

**A HUMANISTIC READING OF GASPAR SANZ'S
*INSTRVCCION DE MVSICA SOBRE LA GVITARRA ESPAÑOLA***

**A thesis submitted to the faculty of
San Francisco State University
In partial fulfillment of
The requirements for
The Degree**

AS

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2016

MUSIC

R67

v.1

Master of Arts

In

Music

By

Lars Christian Rosager

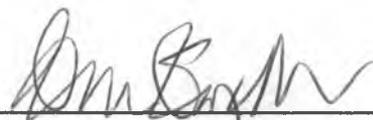
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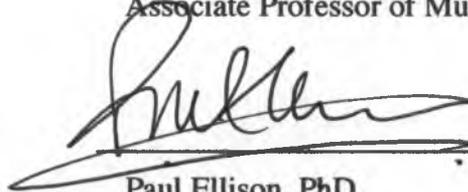
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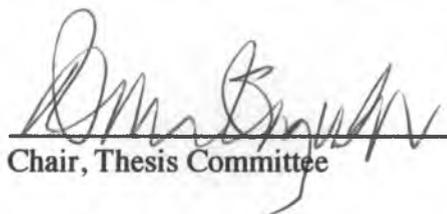
A HUMANISTIC READING OF GASPAR SANZ'S
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Lars Christian Rosager
San Francisco, California, USA
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to locate traces of humanism in the 1674 method book of Aragonese guitarist Gaspar Sanz, *Instrvccion de Mvsica sobre la Gvitarra Española* (Musical instruction for the Spanish guitar). Building connections from Sanz back through the history of Spanish humanism, this text presents a unique interpretation of the early Spanish guitar, an instrument inseparable from the liberation and secularization of the Western European intellect. Beginning with background on the guitar and humanism separately, this thesis links the two subjects through an analysis of *Instrvccion* in nine chapters dedicated to the front matter of Sanz's method book, its didactic guidelines, and its music. The impact of language and writing on the sociological image of the guitar comprises one of the most prominent recurring ideas.

I certify that the abstract is a correct representation of the content of this thesis.



Chair, Thesis Committee

5/19/16

Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The last mistake I would like to make here is to create the impression that anyone who has helped me toward the realization of this thesis does not deserve to be recognized. Some people have been more active than others, and sometimes the smallest piece of advice, even simple coincidence, has been the spark for an indispensable aspect of this work. One expects to see certain names here, where I have an opportunity to give thanks to those who have supported my studies. Parents, professors, classmates, colleagues—all of these people and more have inspired and motivated me to press on and complete the difficult task of writing this text. But more than any one person or group I might name in appreciation for making this work possible, I would like to thank you, the reader. My humble hope is that you find intellectual value in this thesis and beyond. Please know that my study is not the end of the road for the topics treated herein. The world needs you to expand upon these ideas, challenge them, and continue to strive for truth.

PREFACE

In addition to my work in music history, I am active as a composer, performer, and educator of music for voice and seven-string guitar. Being a firm believer in the idea that the best studies in music history grow out of first-hand musical knowledge relevant and interesting to the writer, I have decided to embark on this academic journey because I see in myself many traits in common with the lettered musicians of early modern Spain. While the music of Spanish Renaissance and Baroque composers stirs me profoundly, inquiry into what the lives of these composers were like and how Spanish culture in general developed within musical contexts has been equally motivating.

Aside from the course requirements for the degree Master of Arts in Music, countless hours devoted to independent study, composition both musical and textual, rehearsing and performing, and presenting research are validated in the completion of this text. One especially gratifying experience was the opportunity to sing in a Gregorian-chant choir. Though chant forms the basis for the advent of all Western European sacred polyphony, the Spanish style of the early Renaissance relates to monophonic chant sources in a way all its own. Strict adherence to Gregorian chant gave way to greater freedom of expression and the inclusion of an increasing number of musical elements associated with popular style. As a guitarist inspired not only by learned, academic traditions, but also the orally transmitted styles one may call folk, I have made it my goal to relive a historic shift in emphasis from sacred to secular music.

On December 7, 1546, the first published piece of music for the guitar, a fantasia composed by Spaniard Alonso Mudarra (ca. 1510–1580), was taken to the press in

Seville.¹ With Mudarra's work, instrumental music took a step toward bridging the divide between the sacred and the profane. Latin Mass excerpts by Franco-Flemish master Josquin des Prez and other sacred works by great polyphonists were arranged and printed, among various popular genres, in tablature for organ, harp, vihuela, and most importantly, the guitar. One must note that many consider the guitar to have been an instrument of the common classes. Even the vihuela was suspect for clerics overseeing the involvement of instrumentalists in the Catholic Church. An instrument for which many secular songs were composed, the vihuela was too closely identified with "dancing and other unholy activities."²

This thesis is based on the aesthetics of guitar music during the 128 years between *Tres libros de musica en cifras para vihuela* (1546) of Mudarra and *Instrvccion de Musica sobre la Guitarra Española* (1674) of Sanz, a historical period whose commonalities with the state of guitar culture today promise a new and informative experience for any reader, not just music specialists. My studies in music and language arts have led me to the present topic, one that I consider to be of prime importance in fully understanding one of the most powerful empires of early-modern Europe. I approach the relationship between early guitar traditions and humanism in Spain as a modern music historian who has experienced the impact of this musico-literary confluence first hand.

1. John Griffiths, "Mudarra, Alonso," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.opac.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/19285>.

2. Kenneth Kreitner, "Minstrels in Spanish Churches, 1400–1600," *Early Music* 20, no. 4 (1992): 539, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3128021>, for further reading see J. Moll, "Música y representaciones en las constituciones sinodales de los Reinos de Castilla del siglo XVI," *Anuario musical* 30 (1975): 209–43, especially 216–17 and 239–42.

Ogniun feque sua stella.

(Each of us has a star to follow.)

—Petrarch, translation mine.

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Introduction

This thesis seeks to achieve three main goals, which are enumerated here in an order that may not necessarily reflect the goals' order of appearance in the text. By virtue of being constructed on a foundation of primary musical sources, this study provides an assessment of theoretical and stylistic workings in early Spanish guitar music.

Compositional practices will be analyzed in so far as they pertain to the guitar's melding with humanism. Substantiating my claims through direct reference to musical notation is paramount.

This study will relate sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish guitar culture to modern-day matters. Intermittent deviations from past historical periods will be made in order to study today's generation, thus expressing just how influential the first stages of the guitar were.

The most important of the aims of this study is to draw logical conclusions regarding the nature of the guitar's role in breaking with authoritarian Medieval scholasticism. I have found that taking as my main subject a text published some 200 years after the most decisive period in Spain's humanistic maturation facilitates a precise recounting of how the early-modern guitar grew up amid education reform. A careful and capacious study of the influential guitar method by Gaspar Sanz (ca. 1650–ca. 1715), *Instrvccion de Mvsica sobre la Gvitarra Española* (1674), will demonstrate that the guitar in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain is inextricably linked with Spanish

humanism. May the reader be forewarned: the topic at hand is immense. Just surveying the history of the guitar and humanism separately leads necessarily into a lifetime of work, but such an infinitum actually aids my present effort. The innumerable tributaries to and from the present topic speak to its academic potentiality and move the ever-popular guitar into more diversely erudite territory.

The history of the guitar has been traced back to the interactions of the ancient Egyptians with Semitic peoples, and perhaps reaches even further into the past. With etymology as my guide, I have found that the most culturally relevant of the guitar's predecessors is the Greek *kithara* (κιθάρα), which, in antiquity, referred to a large, technically demanding version of the common lyre.³ For general purposes, the lyre may be loosely defined as a plucked-string instrument having multiple strings stretched over a flat soundboard. The Greek lyre was not constructed with a neck, fretted or otherwise.⁴ Following the transculturation of Greece with the East and, later, the Roman Empire in Europe, various forms of bowed- and plucked-string instruments with necks were common.⁵

Medieval Europe was a period of much instrumental diversity, leading to firmer standardization of terminology and practice in the Renaissance. Spanish musicologist

3. J. A. Kemp, "Professional Musicians in Ancient Greece," *Greece & Rome*, 2nd ser., 13, no. 2 (1966): 219, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/642604>.

4. Adolfo Salazar, "La guitarra, heredera de la kithara clásica," in "Homenaje a Amado Alonso: Tomo Primero," special issue, *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 7, nos. 1–2 (1953): 118–26, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40297422>.

5. One modern indication of the persistence of the guitar's association with the Greek lyre is that the Mexican Spanish slang term *lira* refers to the common guitar.

Adolfo Salazar has interpreted the abundance of linguistic variants of the word “guitar”—which was accompanied by, but not directly related to, diversity in instrument construction—to mean that high culture was slow in recognizing popular musical styles. Salazar explains that fluctuation in terms in twelfth-century French and Spanish documentation “seems to indicate that, even though an instrument by the name of *guitara*, or some similar word, would have been in use among peoples of the common citizenry, the word had not entered into the cultured lexicon before the thirteenth or fourteenth century.”⁶ In the mid-fifteenth century, from the confusing instrumental world of the Middle Ages, emerged the Aragonese *vihuela de mano* (hand viol), the courtly counterpart to the popular guitar.

The research of Lawrence Wright points to deep pre-*vihuela* roots of the Renaissance guitar in an exposition of the Medieval gittern. The work of Wright is valuable for many reasons. The point most applicable to the present text is that “the guitar bore the same relationship to the *vihuela* as the gittern to the lute.”⁷ One must understand that the guitar was not simply a child of the *vihuela*. Rather, an examination of the linguistic associations, organology, and culture of the guitar leads to the conclusion that

6. Salazar, “La guitarra,” 121: “*Esa fluctuación parece indicar que, aunque existiese un instrumento llamado guitarra, o de manera parecida, entre las gentes del pueblo, la palabra no había entrado en la lengua culta antes del siglo XIII o XIV,*” translation mine, NB: all translations mine unless otherwise noted.

7. Lawrence Wright, “The Medieval Gittern and Citole: A Case of Mistaken Identity,” *The Galpin Society Journal* 30 (1977): 19, www.jstor.org/stable/841364.

this instrument has an extensive history that interweaves Arabic- and Latin-speaking societies.

Difficulty in classifying and identifying Medieval instruments stems in part from a lack of distinction with regard to how the instrument would have been sounded. For instance, a musician could have played the same chordophone with a bow or a plectrum, or by hand. Later, qualifiers for different techniques appeared: the *vihuela de arco* (bowed viol), *vihuela de péñola* (plectrum viol), and *vihuela de mano* (hand viol). More detail and specialization one finds in the Renaissance may be exemplified in a single instrument being assigned a single mode of sound production.

Ian Woodfield has written that “the development of a large, waisted, plucked instrument known as the *vihuela de mano*” is owed to instrument builders from the Iberian kingdom of Aragon, home of soon-to-be monarch Ferdinand.⁸ Judging from the many sacred works of art in which the vihuela was depicted, one may assume this instrument had been granted admission into the upper echelons of society. The issue of the vihuela’s place among the aristocracy, however, is not so simple; it will be revisited later in this study.

For now, suffice it to say that between the vihuela and the guitar, the vihuela was the nobler of the two. By the sixteenth century, a clear distinction was made. The vihuela was essentially a lute, but instead of the lute’s almond shape, it had what is often called a

8. Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 38, brackets mine.

figure-eight-shaped body. The guitar, also figure-eight-shaped, was smaller, strung with four courses instead of the vihuela's six. In their capacities to define certain sectors of society, the vihuela and guitar took two distinct paths.⁹ However, their common ancestry is not insignificant.

Grove Music Online contains an extensive article on the instrument from which many plucked chordophones are thought to have derived: the lute. As is often the case in histories of the Western European lute, the article's historical segment begins with the Islamic conquest of the Iberian Peninsula: "The Arab 'ūd [العود] was introduced into Europe by the Moors during their conquest and occupation of Spain (711–1492)."¹⁰ Both the name and the construction of the European instrument can be reasonably associated with the expansion of the *Dār al-Islam* (دار الإسلام).¹¹

9. James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music: From the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 3.

10. Ian Harwood, Diana Poulton, and David van Edwards, "History" in "Lute," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.jpllnet.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/40074pg4>, brackets mine.

11. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Dār al-Islam," <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1545037/Dar-al-Islam>: "*Dār al-Islam* [Abode of Islam]: in Islamic political ideology, the region in which Islam has ascendancy; traditionally it has been matched with the *Dār al-Ḥarb* (abode of war), the region into which Islam could and should expand. This mental division of the world into two regions persisted even after Muslim political expansion had ended," brackets in note mine.

Based on English phonetics, ell-a-OO-d would sensibly represent the Arabic pronunciation of “‘ūd.”¹² The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) representation of the Arabic is El la.'ud.¹³ From English to Castilian Spanish, the most prevalent Iberian language in the world today, “the lute” translates to “*el laúd*.” It takes only the briefest glance to see a connection between the IPA and the Spanish. Pronunciation of the Spanish differs only slightly from the Arabic, being mostly a matter of minute variation in agogic accentuation and terminal consonant stress. It must be mentioned that the time period with which this study primarily engages saw the establishment of Castilian as Spain’s official vernacular language. Romance linguist David Pharies has cited among the several key events of the year 1492 “the publication of a grammar of Spanish—the first grammar ever of a European language—and of a Latin-Spanish dictionary, both by Antonio de Nebrija [1441–1522].”¹⁴ While Spanish musical culture had no problem with the term *laúd* for lute, there was no room for representing the nation with an instrument of Islam or the East.

12. The phonetic transcription provided here does not follow standard dictionary format, but, rather, serves an English speaker who has not memorized the International Phonetic Alphabet. The capital letters here signal the syllable to be stressed.

13. For further reading on how Castilian Spanish relates to the IPA, see Suzanne Rhodes Draayer, ed., *Canciones de España—Songs of Nineteenth-Century Spain* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2007), for further application, see Alexander Beider and Stephen P. Morse, “Phonetic Matching: A Better Soundex,” *Association of Professional Genealogists Quarterly* (2010), <http://stevemorse.org/phonetics/bmpm2.htm>.

14. David Pharies, “History of the Spanish Language” (unpublished paper), University of Florida, <http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/pharies/knol.html>, brackets mine.

The vihuela became the Spanish instrument of courtiers. It shares much in common with the lute. Tuning is but one example; there were several tunings in use, and sources point to exact matches between the vihuela and lute. In fact, many feel the two instruments are essentially one and the same. Stringing and fretting, key components deserving of close examination, will be discussed later. The vihuela's resonating chamber, with flat back and soundboard, and flat waisted sides (as opposed to the lute's almond shape) will be considered in terms of the ideology behind inaugurating the vihuela, and later the guitar, typically Spanish instruments. Being fiercely Roman Catholic, the authorities of the Spanish Empire would not have taken kindly to Spanish musicians' playing instruments of the enemy.

