as in bar 7 of Example 6:40. The accompaniments are characterised by broken harmonies, *arpeggio* figures and passages of parallel 3rds or 6ths, more typically associated nowadays with the classical guitar repertoire. It is noteworthy that in the *Chansonette touchante* the passages of strumming coincide with the singing of the word 'guitar', suggesting that strumming was still regarded as the performance practice most characteristic of the instrument. The guitar part also features an ornament, again emphasising the more soloistic character of its accompaniments in this style.

Example 6:40 Chansonette touchante





Example 6:41 De dans mon petit reduit





An interesting comparison may be made between two versions of *Un jour dans un vert boccage*, both notated in the mixed style but very distinct from one another. Many of the characteristics associated with this style may be observed in both versions, such as broken chords, *arpeggio* figures, ornaments and vocal doubling, but they are employed to very different ends in each respective piece. In the first version (Example 6:42) the guitar and vocal parts are more distinct, as the accompaniment is engineered to provide harmonic support and is rhythmically independent, providing chords on the main beats of the bars. The second version (Example 6:43) is conceived of plucked chords and short passages of plucked parallel 10ths. It imitates the dotted rhythms of the vocal part in bars 5 and 10 and includes a passage of broken chords in triplet figures in bars 14-16. Version 2 also includes dissonances, such as the 6/#4 chord in bar 2 and the 7th that precedes the final cadence. The result is two contrasting, yet effective accompaniments, the characters of which are altered dramatically by the shaping of the accompanying harmonies.

Example 6:42 Un jour dans un vert boccage (version 1)



Example 6:43 Un jour dans un vert boccage (version 2)





While these are not continuo accompaniments they do demonstrate the variety available to the guitarist when accompanying a solo voice. They also demonstrate three common characteristics: (i) the employment of broken chords, (ii) a relatively simple harmonic language and (iii) a tendency to double or mimic the vocal part. It is noteworthy that the progressions and harmonies taught in continuo treatises are largely absent in these songs. Perhaps they are more representative of guitar playing at a domestic, amateur level, and the practices indicated by performers such as Grenerin were for more dedicated students of the instrument, in which case the latter would better represent the elite practices of the few. It is unsurprising that the pastoral chansons of the popular realm transcribed above do not feature accompaniments of any great sophistication. They were enjoyed at all levels of society.

Perhaps, then, Grenerin's directions are more apt in performance contexts where he himself was most at home, the court and the theatre. One may apply this thinking also to the accompaniments of Nicola

Matteis, the Italian violin virtuoso who was an associate of Henry Purcell and a renowned chamber musician.

Preludes

Morelli has not featured a great deal in this discussion so far because his continuo guidelines are presented as a reference table rather than as an instructional guide. The table opens in the usual manner with demonstrations of major and minor triads and their inversions. Much of this material is elementary and requires little comment, though the continued importance of strumming is apparent as Morelli strives to provide fully voiced harmonies wherever possible. The remainder of the work is concerned with dissonance, beginning with multiple demonstrations of the 6/5 chord. This is followed with examples of the tenorising cadence, 4/2 and \$4/2 chords and concludes with 4-3 cadential progressions. It is worth noting that, in most cases, Morelli intends the figure 4/2 to mean a 5/4/2 chord.

Given that most of the chords are presented out of context, little can be inferred from this table about Morelli's employment of the chords in practice, though it suggests that he preferred a predominantly strummed style and that he did not hesitate to harmonise a bass note with the lower courses of the instrument. The guidelines also include, however, a short demonstration of transposition and a selection of preludes, which were almost certainly intended for use in the context of accompaniment. The latter section is entitled *A Prelude to Every Key (In Use) Through the Whole Scale* (see Example 6:44), and the emphasis on 'every key' is most probably to aid the accompaniment of different vocal ranges. The preludes closely resemble the *ritornelli* of Palumbi and Pedruil found in early seventeenth-century manuscripts and they display a similar dissonant harmonic language, adding weight to the hypothesis that guitarists employed dissonant *alfabeto* chords freely in passages where the singer was silent. In the selection of preludes transcribed in Example 6:44 one can find harmonies equivalent to *alfabeto* chords *L+*, *C**, *C+* and *D*. There is also a C minor chord with an added 9th,

equivalent to chord *L* in the second bar of the last prelude. It seems, then, that Morelli was continuing a long-standing practice dating back to the beginning of the century and that the strummed dissonances documented in early manuscripts were still an important characteristic of the guitarist's harmonic vocabulary at the close of the seventeenth century.

Example 6:44 A Selection of Morelli's Preludes (1680)



This chapter has demonstrated that in the 1680s guitarists were offering guidance on more complex bass progressions than they had done previously. Whereas in earlier works one typically found simple bass progressions presented in isolation from one another, in the works of Grenerin and Matteis these progressions are combined to demonstrate the different uses of dissonance in extended passages

that more closely resemble real basses. This approach of building on material learnt in stages makes

Grenerin and Matteis's works particularly valuable as learning aids. As one might expect, a much

broader range of topics is covered in these works than in earlier teachings. The thoroughness with

which Matteis explains continuo accompaniment demonstrates his awareness of continuo theory as it

was taught beyond the guitar-playing fraternity (his command of the topic is understandable given that

he was a composer and an associate of Henry Purcell). Yet Matteis is equally aware of the approaches

to accompaniment most natural to the guitar that were at times at odds with theory. His

accompaniments are hardly strict. Many instances of his bass notes sounding in middle voices or being

omitted altogether have been pointed out already, a feature which is thoroughly grounded in the

'mixed' style. Strumming is an important characteristic of Matteis's teachings, and it is when one

examines this aspect of his approach that one sees the continued importance of alfabeto practices.

Continuo practice at this time appears to have operated at two levels. On the one hand, guitarists were capable of providing accompaniments as sophisticated as any given by a lutenist, and where dissonances or melodic basses were required they were able to pluck chords or melodies to emphasise a harmonic function or bring out a passing note. On the other hand, there was a reluctance to adopt this approach at all times, as it would mean deliberately refraining from exploiting the full textural, dynamic and harmonic resources available. The strength of the guitar lies in its ability to accentuate rhythm, and it is strongest dynamically when it is strummed. Its peculiar tunings also create uniquely guitaristic voicings: by not harmonising chords with the lower courses one removes one of the characteristic features of guitar accompaniment. Hence we find in the works of Grenerin, Matteis and particularly Morelli that strumming remains an important element of their accompaniments. The link with alfabeto traditions is most obvious in Morelli's teachings, as many of his voicings have alfabeto equivalents, including those that are dissonant. Most telling, however, is his painstaking notation of preludes in all keys, which barely differ from the ritornelli found in manuscripts dating from c.1610. It

was argued in Chapter 2 that this was the context in which guitarists showcased their dissonant vocabulary: Morelli's preludes demonstrate clearly that the same principle was in place in the 1680s. More light will be shed on Morelli's use of dissonance in the next chapter, which explores guitar accompaniment at the close of the seventeenth century.

Chapter 7 THE 1690s: THE GUITAR IN ENGLAND AND THE LOW COUNTRIES

The popularity of the five-course guitar in England was relatively fleeting, peaking during the Restoration and dwindling towards the close of the seventeenth century when it was set aside in favour of the English guittar. It is fortunate, therefore, that there are substantial manuscript sources of guitaraccompanied song from England still extant. Visiting Italian guitarists, such as Corbetta and Pietro Reggio, brought with them the performance practices cultivated in their homeland, which included the peculiar harmonic language associated with the instrument. The music they left behind gives us a valuable insight into domestic guitar playing in England at the time and reveals the rich and varied repertoire that people were choosing to play at their leisure. There are six noteworthy sources in this regard: four compiled by Cesare Morelli for Samuel Pepys, currently held in the Samuel Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge; another in Reggio's hand currently held in the William Clark Library in Los Angeles; and one, virtually unknown, compiled by Bernard Martin Berenclow and his father, currently held in the British Library. All these sources reveal the popularity of Italian arias and cantatas in England at this time. Music by Giacomo Carissimi was particularly highly regarded, as he is included in the Reggio, Berenclow and Morelli (2591) manuscripts. Other popular composers include Cavalli, Strozzi and Lucio (all in the Reggio manuscript), Pasquini and Alessandro Scarlatti (both in the Berenclow source).

However, the substantial collection of English, French, Italian and Latin songs compiled for Pepys reveals a much more diverse repertoire. Representative composers include Morelli, Reggio, Matthew Locke ('Dialogue Between Apollo and Neptune), Nicholas Lanier (Hero's Complaint) and Jean-Baptiste

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¹ Cesare Morelli, GB-Cmc mss. 2591, 2802, 2803 and 2804; Pietro Reggio, US-LAuc ms f. C. 697. M. 4 (Tyler includes an excerpt from this manuscript in *The Guitar and its Music*, p. 123); Bernard Martin Berenclow, GB-Lbl Harley Ms. 1270

Lully (extracts from *Thésée* and *Cadmus*). The texts set to music in these manuscripts come from a variety of literary genres. Representative British poets include Edmund Waller, William Davenant, Henry Wotton, Abraham Cowley, Robert Herrick, Thomas Flatman and Jeremy Taylor. Texts are also extracted from dramatic works by Ben Johnson (*Catiline*: Act I, i 'It is Decreed, Nor Shall Thy Fate, O Rome'), John Dryden (*Oedipus*: Act II, i 'Song to Apollo') and William Shakespeare (*Hamlet*: Act III, i 'To Be or Not To Be'). More obscure texts are taken from Horace's *Odes* and Martial's *Epigrams*. The main bulk of Pepys's collection, however, is sacred music, with guitar accompaniments provided for liturgical texts such as the *Venite*, *Te Deum*, *Benedicite*, *Jubilate Deo*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc Dimittis*, *Pater Noster*, *Credo in Unum Deum*, *Sursum Corda*, and *Gloria in Excelsis*. Accompaniments are also provided for psalms, hymns and biblical extracts from *Ecclesiastes*, The Lamentations of Jeremiah, and The Wisdom of Solomon.²

Thus, these few sources reveal that the guitar was employed in the accompaniment of the latest English ayres to leave the press, theatrical songs both domestic and imported from abroad, Italian arias and cantatas, English poetry, hymns and sacred texts.