Research points to ancient Eastern lutes with predominately rounded backs, sides, and perhaps even tops. Salazar posits that Western chordophones of antiquity, which basically undermine the classification of lute in the absence of a neck, have been flat ever since the Greco-Roman kithara.¹⁵ Middle Eastern and Greco-Roman civilizations have an extensive history in Spain prior to the eighth-century Muslim conquests.

Phoenicia, an ancient civilization that inhabited what is today Lebanon as well as portions of Syria and Israel, has been remembered for its mercantile grandeur.¹⁶ The Phoenicians were also colonizers and, beginning with their arrival on the Iberian Peninsula around 1000 BCE, had a significant presence in what are today the Spanish

15. Salazar, "La guitarra," 123.

16. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Phoenicia," <http://www.britannica.com/place/Phoenicia>.

cities of Cádiz, Málaga, and Cartagena. Being in a propitious location on the eastern Mediterranean coast, Phoenicia's proximity to Byzantium in the north and Egypt in the south would have been conducive to the proliferation of ancient lutes.¹⁷ Only 500 miles to the east, the same site occupied by modern Baghdad was busy with East-West trade.¹⁸ There, in the ancient city of Babylon, Eastern lutes would meet Greek kitharas when, in 331 BCE, the Greek victory of Alexander the Great initiated important intellectual exchange between conquered and conqueror.¹⁹ James McKinnon corroborates this theory: "Lutes made a late entry into the Greco-Roman world, not appearing until after Alexander's Persian conquest."²⁰

But on the northeastern coast of Spain were two Greek enclaves, long since established when Greece took Babylon from Persia. It is no great stretch of the imagination to suggest Greek chordophones would have been present in Iberia as early as 573 BCE, though the documentary support has been described as lacking.²¹ In response to the paucity of hard evidence, one may speculate that the thriving marketplaces in the

17. Peter Pierson, *The History of Spain* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1999), 19.

18. Oliver Wild, "The Silk Road" (unpublished paper), University of California Irvine, 1992, <http://www.ess.uci.edu/~oliver/silk.html>.

19. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Babylon," <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/47575/Babylon>.

20. James W. McKinnon, "Pandoura," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.opac.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/20802>.

21. Celia Las Heras de Méndez, "The Spanish Idiom in the Works of Non-Hispanic European Composers in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries" (master's thesis), San José State University, 1988: 14, http://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1010&context=etd_theses.

enclave of Empurias, meaning *emporium* in Latin (εμπόριον in Greek), would have distributed one or another instrument. Notice the etymological relationship to the English “emporium,” a word with longstanding ties to traveling merchants and large-scale commerce. Greek chordophone culture could have been exposed to the advancing Carthaginians, descendants of early Phoenician settlers, before the Romanization of Spain, which began about 200 BCE. Romanization geopolitically consolidated various earlier civilizations. The influx of settlers from Rome, an empire that appropriated the music of ancient Greece, increases the likelihood of a dynamic lute-kithara exchange prior to Medieval Islamic expansion. The image in figure 1 is one of the few pieces of evidence supporting the notion of pre-Islamic lute culture on the Iberian Peninsula.



Figure 1. The funeral monument for Lutatia Lupata, a sixteen-year-old Roman girl.²²

This depiction of the *pandurium*, an instrument of Indo-Persian origin closely related to the Arabic *'ūd*, predates the beginnings of Arab society in Spain by about 500 years. This stele was discovered in 1956 in Mérida (modern-day Extremadura, Spain), the capital city of Lusitania, then the western-most province of the Roman Empire.

22. Tinti Fotógrafos' *Estela de Lutatia Lupata*, Ca. 115 BCE, photograph of marble sculpture, 23.62 in. x 14.37 in. x 6.69 in. (Museo Nacional de Arte Romano), http://museoarteromano.mcu.es/acceso_catalogo.html, for further reading see Jonathan Edmondson, Trinidad Nogales Basarrate, and Walter Trillmich, *Imágen y memoria: monumentos funerarios con retratos en la colonia Augusta Emerita* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2001), 143–45 and Archaeological Ensemble of Mérida, UNESCO World Heritage List, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/664>.

From an overview of these imperial histories, it should be clear the Iberian polemic of East versus West pits lute against kithara long before conflicts between Muslims and Catholics in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Spanish vihuelists praised the Greeks and Romans, not the Iberian-based Phoenicians of Carthage.²³ One realizes that on top of championing Roman Catholic over Islamic values, educated and historically informed Spaniards could argue their dominant ancestry back to Rome's victory over Phoenician Carthage.

The glory of ancient Rome in Iberia eases the awkwardness of presenting pagan culture together with an undying faith in Christ, an approach taken by vihuelist and guitarist authors in the Renaissance and Baroque. It is indeed sensible, judging from the etymology and politics, to think of the vihuela as an intermediary between plucked-string instruments of the East and those of the West. If one acknowledges the debate continuing today over whether the vihuela would have at times been built with a rounded back, then its role as intermediary gains credence.²⁴

For those interested in bringing the humanistic attributes of the early guitar to the foreground, the preceding ideas aid greatly. They contextualize the chordophonic climate

23. Pierson, *The History*, 19.

24. Luthier Mel Wong, Blackbird String Arts, email correspondence, August 26, 2014.

at the dawn of sixteenth-century Spain and shade the period's references to antiquity with a nationalist hue.²⁵

The legacy of gentlemen vihuelists is great, but its origins may not be what one would suspect. Victor Anand Coelho has drawn some fascinating conclusions about the early vihuela. “Numerous early references to the vihuela link it to Moorish culture, and locate its use within an urban, rather than courtly, context—one that points to a direct link with oral tradition,” Anand Coelho writes; and follows with the perhaps unthinkable proposition that the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand of Aragon (1452–1516) and Isabelle of Castile (1451–1504), the first rulers over a unified Spain, spared a handful of Jewish and Muslim musicians from exile in exchange for lessons and performances on the vihuela.²⁶

Al-‘Andalus (الأندلس; known today as Andalusia, a region in the south of Spain) was, as Desmond Stewart has revealed, home to a culture to which Western Europe is immeasurably indebted. More so than the exchanges between either southern Italy and Africa or Western crusaders and the Middle Eastern populations they encountered during military expeditions in the East, Islamic control over the Iberian Peninsula was central to the eventual emergence of Christendom, today called Western Europe, from the nightmarish Middle Ages. Stewart shares his wisdom: “European resurgence was to come

25. The adjective chordophonic may not be entirely familiar to some readers. Even music specialists might be surprised. Here, chordophonic describes that which deals with chordophones, or stringed instruments.

26. Victor Anand Coelho, *Performance on the Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 160.

only when the two gulfs—between the Classical past and the East—were again traversable.”²⁷

Muslim scholars preserved and translated many ancient Greek texts, works that were later made available in Latin, the language of educated Europe. The famous periods of *convivencia* (coexistence) in Medieval Iberia, especially translation activity in Toledo, contributed enormously to Classical learning in Europe. Concerning the second of the two gulfs Stewart mentions, it is important to note that Islamic presence in southwestern Europe funneled, via Baghdad, intellectual currents from Persia and as far east as India. Contact between Christendom and the Eastern Mediterranean had dwindled, but would be prolifically reinstated, thanks to *al-‘Andalus*.

In spite of Muslim advances in the arts and sciences, Arabs were subjected to Catholic ruthlessness when a newly united Spain took Granada, the last European stronghold of a battered Islamic empire. The terms of the Muslims’ surrender were broken, and 80,000 Arabic books burned.²⁸ It would seem the relatively tolerant rule of the Abode of Islam and the many steps taken toward an egalitarian, humanistic society were all for naught.

Even before the fall of Granada, Catholic Europe had contributed to the devaluation of Arabic culture by attacking important achievements of Muslim scholars, particularly Averroës (1126–1198). Conservative European university professors sought

27. Desmond Stewart, *The Alhambra: A History of Islamic Spain* (New York: Newsweek, 1974), 82.

28. Stewart, *The Alhambra*, 117.

to undermine aspects of Arab thought, ideas that would re-emerge in the Renaissance. Catholic scholars showed some deference to Arab minds, but by and large, an unfortunate divide remained, rooted most probably in religious bias and racism.²⁹

Having painted the historical picture for the establishment of the vihuela among courtiers, this text will now focus on the guitar as it was known in the Renaissance and Baroque. The vihuela came into its own on the heels of Islam's defeat at the hands of Catholic Spain. It represents a period of imperial triumph. But the austere mood of the vihuelists was seasoned with popular song, a song the guitar would sing loudly in the years to come.³⁰

Before Mudarra and the first published composition for the guitar, Luis de Narvaez (fl. 1530–1550) composed a segment of his fifteenth variation on a traditional bass line using only the inner four of the vihuela's six courses and subtitled the passage of music, "In Imitation of the Guitar."³¹ This instance of using the vihuela like a guitar might possibly be seen as further proof of a pre-vihuela guitar tradition. There is a tendency in the progression of instrument-building history to expand rather than contract

29. Dag Nikolaus Hasse, "Influence of Arabic and Islamic Philosophy on the Latin West," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2014 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta, <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/arabic-islamic-influence/>.

30. John Griffiths, "At Court and at Home with the *Vihuela de mano*: Current Perspectives of the Instrument, its Music and its World," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 22 (1989): 8, <http://www.cs.dartmouth.edu/~lsa/publications/J/1989/JLSA-22-01-1989-Griffiths-vihuela.pdf>.

31. Tyler and Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music*, 5: "Contraheciendo la guitarra," translation Tyler.

the range of pitches. It follows that the narrow range of the guitar would be widened with the vihuela.

At least within the period of music history studied in this text, theory was often years behind practice. It is likely that the practical foundation for sixteenth-century vihuela and guitar publications was beginning to be laid as many as one hundred years before the first print material. What were the physical characteristics of the guitar when the first guitar music was being published? This question will be explored now.

Sixteenth-century guitars had wooden figure-eight-shaped bodies. This brief but pertinent aside will return further into this text: Frederic V. Grunfeld has reprimanded the “soulless organographers”³² who do not mark the beginning of the guitar’s individuality “at the point where the form of the instrument takes on the shape of a woman’s body: softly rounded at the shoulders, curving inward at the waist, and concluding with another gently rounded curve at the bottom.”³³ The guitar’s resonating chamber was like the vihuela’s, but smaller, sonically conducive to fewer courses at higher pitches.

From a wooden bridge perpendicular to the strings on the front of body, the guitar’s courses extended over the neck and fret board to the peg head and tuning pegs. Four was the most common number of courses on early-sixteenth-century guitars. This

32. Frederic V. Grunfeld, *The Art and Times of the Guitar* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969), 6, NB: Seeing as this book by Grunfeld focuses on iconography, one may correctly associate organography with the depiction of musical instruments. Organography may be loosely defined as the practice of illustrating instruments or, relatedly, studying or writing about such images.

33. Ibid.

standardization is supported by the fact that the early print sources of Narvaez and Mudarra call for four-course instruments, as well as by theorist Juan Bermudo (ca. 1510–ca. 1559) in his *Declaraciō de instrumentos* (1555).³⁴ The word course refers here to a pair of gut strings tuned to either a unison or an octave. A sizeable amount of evidence points to the highest course strung with only one string. Of course, this broadens the definition of course to include single strings. However, for those familiar only with the modern guitar, a brief clarification reiterates the fact that, generally speaking, there are two strings to one course. Sanz's book is an indication of the longevity of first-course single-stringing.

The tuning of early guitars must be understood in the plural. There was no notion of fixed pitch for many guitarists. As a result, tunings would change with the weather, with the quality of gut from which strings were made, and with the taste of each player. There was some concept of standard tuning in relative pitch: from the lowest course, the next course would be tuned a perfect fourth higher (one older tuning called for a perfect fifth), followed by a major third between the two inner courses, and finally a perfect fourth from the second-highest to the highest course. One cannot help but imagine a number of variations on common tunings, given the fact that courses other than the highest could be tuned to either unisons or octaves. Also, plucked-chordophone tuning has been one of the most polemical issues in music since well before the Spanish guitar.

34. Tyler and Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music*, 5.

The frets of the guitar were also made of gut. They were tied into a knot around the neck, able to be arranged in a number of patterns resulting in a number of tuning arrangements, each with its own particular character. The term “temperament” is often used today to denote certain types of tuning schemes, connoting effects on the mood evoked by sound. Research suggests ten frets were common on the first guitars. Sanz makes explicit mention of a *dozeno traste* (twelfth fret), but one is hard pressed to find intabulated instructions to play that high.³⁵

The peg head was a section of wood angled back from the end of the neck to secure the strings in place. From here the guitarist would tune the strings with rudimentary tuning peg mechanisms. One must keep in mind that the sixteenth-century guitar was a small instrument, without a significant bass register or a high-volume output.

A survey of this study’s foundational components is necessary for the clear communication of new perspectives on how the early guitar relates to its intellectual environment. Above, one will find some basic information on the guitar. Before a full synthesis of this study’s topic begins, the reader must obtain a working knowledge of the humanistic currents of early-modern Spain.

Scholars have described humanism in a profusion of ways. Perhaps the most important fact in arriving at an understanding of the term is that it was coined a century and a half after the historical period in which its definitive elements reached their apices.

35. Gaspar Sanz, *Instrucción de Myfica sobre la Guitarra Española* (Zaragoza, Aragon, Spain: Herederos de Diego Dormer, 1674), fol. 8v.

While there was some consensus on what these new intellectual currents were, as well as a sense of camaraderie among forward-thinking scholars during the Renaissance itself, the vast majority of analysis on this period of change has been done by inquiry into the past.

In 1808, German educator F. J. Niethammer defined his newly created word, “humanism,” to be an educational track based not on science or engineering,³⁶ but rather on the Classics of ancient Greece and Rome. Renaissance humanists took the Latin phrase *studia humanitatis* (literally, the studies of humanity, or, more commonly, the humanities) from Classical antiquity and associated it with five liberal arts subjects: grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy.³⁷ *Umanista* (humanist), unlike humanism, was, in fact, a term in use during the Western European Renaissance. It referred to a teacher of the *studia humanitatis*.³⁸

What is the backdrop against which a definition of humanism can be viewed? One may easily understand that the humanities in the Renaissance consisted of five liberal arts disciplines, but why is this significant? Knowing what humanism *is not* can help a great deal.

36. Richard K. Hines, “Italian Renaissance: Humanism and Philosophical Background: Neoplatonism, Ficino and Pico” (unpublished paper), Washington State University, 1996, http://faculty.uwlax.edu/CulturalStudies/Italian_Renaissance/8_9.htm.

37. John Monfasani, “Humanism, Renaissance,” in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. E. Craig (London: Routledge), <http://www.rep.routledge.com/article/C018>.

38. Hines, “Italian Renaissance.”

In Renaissance Europe, humanism was certainly not detachment from urgent matters of society. It was anything but reclusive, stressing primarily the importance of the proper use of language in order to serve the community and uphold moral standards. Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (ca. 1467–1536), a tremendously influential scholar not only in Northern Europe but also among Spaniards, stimulated intellectuals to react to the aloofness of previous generations.³⁹ Historian Charles G. Nauert cites a primary source:

And, as Erasmus bluntly wrote in letters of 1525 to two of his most dangerous critics, Noël Bédard of Paris and Alberto Pio, prince of Carpi, scholastic theologians arrogantly sat back and issued condemnations of articles extracted from the writings of Catholic defenders of the faith, while they offered nothing of practical value to those who were struggling to preserve a Church that in Germany, at least, was collapsing over their heads.⁴⁰

This is an example of humanistic emphasis on the practical application of knowledge. Erasmus was concerned, in this instance, with the feeble state of the Catholic Church in Germany, but his criticism of scholasticism is representative of a broader spectrum of issues.

Scholasticism may be briefly explained as a system of linguistic education based on the Greek *trivium*: grammar, logic, and rhetoric. It centered on dialectic, an approach

39. Charles G. Nauert, “Desiderius Erasmus,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (2012), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2012/entries/erasmus/>.

40. Nauert, “Humanism as Method: Roots of Conflict with the Scholastics,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 2 (1998): 431, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2544524>.

to logical argument whose goal was absolute certitude by way of syllogism.⁴¹ Scholastic academicians tended to be dogmatic, set in educational methods that had changed very little since the early Middle Ages. The Catholic European educational system would do all it could do maintain control over young minds.

But education changed. And along with it every facet of human life was altered and would continue to evolve. The humanists would question the validity of scholastic arguments and increase intellectual culture's focus on rhetoric and morality, as opposed to metaphysical truth. Professor Emerita Hanna H. Gray writes that in order to successfully analyze the work of the Renaissance humanists, "it is essential to understand the humanists' reiterated claim, that theirs was the pursuit of eloquence."⁴²

Moving into more detail with regard to how my study will approach the vastness of Renaissance humanism, I will very briefly present a typically Spanish form of humanism as it has been identified by Renaissance scholar Ottavio DiCamillo. DiCamillo states that, underway as early as the 1430s, the work of Alonso de Santa María (who would later adopt the surname Cartagena) suggests "indigenous strains of humanism in early fifteenth-century Spain." Scholars often agree that Renaissance

41. Syllogistic argument is relatively well known, but a concise definition will offer more clarity to the argument I am developing. A syllogism is a truthful conclusion from truthful premises. Merriam-Webster defines it thusly: "a deductive scheme of a formal argument consisting of a major and a minor premise and a conclusion (as in 'every virtue is laudable; kindness is a virtue; therefore kindness is laudable')," Merriam-Webster Online, s.v. "syllogism," (2014), <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/syllogism>.

42. Hanna H. Gray, "Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 24, no. 4 (1963): 498, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2707980>.

humanism began in Italy, thus, a discovery like that of DiCamillo's is important and may prompt reconsideration of Italian primacy. Fifteenth-century Spanish humanists, according to DiCamillo, were interested in significantly changing the cultural lives of the population—more so than either Italian or French humanists at the time. This would set the stage for later developments. Ancient languages were prime sources of inspiration in the pursuit of eloquence, but Classical learning also provided

desirable new models against which they [fifteenth-century Spaniards] could measure and understand their own culture and society. What was happening, in short, was an intellectual revolution, as [Italian historian] Garin aptly put it, which would slowly have an impact on all the major institutions of the day, from politics to religion, from social organization to economic praxis, from technology to the arts and from thinking to literary expressions (*Rinascite e rivoluzioni* [rebirths and revolutions]).⁴³

At this point in the exposition of the historical setting, one should not be blamed for wondering why emphasizing the guitar's less-than-aristocratic status makes it a part of humanism. As educators of some of the most privileged members of society, humanists may well invite associations with the loftiest of idealistic thought. What may seem like a rift between humanist academics and raw, folk-inspired expression begins to find closure in one major precept of the new era: to study the world as it is, as opposed to how Medieval authority claims it is—or wishes it were.

The Iberian Peninsula, located in southwestern Europe, is comprised today of

43. Ottavio DiCamillo, "Fifteenth-Century Spanish Humanism: Thirty Years Later," *La Corónica* 39, no. 1 (2010): 23, https://www.academia.edu/2332929/Fifteenth-Century_Spanish_Humanism_Thirty-Five_Years_Later, brackets mine.

Spain, Portugal, and the small British colony of Gibraltar. Archaeologists have concluded that the first *Homo sapiens* established themselves on the Iberian Peninsula around 40,000 years ago. Since those ancient times, a variety of cultures arrived from the north via the Pyrenees Mountains, the south from North Africa across the Strait of Gibraltar, and the east on the Mediterranean Sea. The Romans controlled the Iberian Peninsula for about four centuries without much contest until 409 CE, when the Germanic Sueves and their allies, the Vandals, crossed the Pyrenees. The Alans, a third barbarian society, also threatened Rome's western territory.

The Visigoths of northern Europe, who had been successfully waging war with the Eastern Roman empire, came to the aid of Romans ruling over the Iberian Peninsula, forcing some Germanic warriors into Galicia in the north and some into North Africa in the south. The Western Roman emperor was superseded by Visigothic rule, but many Hispano-Roman aristocrats remained on the Iberian Peninsula, along with a vast and diverse population and its customs.

Almost all of the Visigothic population, Arian Christians whose beliefs clashed with the Hispano-Romans' orthodox teachings, had converted to orthodox Christianity by 589 CE. Islamic conquests in the south began in the eighth century. On the eve of the Catholic reconquest of the southern Iberian Peninsula, the culturo-political dynamic was defined, as one may expect, by the Christian north at odds with the Muslim south.⁴⁴

Christianity prevailed, and continued to expand in Europe and abroad, most

44. Pierson, *The History*, 18–35.

notably into the Americas. The governmental structure of empire is often cited as a central component in understanding the nature of humanists' lives in Spain, and rightly so. Many humanists held public offices and contributed significantly to royal policy.

In recent years, many scholars interested in musical humanism have focused primarily on the relationship between word and tone, how language is expressed through sound. This focus on setting texts may be confusing for the reader; the guitar is, of course, an instrument, and, as such, incapable of expressing text in a fully unambiguous manner. Much of the music to be studied in the present thesis is instrumental music. My approach contrasts with scholarly works such as those by Hans Albrecht and Willem Elders. Whereas the relationship between word and tone has dominated many investigative works, this text centers on broader cultural tendencies. New directions in humanistically musical studies buttress my efforts.

Music and Humanism: An Essay in the Aesthetics of Music (2000) by R. A. Sharpe presents the idea that the language of music reaches the human being not through sonic constructs, but, rather, as a result of the individual's preconceived notions, belief systems, and cultural circumstances. Without abandoning the topic of texts set to guitar accompaniment in a humanistic fashion or that of purely instrumental composition and performance, I investigate the question of how early Spanish guitar music and Spanish humanism interact. Attention to the details of text's connections to notes and phrasing must be significant, but cultural settings and societal implications should be of equal import.

Chapter One:

Laberintos ingeniosos

Between the years 1674 and 1697, eight editions of Sanz's *Instrvccion* were published in Zaragoza, Aragon. In 1952, Luis García-Abrines conferred upon the world of music a facsimile comprising the totality of Sanz's eight editions. Today, García-Abrines's scholarly work put forth in the prologue and notes of the facsimile remains accurate and trustworthy, a stable point of reference. Counting on its exhaustive treatment of Sanz's work, as well as its high quality verified by musicologists and performers alike, I have worked from the scholarly text of García-Abrines toward confirming the humanistic nature of the early Spanish guitar.

From the first through eighth editions, Sanz incorporated new material and made some amendments to the existing work. The front matter from the third edition (1674) will be discussed in this chapter. With regard to the first two editions, García-Abrines affirms that he has tended to the discrepancies with the third edition. The present text will address changes from one edition to the next as they arise, according to how they apply to the guitar and humanism.⁴⁵

Of all the words Gaspar Sanz could have put on the front cover of *Instrvccion* to describe the two chord charts that begin his book, he chose two that are very humanistic: *laberintos ingeniosos*. Finding an English translation that conveys the meaning of the

45. Luis García-Abrines, prologue and notes to *Instrvccion de Mvsica sobre la Gvitarra Española*, by Gaspar Sanz (Zaragoza, Aragon, Spain: Talleres Gráficos Octavio y Félez, 1952), xxxi–xliv.

Castilian is difficult here, and certainly requires some explanation; two or three words would not suffice. The evolution of terminology from 1674 to the present complicates matters further, but this challenge is not altogether insurmountable.

The availability of English cognates would make the translation ingenious labyrinths an obvious choice. Problems arise with this wording, however. Labyrinth is a sturdy term for the present purposes, but ingenious, according to the meaning commonly attributed to it today, is not an effective translation. The concept of *genio* will be treated after labyrinth is more thoroughly examined.

What else could one call these labyrinths of Sanz's? The word *tabla* (table) had been in use for similar charts for at least 500 years at the time *Instrvccion* was published. Below is a 1492 print of the astronomy tables of King Alfonso X The Wise, the first manuscripts of which were created between 1263 and 1270. These charts, known as the Toledan Tables, were used for astronomy and astrology, geography, and navigation—as well as the study of history and chronology.⁴⁶

46. Laura Fernández Fernández, “Las tablas astronómicas de Alfonso X El Sabio. Los ejemplares del Museo Naval de Madrid,” *Anales de Historia del Arte* 15 (2005): 29–50, https://www.academia.edu/1991789/Las_tablas_astronómicas_de_Alfonso_X_el_Sabio_Los_ejemplares_del_Museo_Naval_de_Madrid_Anales_de_Historia_del_Arte_15_2005_pp_29-50?auto=download.

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Tabule Astronomicæ Dini Alfonsi Romanorū & Castiliæ Regis Illustrissimi Felicib⁹ astris incipiunt.

C. Tabula Tempoz hoc ē Erarū differentie: huc Differentiarū unū usq; regni ad aliud: nomina regū atq; cumlibet ere cognite.

| Anni | Dico | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | | |
|------------------------|------|---|----|----|----|--|---|
| Rōm ¹ suph. | | | | | | | |
| 4252 | 105 | 7 | 31 | 40 | 28 | Ere Diluuy vniuersal e ere alfonsi regio Dia | |
| 1998 | 99 | 3 | 22 | 44 | 35 | Ere nabuchodonosor e ere alfonsi regio Dia | |
| 1574 | 101 | 1 | 19 | 45 | 5 | Ere philippi p̄lia alex. e ere alfonsi regio Dia | |
| 1592 | 144 | 2 | 28 | 32 | 44 | Ere alexandri magi e ere alfonsi regio Dia | |
| 1152 | 192 | + | 1 | 6 | 57 | 59 | Ere incarnationis christi e ere alfonsi regio Dia |
| 1154 | 151 | 1 | 10 | 49 | 19 | Ere cesari e ere alfonsi regio Dia | |
| 987 | 177 | 1 | 38 | 11 | 11 | Ere diocletiani e ere alfonsi regio Dia | |
| 914 | 113 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 18 | Ere albigera id est arabū e ere alfonsi regio Dia | |
| 919 | 151 | 1 | 1 | 14 | 0 | Ere scidagert regi persarū e ere alfonsi regio Dia | |
| 1355 | 10 | 3 | 58 | 50 | 13 | Ere Diluuy e ere nabuchodonosor Dia | |
| 1778 | 169 | 4 | 41 | 55 | 33 | Ere diluuy e ere philippi Dia | |
| 1790 | 117 | 4 | 41 | 2 | 54 | Ere diluuy e ere alexandri magi. Dia | |
| 1303 | 319 | 5 | 10 | 51 | 19 | Ere diluuy e ere cesario. Dia | |
| 3101 | 315 | + | 1 | 14 | 42 | 39 | Ere diluuy e ere incarnationis. Dia |
| 3385 | 164 | 6 | 43 | 19 | 25 | Ere diluuy e ere diocletiani. Dia | |
| 3723 | 160 | 6 | 17 | 40 | 16 | Ere diluuy e ere arabum. Dia | |
| 3732 | 410 | 6 | 18 | 40 | 38 | Ere diluuy e ere persarum. Dia | |
| 422 | 105 | 0 | 42 | 59 | 10 | Ere nabuchodonosor e ere philippi Dia | |
| 435 | 115 | 0 | 14 | 11 | 41 | Ere nabuchodonosor e ere alexandri mag. Dia | |
| 708 | 309 | 1 | 11 | 55 | 6 | Ere nabuchodonosor e ere cesario. Dia | |
| 746 | 310 | + | 1 | 15 | 40 | 16 | Ere nabuchodonosor e ere incarnationis. Dia |
| 1020 | 135 | 1 | 44 | 33 | 12 | Ere nabuchodonosor e ere diocletiani Dia | |
| 1368 | 120 | 1 | 15 | 50 | 1 | Ere nabuchodonosor e ere arabum. Dia | |
| 1478 | 111 | 2 | 16 | 50 | 25 | Ere nabuchodonosor e ere persarum Dia | |

Figure 2. Astronomy Tables of King Alfonso, containing the planets' varying distances from the Earth according to historical era.⁴⁷

To approximate an explanation for Sanz's riddling word choice, I consulted the first dictionary of the Castilian language—a text compiled by Sebastián de Covarrubias y Horozco in 1611—*Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. A modern edition of

47. Fernández Fernández, "Las tablas astronómicas," 48.

Tesoro, which includes a 1674 revision by Benito Remigio Noydens, states that a *tabla* may be used for counting.⁴⁸ The *Tesoro* refers to the tables of Alfonso X specifically. Though the first edition of the *Tesoro* was printed a half century before Sanz's work, it has remained as one of the authoritative texts on the Spanish language prior to the founding of the Royal Academy of Spain in 1713. Sanz's *laberintos* would fit neatly into the *Tesoro*'s definition for *tabla*.

48. Noyden's revisions do not alter Covarrubias y Horozco's original entry for *tabla*. This fact leads one to believe that *tabla* would have still been a perfectly acceptable word choice for Sanz.