GB-Cmc Ms. 2591

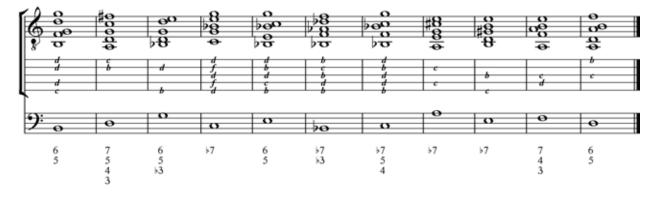
GB-Cmc Ms. 2591 is divided into three sections, headed 'light', 'grave' and 'sacred', and has Morelli's realisations of a continuo bass notated in full in French tablature (though the bass itself is absent).³ The manuscript is substantial. The sacred section alone comprises over a hundred pages, and in this treasure trove of strummed accompaniments, the abstract harmonies of Morelli's 1680 table appear in context, allowing us to see his approach to continuo playing with much greater clarity. In the two song transcriptions that follow, coming respectively from the 'sacred' and 'grave' sections of the

² The full contents of the Morelli manuscripts are outlined in Robert Latham (ed.), *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge: Music, Maps and Calligraphy*, Vol. 4 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989)

³ The full title of this manuscript is Songs & Other Compositions Light, Grave, & Sacred for a Single Voice Adjusted to the Particular Compass of Mine, with a Thorough-Base on y^e Ghitarr by Cesare Morelli.

manuscript, it is apparent that Pepys received a firm grounding in the musical language of *alfabeto*, even though he was unfamiliar with the notation. The pieces display characteristics that correspond closely with the early Italian guitar song repertoire. The strummed passages that occur when the vocal part is resting echo the *ritornello* passages of Palumbi and Pedruil, and the harmonies employed closely resemble the experimental *dissonante* chords of Corbetta and Foscarini. Morelli may have been setting protestant English texts, but his accompaniments are distinctly Italian. In both pieces Morelli employs many harmonies corresponding to those of dissonant *alfabeto* symbols, including chords *E**, *P*, *C**, *At*, *L*, *P** and *t*. His more advanced harmonic language does mean, however, that strummed dissonances are found that do not have equivalent *alfabeto* symbols (see Example 7:1), though Morelli employs fully strummed chords at all times, making his manuscripts valuable sources of strummed dissonances for anyone wishing to explore this style. Instances of plucking in this manuscript are relatively infrequent and only appear when the voice is silent. The avoidance of the 'mixed' style is an interesting aspect of this source. It may have reflected Pepys's ability as a guitarist, but it may also have been an aesthetic preference on his part or that of the composer. That plucked notes are employed so sparsely would certainly have increased their sonorous impact.

Example 7:1 A Selection of Morelli's Strummed Dissonances Outside *Alfabeto* Usage [figures mine]



Nunc dimittis

Example 7:2 comes from the sacred portion of the manuscript and is a setting of the *Nunc* dimittis, a feature of the liturgical night office sung at evensong. Morelli introduces this text with a

strummed passacaglia passeggiata much like those provided in alfabeto dance anthologies in the 1630s (see Chapter 1 Example 1:59, p. 97). As the voice is yet to enter, the accompanist is free to employ guitaristic dissonances. The steady strumming of the minim beats defines the rhythm that underpins the whole piece. It will be noticed that the majority of dissonances employed are 7th chords in either root position or first inversion. They are employed liberally wherever the motion of the bass results in a V-I relationship. Instances of 4-3 suspensions are rarer but do occur in bars 32 and 35 at the close of the piece. Contrary to earlier custom, Morelli does not allow the 4th and 3rd to clash on the upstroke, and instead specifies that the fifth course is stopped at the second fret. That said, there are instances where 4/3 clashes occur between the accompaniment and the vocal part, as in bar 20 on the first minim beat. Such clashes are common in Morelli's notations. Bar 25 features a 6-5 melodic figure in the vocal part with the 5th anticipated early in the guitar chord beneath. In the occasional bars of rest in the vocal part the guitar provides simple cadential figures such as $IV_5^6 - V - i$ (see bars 21-22). Given the frequency of IV- V - I progressions in this piece a guitarist well versed in the pedagogical passacaglia exercises typically given in early guitar methods (and provided for Pepys in the 1680 manuscript) would have found the chord progressions in this accompaniment very familiar and the dissonances employed would have been as habitual as the strummed consonances.

Example 7:2 Nunc Dimittis (GB-Cmc Ms. 2591 p. 169)







Sole Monarch of the World

This song is featured in the 'grave' section of the manuscript, and the text is taken from Psalm 8 of Samuel Woodford's A Paraphrase Upon the Psalms of David (London: R. White, 1667). The observations made regarding the Nunc dimittis also apply to this song, but there are some further points of interest to be found in this piece. Pepys was taught the uniquely guitaristic voicing of C minor with the added 9th, which can be seen in bar 20, but this bar is also noteworthy in that it features a harmony that corresponds with alfabeto chord At, giving us clear evidence of how this chord was used in accompaniment in earlier decades, i.e. as a 5/4 chord on D in cadences in G. Further examples of harmonic tension between voice and guitar are found in this song, particularly in bars 11-13, where the guitarist restrikes a 7/5/4/43 cluster beneath the meandering vocal melody. There are some instances of the doubling in the guitar part of vocal dissonance, as in bar 58 on the second minim beat, where the guitarist incorporates the singer's Bb into the A major chord below. One characteristic of this song not found in the previous example is the presence of solo plucked melodies. Those in bar 35 introduce effectively the next entrance of the vocal part, while the plucked crotchets in bar 94 provide a momentary passage of melodic bass to contrast with the strummed chords. Note that these plucked melodies occur only when the voice is silent. That Morelli employs an ornament over the plucked A in bar 94 highlights the more subtle nuances of accompaniment that may be employed when not competing to be heard.

It will be noticed that there are far more instances in this song than that discussed previously of passages where the guitar strums alone while the singer is resting. The guitar provides a strummed introduction, interlude and conclusion to the piece, and again each of these closely resembles the *passacaglia* figures typically employed as *ritornelli* in early guitar publications. The opening and closing passages are textbook examples of the genre, while the extended interlude in bars 22-36 provides the necessary modulation from G minor to F major in preparation for the next verse. It is in these fully notated realisations of such passages for a late seventeenth-century foreign employer that we at last find a demonstration of strummed *ritornelli* transcribed exactly as they were to be executed in performance.

Example 7:3 Sole Monarch of the World (GB-Cmc Ms. 2591 p. 81)











Morelli's accompaniments are nearly all strummed, with sparing use of plucked notes serving primarily as short passages of melodic bass. Strummed dissonances are employed frequently, and often correspond to those found in dissonant *alfabeto* charts. The music is introduced and divided by strummed *passacaglia* progressions, and instances where the guitar part is plucked occur only when the vocal part is silent. This description could well apply to the strummed accompaniments of much earlier decades, indicating that Morelli's approach is not far removed from that of Palumbi and Pedruil. The only feature that determines that these accompaniments are from a later period (other than the use of tablature) is the more advanced dissonant language that is displayed. The accompaniments differ from those in the 'mixed' style professed by Matteis, but in truth it is the style exhibited in these manuscripts that is likely to have been most widely practised. Matteis was a professional musician; Pepys was an amateur guitar enthusiast. That Morelli's accompaniments bear such a resemblance to those from earlier decades testifies to the popularity of this all-strummed approach.

GB-Lbl Harley Ms. 1270

eighteenth centuries. He had a fondness for the works of Italian composers such as Carissimi and Scarlatti, and many of the manuscripts that he compiled feature their songs. There is one such manuscript in the Harleian collection in the British Library (Harley Ms. 1270), not discussed so far in modern research, written in the hands of Berenclow and his father.⁴ The first section of the manuscript contains songs by Pasquini, Carissimi and Scarlatti, and the second section contains extracts from *The Faithful Shepherd* (an English version of Guarini's *II pastor fido*), a transcription of Purcell's *Bess of Bedlam*, and, notably, continuo guidelines for the guitar (fol. 57′-63′).⁶ As can be deduced from the title, *Regola per toccare il basso continuo sopra la chitarra*, these guidelines are of Italian origin, though a close analysis reveals that the content comes from more than one source. The material copied on fols.

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⁷ I have so far been unable to determine the source or sources of the remaining material. One should be aware that there are errors in this manuscript, which are most apparent in some of the peculiar choices of figuring. Three such errors are transcribed below, the first of which should be a 7-6 progression in C, the second a 7-6 progression in F, and the last a 4-3 progression in C. As well as the wrong figures we are given the wrong bass note, as in each case it is the dissonant note that is treated as the bass:



⁴ There is a description of the contents of this manuscript in Augustus Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. 2 'Secular Vocal Music' (London: Longman & Co., Asher & Co., Henry Frowde, 1908), pp. 239, 499-500; and in Vol. 3 'Instrumental Music, Treatises, etc.' (London: Longman & Co., Asher & Co., Henry Frowde, 1909), p. 362. The ownership of this manuscript prior to that of Robert and Edward Harley in the first part of the eighteenth century is unknown. It was sold to the British Museum in 1753. The attribution to Bernard Berenclow and his father is made by Humphrey Wanley (1672-1726), the original librarian of the Harleian Library. ⁵ This song was published in John Playford, *Choice Ayres & Songs to Sing to the Theorbo-Lute or Bass-Viol: Being Most of the Newest Ayres and Songs Sung at Court, and at Publick Theatres. Composed by Several Gentlemen of His Majesty's Musick, and Others. The Fourth Book (London: John Carr, 1683)*

⁶ These guidelines are transcribed in full in the Appendix 5.

book include a table of first inversion chords and two sample basses (one of which is transcribed in Example 6:34 in the previous Chapter, p. 299).⁸

Examples are provided of both strummed and plucked 4-3 cadences. The strummed examples feature the dissonant *alfabeto* harmonies usually found in this context, while the plucked examples in three parts feature occasional passing 7ths and fully strummed final chords typical of the 'mixed' style. In Example 7:4 the root is generally kept in the bass of the dissonant chords, though in the first cadence it is in the top voice and not sustained for the whole bar, as it is released to sound the passing 7th.

Example 7:4 GB-Lbl Harley Ms. 1270, Plucked 4-3 Cadences



The manuscript is of interest, however, as it does contain some chord voicings idiomatic to the guitar. Example 7:5 features a selection, which, for the most part include the bass note in one of the upper voices. The third example is noteworthy as not only is the bass the top voice, but the 6-b5 progression underneath is played on two different courses, suggesting a re-entrant tuning on the 5th course.

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⁸ Extracted from Matteis, *The False Consonances of Musick*, pp. 94, 63 and 35.

Example 7:5 GB-Lbl Harley Ms. 1270, Guitaristic Voicings



Another aspect of this manuscript that suggests further borrowing from Matteis is the inclusion of 7/5 chords (Example 7:6). This is an uncommon feature in guitar literature, as the majority of composers specify 7/3 chords in which the 5th is omitted. True, when strumming, the 5th was commonly included, but when plucking the harmonies it was the norm to accompany the 7th with the 3rd alone (essentially because the 5th would have to move when the 7th resolved to a 6th). Matteis and, later, Murcia (1714) both specify the 7/5 chord in the context of a IV-V-I cadence (see Example 6:17 in the previous Chapter, p. 286). The 5th of the harmony prepares the dissonant 4th of the 4-3 figure over chord V. It is hard to say whether Berenclow's 7/5 chords are taken from Matteis as they are not placed in any context, but given how few composers notated this chord it is a strong possibility. Much later, in 1716, the French guitarist François Campion included the 7/5 chord in his *Traité* and clarified its common use either on the dominant or the approach to the dominant, reflecting the earlier practice demonstrated by Matteis. His work is discussed further in the next chapter.

Example 7:6 GB-Lbl Harley Ms. 1270, 7/5 Chords



Potentially more illuminating than Berenclow's guidelines are his transcriptions of vocal music that could have been accompanied by guitars. Of course, one cannot know if guitars ever accompanied

the *ariette italiane* that appear in Harley Ms. 1270, but, as was demonstrated in Pepys's song collections, if one had the means, one could transcribe and accompany any song to which one was particularly attracted. There are instances in the Pepys manuscripts where Morelli provides accompaniments to texts that were never originally intended to be sung, (such as those by Woodford, presumably set to music at Pepys's request). This offers us a glimpse at guitar accompaniment as it occurred in domestic settings, and gives us a rare insight into the practical application of continuo treatises. One can overlook the underlying practical intention of these works by becoming too embroiled in the theory.

The sources discussed thus far have highlighted how Italian guitar masters were teaching guitaristic idioms and *alfabeto* harmonies cultivated in their homeland to their foreign students.

However, there is further evidence of the expansion of *alfabeto* practices beyond Italy in the Low Countries, particularly in the methods of Dutch guitarist Nicolas Derosier.⁹

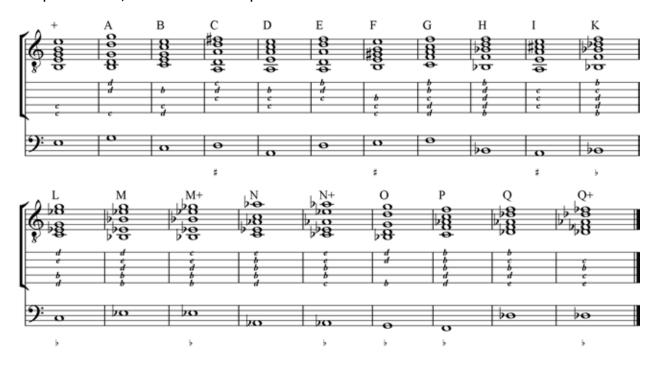
Nicolas Derosier

Derosier had several works for guitar published in the last decades of the seventeenth century, including solo overtures, suites for solo or ensemble performance and methods for beginners. His first guitar method, *Les principes de la guitarre*, was published in Amsterdam in 1689 and again in 1696. This work is brief, comprising only twelve pages and covering the basics of chords, ornaments, and, interestingly, *alfabeto*. Although Derosier notated his music in French tablature, he clearly felt that familiarity with Italian chord symbols would be beneficial to the newcomer to the guitar. Moreover, he uses *alfabeto* to demonstrate the rudiments of continuo playing, as each chord symbol is presented with an equivalent bass note (see Example 7:7).

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⁹ In truth, little is known about Derosier and the current assumption made by scholars that he was Dutch is evidenced only by the locations in which many of his musical works were published, namely The Hague and Amsterdam. See Tyler, *The Guitar and its Music*, p. 128

Example 7:7 Derosier, Notes des accords de l'alphabet



The main bulk of the work is concerned with short chaconnes in various keys. These served as simple studies in playing in the plucked manner, but also provided the guitarist with a simple repertoire of *ritornelli* that could be used in accompaniment. Most of these chaconnes feature harmonies equivalent to dissonant *alfabeto* chords, demonstrating that strummed dissonance was still an important part of guitar practice and that peculiar guitar harmonies cultivated in Italy in the sixteenth century had permeated international boundaries to be absorbed into performance practices abroad. Harmonies equivalent to *alfabeto* chords *P*, *K+*, *t*, *C** and *C+* all appear in this short work, as does the C minor chord with the added 9th. Each chaconne goes through two cycles, which allows Derosier to demonstrate the strummed style in the first cycle and the 'mixed' style in the second. Some of the dissonances employed do not have *alfabeto* equivalents, demonstrating that, like Morelli, Derosier employed a more mature and experimental harmonic language. Some of these dissonances are provided in Example 7:8. Example 7:9 provides two sample chaconnes, the second of which demonstrates the peculiar 6/5/\$3 chord.

Example 7:8 Derosier's Dissonances Outside of Alfabeto Usage

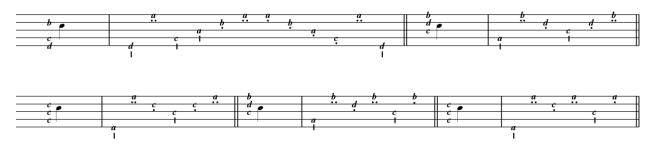


Example 7:9 Two Chaconnes in E minor and F minor



The second guitar method, *Nouveaux principes pour la guitarre*, published in Paris in 1699, builds on the teachings of the earlier book, though it is still a short work, again only twelve pages in length. The opening material concerns plucking, strumming and playing ornaments, but most valuable is Derosier's demonstration of how one may arpeggiate a chord, an aspect of guitar playing rarely illustrated in methods. His examples are transcribed in Example 7:10. The index and middle fingers of the right hand are indicated by one or two dots respectively, and the thumb is indicated by a stem.

Example 7:10 Arpeggiated Chords



As the full title of the book indicates, ¹⁰ this work is intended to teach the basics of continuo playing and its content is applicable to guitarists, lutenists, theorbists and violists. In fact, the work is less informative about continuo playing than it is about guitar technique. The continuo teachings are confined to a single reference table, entitled *Le nom des accords selon les Nottes* [sic] *de la musique*, which displays six ascending scales starting on C, each with a different key signature and each with the scale degrees harmonised accordingly (see Example 7:11). Curiously, the notes of the scale are given in treble clef.

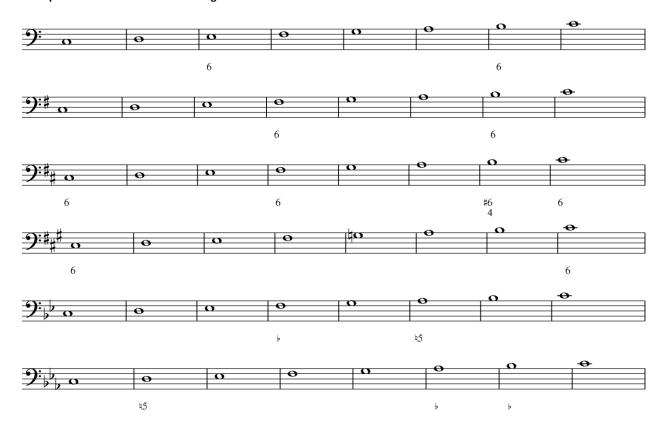
No further instruction is provided. There are no figures, no dissonances and no sample basses. The sole purpose of Derosier's scales seems to be to help students to determine when a note requires a 5/3 or a 6/3 chord. Example 7:12 shows Derosier's scales in bass clef with figures. Presented this way, it is easier to understand the circumstances where a 6 chord is required, which, in sharp key signatures, is on chromatically ascending (leading) notes. In flat key signatures chords lacking a perfect 5th have this note raised to avoid tritones.

¹⁰ Nicolas Derosier, Nouveaux principes pour la guitarre avec une table universelle de tous les accords que si trouvent dans la basse-continuë sur cet instrument, ce qui server aussi aux personnes qui joüent du luth, du theorbo & de la basse de viole (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1699)

Example 7:11 Derosier's Chord Table



Example 7:12 Derosier's Scales with Figures 11



More useful than Derosier's continuo guidelines are his preludes, as it is in these short pieces that the use of dissonance is clearly demonstrated. He provides two examples, each exhibiting the strummed and 'mixed' styles respectively, again indicative of the continued popularity of the former style. In both examples it is clear that the prelude was a context in which guitarists could explore more daring harmonies. The title of the plucked *Prelude avec dissonances* (Example 7:14) makes this purpose clear, and showcases chains of resolving and unresolving 7th chords. The strummed prelude (Example 7:13) is of interest as it is reminiscent of the *ritornelli* found in early seventeenth-century manuscripts.

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 $^{^{\}rm 11}$ The G major chord in the fourth scale is likely an error.

Example 7:13 A Prelude in the Strummed Manner



Example 7:14 Prelude avec dissonances



At this point it is possible to make some observations regarding strummed accompaniment during the seventeenth century. Strummed accompaniment is emphasised here because the guitar repertoire on the whole is usually divided in modern research into that which preceded tablature, and the 'mixed' repertoire. This can give the impression that strumming was the main concern of guitarists in the first few decades and that the more refined combination of strumming and plucking came later. This would paint a grossly simplistic and false picture of guitar performance, as we know that both plucking and strumming were characteristic of the repertoire across the whole period.

The notations themselves can give this false impression of seventeenth-century guitar practice.

On the one hand there is tablature, which allows composers to notate contrapuntal passages in a variety

of textures and to notate dissonances that did not have equivalent chord symbols. On the other hand there is *alfabeto*, which is concerned strictly with strummed harmonies mostly in five parts and whose dissonant chord symbols became redundant with the adoption of tablature. As a result, the symbols devised by composers such as Millioni and Corbetta disappear from published works, which can give the mistaken impression that their associated harmonies were no longer used in the second half of the century. This, of course, was not the case, as the harmonies continued to be notated through the medium of tablature. Given the starkly different appearance of guitar notations at each end of the century one could be forgiven for assuming that the respective repertoires were far removed from one another. Where the solo repertoire is concerned, there is a considerable leap from the *alfabeto* song arrangements authored by Millioni and the dance suites authored by Lodovico Roncall; in matters of accompaniment, however, strummed *ritornello* passages, such as those found in the very earliest guitar manuscripts are still enjoying use at the dawn of the eighteenth century.

What has emerged from the study of treatises on accompaniment from the second half of the seventeenth century is that guitarists were not trying to be lutenists. Their performance practices were idiomatic to their instrument and had been long cultivated since the sixteenth century. The implication for the modern continuo guitarist is the necessity to be familiar with the harmonic language exhibited in charts of strummed dissonances and with the strummed practices of the earliest sources if a thorough understanding of the more idiomatic aspects of guitar accompaniment is to be attained.

In the eighteenth century guitarists continued to strum accompaniments and there was still a market for teachings relating to strumming, as is evidenced by the many eighteenth-century editions of Amat's treatise and Millioni and Monte's *alfabeto* dance anthology. However, there was a definite

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¹² Lodovico Roncalli, *Capricci Armonici sopra la Chitarra Spagnola* (Bergamo: Sebastian Casetti, 1692)

move to sever the ties with *alfabeto* traditions on the part of the theorists, who produced treatises on guitar accompaniment that were both stricter and more forward-looking in approach.