Example 1. Sanz's first labyrinth, on composing *diferencias* (variations) over a *pasacalle*.⁴⁹

Laberinto En la guitarra q̄ enseña un son por 12 partes Con quantas diferencias quisieren

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ⊗ F | D | I | E | C | O | A | L | B | P | G | K | H | M | M | N | N | ⊗ | ⊗ | P | G | K | H | |
| M | M | N | N | ⊗ | ⊗ | P | G | K | H | M | M | N | N | ⊗ | ⊗ | P | G | K | H | M | M | N | N |
| ⊗ | ⊗ | P | G | K | H | M | M | N | N | ⊗ | ⊗ | P | G | K | H | M | M | N | N | ⊗ | ⊗ | P | G |
| K | H | M | M | N | N | ⊗ | ⊗ | P | G | K | H | M | M | N | N | ⊗ | ⊗ | P | G | K | H | M | M |

Dedicado al Ser.^{mo} Señor Don Iuan de Austria.
Compuesto por el Lic.^{do} Gaspar Sanz, natural de la Villa de Calanda, en Caragoca
1674

Abecedario Italiano.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ⊗ | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | K | L | M | M | N | N | O | P | ⊗ | ⊗ |
| 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |

Demonstracion desta obra en dos Pasacalles

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|---|---|---|---|---------------|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | C | A | I | C | H | M | G | H | N | ⊗ | M | N | ⊗ |
| 3 | E | O | I | E | K | M | G | K | N | M | M | N | ⊗ |
| | <i>Inuencor</i> | <i>fall'oit</i> | | | | | <i>Regina</i> | <i>Primo</i> | | | | | |

49. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 16r.

Example 2. Second labyrinth, on dissonances.⁵⁰

Laberinto 2.º de las falsas y puntos mas extraños y difíciles q. tiene la Guitarra.

C B M K P N M K P

B A F D M K M K

M K P K P M K P

M K P K N M K P

K O F D K P H I I

Otras falsas de 7.

Gafpa: Sanz Inuentor sculpsit 2

Cuadro and *cuadrante* are related terms, but neither of these imply the level of detail *tabla* does. One can be certain that Sanz was more interested in the student's exploration, and possibly even the danger of getting lost. Calling a study guide a labyrinth signals the need to find one's own way out. Covarrubias y Horozco defines the Latinate version of the word, *laberintio* as well as the more Castilian word, *labirinto*:

50. Sanz, *Instrucción*, fol. 17r.

Anything that is extensive, intricate, and has many entrances and exits tends to be called a labyrinth. A textual composition in verse is called a labyrinth when one is able to build sensible relationships among diverse poetic units.⁵¹

The charts in *Instrvccion* are unlike other less multidimensional tables. The reader of Sanz's method is encouraged to make decisions and follow the labyrinth according to personal taste and the ear's fancy. Sanz does employ the word *tabla* beginning in his fifth rule of strummed-style guitar playing, but not quite synonymously with *laberinto*. While *tabla* appears in rudimentarily mathematical contexts, *laberinto* evokes a more spiraling and poetic mood. The consistent capitalization of the latter may add to its mystique . . .⁵²

Regarding the labyrinth's associations with poetic verse, one is reminded that poetry continues to be a central point in the study of humanism in Spain. Sanz was a poet. It would also be appropriate to mention that Spaniard Vicente Martínez Espinel (1550–1624), aside from being one of the first well-known five-course guitarists, made a lasting impression on the world of Castilian poetry with the *décima espinela*, an expansion on traditional *redondilla* form.⁵³ The plurality consisting of the guitar, poetry, and the human

51. Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, edición integral e ilustrada de Ignacio Arellano y Rafael Zafra, s.v. "laberintio" (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006), 1156: "Cualquiera cosa que en sí es prolija, intricada y de muchas entradas y salidas, solemos decir que es un laborintio. Cierta manera de compostura de versos se llama *labirinto*, cuando de diversas partes viene a sacar sentidos que cuadren," NB: Spelling differences in the Castilian word for labyrinth are a symptom of the age. One may look to an Italian influence on Sanz or the strong presence of French culture in Spain at the time.

52. I will return to the question of capitalization in ch. 4.

53. Maximiano Trapero, "Vicente Espinel, la *décima espinela* y lo que de ellos dicen los decimistas," in *Actas del VI encuentro-festival iberoamericano de la *décima* y*

experience was a dynamic vantage point for artists, continuing a creative aesthetic 200 years in the making.

As one may see in example 1 (above, p. 28), the first labyrinth encourages the student's creativity based on simple harmonic patterns. This first of two labyrinths consists of twenty-four sets of chords. Its purpose is to allow for exploration through transposition as well as inversion and the redistribution of voices within the three-chord *pasacalle* form. For today's musician versed in the tonal system, each set may appear to be a collection of inversions and voicings for one major or minor triad; yet Sanz communicates only ambiguous correlation between the *Instrvccion*'s consonances and the theory of major-minor tonality. Sanz uses the words *mayor* (major) and *menor* (minor) to differentiate between the two different types of thirds that define the harmonies of the first labyrinth.⁵⁴ Throughout the remainder of this text, I will employ the words major and minor when referencing triads, but the harmonies should not be understood in a tonal context.

Cause for interpreting Sanz's version of the chordal system of the early guitar to be separate from tonality can be found, among other places, in his first rule of strummed-style guitar playing. Here Sanz stated that the harmony designated E (a letter signifying not pitch, but, rather, hand position within the guitar-specific system called *alfabeto*) is

el verso improvisado: Estudios, vol. 1 (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Universidad de las Palmas, Cabildo de Gran Canaria y Acade, 2000): 120–24.

54. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 9v, NB: it may be interesting to note that Sanz considered the words *natural* and *bemolado* to be the vulgar equivalents of *mayor* and *menor*.

Delasolre, a term of modal provenance used to show the position of the note D in the soft, hard, and natural hexachords built on F, G, and C, respectively.⁵⁵ Here the chord E does not merit an alternative name that indicates either major or minor. In fact, the modal term shows just the opposite of the later nomenclature in which letters alone signify major, and further clarification is needed for the minor mode (m, -, min., etc.).

For Sanz, the triadic structure E represents a six-four harmony derived from Mode II. To briefly describe Mode II, it is the Dorian mode in plagal ambitus, spanning from A to A. D is the final, and F is the tenor. The fifth rule, in which Sanz clearly states that the first labyrinth alternates between triads with major and minor thirds, may begin to convince musicians today that Spanish Baroque guitar music is tonal. The suggestion of a major-minor system is compelling: “Each column has two parts, the major third and the minor third, or as they are commonly known, the natural and the flat,” although, the necessary evidence from musical examples is absent.⁵⁶ Sanz does not equate *alfabeto* chord shapes with key centers, but the shapes play a role comparable to that of keys. His counterpoint, on the other hand, adheres to strict principles of four-voice modal polyphony—in spite of his providing opportunities for the employment of heavily accented dissonance. One may observe, then, that theory in *Instrvccion* is neither strictly modal nor entirely tonal, but straddles the division. It is an alternative to, as well as a bridge between, old and new.

55. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 8r.

56. Ibid., fol. 9v: “Cada columna tiene dos partes, que es la tercera, mayor, y menor, ò como dizen vulgarmente, el natural, y bemolado.”

The second labyrinth is quite different from the first. The *falsas*, or false consonances (i.e., dissonances) that comprise the second labyrinth are not tools for transposition, inversion, or rearrangement of voices. They would be better described as modulatory harmonies, the ultimate purpose of which is to facilitate affective expression. Consonances built on potential tonics E, C, G, D-flat, A-flat, E-flat, B-flat, F, C, and G (just the first ten of forty-four notes modern theory might call roots) alternate with chordal tension. Sanz claims to have provided “all the dissonances and ligatures from which musical cadences are composed, along with their preparations and resolutions in accordance with the principles of good composition.”⁵⁷ Despite this pronouncement, the second labyrinth fails to clarify exactly which notes of each *falsa* are tied and how the inner workings of the counterpoint function. Further into *Instrvccion*, one finds some theoretical principles of composing cadences, but at this early stage, without knowing what is to come, the most one can do is play through the block harmonies.

Like the first labyrinth, the collection of dissonances exhibits the joining of two disparate styles of music, each with its own cultural identity and function in society. In using the letters of the *alfabeto* guitar chords, Sanz injects popular strummed accompaniment tradition, first documented by Catalonian Joan Carles Amat on the eve of the sixteenth century, into a cultured yet daringly expressive school of composition that began to take hold in Spain a generation before Sanz’s time, with the work of Mateo

57. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 10v: “todas las falsas, y ligaduras de que se componen las clausulas, y cadencias de Musica, puestas con su prevencion, y resolucion, como enseña la buena compoficion.”

Romero (1575–1647). The reverse is also historically viable: contrapuntal erudition and unprepared dissonance brought simple folk song to new heights.

This mixing and melding of styles can be observed in the notation of the second labyrinth. The *rasgueado*, or strummed, style is placed among the dissonances, which are given in tablature for *punteado* playing, a plucking technique derived from the contrapuntal styles of lutenists and vihuelists. The notated rhythms are mostly dactylic (long-short-short), like many of *Instrvccion*'s folk-inspired pieces. Sanz provides the instruction that the student should experiment with freer rhythm and pulse according to the expression of sweetness and seriousness, but the similarity to popular style cannot go unnoticed.

One aspect both the first and second labyrinths hold in common is that they require the student to use inductive reasoning. One can easily criticize Sanz for leaving his work in a state of incompleteness, or for his perhaps vague, cursory treatment of the material. However, there is no contesting that there is plenty of room for the student to think independently and learn actively. Sanz frequently reiterates his awareness of this somewhat *laissez-faire* approach, advising that the student proceed, using the resources provided, according to personal taste.

Personalized conceptions of traditionally dogmatic disciplines, in particular religion and education, changed the face of Spanish thought. When the first vihuela book was published, in 1536, possible Christian alternatives to authoritarian Catholic practices had been a point of contention for at least fifteen years. Unlike prescribed rituals, which

had continued basically unaltered since the union of the Catholic Monarchs, intrepid new currents in religion aimed at the individual's direct connection to God. The works of Erasmus troubled the Spanish Inquisition and its censors, who were busy investigating those suspected of believing in subversive forms of Christianity that placed the pious life of man ahead of the increasingly corrupt doctrine of the Catholic Church.

It may be argued that radical ideas on the individuality of religion and progressive humanism in general, movements discussed primarily in erudite circles of the court, were detached from the more rustic world of the guitar.⁵⁸ However, the composite development of the guitar from Renaissance to Baroque is not just a matter of folk music achieving recognition among the learned. The vihuela, a courtier's instrument ever since its first publication, exerted a strong influence on guitar music.

One must also remember that humanist scholars were very much concerned with popular welfare. Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540), though he lived his adult life mostly between England and the Low Countries, maintained intellectual ties to his homeland.⁵⁹ Vives raised his voice against the effects of war on society's less powerful sectors and dared to criticize the kingships of European rulers. An educated and eloquent figure who made his mark on Spain as well as humanist Europe in its entirety, Vives expressed his conclusions without the tangled jargon so characteristic of previous

58. Henry Kamen, *Spain, 1469–1714: A Society of Conflict* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 99–100.

59. Lorenzo Casini, "Juan Luis Vives [Joannes Ludovicus Vives]," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (2012), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2012/entries/vives/>.

generations. Opting for clear, simple language, he should be recognized for his ample treatment of a wide variety of academic subjects, but especially his views on the learning process itself. True to humanist modes of thinking, he held a decidedly strong preference for induction.

The Western European Renaissance played an important role in forming modern critical thought. Much can be said about the lasting effects the Renaissance has had on the Western intellect in general. A sense of duty with regard to corroborating sources of information, questioning authority, policies of skepticism: the humanists' diligent analyses of language have had lasting effects. The attitude of the humanists toward learning is completely in line with Medieval definitions of language that have endured into recent times.

Aristotle's definition of language from his work *On Interpretation* (ca. 50 BCE) states, "Speech is the representation of the experiences of the mind."⁶⁰ Defining language as the symbolic recounting of experiences was central to Medieval theory, and has not ceased to matter in the context of modern linguistics. In 1981, Robert Hand wrote, "Spoken language is a translation of experience into sound waves, and written language a translation of experience into visual patterns."⁶¹ The humanists certainly brought personal experience to the foreground, embodying, *de facto*, the established definition of their primary focus, language. Recent developments in linguistics propose to refine the notion

60. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. "language,"
<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/329791/language>.

61. Robert Hand, *Horoscope Symbols* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 1981), 57.

of language as a method of communicating experiences, but it would be best to leave that topic for another discussion.

Before *Instrvccion*, no other method-book author of those familiar to Sanz had delved into teachings on the process of original composition.⁶² There are many pieces of historical evidence, as well as recent scholarly interpretations, however, that point to the idea that the guitar and its precursors may be seen as particularly individualistic instruments. If not in the field of composition, then at least in a general artistic sense, originality has been key. One example of the theme of independence in early chordophone culture is the frequent portrayal of the solo musician. The pairing of voice and plucked strings—often played in the context of self-accompaniment—has long acted as a mode of self-expression, a complete ensemble in and of itself. In the Renaissance, this ensemble evokes humanism in the intimate yet dramatic music associated with the rise of opera. Plucked-string instruments have often been at the forefront of the musical sciences, which invites inquiry into the inventiveness of new theoretical ideas and stylistic developments.

Humanism and individualism are not synonyms, but the humanists' appreciation for talent and the development of one's own skills does play a role in describing Renaissance Europe. Here, I find it necessary to qualify my use of the term individualism. My intention is not to invoke only the competitiveness of an individualistic economy or a general attitude of selfishness. Quite on the contrary, much

62. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 6r.

of the discussion of the individualistic in this thesis aims for the appreciation of every human life—without regard for predetermining factors such as class, gender, heritage. Artistic originality and self-sufficiency, as well as the courage to innovate upon that which has been provided by the cultural establishment all contribute to the study’s conception of the individualistic. Examining the manner in which the vihuelists addressed their readers will put the work of Sanz into its proper historical context.

As I mentioned above, the first of the seven famous vihuela books was published in 1536. Luis de Milán was the author, a musician involved in the courtly life of Valencia, Aragon. His dedication to King John III of Portugal (1502–1557) begins with a reference to Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374), known to the English-speaking world as Petrarch, who has been called the Father of Humanism. With Petrarch, literature changed dramatically. For one, he placed much more emphasis on autobiographical perspective than ever before.

Surprisingly, Milán chose to summarize an astrological practice of the ancient Romans without negating it: “Each of us has a star to follow.”⁶³ Milán quotes the widely respected Petrarch here, perhaps as a justification for his having presented a spiritual practice that, at least at face value, was less than comfortable for many Spanish Catholics. Divinatory astrology was often condemned for working boldly against Christian free will. The discussion of Roman astrology at the beginning of Milán’s text leads seamlessly into

63. Luis de Milán, *El maestro* (Valencia, Spain: Biblioteca Nacional, 1536), fol. 3v: “*Ogniun feque fua ftella,*” via Petrarch.

Milán's recounting of having followed his own natural inclinations toward the realization of his professional endeavors in music, positing the controversial notion that Milán himself was predestined to a specific vocation.