Chapter 8 THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Although the authors of guitar treatises from the late seventeenth century onwards would have us believe that plucked accompaniments in three parts were regarded as standard practice, strumming was still a prominent feature of guitar playing in the eighteenth century. Indeed, despite the gradual shift from chord symbols to tablature around the 1630s, sources featuring *alfabeto* and *cifras* continued to be published in the early nineteenth century. For example, Amat's famous treatise on strummed accompaniment and the 1637 book of *alfabeto* dances co-authored by Millioni and Monte both went through multiple editions during the eighteenth century. Amat's work was translated and plagiarised by several authors, such as João Leite Pita da Rocha (1752), 1 who released a Portuguese translation of the book, and Andrés de Sotos, who released a copy of Amat's work under his own name in 1764. 2 Many eighteenth-century editions of Amat's work feature five supplementary chapters under the title *Tractat breu* and are mostly concerned with the explanation of the *alfabeto* system. The earliest known copy of the *Tactat breu* dates from 1701, the author is unknown. 3 Chord symbols can be found in a range of manuscript sources across the eighteenth century, including the following:

CZ-Bm Ms. D 189 (early 18th century) – alfabeto

E-Bc Mús. 741/22 (early 18th century) – Catalan cifras

MEX-Minba Estri.vo a 5 (early 18th century) – Castillian *cifras*

E-Bbc Ms. 759/7 (c.1700) – alfabeto

I-OS Ms. Musiche B.4582 (c.1700) - alfabeto

F-Pn Rés. Vmc. Ms. 6 (1703) - alfabeto

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¹ João Leite Pita da Rocha, *Liçam instrumentalda viola portugueza ou de ninfas, de cinco ordens* (Lisbon: Francisco da Silva, 1752)

² Andres de Sotos, *Arte para aprender con facilidad, y sin Maestro, á Templar y tañer rasgado la Guitarra* (Madrid: Lopez y Compañia, 1764)

³ Anon, *Tractat breu, y explicacio dels punts de la guitarra* (Barcelona: Gabriel Brò, c.1701)

E-Mn Ms. M.811 (1705) - alfabeto

E-Bc Mús. 737/69 (1724) - Catalan cifras

GB-Lbl Ms. Additional 31640 (c.1732) - alfabeto

E-Bc Mús. 744/33 (1750-1800) – Catalan cifras

I-Mc Fondo Noseda Coll. 48/A (mid-18th century) – alfabeto

Mex-Mn Ms. 1560 (mid-18th century) – alfabeto

E-Mn Ms. M.1233 (1763-1800) - alfabeto

Indeed, in many ways, accompaniments incorporating chordal strumming were well suited to the new continuo procedures being advocated by important theorists such as Francesco Gasparini and David Heinichen. Take, for example, the eighteenth-century preference for full-voiced accompaniment, where the accompanist thickens his chords with as many doubled harmonies as possible.⁴ This practice arose partly from the increasing forces typically employed in instrumental ensembles, but Williams suggests that in more lightly scored works 'such richness of style may be thought a compensation for the simplicity of the harmony it clothed, for even the simplest progressions were an opportunity for six-part chords, double passing-notes and repeated discords'. The anonymous author of some continuo guidelines surviving in a manuscript held in Rome, discussed the implications of this style, stating:

Both in the fullness of harmony, and in the dissonances, in which case one cannot go very far with scruples about avoiding errors such as two fifths or two octaves. This [full playing] results in [bad] parts, and bad movements [of the parts]; for in order to play fully it is necessary to concede something, which falls outside the rules of good playing, and it will not be possible to prepare and resolve dissonances, and in the reordering of consonances one will not be able to proceed according to the rules.⁶

⁴ For an overview of full-voiced accompaniment, see George J. Buelow, 'The Full-Voiced Style of Thorough-Bass Realization', AcM, Vol. 35, Fasc. 4 (Oct. –Dec., 1963), pp. 159-171

⁵ Williams, *Figured Bass Accompaniment*, Vol. 1, pp. 75-76

⁶ I-Rli MS Musica R.1, Regole accompagnar sopra la parte N.1 d'autore incerto, translated in Nuti, *The Performance* of Italian Basso Continuo, p. 93

It is striking how a passage describing eighteenth-century keyboard playing could just as easily be describing seventeenth-century strummed guitar accompaniment. As Buelow puts it, 'the full-voiced style frees the inner chord tones from the demands of good contrapuntal writing and makes superfluous many of the details required by four-part realisations'. Donington elaborates on this point, explaining that:

With so many notes going on, and no possibility of genuinely crossing the parts to avoid faulty progressions, part-writing in the ordinary sense is not in question, and we are dealing with something much more like the doublings in orchestrations . . . Any doublings of dissonant notes makes it impossible to resolve them correctly in each part alike.⁸

Again these observations sound strikingly familiar, as the subordination of contrapuntal theory in the context of full-voiced harmony had long been a feature of guitar accompaniment: such 'faulty' characteristics have been encountered repeatedly in the preceding chapters. Potentially, therefore, one could classify the strummed accompaniments of Morelli and the like as species of filled-in accompaniment.

Furthermore, there are certain characteristics of what Heinichen calls the 'theatrical style' that would seem very familiar to a seventeenth-century guitarist. This is a style whose main distinction is the free treatment of dissonance. For example, one can leap into a dissonance prepared in another part, or resolve a dissonance in a different voice, or anticipate one of the voices of a subsequent chord. All these approaches have been demonstrated in guitar accompaniments transcribed in the previous Chapters. Chapters.

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⁷ Buelow, The Full-Voiced Style', p. 162

⁸ Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London: Faber, 1963), p. 269

⁹ For an overview of the theatrical style see Beulow, 'Heinichen's Treatment of Dissonance', *JMT*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Winter, 1962), pp. 216-274

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 218

¹¹ See the observations made on Corbetta's use of dissonance, particularly points 2 and 3 on p. 233

Gasparini, too, described a type of dissonance that is found in the mixed guitar repertoire from at least as early as the 1640s, and that is the *acciaccatura*. This dissonance is now typically associated with keyboard playing, as it was professed in keyboard treatises. It was initially discussed by Gasparini in relation to the simultaneous sounding of the 4th and 3rd in a cadential progression:

On the harpsichord, leaving the fourth to sound together with the fifth while resolving to the major third in the right hand produces a most pleasing harmony, it is a kind of *acciaccatura*.¹²

He then goes on to say that 'along with the seventh one may add an octave with the ring finger so that the harmony may be fuller and more sonorous'. He expands on these comments later in the treatise, where he states that a simultaneous 4/3 goes well with notes taking a major 6^{th} , ¹⁴ and that at cadences, if the dominant has a 7/3 chord, one should add the 4^{th} as an *acciaccatura*. Where possible one may add a 7^{th} between an octave and a 6^{th} , and one may expand on a $6/\flat 5$ chord over *mi* (or a sharp note) by adding a 9^{th} between the octave and the 10^{th} . He are a possible one may add a 9^{th} between the octave and the 10^{th} .

Donington states that 'in practice, it is only in a full accompaniment that a discord can be accompanied by the entire concord on to which it is about to resolve'. ¹⁷ It has already been observed that generally guitarists were stricter with the harmonies that they plucked than the harmonies that they strummed. We have seen multiple examples of 4/3 and 8/7 clashes in preceding guitar transcriptions and have encountered dissonant *alfabeto* chords that had these clashes intentionally built in. Both Valdambrini and Corbetta favoured clashing octaves and leading notes in the key of E minor. Paul O'Dette goes so far as to say that 'this aspect of baroque guitar practice may have inspired the

¹² Translated in Burrows, *Francesco Gasparini*, p. 44.

¹³ Translated in *Ibid*, p. 45

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 81

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 82

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, p. 269

acciaccature that add so much to the music of Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1757) and Antonio Soler (1729-83)'. 18

Thus, as guitaristic idioms shared increasingly common ground with eighteenth-century keyboard procedures, the peculiarities of guitar accompaniment that had made the practice so distinct in the previous century had become features of mainstream continuo playing.

In the early decades of the eighteenth century, guitar playing was elevated to its highest degree of sophistication. This is evidenced in the exquisite suites found in Santiago de Murcia's *Passacalles y obras de guitarra* (c.1732) and the dances in François Campion's *Nouvelles decouvertes sur la guitarre* (1705), ¹⁹ not to mention the extant sources of tablature arrangements of movements from Corelli violin sonatas. Although the six-course guitar emerged in the 1750s, and the six-string guitar a few decades later, the five-course guitar remained in use throughout the eighteenth century, though the majority of publishing activity for the instrument from mid-century onwards was largely confined to Paris. By this time in England the instrument had been superseded by the English guittar, and other instruments of accompaniment such as the mandora and mandolin were gaining favour. Exploring the eighteenth century repertoire of the baroque guitar can be challenging, as the word 'guitar' on a title page could refer to the five-course, six-course- six-string or English guittar, but, nevertheless, there is a large repertoire for the baroque instrument as composers continued to provide song accompaniments, duets and methods for it.

¹⁸ Paul O'Dette, 'Plucked String Instruments' in Stuart Carter (ed.) *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music* (New York: Schirmer, 1997), p. 234

¹⁹ Santiago de Murcia, GB-Lbl Ms. Additional 31640 'Passacalles y obras de guitarra por todos los tonos naturales y acidentales' (1732); François Campion, *Nouvelles découvertes sur la guitarre* (Paris: Michel Brunet, 1705)

Continuo treatises for the five-course guitar continue to be published up to 1754, though in the case of Minguet Y Yrol's treatise (1752-54)²⁰ the contents consist of material taken from Sanz and Murcia's works of 1674 and 1714. The two most important treatises on accompaniment with the fivecourse guitar are those of Murcia (1714)²¹ and Campion (1716/1730),²² both of which have already received considerable attention from scholars.²³ Both men were guitarists of considerable renown. Murcia was Guitar Master to Queen Maria Luisa of Savoy, and Campion played guitar and theorbo in the orchestra of the Academie Royale de Musique, eventually earning the title 'Master of the Guitar and Theorbo'. Murcia's Resumen is commonly recommended for study among present day performers, owing to the considerable number of sample basses in different metres and the extensive demonstrations of cadences and common figures in different keys. Campion's Traité is very different, as it is unconcerned with providing sample realisations and has the practice of playing from unfigured basses in a tonally coherent manner at its core (he expanded this treatise in the later Addition). Campion's treatise is also unlike Murcia's in that it prioritises theory and therefore it contains a lot of text. Its focus is the harmonisation of ascending and descending stepwise basses in accordance with the Règle de l'octave (Rule of the Octave): it is the earliest work to set down the guidelines of the 'Rule' and to apply them to octave basses. The importance of this work obviously extends beyond the guitarplaying fraternity, as its principles became fundamental to eighteenth-century continuo playing on all instruments.

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²⁰ Pablo Minguet Y Yrol, *Reglas y advertencias generales que enseñan el modo de tañer todos los instrumentos mejores y mas usuales* (Madrid: J. Ibarra, 1752-1754)

²¹ Santiago de Murcia, *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra* (Madrid, s.n., 1717) This work was engraved in Antwerp in 1714.

François Campion, Traité d'accompagnement et de composition, selon la règle des octaves de musique (Paris: G. Adam, 1716); Addition au traité d'accompagnement et de composition par la règle d'octave (Paris: Ribou, 1730)

²³ See for example Craig H. Russell, 'Santiago de Murcia: Spanish Theorist and Guitarist of the Early Eighteenth Century' (doctoral thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1981); Robert Marcus, 'The Use of the Five-Course Guitar as a Continuo Instrument as Described in Spanish Treatises 1596-1764' (masters thesis, California State University at Fullerton, 1978); Mason, 'François Campion's Secret of Accompaniment', pp. 69-94; and Joel Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1994)

Murcia (1714)

Given that Murcia's treatise is some 56 pages in length and that it has been also a focus of past scholarship, the following discussion will be kept concise by concentrating on material that differs from or is not found in earlier teachings. His written guidelines on accompaniment provide only a brief introduction to the practice, but they include a description of the various metres and where they are commonly employed. He stresses that a full familiarity with the fretboard is necessary and that an understanding of counterpoint is desirable. For those lacking this knowledge, however, he sets out some general principles, echoing those of past theorists. Murcia gives voice to a principle that has underpinned guitar playing throughout its role as a continuo instrument, namely:

the string nearest to where it [the bass note] occurs will be chosen according to the place where the hand happens to be, without displacing it; for one of the most important points to which he who accompanies or plays must pay attention, is the proper position of the left hand.²⁴

This principle is at the heart of every 'unorthodox' chord voicing in guitar continuo literature, as practicality is always prioritised. As for his guidelines on harmony, his rules are thus:

- In a 4-3 suspension the 5th is desirable but an octave may sound instead if it is more convenient.
- In 6-5 suspensions at a cadence, the 6^{th} takes a 4^{th} which resolves to a 3^{rd} (i.e $\frac{6}{4}$ $\frac{5}{2}$ $\frac{3}{3}$). 25
- 6ths and 7ths must take a 3rd appropriate to the key signature.
- False 5ths take a 3rd or 6th or both if possible.
- 9ths take a 3rd.
- Augmented 4ths take a 2nd or 6th or both if possible.