Concluding his *prólogo*, Milán expresses the importance of offering his work to the public while maintaining ownership. In fact, he clarifies that no human ever gave him formal instruction: "I never had a teacher other than music itself."⁶⁴ Milán's connections to humanistically inspired Italian courts gain strength when one considers the scholarly work of Isabel Pope. The courtly sphere was a significant avenue of distribution for Milán's book:

El maestro offered to Spanish courtiers, eager to cultivate the virtues of the perfect courtier as Castiglione had described such a person, the possibility of learning the art of playing the vihuela, which the Italian [Castiglione] had recommended so insistently.⁶⁵

Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529) wrote the famous *Cortigiano* (1528), a text central to the notion of a cultured Renaissance court. In it Castiglione describes the traits of an ideal courtier. Pope concludes her study on the vihuela's humanistic characteristics:

It is not a trivial fact that Milán was a musician and courtier specifically in the small court of Valencia. This court of the Dukes of Calabria . . . was an imitation

64. Milán, *El maestro*, fol. 3v, NB: Milán's words, not Petrarch's.

65. Isabel Pope, "La vihuela y su música en el ambiente humanístico," *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 15, no. 3 (1961): 375–76, <http://0-www.jstor.org.opac.sfsu.edu/stable/40297537>: "El maestro ofrecía a los cortesanos españoles, ambiciosos de cultivar las virtudes del perfecto Cortesano tal como Castiglione lo había descrito, la posibilidad de aprender el arte de tañer vihuela que el italiano había recomendado con tanto encarecimiento," brackets mine.

of the Italian courts, and no doubt received indirect, but nonetheless authentic, reflections from one of Italy's first courts: the Neapolitan court of Alphonse the Magnanimous.⁶⁶

Luis de Narváez wrote the second of the seven vihuela books, *Los seys libros del delphin* (1538). Narváez begins the *prólogo* with what I find to be a rather extreme view on how posterity receives works from previous generations. His understanding of work is founded on the principle that the purpose of all virtuous endeavors is to acknowledge the author. He cites the ancient philosophers and Church Fathers, proposing their writings on nature and moral philosophy have reached their fullest potential in the hands of subsequent generations. Reinforcing his humanistic outlook, Narváez takes a distinctly first-person approach to the rest of his message to the reader. At times his self-confidence is unapologetic, even audacious—especially in the absence of any recognition given specifically to vihuelists or composers whose heritage he is bequeathing:

I have taken the initiative, realizing my good intentions in the completion of this new and useful book. Before my present effort, no one in Spain had created a work of such refined invention and artistry. Those who wish to learn to play high-quality music on the vihuela, a virtuous and truly delightful pastime, will enjoy the products of my labor.⁶⁷

66. Pope, "La vihuela," 376: "No deja de ser significativo el hecho de que Milán haya sido músico y cortesano justamente en la pequeña corte de Valencia; esa corte de los Duques de Calabria (don Fernando, hijo de don Fadrique, último rey de la casa aragonesa de Nápoles, y Germana de Foix) era una imitación de las cortes italianas, y sin duda recibió pálidos pero auténticos reflejos de una de las primeras cortes de Italia: la napolitana de Alfonso el Magnánimo," ellipsis mine.

67. Luis de Narváez, *Los seys libros del delphin* (Valladolid, Spain: 1538), fol. 2v: "Yo me he movido con buen zelo y intencion a hazer vn libro como este nuevo y prouechofo que hasta estos tiépos en españa no se ha dado principio a vna inuécion y arte

Alonso Mudarra likewise exalts the human capacity for intellect and fruitful industry. Mudarra's *Tres libros de musica*, published in Seville in 1546, is introduced by a string of Classical references that are linked to the culture in which he lived. His measuring of contemporary culture against Classical models is typical of Spanish humanists:

So [because the Greeks saw the highest erudition in the harmony between the voice and the strings of the kithara] the music of the ancients was venerated. The Greek and Roman heads of state valued music, so why should it go unappreciated in our times? We have original, creative musicians no less learned or innovative than those of old.⁶⁸

Mudarra personifies humanistic guitar music. After a period of service to the high nobility, where the best available education would have included training in the Classics, he entered the priesthood. Still active in the world of secular letters and music, he undertook the handling of several affairs at the Seville Cathedral two months before his vihuela book was published. He worked on at least one occasion with composer Francisco Guerrero (1528–1599), who is remembered not only for carrying forth the Spanish sacred tradition, but also for his sacred-secular crossover.

tan delicada como esta y gozaran por mi industria: los que quisieren saber tañer de cosas muy buenas en la Uihuela y para virtuoso pasa tiempo y honesto deleyte.”

68. Alonso Mudarra, *Tres libros de musica* (Seville, Spain: 1546), fol. 1r: “*De manera que pues la musica delos antiguos era tenuta en gran veneracion preciando se della grandes Capitanes: anfi Romanos como Griegos no deuria en nuestros tiempos ser tenuta en menos pues ay animos y ingenios no menos ofados y entendidos que en los passados,*” brackets mine.

Mudarra ordered in his will that, after his death, his possessions be sold to raise money for the poorer members of his community. Such altruism is an important thread in the fabric of humanist morality. Mudarra's generosity may well have carried over from his training in Catholic doctrine. One is reminded that the principles of humanism and the teachings of the Church did not always conflict.

Only one year later, in 1547, Enríquez de Valderrábano published in Valladolid the fourth of the seven vihuela books. In his dedicatory letter to the Count of Miranda (Miranda is a municipality on the Ebro River, relatively near Valladolid), Valderrábano cites the high esteem in which Socrates, Plato, and Pythagoras held music. More importantly, he moves from Classical theory on the music of the celestial spheres and the concept of musical *ethos* into the realm of Catholicism, specifically the seven virtues and music's capacity to bring the soul closer to moral perfection. His opening remarks on Socrates are striking to the reader who may be expecting a more sober, devout tone from a musician writing with permission from the Spanish royal censor: "Socrates, who was recognized among philosophers of his time as a true oracle . . ." ⁶⁹ Even this fragment of a quote from Valderrábano illustrates that, whether authorities in Spain understood the potential dangers of a musician's praising Socrates, there are problems with Catholic Spain's allowing the Classics to be revered without fetters.

69. Enríquez de Valderrábano, *Silva de sirenas* (Valladolid, Spain: 1547), fol. 1r: "Socrates que (fue tenido entre los filosofos de su tiempo como verdadero oraculo)."

Valderrábano's use of the word *oraculo* (oracle) should have been an immediate cause for alarm. Covarrubias y Horozco's 1611 dictionary entry leaves no room for a socially permissible interpretation of the term. The concept of an oracle harkened back to the pagan idea of a fortuneteller, somebody who spoke through "demons and false gods—always in a misinformed and ambiguous manner."⁷⁰ Newer research has pointed to the extensive ancient record on the weak reputation of the oracles. Many educated Greeks and Romans believed that the oracles were either incoherent because of hallucinogenic substances or acting out the oppressive schemes of religious and political leaders.⁷¹

Very few historical facts on Socrates can be confirmed. What has been collected and processed leads to the conclusion that Socrates was anything but commonplace. He did not follow Athenian customs, and boldly challenged the norm that teachers were little more than "pitchers pouring their contents into the empty cups that were the students."⁷² It is generally agreed upon that Socrates was tried and executed for nonconformist religious views. Could a comparison between Socrates and Jesus Christ be a viable interpretation of Valderrábano's thinking?

70. Covarrubias y Horozco, *Tesoro*, s.v. "oráculo," 1324: "*Cerca de los gentiles era la respuesta que daban los demonios y sus falsos dioses, que siempre eran equívocas y ambiguas.*"

71. H. C. Erik Midelfort, review of *The Devil's Tabernacle: The Pagan Oracles in Early Modern Thought*, by Anthony Ossa-Richardson, *Renaissance Quarterly* 67, no. 2 (2014): 647–48, <http://0-www.jstor.org.opac.sfsu.edu/stable/10.1086/677470>.

72. Debra Nails, "Socrates," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (2014), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/socrates/>.

In 1552, Diego Pisador espoused a unique point of view in his *Libro de mvsica de vihuela*, published in Salamanca. Unlike the vihuelists who came before him, Pisador draws the reader's attention to a serious flaw in the musical artistry of the legendary Greco-Roman musicians: none of them left any comprehensible text to posterity. Pisador argues,

I dare say the musicians of antiquity were hindered. Or, to better describe them, they lacked as much perfection as they had attained because of the absence of any hard evidence or historical text indicating they knew of some method by which the science they had invented could be passed on to their successors. Perhaps they worked independently of their teachers so that an enduring instruction could be written by those who knew music best.⁷³

In response to this flaw, Pisador states that his own work is all the more important. That he offers his musical knowledge to the people of Spain, citing Plato to suggest that all should have some exposure to music, is humanist in the Spanish sense of the word. I have noted previously that DiCamillo highlights Spanish humanists' measuring their own society against that of the ancients. Pisador's proposed improvement on ancient musical culture is a good example of how Classical culture would have inspired the forward-thinking Renaissance mind.

73. Diego Pisador, *Libro de mvsica de vihuela* (Salamanca, Spain: 1552), fol. 2v: "Me atreuo a dezir que fueron mancos musicos, o por mejor dezir les falta tanta perficion quanta auian alcançado pues que no hallamos rastrro ni leemos en algunas hystorias que supieffen alguna arte con la qual pudieffen dexar a sus successores aquella sciencia que ellos auian inuentado, o deprendieron de sus maestros para que ya que en ellos fenescieffe quedasse en los libros perpetua y immortal."

The most extensive *prólogo* of the seven vihuela books belongs to Miguel de Fuenllana's *Orphenica lyra* (*Orpheus's Lyre*), published in Seville in 1554. Like Pisador, though with different rhetoric, Fuenllana offers a glimpse into sixteenth-century Spanish life through the lens of the Classics. Fuenllana's religiosity may seem docile in comparison with other vihuelists' at-times brazen attitudes. His apparent conformism may be a good counter to the present exposition of the vihuela books as proud statements of individual talent and industry.

In his *prólogo*, Fuenllana basks in the light of the Christ. Portrayal of his knowledge of the history of music, along with his fluency in Classical and Christian philosophy, gives his writing a scholarly flavor less pronounced in the works of previous vihuelists. It should be noted that he is certainly self-effacing; his individualism works within convention.

Fuenllana constructs an argument for the vihuela's perfection, founding his reasoning on several sources. His citing Saint Isidore of Seville (ca. 559–636) is notable. Saint Isidore, a learned man who focused on music for his church more than he was committed to preserving ancient practice, placed experience above tradition. History remembers him for his words, "Music moves the feelings and changes the emotions."⁷⁴ Fuenllana enumerates Isidore's three divisions of music: the harmonic, music produced

74. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive Originum libri xx* (Seville: 636), book 3, ch. 17 via Don M. Randel and Nils Nadeau, "Isidore of Seville," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.opac.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/13934>.

by voices; the natural, that which is derived from the wind or breath; and the rhythmic, which results from the fingers' specifying musical ratios, coherent sound. For Fuenllana the greatest importance lies in that which is rhythmic.

That music made by human beings could ever exceed in mathematical or philosophical value the music of the celestial spheres, or that of nature in general, was a statement that contrasted sharply with established conceptions of music's uncontestedly venerable provenance. Real meaning in music always pertained to a higher power. The Roman theorist Boethius (ca. 480–ca. 524), to whom Fuenllana shows appreciation for having provided a written record of musical knowledge, continued enduring connections between astronomy and music in his *De Institutione Musica* (ca. 520):

Although its sound does not reach our ears, which happens for many reasons, it is not possible however that such an extremely fast motion of such large bodies makes no sound, especially because the paths of the stars are all joined in a way that nothing more perfect could be conceived. For some [travel] in a higher, and others in a lower orbit. Yet all turn with equal force in a way that through these dissimilar paths they form a rational order. With such a celestial model, no less rational order can be expected in music.⁷⁵

75. Ancius Manlius Severinus Boethius, *De Institutione Musica* (ca. 520), 1.1: “*Et prima quidem mundana est: secunda uero humana: tertia quae in quibusdam constituta est instrumentis. ut in citharis uel tibiis. caeterisque quae cantilenae famulantur. Et primum ea quae est mundana in his maxime perspicienda est quae in ipso caelo uel compage elementorum. uel temporum uarietate uisuntur. Qui enim fieri potest. ut tam uelox caeli machina. tacito silentique cursu moueatur? Et si ad nostras aures sonus ille non peruenit. quod multis fieri de causis necesse est: non poterit tamen motus tam uelocissimus. ita magnorum corporum nullos omnino sonos ciere. praesertim cum tanta sint stellarum cursus coaptatione coniuncti. ut [-f.10r-] nichil aeque compaginatum. nichil ita commixtum possit intelligi. Nanque alii excelsiores. alii inferiores feruntur. Atque ita omnes aequali incitatione uoluuntur: ut per dispares inaequalitates ratus cursuum ordo ducatur. Unde non potest ab hac caelesti uertigine: ratus ordo*

Both Isidore and Boethius were central to the development of Renaissance music theory and practice. Their appropriation of, and innovation upon, established musical knowledge display respectable erudition. To separate the thoughts of Isidore and Boethius from those of Fuenllana, it should be clear that the latter accentuated what was immediate to human senses: that enigma somewhere between intellect and emotion one might call the soul.

Both scholarly and poetic, Fuenllana outlines the symbolism of the vihuela in so far as it serves the purpose of representing the human spirit in music. The tactile experience of plucking the vihuela gives rise, according to Fuenllana, to an immediate effect on the living spirit. He cites the vihuela and the human voice's harmonious exchanges as further proof of the superiority of music's rhythmic division, writing that the third of Saint Isidore's three musical divisions conforms to the human voice.⁷⁶ In my opinion, one of the most beautiful examples of the humanist vihuela player is to be found in what Fuenllana has to share next.

Fuenllana briefly follows the etymology of *cuerda*, the Spanish word for string, back through Latin and to Greek. In Latin, *chorde* (strings) is similar to *cor* (heart). In

modulationis absistere. Iam uero quattuor elementorum diuersitates. contrariasque potentias nisi quaedam armonia coniungeret: qui fieri posset. ut in unum corpus ac machinam conuenirent?" via Schirmer and Cengage Learning, trans., "Ancius Manlius Severinus Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music* (ca. 520)," *In Their Own Words*, Source Readings: 1, http://www.cengage.com/music/book_content/049557273X_wrightSimms/assets/ITOW/7273X_01_ITOW_Boethius.pdf.

76. Miguel de Fuenllana, *Orphenica Lyra* (Seville, Spain: 1554), fol. 3r.

Spanish, *coraçon* means heart. In short, Fuenllana states that playing the vihuela is akin to touching the heart. From “profane merriment” to “devout rapture,” the vihuela’s extensive record of altering human affective states is fundamental to its being markedly humanistic.⁷⁷

The greatest time span between vihuela books thus far had been eight years, between Narváez and Mudarra. After Fuenllana, twenty-two years would go by before the publication of another book of music specifically for the vihuela. It should be mentioned that, in 1557 and 1578, respectively, Luis Venegas de Henestrosa and Antonio de Cabezón published musical works suitable for keyboard, harp, or vihuela. While these two books speak to the vihuela’s elevated status alongside the keyboard and harp, they are not generally counted among the seven main publications. Between Fuenllana and the last of the seven famous vihuelists, Esteban Daça, Tomás de Sancta María authored his *Arte de tañer fantasia* (1565), a pan-instrumental treatise on playing polyphonic music.⁷⁸ A diligent student of counterpoint, Daça modeled his fantasias on the work of Sancta María.

Daça’s *Parnaffo* (1576) marks the close of the vihuela’s preeminence. The shift from erudite to more popular musical inspiration may be observed in Daça’s many pieces of secular music. Daça specialist John Griffiths confirms, “The intabulations of secular

77. Fuenllana, *Orphenica lyra*, fol. 3r, NB: *Coraçon* is a spelling of Fuenllana’s time, not the modern-Spanish *corazón*.

78. For further reading on the cultural interactions among keyboard, harp, and vihuela see Cristina Bordas, “The Double Harp in Spain from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,” *Early Music* 15, no. 2 (1987): 148–63, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3127478>.

music [in the vihuela books] provide performers with a goldmine of little-explored music of varied style and character. Daça's *Parnaffo* is one of the richest repositories."⁷⁹ It is significant that Daça introduces this abundance of secular and popularly inspired music with a quote from Martial, "the Roman poet who was most keenly interested in reflecting everyday life in his work."⁸⁰

In studies on Renaissance music, it is difficult to find much attention paid to the following point: far from purely mythological, a significant portion of Roman poetry was inspired by the historical record and, in a more immediate instance of secularism, drew from the lives of the poorest classes to construct pertinent commentaries on society. The possibility of linking sixteenth-century Spain's growing use of folk sources as viable artistic material with an increased awareness of Classical authors must be entertained.

Peter E. Knox and J. C. McKeown explain:

We tend to associate epic poetry with mythological themes. The genius of Homer and Virgil makes this all but inevitable. Especially in Rome, however, there was a flourishing tradition of epics based on historical subjects, involving real people and actual events.⁸¹

Virgil (70–19 BCE), perhaps the greatest of Rome's poets, takes for a topic the destitution of rural life in much of his work. In the *Georgics*, imagery of peasant struggle was a vehicle for spreading a moral message on the problems brought about by the decadent lifestyle of the elite classes. The *Eclogues* and the *Aeneid* share something of

79. Griffiths, "At Court and at Home," 16, brackets mine.

80. Peter E. Knox and J. C. McKeown, ed., *The Oxford Anthology of Roman Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 440.

81. *Ibid.*, 349.

the *Georgics*' preference for illustrating the capital's issues of financial corruption and wealth inequality through people of the countryside.⁸² Virgil's immediate influence on Roman poetry in the works of Ovid, Lucan, and Martial, as well his popularity during the Western European Renaissance and beyond (Sanz's *prólogo*, for example, includes a quote from Virgil), points to a widespread interest in the humanity of poetic composition. For Classical and Renaissance minds alike, it was the worldliness and civil pragmatism of fusing sacred and secular learning that had the strongest effect.

Returning to Daça, I will demonstrate the importance of Martial's words.

"*Victurus genium debet habere liber,*" writes Martial in his sixth book of epigrams.⁸³

Daça translates the phrase into Castilian: "*El libro que ha de durar . . . ha de tener genio.*"⁸⁴ Joseph Loewenstein finds this passage essentially impossible to express in English and offers the following explanation:

"To endure a book must have *genium*." . . . The line is untranslatable because *genium* may designate a property of mind, what we call "genius," or it can denote a *daemon*, an extrapersonal source of inspiration, or even, by extension, a patron.⁸⁵

Griffiths translates the passage thusly: "The book which has lasting value has to have wit."⁸⁶ The efficacy of any translation depends on a number of factors. One must

82. Knox and McKeown, *Roman Literature*, 181–88.

83. Martial, *Epigrams*, book 6, epi. 61, lines 5–10.

84. Esteban Daça, *Parnaffo* (Valladolid, Spain: 1576), fol. 2r.

85. Joseph Loewenstein, *The Author's Due: Printing and the Prehistory of Copyright* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 127.

86. John Griffiths, ed., *The Fantasias for Vihuela* (Madison, WI: A-R, 1982), viii.

deliberate on appropriate time period and dialect, as well as the translator's freedom to stray from literal, word-for-word deciphering for the sake of a smoother text, among other issues. Reading the rest of Griffiths' translation, one might be taken aback at the strict adherence to each word of the source text. I feel that the effect of a translation technique that takes too little freedom to change word-for-word meaning in order to produce an idiomatic read in the target text is limiting, to say the least.

Is "wit" an accurate translation of *genium*? Would a rearrangement of the target syntax be more faithful to Daça's original intention? "Wit" does not appear in the first dictionary of the English language, which was published in 1604;⁸⁷ however, it seems to have been in use at that time, judging from the work of Loewenstein.⁸⁸ But Griffiths's edition of Daça's work, the publication that includes the translation in question, has many updated aspects—modern notation, tonal terminology, and historical commentary.

"Wit" has stayed in the English language and is used today, but often in reference to a clever, sharp mind, perhaps with a tendency to joke or poke fun. *Merriam-Webster Online* (2015) does not overlook the origins of this word, which reach back through Old English and High German to Latin and Greek; although, the most common modern usage may fall short of expressing the full range of the meaning. Merriam-Webster's full definition emphasizes mind, memory, reason, intelligence, and resourcefulness.

87. University of Chicago Press Books, online store description of *Table Alphabeticall*, by Robert Cawdrey, 1st ed., ed. Bodleian Library (Oxford: Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 2007), <http://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/distributed/F/bo5456677.html>

88. Loewenstein, *The Author's Due*, 125.

Imagination, creativity, and articulation support a definition centered on the archaic meanings of the verb form, meaning to know or to learn.⁸⁹

Above all, translation is an exercise in studying and working within a given context. The context in which Daça uses the word *genio* deserves a brief exposition. Daça expresses the desire that his book maintain its value for many years to come, and heightens his emotional ties to his work through the metaphor of a father's unconditional love for his child(ren). But it is not this love alone that gives *Parnaffo* its *genio*. For Daça, the dedicatee is the source of the book's good fortune. Daça released his book under the intellectual and moral auspices of Hernando de Habalos de Soto, an educated and publicly active man whose "eminence in letters, value of character, radiance of life, and conformity to custom"⁹⁰ would protect the work from being defamed or falling into disuse.

Also telling is Daça's statement on how a work should be judged: rather than being a matter of value or potential gain, assessing a work's true worth must be a reflection of the author's intention. Presenting one's labor with good will and a pure heart leads, with the approval of respectable and virtuous members of the community, to a successful book. This meaning of *genium* recalls Loewenstein's associations with

89. Merriam-Webster.com, s.v. "wit," <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/wit>.

90. Daça, *Parnaffo*, fol. 2r: "*eminencia de letras, valor de persona, resplandor de vida, entereza de costumbres.*"

patronage. Broadly speaking, any discussion of genius or wit should concentrate on one's own morals and skills as well as the principles upheld by one's peers.

The first Spanish dictionary concurs, explaining *genio* first in terms of a person's conscience, and then discussing how *genio* relates to a collective paradigm. According to some, Covarrubias y Horozco writes, *genio* is the balance among the elements. Or it may be associated with astrological forces and their bearings on human affairs. Reading on, one finds the same excerpt from Martial that Daça used in his dedicatory letter.⁹¹ It may be shown that conceiving of *genio* as an attribute pertaining not only to living beings but also to inanimate objects, including the fruits of human labor, was accepted in Spanish culture. In modern Spanish usage, the word *genial* has been translated into English as one, brilliant, of genius; two, wonderful, marvelous; three, witty; and four, pleasant, genial.⁹²

To summarize, the time-honored music and literature in the vihuela books constitute a forebear to Sanz's development of his *laberintos ingeniosos*. In most cases, related works preceding Sanz are in some way scholarly. The humanism heralding the rise of the five-course guitar, in communicating the value of history as a means of engaging with the present, foretells Sanz's conception of the guitar—an exaltation of the folk and grounding of the elite, concurrently.

91. Covarrubias y Horozco, *Tesoro*, s.v. "genio," 968.

92. Harper-Collins Spanish Unabridged Dictionary, 8th ed., s.v. "genial," 488.

The five-course guitar, also known as the Spanish guitar (*guitarra española*), faithfully represents the evolving Spanish culture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Beginning with Juan del Encina (1468–ca. 1530) at the dawn of the sixteenth century, poets also had an important role to play in giving form to the spirit of the age.

Spanish poets of the sixteenth century infused their work with “the essence of that which we understand today to be Romantic.”⁹³ Again, Romanticism should not be given the status of synonym to either humanism or individualism. However, these three terms are related in that literature turned to human emotion, folk inspiration, and that which would later be known, in German Romantic literature, as the wandering hero—the human being confronting the world, striking out on one’s own and against all odds. Such themes often involved travel.

Portraying the lives of the common classes evoked humanistic themes. Poetry was not the only avenue for illustrating the affairs of everyday Spanish people. Dialogue writers, novelists, and playwrights were all part of a trend toward writing that revealed pressing social problems; much narration took a perspective that did not hide political corruption or unjust class inequalities. The vehemently Spanish code of honor, a fierce preservation of familial bonds and reputation often linked to one’s pure Christian heritage, was challenged in literature that presented cases of false appearances of honor.

93. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, “The Siglo De Oro Begins: Pícaros and Mystics—in Spanish with English Subtitles,” Films On Demand, 2005, 00:01:55–00:02:10, <http://0-digital.films.com.opac.sfsu.edu/PortalPlaylists.aspx?aid=1681&xtid=34334>; “*la mejor esencia de lo que todos entendemos por Romanticismo.*”

The moral shortcomings of traditionally respected members of society were brought into focus.⁹⁴

Deterioration, both moral and political, was a major theme as the Spanish Empire continued its decline into the early years of the seventeenth century. For the citizens, life was difficult under economic pressures stemming largely from speculative investments in war. Wealth disparity was severe, and what was once one of the world's mightiest empires fell into disrepair. The attentive reader will note similarities to the United States of America in the twenty-first century.

While the first didactic work for the five-course guitar was published in 1596, one important figure began to define five-course guitar culture in the early 1570s. That figure was Espinel, and the culture he inaugurated was rich in both erudition and passion.⁹⁵ Sanz and others write that Espinel added the fifth course to the guitar, but this theory has been rejected by many scholars. Espinel's having expanded the guitar's range is doubtful, but one can be sure of the high esteem Espinel found in artistic and academic circles during his life. Posthumous respects have been paid by the many *decimistas* of the world, poets writing in the *décima espinela* form.⁹⁶

94. For more detail see Films for the Humanities and Sciences, "The Siglo De Oro Begins."

95. Juan Carlos Ayala Ruiz, "Vicente Espinel: Evidencias de una obra musical hoy desconocida," *Hoquet* (Revista del Conservatorio Superior de Música de Málaga) 4 (2006): 5–6, <http://www.conservatoriosuperiormalaga.com/images/pdf/revista/hoquet4.pdf>.

96. Trapero, "Vicente Espinel," 4.

Espinel studied the liberal arts at the University of Salamanca for two years beginning in 1570. His studies were completed in Granada sometime in the late 1580s. Given the widely accepted view that ties Espinel tightly to vernacular poetry and its close companion the guitar, one may be surprised to learn that he was fluent in Latin and studied with Francisco Salinas (1513–1590), one of the most important Spanish music theorists of his time. This concurrent interest in popular as well as academically refined literature and music reminds one that with humanism came the breakdown of detached scholarship and aloof idealism. To cultivate both folk and learned music was becoming more common for composers. The relaxation of the divide between folk and learned style also provides today's researcher with insight into what was happening to the societal structure in Spain.

Sturdy historical arguments are founded on an understanding of how people lived during the time period in question. Griffiths has worked to uncover the real world in which the vihuela was played. His research suggests that the vihuela was integrated into the educated urban classes, and was not as confined to high culture as many scholars report. He reasons,

In addition to its role at court, its function was equally for the education and edification of a substantial urban class, and through the intabulations of many vocal works that form the largest genre of printed repertory, its role in the transmission of mainstream vocal music and compositional technique cannot be underestimated. It is quite possible that many Spaniards in the sixteenth century

became familiar with Josquin, Morales, Guerrero, and other composers primarily through the ciphers of vihuela tablature.⁹⁷

But nowhere in Griffiths' work does he illustrate a connection between the vihuela and the rural population. Scholarly opinion maintains that the guitar was originally the peasants' instrument, and Griffiths aggravates the unfortunate tendency to equate the guitar with baseness, banality without even a tenuous link to sophistication:

There is no inkling in the guitar repertory of the Renaissance spirit that is reflected in the titles of the vihuela books. It is the antithesis: the vihuela was swallowed up by a countercurrent that asserted itself in Spain with considerable urgency.⁹⁸

To say there is no likeness between the aesthetics of the vihuela repertory and that of the guitar is an absolutist statement that, based on what has been discussed here thus far, begs to be contested. An assessment that excludes guitar music from any association with the vihuelists' disposition is, in my view, too extreme. The humanism represented by the guitar may not be the humanism represented by the vihuela, but there is a meeting point. If the vihuela can be identified with the aristocracy down to the middle class, then the guitar gives a voice to the villager. Like the mistaken idea that the vihuela's one and only purpose was to be found at court, too confident a relegation to the lewd world of folk song and dance has tended to isolate the guitar. As one will observe in studying Espinel and his contemporaries, the guitar's modest voice would plant itself into various artistic contexts as the seventeenth century progressed.

97. Griffiths, "At Court and at Home," 10.

98. *Ibid.*

Sanz's labyrinths introduce an original summation of Spanish plucked chordophone tradition. In the context of *Instrvccion*, the *laberintos ingeniosos* set the tone for the rest of the method book. Virtuous self-exploration and high standards of scholarship are consistently given value throughout the text.

Judging from the majority of the musical content, Joan Carles Amat's treatise on the Spanish guitar, *Guitarra Española* (1596), a book published in several editions during the first half of the seventeenth century, bears little resemblance to the works of the vihuelists. It stands in contrast to what Sanz produced as well. Amat's book, the first of its kind for the guitar, centers on the *passeos*, a simple Spanish harmonic formula. The strummed style is the main focus of the work, which is perfectly in line with Amat's stated purpose: to reach the impatient Spaniards who want to play popular music but would rather not study with a pedantic guitar teacher.