Cadences

What follows are demonstrations of these guidelines, beginning with common cadential progressions. Murcia presents the cadences in each of the eight modes and their transpositions, i.e. the

²⁴ Murcia, *Resumen*, p. 8, translated by Monica Hall, 'The Lute Society – Santiago de Murcia' [accessed 20/09/13] http://www.lutesociety.org/pages/santiago-de-murcia

²⁵ Murcia sometimes abbreviates this progression with a simple 6-5.

cadence in D minor is in mode 1, and the cadence in C minor is in mode 1 a tone lower.²⁶ Three types of cadence are included: the perfect cadence preceded by (i) chord iv and (ii) chord ii⁶, and the Phrygian cadence. Those ending in a minor key tend to be preceded by a diminished chord ii⁶, but a 6/5 harmony on chord iv is also possible. Cadences in a major key are usually preceded by chord IV, which can also bear a 6/5 or 7/5 harmony. In most cases chord V has a 4-3 suspension (see Example 8:1). Typical patterns are as follows:

Major:
$$IV - V^{4-3} - I$$
; $IV - V^7 - I$; $IV - V^{4-7}_3 - I$; $IV_5^7 - V^{4-3} - I$

Minor:
$$iv - V^7 - I$$
; $iv^7 - V^{4-3} - I$; $iv_5^6 - V^{4-3} - I$

$$\text{li}_{b3}^{6} - \text{V}^{4-3} - \text{I}; \text{ii}_{b3}^{65} - \text{V}^{4-3} - \text{i}$$

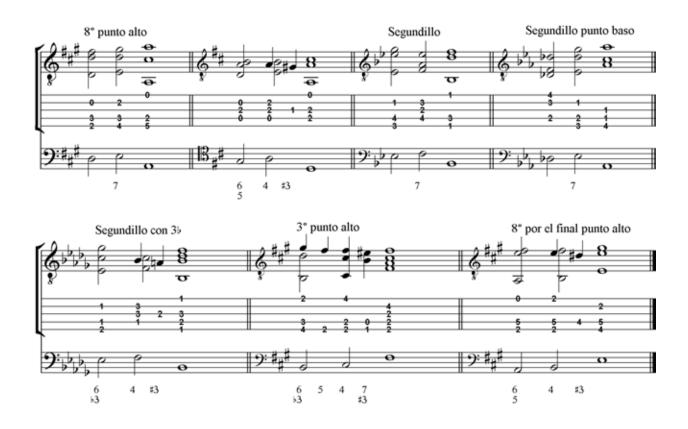
Example 8:1 Murcia's Authentic Cadences (1714) [figures are mine]



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²⁶ The modes are illustrated in Pennington, *The Spanish Baroque Guitar*, p. 137; and in Craig H. Russell, 'Santiago de Murcia: Spanish Theorist and Guitarist of the Early Eighteenth Century' (doctoral thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1981), pp, 129-131





One unique attribute of Murcia's cadences is his duplicate examples in a transposing C clef, a common feature of Spanish music.

The 'little used' 4th mode is that of A minor, which is demonstrated here with a Phrygian cadence on E. This mode is little used because its unique characteristics make the relationship of dominant to tonic impossible; this is why it is the only mode without a pefect cadence in the transcription.²⁷ Murcia goes on to demonstrate the more extended cadential figures including the 6/4 chord, and these closely resemble those prescribed by Matteis (except that Murcia prefers to add an unfigured 7th to the 4-3 resolution).

²⁷ See Craig H. Russell (ed.), Santiago de Murcia's "Codice Saldivar No. 4" A Treasury of Secular Guitar Music from Baroque Mexico, Vol. 1 (University of Illinois Press, 1995), p. 11

Common Bass Progressions

Murcia includes a chord reference section in which continuo figures are demonstrated in their most common contexts. He treats each of the 'keys' in turn. Thus he begins in G, then treats G♯ and G♭, and then A, and so on through to F♯. Although the goal of the treatise is not to provide guidance on playing from an unfigured bass, Murcia provides multiple examples in each key of the same bass progressions and consistently prescribes them the same figures. He therefore had standard harmonisations in mind when the bass moved in a certain manner by step or by leap. It is possible, therefore, to draw guidelines on how to treat common bass progressions from Murcia's examples. The following transcriptions have been drawn from his examples and show a continuation of the procedures for treating a bass in accordance with how it progresses, as dictated by earlier theorists such as Sanz.

Example 8:2 Treatment of the falling tone



There are two common treatments of a bass descending a tone, one in which the first note bears a 6^{th} and one in which the second note bears a 6^{th} . In the latter case, the note is preceded by a 4/2 or a $\sharp 4/2$ chord. In the former case the progression may be decorated with the addition of a 7^{th} .

Example 8:3 Treatment of the falling semitone



The treatment of the descending semitone is similar to that of the descending tone, though in one example Murcia decorates one of the 4/2 chords with an additional 7th. Note that this progression may

be used to prepare a 9-8 suspension. In the final example the octave of the first note prepares the dissonant 9^{th} over the second.

Example 8:4 Treatment of the rising tone



The 6-5 progression consistently used to harmonise an ascending tone may be elaborated with the addition of a 7th. Note that this stepwise ascent may also be used to prepare a dissonant 9th. In the final two examples the 3rd over the first note prepare the dissonant 9th over the second note.

Example 8:5 Treatment of a rising semitone



The ascent of a semitone is typically harmonised with a diminished 5^{th} , though this harmony may be elaborated by treating the interval as a passing note in a 6- \flat 5 or 7-6- \flat 5 progression. This stepwise ascent may also be used to prepare a dissonant 9^{th} . In the final example the 3^{rd} over the first note prepares the dissonant 9^{th} above the second.

Example 8:6 Treatment of the rising 4th

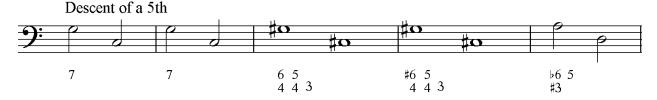


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²⁸ It was more commonplace for this progression to be harmonised with 5-6.

The ascent of a 4th is a progression resulting in a perfect cadence, and therefore predictably Murcia prescribes figures typically associated with this close. The final example is of interest, however, as this treatment is not found in earlier guitar treatises. The first chord is an inverted augmented triad, which carries directly into chord I via a 6-5 suspension. Murcia seems to have favoured the augmented triad, as he employs it on numerous occasions in this treatise, as will be discussed below.

Example 8:7 Treatment of the falling 5th



The descent of the 5th is an inversion of the ascent of the 4th, so it is prescribed largely the same cadential harmonies. Note the same inverted augmented triad in the final example.

Where Murcia's treatise falls short is in his neglect to demonstrate the progression of the rising or falling 3rd or its inversion, the 6th. This was addressed by Sanz and Matteis in considerable detail, as such progressions have the potential to create false relations; in this regard Sanz's work, though it predates Murcia's by thirty years, is the more comprehensive. There are, however, elements of Murcia's teachings that are not included in the earlier treatise, such as the aforementioned augmented triad and the preparation of the 9th.

Example 8:8 Use of augmented triads



Although Murcia neglects to show the preparation of the dissonant interval in Example 8:8, his treatment of the augmented 5th matches that found in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century composition treatises. The augmented triad typically occurs in root position on the third degree of the minor scale, or, in first inversion, on the dominant. Murcia's examples of the former bear a similarity to a demonstration of the augmented triad prescribed by Charles Masson in 1694 (see Example 8:9).

Example 8:9 Masson's demonstration of the augmented triad (figures mine)²⁹



In Masson's harmonisation the dissonant 5th resolves upwards in accordance with its role as leading note, yet Masson makes the progression more harmonically colourful via the additional dissonances of the 9th and 7th. In this context it is the bass note that is dissonant and thus the resolution occurs when it descends to the E. The E thus bears a \$6 chord that resolves naturally into D minor. Murcia similarly has the bass assume a dissonant role by colouring his passage with a 7th harmony, which is resolved when the bass descends a tone.

Bassetti

One topic tackled by Murcia that is not encountered in previous guitar literature is *bassetti*, the temporary dropping out of the bass part, in which case the accompanist continues to play from one of the upper parts. This is indicated by a change to either a C or a G clef in the accompaniment and typically implies that the accompanist should play the part *tasto solo*, or that it should be very sparsely

²⁹ Charles Masson, *Nouveau Traité des regles pour la composition de la musique* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1694), p. 100

harmonised. This was discussed in some depth by Heinichen in 1728. The invariable rule when playing from *bassetti* is that they must not be doubled at the octave: they are played simply as written 'with one key, or finger, at a time, without further accompaniment, till another part, or another clef appears'.³⁰ Heinichen's directions regarding the harmonisation of such passages are as follows:

The harmony over the *bassetto* may, however, be taken with both hands (but with a discreet regard to whether there are many or few vocal or instrumental parts co-operating) in as many parts as the available space in the upper Octave of the keyboard permits.³¹

Murcia's earlier teachings are similar in that he implies a performance of *bassetti* passages on a single course:

In cantatas in the Italian style, composers use the clef of c sol fa ut untransposed, because the clef of fa ut does not rise far enough [without the use of ledger lines]. For this reason note that when the treble assumes the role [of the bass part], (that is when it [the real bass part] has a rest), the accompaniment is better played as on a single string [i.e. as a single line] if the note values are short. However if they are long and the voice [continues to] sing, the accompaniment is played with full chords as demonstrated. 32

Murcia provides seven examples demonstrating the treatment of a *bassetto* passage. Each is a scale with a different key signature in the following order: no sharps or flats, 1 flat, 2 flats, 3 flats, 1 sharp, 2 sharps and 3 sharps. Example 8:10 is a transcription of an ascending scale in G; the upper stave shows how to harmonise longer note values and the lower stave shows how to pluck a *tasto solo* passage.

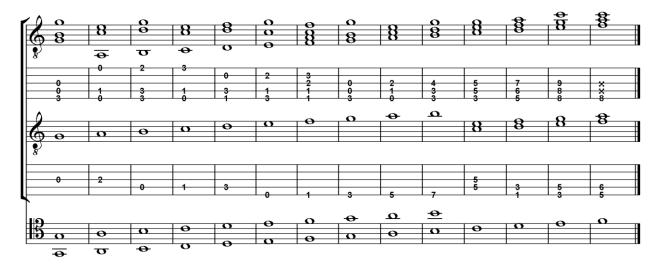
Note that Murcia sanctions a two-part harmonisation of shorter note values as an alternative to plucking single notes. In practice he does this on the first of a group of quavers or semiquavers and then plays the rest alone, much in the way that guitarists treat quick basses.

³⁰ Translated in Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment*, vol. 1, p. 375

³¹ ibid

Murcia, *Resumen*, p. 28, translated by Monica Hall, 'The Lute Society – Santiago de Murcia' [accessed 20/09/13] http://www.lutesociety.org/pages/santiago-de-murcia

Example 8:10 Bassetto demonstration: Ascending Scale in G



Sample Basses

Murcia is relatively unusual in supplying sample basses in the plucked style. In this respect they are similar to those supplied by Sanz. In fact, generally the Spanish demonstrate much stricter chord voicings, usually in three parts and often contrapuntal, features that make them quite distinct from those in Italian sources.³³ Murcia's sample basses cover a variety of different time signatures and keys, provide ample examples of all the aforementioned continuo figures and include *bassetto* passages for practice. Example 8:11 is a transcription of one such bass. From this short example several observations can be made about Murcia's approach to continuo playing. Many of the characteristics have been encountered before, such as the plucking of bass notes of smaller value and the preparation of dissonances in different octaves to those in which they sound, as in Example 8:12 a) and b). In Example a) the 7th on the first crotchet beat of the second bar is prepared on the 3rd course an octave lower on the last beat of the previous bar.

Octave leaps in the bass (such as that in the first bar of Example 8:11) are not reflected in the guitar accompaniment, yet for the most part the true bass is maintained wherever possible. Tied basses

³³ For examples of Spanish plucked guitar accompaniment one should consult the songs of José Marín (*GB-Cfm Ms. Mus. 727*). See Alicia Lázaro (ed.) *José Marin: 51 Tonos para voz y guitarra*, Guitar Heritage Series (Heidelberg: Chanterelle, 1997)

(such as in bar 3 of the same example) are restruck to combat sound decay. Instances of unprepared dissonance are rare (though one does occur in bar 15), as generally all dissonances are correctly prepared and resolved. In bar 7 Murcia prepares a 9th with a 6th chord over a bass rising a 5th (a procedure not demonstrated in his reference section of continuo figures). Few of these observations are new, as they have long been characteristic of guitar accompaniment. The passage from bar 20 to the last bar is of interest, however, as it demonstrates the accompaniment of a *bassetto*, providing a rare example of a sparsely figured tenor line to be practised by guitarists. The accompaniment is typically in either one or two parts. As the note values are short, for the most part Murcia notates a single line that reproduces the part in tenor clef. Instances of two-part chords tend to appear on the first of a group four semiquavers.

Example 8:11 Murcia's Exemplo 1 del tempo de compassillo



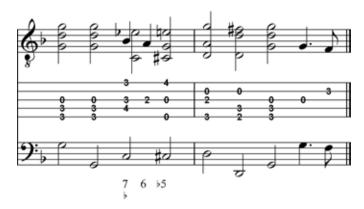
Example 8:12 Octave displacement in dissonance preparation

a) From Murcia's second example bass



In Example b) the 7th on the 3rd minim beat of the first bar is unprepared, but the unfigured 4th in the first chord of the second bar is prepared an octave lower in the preceding chord on the 3rd course.

b) From Murcia's third example bass



There is only one instance where Murcia makes use of the augmented triad in his sample basses, and it is not indicated in the figures. It occurs on the first quaver beat of the second bar of Example 8:13 and resolves into a C minor chord. Murcia's previous examples of this dissonance in 1^{st} inversion had always been in the context of a bass descending a 5^{th} to make a perfect cadence. The below progression is also cadential but consists of a 2^{nd} inversion augmented triad on a bass rising a semitone from B to C. Murcia normally treats this progression with a $\flat 5^{th}$ or 6/5 chord, but it appears that in rare circumstances an augmented triad could also be employed in this context.

Example 8:13 The use of the augmented triad in Murcia's eleventh example bass



Many of the treatises that postdate Murcia's work largely reproduce previously published material. It has already been commented that Minguet Y Yrol's treatise of 1754 consists mostly of material gathered from Sanz and Murcia's teachings, and that Amat's 1596 treatise on strummed accompaniment goes through several reprints during the eighteenth century. Campion's *Traité* (1716), on the other hand, does contain original material, though it is not intended exclusively for guitarists. In fact, Campion does not intend his teachings to be specific to any instrument. He treats the lute, theorbo and guitar in his writings because those are the instruments with which he is familiar, but the core teaching of the work is applicable to all chord playing instruments.

Campion (1716/1730)

The way one learns to accompany using the *régle de l'octave* is to first learn the intervals of the major and melodic minor scale. Once these are familiar, one should be able to play each scale in all transpositions. Campion provides notated examples of all 24 major and minor scales with their associated key signatures. The next step is to be able to identify each of the notes as scale degrees and to understand the progressive context in which each of those degrees occurs. The seventh degree, for example can either ascend to the final or descend to the sixth degree. Once this is done, one learns the harmonies that are associated with each scale degree and then practises them in all transpositions. When each major and minor scale can be harmonised comfortably, the accompanist will have a grounding from which to begin accompanying basses. To be successful with this approach, however, one must always be aware of any modulations that occur in a piece of music, because if the piece strays from the home key, the relationship between the bass notes changes: the notes assume new positions in the scale, and so one must rethink which degrees of the scale one is playing. It is a method that emphasises the need for a good sense of key and generates an awareness of harmonic relationships between one chord and another. But of course, it has its limits. Basses do not always progress stepwise, and there is a rich selection of dissonances that are not included in the stock chord

prescriptions. Nevertheless, it had value as a foundation on which to build. The major and minor scale harmonisations are transcribed in the following two examples. Note that the lower figures are those prescribed in the 1716 work. The upper figures are those given in the 1730 publication.

Example 8:14 Campion's harmonisation of a C major scale³⁴



Example 8:15 Campion's harmonisation of a D minor scale



It can be seen from these transcriptions that the harmonies used consist of triads, seventh chords and their inversions. The first and fifth scale degrees, being the most stable, have 5/3 chords, whilst all other degrees have some sort of 6th chord. It will be noticed that certain degrees bear dissonant harmonies.

These are the notes that immediately precede more stable degrees. In ascending scales, therefore, the 2nd, 4th and 7th degrees have dissonances (the 2nd degree precedes the semi-stable 3rd degree). In descending scales the dissonances fall on the 6th, 4th and 2nd degrees. The underlying theoretical principles behind these harmonisations had long been in use over the seventeenth century. There have been multiple examples in the previous chapters of basses taking a 6/5 chord when ascending stepwise, of leading notes taking \$5 chords and of falling stepwise basses taking \$4 chords. Campion advanced these teachings by removing them from their abstract, stand-alone musical examples and combining them in the context of an octave bass in a tonally cohesive manner. In short, it was not the harmonies

 $^{^{34}}$ On the ascending 6^{th} degree and the descending 7^{th} degree Campion states that on may double either the 3^{rd} or the 6^{th} . This applies also to the same degrees of the minor scale.

employed that were new, it was the notion of tonally oriented relationships between the eight degrees of a scale.

Campion was well aware of the restrictions placed on the range of harmonies used by his scale figurations, and so he supplied a supplementary chart for major and minor tonalities which provided a selection of diminished and augmented chords. These are transcribed in the following two examples. Note that the upper stave features the figures in full whilst the lower stave features the figures in abbreviated form. Campion's explanation of each chord can be summed up thus:

Minor Chords:

- 1. This occurs on the first degree.
- 2. Commonly occurs when the first degree is tied. The typical resolution occurs when the bass falls a semitone to a 6 chord (chord 3).
- As C♯ is the leading note, this chord bears a 6/♭5 chord and resolves on to the final. Note that
 the progression of the first four chords closely resembles Sanz's treble cadence (see Example
 5:19 in Chapter 5, p. 264).
- 4. This is the same as chord 1.
- 5. This chord may occur on the dominant. This is of course where the figure 6/4 is most commonly used. It may also occur on the final.
- 6. This chord may occur on the dominant.
- 7. This chord may occur on the dominant.
- 8. This is the same as chord 5.
- 9. This chord may appear on the second degree, though Campion states that when this degree ascends he prefers to sound a false 5th in place of the 4th.
- 10. This may be used on the first degree.

- 11. This is the same as chord 1.
- 12. This is a modulating chord. The tritone is the leading note in the key of A.³⁵
- 13. This is the same as chord 1.
- 14. This is the same as chord 1.
- 15. This figure appears on a descending 7th degree.
- 16. This progression may be used when falling to the dominant.³⁶
- 17. This is the same as chord 6.
- 18. This is the same as chord 1.
- 19. This progression may sound on the rising fourth degree.
- 20. This is the same as chord 6.
- 21. This is the chord of a tritone and sounds on the fourth degree.
- 22. This chord features an augmented 5th and is used for special effect on the third degree. Note that this voicing is very similar to Masson's (see Example 8:9).
- 23. This is the same as chord 1.
- 24. The augmented 2nd chord may sound on a descending 6th degree.
- 25. The diminished 7th chord may be used on an ascending leading note.
- 26. This is the same as chord 5, though one could replace the 6 with a 5 if desired.

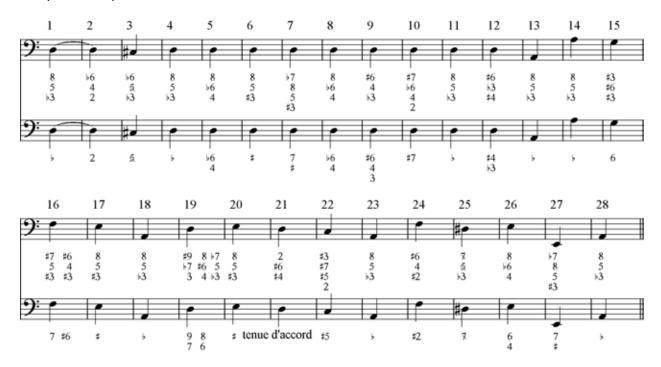
35 '... here we depart [from the key], since the tritone of D is G#, which is the leading tone in the scale [octave] of A... Here the tritone is accompanied by the sixth and the minor third [above the bass]; ordinarily it is accompanied by the sixth and the second... [but when it has only #6 and b3] the note that carries this chord is the ascending second degree of the minor key'. Translated in Joel Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth*

Century (London: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 75.

Campion elaborates on the contexts in which tritones may occur. A $6/\sharp 4/2$ chord sounds on the fourth degree and the flat 6/flat 5/flat 3 chord sounds on the seventh degree. A false 5^{th} accompanied with a diminished 7^{th} may occur on the seventh degree. Note that a tritone accompanied with a minor 3^{rd} may occur only in a minor key. 36 'To descend to the dominant, before the ordinary chord that is made on the sixth [degree] of the key, one often finds the seventh. . . on the first part of the note. On the second part of the note the usual chord indicated in the octave occurs. On the sixth [degree] of the key, the sixth [above it] is naturally major. However, I have placed a sharp before it to raise it, and this is called the augmented sixth, it is an extraordinary chord. . . the D# that makes the augmented sixth is now in some sense the leading tone of E, where the harmony ends extremely well.' Translated in *Ibid*.

- 27. This is the same as chord 7.
- 28. This is the same as chord 1.

Example 8:16 Campion's Table of minor chords



Major Chords:

- 1. This chord occurs on the first degree.
- 2. Commonly occurs when the first degree is tied. Resolves when the bass falls a semitone to a 6 chord.
- 3. B is the leading note, so it takes a 6/5 chord.
- 4. This is the same as chord 1. Again, these first four chords make up what Sanz called a treble cadence.
- 5. This chord occurs on the dominant.
- 6. This is the same as chord 1.
- 7. This chord occurs on the dominant.
- 8. This is the same as chord 5.

- 9. This chord occurs on the second degree ascending or descending.
- 10. This chord occurs on the first degree.
- 11. This is the same as chord 1.
- 12. This is a modulating chord. The tritone is the leading note in the key of G. This occurs on the fourth degree.
- 13. This is the same as chord 1.
- 14. This progression may sound on the rising 4th degree.
- 15. This figure occurs on the dominant. The 5 can be replaced with a 6 if desired.
- 16. This figure occurs on the dominant.
- 17. This is the same as chord 1.