One fact many scholars have omitted—perhaps they ignored it because of *Guitarra's* impact on the history of popular style—is that this book contains references to the music of other European countries as well as a method for intabulating vocal polyphony.⁹⁹ From local and probably mostly improvisational music to foreign song, and culminating in arrangements of both sacred and secular vocal polyphony, the development of the five-course guitar parallels aspects of the history of the vihuela.¹⁰⁰

99. Joan Carles Amat, *Guitarra Española* (Gerona, Spain: ca. 1761).

100. Griffiths himself sees, through studying manuscripts of vihuela music, the plausibility of the vihuela's having thrived on oral tradition, hinting at more organic origins than those found in the vihuela books. See Griffiths, "At Court and at Home," 10:

Chapter Two:
Continuing an Examination of the Front Matter of *Instrvccion*

The next fragment of the front cover of Sanz's book to be examined brings up the topic of internationality. Sanz's work contains both strummed and plucked dance songs "in the Spanish, Italian, French, and English styles."¹⁰¹ This wording would not necessarily imply that foreign music influenced Spanish composers' artistic choices, but it leads to the belief that music from other countries existed alongside a Spanish national idiom. This diversity speaks to another side of the tradition begun by the *vihuelistas*; though the dedications are nationalistic, the actual content is cosmopolitan. Italian guitarists Sanz admired, and from whom he learned a great deal, are remembered for their transalpine musical efforts. In fact, the intensity with which music from abroad affected cis-Iberian practice has been central to understanding Spain's musical history.

In both sacred and secular music, Flemish composers pushed Spaniards toward elaborating polyphonically on themes that may have otherwise been set less floridly, in a relatively unadorned chordal style. Here one may observe the contrast between Flemish and Italian models; the latter tends toward homophony and clearly declaimed text. These two outside sources of change were particularly strong during the nascent stages of the

"I have suggested that the distinction between the printed and manuscript collections may be the product of an innate characteristic of the Spanish temperament in which the formality of public ceremony—represented by publication—frequently obscures a deep-seated love of the improvised and spontaneous that is perhaps alluded to in these manuscript fragments."

101. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, front cover: "*al estilo Español, Italiano, Francès, y Inglès.*"

vihuela. Grayson Wagstaff describes Spanish sacred music before and after changes brought about by Flemish composers around the year 1500, especially Josquin:

The placement of the paraphrased melody, which was often a note-for-note duplication of the original liturgical melody except at cadences, in long notes in the cantus became the normal approach. . . . The Franco-Flemish composers were more focused on the striking polyphonic weave of voices that included references to chant, not the audible presentation of the melody as a distinct entity.¹⁰²

Secular song was likewise flavored with Flemish sensibilities. Rebecca Gerber comments on the famed composition “Qu’es mi vida preguntays” by Cornago: “The style of the song implies either a collaboration between the two composers or, at the very least, Cornago’s imitation of Ockeghem’s style. ‘Qu’es mi vida’ is unlike Cornago’s other Spanish songs.”¹⁰³ Gerber’s view is important in that it confirms the presence of a typically Spanish style of composition coupled with, but not heavily altered by, Flemish tastes. Both local and foreign musical sources had a part to play in founding the vihuela repertory.

In examining the advent of the Spanish guitar as an instrument that replaced the vihuela, the question of external influence on the music of Spain is of prime concern. Amat shows some international awareness in *Guitarra*. Aside from the Spanish *passeos*,

102. Grayson Wagstaff, “Mary’s Own. Josquin’s Five-Part ‘Salve regina’ and Marian Devotions in Spain,” *Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 52, no. 1 (2002): 11–12, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/939164>.

103. Rebecca L. Gerber, “External Influences on Spanish Composers’ Musical Styles Between 1450–1500,” in “Del XV congreso de la Sociedad Internacional de Musicología: Culturas musicales del Mediterráneo y sus ramificaciones,” vol. 3, special issue, *Revista de Musicología* 16, no. 3 (1993): 1500, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20796005>.

he mentions that the guitar is suitable for accompanying the pavan and galliard, which were well-known throughout Europe. His mention of the *italiana* as a dance form is noteworthy, if not specific enough to determine exactly to which dance he was referring.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, sharing his method of arranging vocal polyphony, he references having prepared a five-voiced piece by Italian composer Giovanni Perluigi da Palestrina (ca. 1525–1594).

Immediately following the earliest editions of *Guitarra*, some of the most productive activity in the guitar world was taking place in the Italian-speaking lands. Italian guitarists, though they never entirely abandoned the Spanish guitar's strummed-style origins, composed music that also embraced the plucked style of the lute. The stylized popular dance forms, mixing *alfabeto* notation with more detailed tablature that conveyed single-note passages, ornaments, and textured melodies reminiscent of the harp, were a direct result of international exchange of musical culture.

As a short aside, one may take a moment to reflect upon the lasting impact of combining *alfabeto* with lute tablature. *Rasgueado* playing is sometimes called *música ruidosa* (noisy music). This name, in which the raucousness of the guitar is emphasized, completely abandons the typical Renaissance classification of the lute as a soft (*bas*) instrument. The meeting of the two contrasting styles is, in many respects, the beginning of a guitar idiom that persists even today. In the early twentieth century, Andrés Segovia

104. Amat, *Guitarra*, 24.

vowed to save the guitar from its associations with noisy music, associations that were so entrenched they have not yet left the Western classical guitar school.

How far removed from so-called non-classical music is the classical guitar?

Several prominent classical guitarists in history are tied to folk and popular traditions. Agustín Pío Barrios Mangoré (1885–1944), Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887–1959), and Narciso Yepes (1927–1997) have all played a part in making the guitar a universally accepted instrument. Each in their own way, these three figures—all of them fundamental to the development of twentieth-century guitar music—stretched the accepted boundaries of concert-guitar culture. Barrios Mangoré and Villa-Lobos innovated through popular South-American genres, especially the Brazilian *choro*. For Yepes, inter-instrumental approaches to the guitar created momentum for novelty.¹⁰⁵ Yepes looked back into history as well, reinvigorating the *Cantigas de Santa María* (ca. 1375) and the music of Sanz, among other pieces of early music.

Guitarists from earlier in history assimilated folk and theater music alike. Matteo Carcassi's variations on the French folk song "Au clair de la lune" and those of Mauro Giuliani on the Rossini aria "Deh! calma oh ciel" are reminders that the classical guitar has not always been confined to niche audiences or high-art purists. One realizes that, more generally, what has become known as classical music borrowed from and assimilated less refined genres. Considering the humanistically inspired guitar's strong

105. NB: I have coined the term inter-instrumental and employed it above to describe a process by which a single musical idea is transferred between or among two or more instruments, including the voice.

uptake of popular music at the dawn of the seventeenth century, the lute family is central to widespread stylistic change.

In the electric guitar world, one obvious parallel to the *rasgueado-punteado* juxtaposition is the ability to switch from fuzzy or distorted to clean (unaltered) tone at the push of a button. From the academy to arena rock and everything in between, percussive strumming and singing melody's coexistence has endured.

The focus of this study should not stray too far from Spain, so any discussion of the guitar in other countries must be brief. Technically, the only text on guitar playing known to have been published in Spain prior to Sanz's was that of Amat. In the context of exploring the Spanish guitar's reputation across national boundaries though, Luis de Brizeño's *Metodo mui facilissimo para aprender a tañer la guitarra a lo español* (A very easy method of learning to play the guitar in the Spanish style, 1626) aids in confirming that the seventeenth century saw an exportation of the Spanish style not only east to the Italian Peninsula, but also north into France.

Brizeño, a Spaniard who emigrated to Paris sometime around 1610, was apparently unknown to Sanz.¹⁰⁶ The method books of Brizeño and Sanz are almost nothing alike: the former employs notation that could only be described as skeletal, the latter a detailed system inspired by the Italians. Roughly half of Brizeño's pieces include a text to be sung, whereas Sanz offers purely instrumental music.

106. José Castro Escudero and Daniel Devoto, "La méthode pour la guitare de Luis Briceño," *Revue de Musicologie* 51, no. 2 (1965): 132, 148, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/927329>.

Example 3. The first iteration of a *folías* from Brizeño.¹⁰⁷

S ^{o d} ^{o o d o} ^{o d} ^{o d}

_† _P _† _I

I quereis que os enrrame la puerta.

^{o d} ^{o o d o} ^{o d} ^{o d}

_I _† _P

Vida mia de mi coraçom.

^{o d} ^{o o d o} ^{o d} ^{o d}

_P _† _I

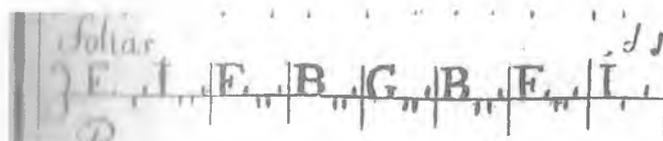
Si quereis que os enrrame la puerta.

^{o d} ^{o d} ^{o d} ^{o o d}

_I _† _P _†

Vuestros amores mios son.

Example 4. Sanz, *rasgueado folías*, mm. 1–7.¹⁰⁸

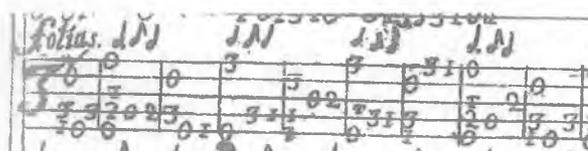


107. Luis de Brizeño, *Metodo mvi facilissimo para aprender a tañer la guitarra a lo Español* (Paris, France: Pedro Ballard, 1626), fol. 8v:

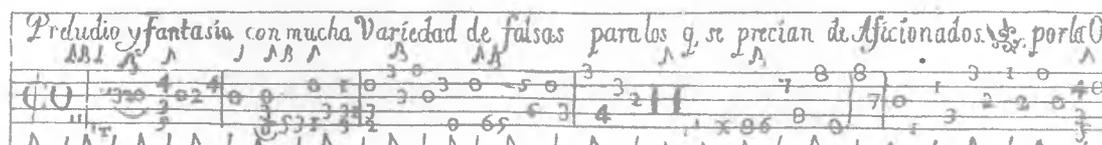
If you want me to decorate your door,
 Oh, dear love of mine,
 If you want me to decorate your door,
 You promise me your heart.

108. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 18r.

Example 5. Sanz, *punteado folías*, mm. 1–8.¹⁰⁹



Example 6. Sanz, *Preludio y fantasía con mucha Variedad de falsas para los que se precian de Aficionados, por la O* (Prelude and fantasia with a vast array of dissonances for aficionados, on O), mm. 1–5.¹¹⁰



The excerpt from Sanz's *folías* in the *rasgueado* style (ex. 4) includes an indication of meter, up- and down-strum markings, and some rhythmic instruction. Sanz's *folías* in the *punteado* style (ex. 5) is notated in greater detail. Example 6 is notated in mixed tablature, interspersing the *alfabeto* O and H consonances among more elaborate lute-style nomenclature.

One theory attempting to explain Brizeño's lack of detail is that the poetry and melodies were so common that little more than a reminder was needed in terms of

109. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 40r.

110. *Ibid.*, fol. 24r.

notation. Related clues may be found in Brizeño's introductory remarks directed to his student and the book's dedicatee, an enigmatic woman referred to only by the title Señora de Chales. They read, "In a short time, you have learned almost everything I have been able to compose and compile."¹¹¹ About presenting the method to Señora de Chales, Brizeño also writes, "You know almost everything contained in it [the book]."¹¹²

Between the *rasgueado* (exs. 3 and 4) and *punteado* styles (ex. 5), there is a clear difference in notational approach. While the strummed dance forms may create an appearance of simplicity, a skilled guitarist would have been able to reshape the symbols on the page into a blooming performance, as Natasha Frances Miles reveals:

This appearance is deceptive, however. These dances, intended for newcomers to the instrument, cannot convey to us how a talented guitarist would have executed them. Short chordal frameworks such as these would have served as a basis for both rhythmic and harmonic variation, and seemingly rudimentary notations concealed the underlying performance practices inherent in the repertoire. . . . We know from the accounts of the dances that the accompaniments were anything but monotonous.¹¹³

Miles quotes one of these accounts, a primary source cited also by Louise K. Stein, specialist on Spanish theater music and author of much recent scholarship on the subject.

111. Brizeño, *Metodo*, fol. 2v: "*Que enpoco tiempo VS. a comprehendido casi todo loque yo he podido componer y juntar.*"

112. *Ibid.*: "*faue casi todo lo que enel se ençierra,*" brackets mine.

113. Natasha Frances Miles, "The Baroque Guitar as an Accompaniment Instrument for Song, Dance, and Theater" (master of philosophy thesis), University of Birmingham, 2011: 48, <http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/1600/>.

Luigi Baccio del Bianco (1604–1657) was a Roman stage engineer and scenic artist,¹¹⁴ and happened to be a member of the audience for a production of *Pico y Canente*, the 1656 *comedia* by Luis de Ulloa y Pereira (1584–1674). Baccio del Bianco describes a change of scene: “Then the guitars, the violone, and the four violins with a keyboard instrument played, each one going his own way and playing according to his own taste.”¹¹⁵

Returning to *Instrvccion*, one encounters numerous passages suggestive of Sanz’s hopes that the reader will expand upon the basic principles of *rasgueado* playing. One selection from the eighth rule, which treats the labyrinth on dissonances, states, “Two pages follow, the first of which contains common Spanish *rasgueado* songs through which the beginner may become comfortable with, and begin to take control of, the instrument. With these songs and the labyrinth, one can compose more than I could possibly teach.”¹¹⁶

Much of the known repertory for the Baroque guitar, both in and outside of Spain, is instrumental music. Yet one should not overlook the ubiquity of poetry in seventeenth-

114. Louise K. Stein, “Late Sixteenth Century to Mid-Eighteenth,” in “Spain,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.opac.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/40115pg1>.

115. Baccio del Bianco via Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theater in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 275, and Miles, “The Baroque Guitar,” 80.

116. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 10v: “*Siguense despues dos paginas, la primera contiene los fones ordinarios Espanoles de Rasgueado para que con ellos el que empieza, se facilite, y señoree del infstrumento, pues con effos, y la tabla, se puede componer mas de los que te puedo enseñar.*”

century European guitar culture. The work of Brizeño suggests that the popular dances on which the more advanced lute-style was in part based were, in their most natural form, songs with text. Expansion upon popular forms took place in the previous century also, a period in which *villancicos* and *romances* (as much parts of literary tradition as genres of music) were crafted into polished settings for voice with vihuela accompaniment.