Example 8:17 Campion's Table of major chords



Practical Guidance For Guitarists

As Campion was a competent player of the guitar, theorbo and lute, his insight into plucked string accompaniment is of great value to modern-day performers, and he also commented on a number of aspects of figured bass realisation that are not found in previous treatises, whose authors perhaps took for granted that such instruction would be provided by a teacher. His practical guidance includes advice on chord textures, and he tells us that while full harmonies are desirable, one should always choose voicings that are practical for the left hand, so one should omit a voice in favour of a

smooth execution.³⁷ Furthermore, the arrangement of the harmonies above the bass note does not matter.³⁸ The 'secret' to accompaniment, we are told, lies in the ability of the right hand to bring out the 'essential' bass note. Owing to the re-entrant tuning and the physical layout of the guitar fretboard, bass notes often have to sound in one of the inner voices of a chord (as has been seen in many of the transcriptions in the previous chapters), and so Campion stresses the importance of making the identity of the bass note in such chords clear by giving it added weight by sounding it with the thumb and then sounding the remaining harmonies with the fingers. Campion refers to this technique as playing in *batteries*, which are a form of arpeggiation. Unfortunately he gives no visual demonstration of this approach, but it seems to imply a rolling of the chords:

You play the bass note with your thumb, and then you raise your other fingers alternately in the fashion of a *batterie* on all the strings in an arpeggio. And remember that the secret I give to you on this instrument lies in picking the bass note out of the middle of your strings with your thumb, which is played before the chord, which the other fingers play. Those who know how to single out the bass note of their chords, and will play it thus, will always render a *beau chant* and a union with the bass line of the piece, which few teachers, or none have ever practiced or taught. Note that the little finger of the right hand must not be used in this *batterie* or arpeggiation. It restrains the hand too much.³⁹

Regarding the frequent movement of the bass from one voice to another in guitar accompaniment, Campion says this is perfectly acceptable and, furthermore that this is one of the reasons why accompaniment on the guitar is easier than on the theorbo. The deep bass range of the theorbo obliges the performer to play the true bass as written, but the more restricted range of the guitar, limited to three courses, releases the performer from this obligation.⁴⁰ It is enough that the note

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³⁷ Campion, Addition, p. 9

³⁸ Campion, *Traite*, p. 7, 'Sçavoire, par la tierce, par la quinte, et par l'octave; car il n'importe pas de l'arrangement des parties. . .'

³⁹ Campion, *Addition*, p. 40, Translated in Kevin Mason, 'François Campion's Secret of Accompaniment for Theorbo, Guitar and Lute', *JLSA*, Vol. 14 (1981), pp. 69-94, p. 84-85

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 38, 'c'est qui'il n'est pas besoin de descendre la main au bas du manche pour y chercher le degree de la notte comme au Théorbe. On va de la troisiéme corde à la cinquiéme corde. On ne doit pas se piquer pour l'accompagnement de cet instrument, de monter du ton grave à l'aigu. Il suffit que la verité de la notte y soit. . .'

sounds, and Campion even cites examples of keyboardists doing the same to further justify the practice.⁴¹

Campion refers to the guitar in his writings as a diminutive of the theorbo, ⁴² the reason being that the two instruments share similarities in tuning. The theorbo has six stopped strings of which the lower five have identical tunings to the five courses of the guitar. The two instruments therefore share some common chord shapes, and we are informed that Campion gives his aspiring theorbo students a dozen guitar lessons before they move on to the theorbo, so that they may first get accustomed to the fretboard and the playing of *batteries* on the easier instrument. ⁴³ He includes a short defence of the guitar, stating that although it is dynamically weaker than the harpsichord or theorbo, it is well suited to the accompaniment of a solo voice ⁴⁴ and, furthermore, transposition on this instrument is very straightforward. ⁴⁵ Campion ends his *Traité* with a warning against playing tablature accompaniments. This approach does not develop an understanding of harmony or a mastery of one's instrument, and the better musicians are those who can work from the figures as they develop a good ear and good taste. ⁴⁶

Before one can begin to learn to accompany, one must be familiar with the 'system' or intervallic arrangement of the guitar courses. Bass notes may sound on the 3rd, 4th or 5th course, and so

⁴¹ *Ibid*, '. . . sur le clavecin, oú le ton grave, et aigu sont possibles, les accompagnateurs, par plaisir ou par par indifference, prennent un degree pour l'autre. . . Cette indifference, étant rendüe supportable aux oreilles, donne une grande facilité pour accompagner tout cet instrument, et pour connoître sur cinq cordes, en trés-peu de tems, toute l'entendüe de l'harmonie aussi parfaitement que sur un Orgue, ou Clavecin.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 4, p. 43

⁴³ Addition, p. 37, 'L'harpégement des accords sur le Théorbe supple merveilleusement dans l'abbreviation des basses de movement. C'est pour cette raison que je donne ordinairement, ainsi que je dit, une douzaine de leçons de Guitare à ceux qui se destinent à l'accompagnement du Théorbe'.

⁴⁴ *Traite*, p. 19, 'Qu'on ne prévienne point sans raison contre la guitar. J'avoüerai avec tout le monde qu'elle n'est pas aussi forte d'harmonie que le Clavecin, ny le Théorbe. Cependant je la croy suffisante pour accompagner une voix'.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 'pour ce qui est des accords, je ne luy en connois point d'impossibles, elle a par dessus les autres la facilité du transport et du toucher. . .'

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 22, 'Je dirai icy que l'usage de la Tablature d'a, b' c, est pernicieuse pour ceux qui veulent faire quelque progress sur le Théorbe et sur Guitare, et c'est en partie ce qui a perdu le lut; car nous voyons des gens qui, avec de la main, du gout, et de l'oreille, ne peuvent atteindre à la superiorité de ces Instrumens'.

it is important to know where the required harmonic intervals above these strings lie. On the guitar, the spacing of intervals between the open courses is thus:

5th course: 4th, minor 7th, major 2nd, 5th

 4^{th} course: 4^{th} , major 6^{th} , major 2^{nd} , then, if one treats the 5^{th} course as a bearer of harmony, 5^{th}

3rd course: major 3rd, major 6th, then, if one treats the 5th course as a bearer of the harmony, major 2nd.

Once one internalises the set-up of the courses, one can develop a familiarity with the layout of the fretboard. Campion refers to the frets in terms of intervals above open bass course. The first fret of the first course therefore is a minor 3rd above the open fourth course or a minor 6th above the open fifth course. Having familiarised oneself with the fretboard, one can proceed to playing harmonies over an ascending and descending scale. No fingerings are offered to assist with this, as Campion seemingly preferred his students to count the intervals and work out their own chord shapes. He does, however, offer assistance with the voicings of the diminished and augmented chords that supplement the scale harmonisations. Although Campion discouraged the use of tablature when learning to accompany, he does prescribe specific voicings of these chords, perhaps regarding them as more advanced. He gives verbal descriptions of their placement on the fretboard in a number of different keys. In the examples below, the verbal descriptions have been translated into tablature. Note that in some cases alternative voicings are provided.

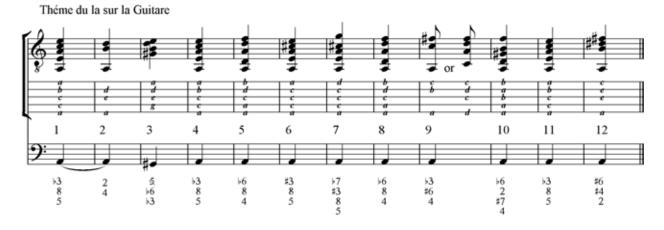
Example 8:18 Augmented and Diminshed Harmonies in the Key of D⁴⁷

Théme du ré sur la Guitare



This shortened version of the 1716 chart transcribed in Example 8:16 features some slight differences in figuration, as it is specific to the guitar. Some of the voices from the original chords had to be omitted to make the chords more practical. Of course, one is not obliged to stick to these voicings (Campion made it clear that the harmonic arrangement may be varied), but these are the voicings suggested by him as the most straightforward. The voicings given in Example 8:19 are those specified by Campion for accompaniments from the sixth string of the theorbo, which serve also for accompaniments from the fifth course of the guitar with only one small alteration: in chord 2, he omits the flat 6th.

Example 8:19 Augmented and Diminished Harmonies in the Key of A.



⁴⁷ One may add the open 5th course to chords 1, 4, 6, 7 and 11 if desired.

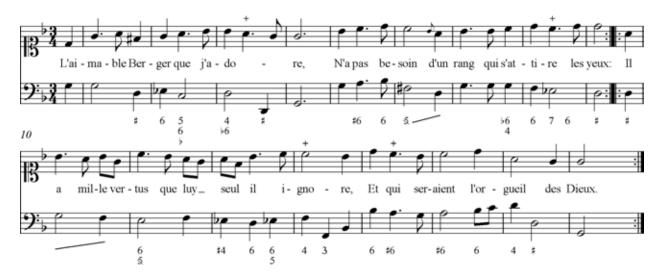
Campion's work differs from earlier treatises in that its purpose was not to get beginner accompanists to play from a bass in the shortest time possible by providing them with a stock repertoire of harmonisations to memorise and re-use again and again. Rather, he wanted them to understand chord relationships in the context of a tonal goal and to be able to recognise the harmonic implications of different stepwise bass progressions. There are no tablature demonstrations of how to treat a V-I cadence, as was typical of earlier teachings. Instead the student is required to work out their own chords by counting intervals above a bass. Campion's description of the fretboard in terms of intervals above open courses also distinguishes him from his predecessors. This treatise on accompaniment is one of the furthest removed from the alfabeto traditions that were so influential on guitar accompaniment. Whilst many earlier works try to merge alfabeto and continuo traditions by incorporating common-use, standard guitaristic chord shapes into continuo realisations, Campion discourages guitarists from seeking security in default chord shapes by encouraging a strictly intervallic approach to harmony. He would prefer a guitarist to be comfortable playing in any area of the neck on any of the three lower courses than to have standard go-to chord shapes. He wants his students to understand the intervallic structure of the chords and to be flexible in altering their voicings and textures, an approach more in keeping with how players of other continuo instruments learned their craft.

Those wishing to explore the early eighteenth-century continuo song repertory may want to consult Campion's 1719 collection of pastoral songs, *Avantures Pastorales Meslées de Vers mis en musique*, ⁴⁸ an example of which is transcribed below.

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⁴⁸ Avantures pastorales meslées de vers mis en musique par le S^r Campion, Proffesseur-Maître de théorbe et de guitare, de l'Academie Royale de Musique oeuvre III (Paris: Ribou, 1719). This source is accessible at the following link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90579429.langES>

Example 8:20 Campion, L'aimable berger que J'adore



The Late Eighteenth Century

As for the late eighteenth-century guitar song repertoire, beyond the 1750s the character of guitar accompaniments becomes more in keeping with the aesthetics of early classicism. The harmonic language is simplified, consisting mostly of chords I and V, the dissonant language is largely confined to dominant 7th chords and accompaniments are typically made up of arpeggio figures or broken chords. Compare, for example, the following transcription of the well-known song *Je vais partir belle Lisette* with the transcription from the *Recueil de chansons en tablature et musique* (F-Pn Vm⁷ 6235 c. 1680) in Example 6:39 (p. 307).

Example 8:21 Je vais partir belle Lisette⁴⁹



⁴⁹ F-Pn Ms F.C. Rés. F1145, 'Chansons et Vaudevilles avec des accompagnements de guitarre', p. 14. Note that the guitar accompaniment is notated in staff noattion.



This transcription comes from a mid-eighteenth-century manuscript held in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, and the accompaniment is starkly different to that given in F-Pn Vm⁷ 6235. While both are made up of a similar harmonic language, the broken, triplet figures of the later example dramatically transform its character.

The next transcription from F-Pn Ms F.C. Rés. F1145 reveals another characteristic of later eighteenth century guitar accompaniment that is at odds with earlier continuo practice, and that is the doubling of the vocal part.

Example 8:22 D'un air badin⁵⁰



Note again the broken harmonies that are a prominent feature of this accompaniment, but especially noteworthy is the incorporation of the vocal melody into the guitar part. This is both doubled explicitly and incorporated into the broken semiquaver figures, and the guitar even copies the vocal ornaments. Essentially it is playing an elaborately ornamented arrangement of the complete song beneath the vocalist. This was not tolerated by seventeenth-century continuo theorists, particularly Gasparini, who wrote:

Furthermore one must never play note for note the vocal part or other upper composed part for violin etc., since it suffices that the harmony contain the consonance or dissonance called for by the bass and supplied according to the rules of accompaniment.⁵¹

That said, there are early examples of the practice of vocal doubling (and of arpeggio figures) in F-Pn Vm⁷ 6235 (c.1680), making this an earlier characteristic, not of continuo playing, but of a different form of accompaniment that existed in parallel (see Examples 6:40 and 6:41 in Chapter 6, p. 308-9). A similar practice is found in Jacob Kremberg's *Musicalische Gemüths-Ergötzung*. This collection of songs was published in Dresden in 1689 and features fully notated accompaniments in French tablature in a variety of *scordatura* tunings. Yet the guitar accompaniments could stand alone as solo pieces, as the vocal part

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⁵⁰ F-Pn Ms F.C. Rés. F1145, 'Chansons et Vaudevilles avec des accompagnements de guitarre', p. 8

⁵¹ Translated in Burrows, *Francesco Gasparini*, p. 88

⁵² Jacob Kremberg, *Musicalische Gemüths-Ergötzung* (Dresden: the author, 1689)

is reproduced in all of them. Perhaps it was accompaniments such as these that Campion had in mind when he warned against playing from tablature. From c.1680, then, there is an emergence of a style of accompaniment that would eventually come to the fore in the works of Giacomo Merchi.⁵³

Eighteenth-century guitarists could practise accompaniment at a number of levels. They could continue strumming accompaniments to popular songs, or realise basses in a chordal manner, such as that professed by Campion, or in a more contrapuntal manner, as seems to have been preferred by the Spanish. At the same time there is an increase in the number of pre-composed accompaniments, typically characterised by broken or arpeggiated harmonies (usually simple I and V⁷ chords) that were prominent in the second half of the century. Song arrangements in which both melody and harmony are present in the guitar part could also serve as working accompaniments.

The guidelines for continuo guitarists differ from those in earlier treatises in that they are targeted at readers with some knowledge of music theory. Murcia takes for granted that his readers are familiar with the eight standard modes and with transposing and tenor clefs. Campion's is a purely theoretical work that demands that guitarists conceive of chords as composites of intervals. Even the fretboard is described in terms of intervals. Guitarists were still playing from chord symbols during this century, but the pedagogical continuo guidelines convey practices and mindsets far removed from those apparent in *alfabeto* traditions. This is somewhat ironic, given that keyboardists were embracing filled-in chordal accompaniment.

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⁵³ As in his *Recueil d'airs avec accompagnement de guitarre* (Paris: the author, c.1763), accessible at the following link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9078560q/f1.image.r=giacomo%20merchi.langES [accessed 28/5/13]

CONCLUSION

This thesis has highlighted the paucity of research pertaining to the use of the guitar as an instrument of accompaniment in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In truth, literature with a clear focus on the plucked string intruments of the period is lagging far behind the many studies on keyboard accompaniment. The emphasis on the study of continuo as it was practised by keyboardists has generated a modern standard of continuo performance that is largely shaped by keyboard idioms and as such bears little relation to the practice as it was played on plucked strings. Unfortunately, continuo playing on instruments from outside the keyboard family has come to be regarded as an esoteric pursuit on the part of specialists, and many important authors of seventeenth-century continuo teachings, such as Velasco, remain obscure, as they are rarely mentioned in more general discussions of accompaniment. The number of works cited in this thesis gives testament to the vastness of the topic of seventeenth-century guitar accompaniment and demonstrates the quantity of continuo teachings that are typically absent from modern continuo studies.

On keyboard instruments the general principles of counterpoint, such as the use of contrary motion and the sounding of the true bass, can be executed with relative facility. Keyboard realisations can, therefore, be regarded as model examples of accompaniment, as they can adhere to theoretical 'rules' most closely, which no doubt contributes to the favouring of keyboard instruments in modern studies of the practice. The guitar, on the other hand, with its peculiar tunings and limited bass was not capable of producing accompaniments with the same level of strictness. The apparent 'compromises' that must therefore be made when accompanying with a guitar can make modern continuo specialists more accustomed to keyboard idioms uneasy, but there is little evidence that that was the case in the 1600s. Each continuo instrument has performance practices that are distinct from those of the others,

but all are legitimate, regardless of how closely they resemble theoretical ideals. This emphasises the need for a more practice-based approach to continuo accompaniment, as opposed to using theoretical models. Such an approach has enabled me to document some of the ingenious ways guitarists were able to overcome the limitations of their instrument when providing accompaniments. Of course, the more idiomatic features of guitar accompaniment are balanced by the characteristics that are more grounded in continuo conventions, which can be compared with the practices on other instruments. Enough parallels have been drawn between guitar sources and treatises for lute and keyboard to illustrate that continuo performance on the guitar was practised at a comparable level of sophistication. Similarities have been demonstrated between guitar teachings and those of Bianciardi, Penna, Locke, Blow, D'Anglebert, Masson, Gasparini and Heinichen, which may be surprising to anyone used to reading that this instrument is suitable only for 'light' music.

The restriction of the guitar to 'light' genres in musicological writings has hindered the wider acknowledgment of the prominence of the instrument in accompanying roles in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Few studies on Italian chamber music, for example, mention the guitar in this context and yet several of the sources cited here indicate the use of the guitar in instrumental ensembles. Most obvious among these are Marini and Granata's work, cited in Chapter 4, but Sanz too warned that one would encounter many accidentals in Italian violin sonatas and concertos. In vocal music, issues of 'appropriateness' have been raised in past research, often in relation to the subject matter of the text being accompanied, and supported by the typical absence of *alfabeto* notations from more serious genres. Enough examples of guitar-accompanied sacred music have been identified to raise serious doubts about this long-standing perception, and explanations for the absence of *alfabeto* in more characteristically dissonant compositions have been provided. This does not necessarily forbid a guitarist from accompanying such music, as the necessary harmonies were within the grasp of adept performers of continuo in the 'mixed' style.

Up to the present, there have been some misguided perceptions of guitar accompaniment arising from critical misunderstandings of *alfabeto* notations and their associated performance practices. This study has outlined some of the reasons why a limited exposure to these notations in printed songbooks is insufficient to obtain a full overview of the harmonic language of the early guitar and why these sources fail to portray accurately the standard of guitar technique at the time. It is therefore necessary that perceptions of guitar performance practice at the start of the seventeenth century be re-evaluated in light of the findings illuminated in the first two chapters, namely: the commonplace use of dissonance at cadences and the widespread familiarity of dissonant chord symbols among guitarists; the more restrained use of dissonance when accompanying a text, as opposed to its greater exhibition in *ritornello* passages; the ability to shape chords in such a way as to be responsive to the texts through subtle variations of tone, texture and dynamic; and the need for a broad memorised repertoire of ground basses, their associated melodies, poetic structures, stock harmonic motifs and cadential figurations.

Several approaches to guitar accompaniment have been documented in this study that have not been discussed previously in musicological writings. Much of the existing research treats the *alfabeto* songbook repertoire or the better-known continuo treatises of Matteis or Murcia. The potential for improvisation of counterpoint over a given bass as demonstrated by Granata, has unfortunately been overlooked, meaning that this important skill, which is not typically associated with the guitar, but had potential applications in the accompaniment of intrumental music, has thus far been ignored. The implications are profound, as they associate the guitar with a performance practice stemming from the Renaissance that remains to be widely acknowledged. The more theoretically grounded teachings of Velasco and Campion are discussed, which serves to demonstrate the degree of theoretical rigour that may be applied to continuo performance on the guitar, and the relative sophistication of the accopaniments, comparable to those of other instruments, that may be achieved as a result.

While the adoption of tablature was essential to allow the more detailed notation of guitar accompaniments, the importance of alfabeto did not diminish as long as the guitar was in use. Foscarini, Corbetta, Valdambrini, Granata, Sanz and Derosier all use alfabeto symbols in their continuo guidelines; it is noteworthy that the last two composers do this despite operating outside Italy. Even Minguet Y Yrol includes chord symbols in his 1752 treatise, and although neither Morelli nor Matteis includes alfabeto in his teachings, their tablature accompaniments are full of alfabeto harmonies. The continued importance of alfabeto traditions is evidenced in the on-going practice of strummed dissonance. Many of the dissonant tagliate harmonies devised by Palumbi, Foscarini and Corbetta are found in song accompaniments dating from the end of the seventeenth century, not to mention the continued use of the peculiar C minor harmony with the added 9th (chord L), which is an entirely practice-based idiom of the guitar. While one may assume that guitarists progressed from all strummed accompaniments at the beginning of the century to something more sophisticated at the end, the reality is that the strummed and 'mixed' styles characterise accompaniment throughout the period. We now know that plucking was taking place at the beginning of the century and that strumming was a consistently popular means of accompaniment into the eighteenth century. Professional guitarists may well have rivalled lutenists and theorbists in this field, or may have been adept performers of these instruments as well, in which case conventional accompaniment on a guitar would pose little difficulty. For amateurs, however, predominantly strummed accompaniment was a skill more easily acquired.

We should not be concerned that guitar accompaniments lack the strictness of those of the keyboard. The seventeenth-century practitioners make plain that the pragmatic uses of dissonance, chord clusters, chord inversions and all the other peculiarities of their craft should not cause concern. They were by-products of the physical configuration of the fretboard and were necessary in order to exploit fully the harmonic and dynamic resources of the instrument. To regard such features as undesirable is to miss the point. They are legitimised by the unique physical set-up of the guitar. This

illustrates the importance of practice-based research into continuo accompaniment and highlights the need for further detailed study of practices on plucked instruments. While keyboard accompaniments are valued for their concretisation of theoretical principles, their relevance to plucked string accompaniment, particularly on an instrument with such a restricted range as the guitar, is limited, and given the prominence of plucked strings in continuo performance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this imbalance in current musicology has given us an incomplete picture of the practice.

This study has questioned the validity of long-held perceptions of the guitar and its performance contexts that one often finds repeated in musicological writings, despite its not having been substantiated through any in-depth investigation. By comprehensively documenting for the first time the versatility of the instrument in diverse performance contexts and by freeing it from its past constraints to 'light' and 'frivolous' music, this research now provides the basis for new detailed avenues of inquiry on an important and fascinating topic.