The Italian Francesco Corbetta offers four vocal works—two trios and two duets—all with continuo accompaniment, in his *La Guitarre Royale* (1671).¹¹⁷ Sanz, who defers to Corbetta's extensive treatment of scales and accompaniment patterns, likewise outlines proper continuo playing in the context of accompanying vocalists.¹¹⁸ Seen in light of the Spanish court's acceptance of vernacular and folk-inspired poetry, a movement initiated shortly before the dawn of the sixteenth century, views inclusive of texts in guitar music are convincing.

Coupled with vernacular poetry at court, in the theater, and among the populace, the Spanish Baroque guitar finds common ground with early Italian humanism. Having been exposed to the improvisational nature of the guitar and its close ties with popular verse, one comes to the conclusion that the sound world of the late-seventeenth-century guitar was quite similar to that of the lute in fifteenth-century Italy, where the humanist movement, according to Allan W. Atlas, “virtually bubbled over.”¹¹⁹

117. Francesco Corbetta, *La Guitarre Royale* (Paris: H. Bonneüil, 1671), 83.

118. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 29v.

119. Allan W. Atlas, *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400–1600* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 24.

Studied from a theoretical perspective, music for voice and lute of the Italian *quattrocento* may not align exactly with music for voice and guitar of the Spanish Baroque, but the two styles, as well as their respective cultural contexts, find points in common. The lightly ornamented homophony in the following musical excerpt may be related to an advanced guitarist's realization of *rasgueado*, connecting the principal consonances (represented below with half-notes) with brief instances of stepwise motion (quarter-notes).

Example 7. The opening two measures of *Mentre uno acceso raggio*, a *strambotto* attributed to Serafino dall’Aquila (1466–1500).¹²⁰

1. Men - tre'u - no'ac - ce -
 2. Ma - poi - ch'è - spen -
 3. Co - si - bru - san -
 4. Ma - se - tal - fo -

Atlas continues his exposition of early Italian musical humanism, quoting a 1429 letter from humanist and theologian Saint Ambrogio Traversari to Venetian statesman and poet Leonardo Giustinian:

120. Serafino dall’Aquila, attr., “Mentre uno acceso raggio,” MS Egerton 3051, British Library, ed. Paul Gustav-Feller (Creative Commons: Ritter von Schleyer Verlag, 2014), http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/f/fa/IMSLP323740-PMLP524148-Aquila__MEntre_uno.pdf, <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/legalcode>, NB: for all musical examples, especially excerpts from sacred pieces, measure numbers should not necessarily be associated with original parts or scores. Modern editions employ bar lines and measure numbers, practices that had not yet taken hold in many older forms of notation.

I have known for a long time that your agile and certainly golden mind has succeeded also in those matters that, contrary to ancient [that is, more recent] custom, are better known to common people than to scholars, such as the ability to sing very sweet arias, [accompanying them] with sound.¹²¹

With the ensuing generation of Italian humanism, the literate class's talents in accompanied song can be found at court, as has been documented in research on the Italian Serafino dall'Aquila and Catalanian Benedetto Gareth, the latter often identified by his nickname, Il Chariteo. Active in circles where both the Latin verse of Virgil and the vernacular stylings of Petrarch were principal influences, these two poet-musicians have been remembered for their improvisational prowess.¹²² While it is difficult to reconstruct undisputed characteristics of their improvisations, the above example of a notated work, with origins in these improvisers' milieu, is a telling piece of evidence.

Self-accompanied lute song was the common medium for the work of dall'Aquila and Il Chariteo, which was carried out, concurrently for a time, in Naples.¹²³ It must be kept in mind that Pope has traced a connection between Naples and Valencia, where Luis de Milán published the first vihuela book.¹²⁴ One begins to comprehend that 200 years on,

121. Atlas, *Renaissance Music*, 24.

122. Donna G. Cardamone, "Gareth, Benedetto" *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.opac.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/10670>, for further reading, see Allan W. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

123. James Haar, "Serafino de' Ciminelli dall'Aquila," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.opac.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/25444>.

124. Pope, "La vihuela," 375–76.

the humanism that initiated the rise of the vihuela in imitation of antiquity had not died out.

There is a significant difference between the front cover of the third edition of *Instrvccion*, which contains Sanz's first two books, and that of the eighth edition, in which the third book is also made available: the later edition, published in 1697, is not dedicated to King Philip IV of Spain's son John Joseph of Austria the Younger (1629–1679), but, rather, to King Charles II of Spain (1661–1700). Spanish politics during the last quarter of the seventeenth century are marked by a loss in international sway. With the later edition of *Instrvccion*, it becomes apparent that the work of Sanz paralleled the predicaments of the monarchy.

Scholarly opinion points to the Spanish court's integration of stylized dances influenced by French tastes, like those composed by Sanz. Yet Sanz's biography, to the disappointment of many, lacks information detailed enough to place him confidently at the royal court during the time the eight editions of his method book were published. Raúl Viela proposes, "The dedication to this son of Philip IV until the 1697 edition of his *Instrvccion* seems to show a rapport,"¹²⁵ and though some scholars believe Sanz may have been John Joseph's guitar instructor, one cannot be certain.

125. Raúl Viela, "Biografía de Gaspar Sanz," *Instituto Gaspar Sanz* (Fundación Quílez Llisterri), <http://gasparsanz.org/gaspar-sanz/bibliografia>: "*La dedicatoria a este hijo de Felipe IV hasta la edición de 1697 de su Instrvccion, parece mostrar la cercanía.*"

Joseph was a distinguished military commander, and strengthened his political influence enough to exceed that of Charles II's mother, the queen regent. The entry for Joseph in *Encyclopædia Britannica* reads thusly: "Although highly popular and widely regarded as the savior of his country, the arrogant and paranoid John Joseph soon lost support by his intrigues and his attempts to advance his own prestige at the expense of the compelling needs of the public."¹²⁶ Born into the high nobility, Joseph leveraged his position in an attempt to repair the feeble Spanish government between 1676 and 1679, the year of his death.¹²⁷

In light of Joseph's having secured the support of the Spanish people, it seems Sanz promoted his book through a deft handling of current events. It must be remembered, though, that Joseph was not an uncontested voice in matters of policy. He and the queen regent were incompatible. One may argue, then, that Sanz had foregone the strictest possible allegiance to the crown for the sake of upholding the interests of the citizenry.

Peter Pierson illustrates a crumbling Spain under Charles II from a politico-economic standpoint:

Spain's former enemies, England and the Dutch, did what they could to prop up sagging Spanish fortunes against the mounting power of Louis XIV. After the death of Don Juan José [John Joseph], Spain took little initiative abroad.

126. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Juan José de Austria," <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/306998/Juan-Jose-de-Austria>.

127. Pierson, *The History of Spain*, 70.

Shipments of silver from the New World became intermittent as pirates and enemy fleets infested the Caribbean. In 1697, a French fleet in combination with a force of buccaneers sacked Cartagena de Indias, capital of the Spanish Main.¹²⁸

With Joseph's falling from favor and the progressing debilitation of Spain's international authority, Sanz's musical output turned away from cosmopolitanism. His third book consists solely of ornate *pasacalles*. Was Sanz, with the success of his guitar method a high priority, simply falling in line with the political establishment? To unravel such a question to its fullest extent would not be germane to the present context, but it is helpful to be open to the possibility of humanism's less-than-sincere aspects.

Though one hopes humanist eloquence would have culminated in the practicable realization of sound moral principles, a healthy amount of skepticism is useful in researching what may seem to be entirely honest, heartfelt texts. It is true there was a pervasive reaction against the doctrinaire attitudes of Medieval scholasticism, but progressive thinkers are also people with realistic needs: to establish a reputation, to maintain employment, to survive. Especially under an uncompromising Spanish monarchy and Inquisitorial censor, one would have surely found it difficult to publish in a carefree manner.

Winding connections to that which post-Renaissance scholarship has deemed humanistic, while useful in envisioning the cultures in which early guitar music germinated, may at times lack the immediacy and clarity required of successful persuasive writing. The most convincing connection between early Spanish guitar

128. Pierson, *The History of Spain*, 70.

traditions and humanism may be the simplest: grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy play central roles in the early guitar literature from Spain.

This study must move on with the humanistic analysis of *Instrvccion*, so an expansion upon the greater implications of the front cover's last two salient points will be condensed into a direct analogy for grammar and rhetoric. These first two of the five *studia humanitatis* are the cornerstones of eloquence. Without grammar and rhetoric, any pursuit in poetry, history, or moral philosophy is bound to fail.

Grammar may be understood as the infrastructure of any language, even the language of music. Sanz, in advertising that his figured-bass treatise is suitable not only for the guitar, but also for the harp as well as the organ, presents a musical context conducive to inter-instrumental translation.¹²⁹ Among techniques specific to the guitar, harp, and organ—idiomatic approaches that, for the present, will be considered as three grammars—barriers break down.

A thoroughly multicultural movement, Renaissance humanism is largely defined by translation. Latin provided a solid footing for scholarship and correspondence in the European community; but even this language of the educated, rooted in Catholic literacy a millennium before the first published piece of music for the guitar, was an object of academic debate. Those interested in eloquence were also interested in reforming Latin and vernacular grammar and linguistics.

129. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, front cover.

Instrvccion contains some basic principles of counterpoint and composition.¹³⁰

Counterpoint and composition are not synonymous, in spite of the fact that practically the entire compositional tradition of Western classical music depends on contrapuntal techniques. It is tempting to combine these two disciplines. While they are mutually complementary, the contrast between them lies in the fact that counterpoint is a study of rules and composition a practice of usage. One sees an obvious likeness to grammar and rhetoric.

Wondering how the musical forms Sanz chose may represent humanist thought, one arrives at the realization that, basing his compositional process on Spanish folk tunes, Sanz married contrapuntal erudition to a living musical language. Instead of opting for a loftier artistic register, which his literary and priestly education surely could have provided, he cast an introduction to the historically refined principles of music in a form the layman could understand.

Frontispiece

In *Instrvccion*, visual art is certainly a factor through which the guitar's relationship to humanism may be examined. The breadth of Sanz's talent, as Viela confirms, was not limited to music. Viela reinforces the present thesis by considering

130. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, front cover.

Sanz to be an embodiment of humanism in the Spanish Baroque.¹³¹ A man of many talents, Sanz was active in literature and music engraving as well. His method book displays an ornate frontispiece that, though not engraved by Sanz himself, prepares the humanistic themes of the book appropriately.

The primary subjects, more minute details, and caption of the frontispiece, an engraving by Juan Blavet, will be analyzed presently. I have been careful to make every effort to present an interpretation that makes sense in terms of the conventions of contemporaneous Spanish art. With the caption as a point of departure, one finds that Sanz and Blavet have formulated a cogent representation of the lute family's extensive, cross-cultural associations with the mythic and the mystic.

131. Viela, "Biografía."



Figure 3. The complete frontispiece of *Instrvccion* (third edition).¹³²

Saxa sequi plectrum vissum est; te plectra sequuntur saxa q̄; nam chordas cordaq̄ jure moues.

Figure 4. The caption only, “*Saxa sequi plectrum vissum est; te plectra sequuntur saxaque; nam chordas cordaque jure moues* (It seemed the plectrum followed the stones; but the plectrum and the stones follow you, for you rightly move the strings and hearts).”¹³³

132. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 3r.

133. Ibid., referring to a conflation of Horace, *Ars Poetica II*, 391ff and Ovid, *Ars amatoria III*, 321ff, translation John Klopacz and Lars Rosager.

To begin with the least abstract, the text contained in this image will be the first topic of discussion. “*Ioannes Avstriaevs*” is simply a Latinate version of John of Austria. The words directly above the caption of the frontispiece are the signature of the engraver and the year in which he produced the engraving for Sanz. These words are almost trivial. But entirely worthy of a lifetime of research and report unto itself, the laudatory reference to Amphion at the foot of the engraving does much to propel a study of the guitar’s humanistic history.

Encountering this reference for the first time, and lacking familiarity with the legend of Amphion, one may suspect an association with the theoretical music of the spheres. “It seemed the plectrum followed the stones; but the plectrum and the stones follow you, for you rightly move the strings and hearts.”¹³⁴ But looking closer at the historical context, one finds that Classical planetary theory left no room for the notion that the celestial lights were made of rock like the Earth. Medieval music and Latin scholar William Flynn reminds those accustomed to the findings of modern astronomy that the word *saxa* (rocks, stones) would not be connected to the planets as they were “Classically conceived” because, before the planets’ true makeups were discovered, “they were believed to be made of ether.”¹³⁵

So what are these stones that follow Amphion’s virtuous musicianship? Orpheus tamed the wild beasts with his lyre playing. With Amphion, one observes that the Orphic

134. See fig. 4.

135. William Flynn, PhD, University of Leeds, email correspondence, August 5, 2014.

myth has been taken a step further; the powers of the lyre have built the city walls. H.

David Brumble conveys, according to myth,

Amphion and Zethus were the twin sons of Antiope and Jupiter. In Classical times, the twins were often contrasted, with Zethus relying on his strength, Amphion on his music. Thus when they built the walls for their city, Thebes, Zethus carried the rocks, while Amphion moved the rocks by the power of his playing upon the lyre. Amphion was the gentle, contemplative singer, Zethus the active man, the hunter.¹³⁶

Orpheus and Amphion are legends of musical eloquence and the superhuman power attached to it. Orpheus is the more ancient. The Orphic myth is so old, in fact, that one interpretation, valid in my opinion, is to see Orpheus as a pre-Classical figure. Such an interpretation would place Orpheus outside of (i.e., before) the time period that influenced humanists so strongly.¹³⁷ This is an important detail.

Though humanism may include befriending animals and communing with nature, the interrelated and more pressing overall concern is a functional society. Erecting city walls may be interpreted as a symbol for the conservation of a nation-state. If the guitar idiom developed in Spain may be seen as a language, then it would be appropriate to

136. H. David Brumble, *Classical Myths and Legends in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: A Dictionary of Allegorical Meanings* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1998), s.v. "Amphion".

137. Sean Keilen, *Vulgar Eloquence: On the Renaissance Invention of English Literature* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 84–86.

recall Nebrija's words in the dedication (to Queen Isabelle) of his 1492 work on the grammar of the Castilian tongue: "Language has always been the consort of empire."¹³⁸

There is no doubt in my mind that, if in Sanz's day there had been sufficiently overt scholarly analysis on the multicultural history of the various repercussions of the legend of Amphion and related cases in which lute-family instruments bear mysterious, magical powers, Inquisitorial censors could have built a solid case against Sanz. The essence of Amphion is the lyre realizing its supernatural potential. Music's ability to move the emotions and psyche of man was widely recognized among Classical philosophers, but in Amphion one observes inanimate objects brought into order with the goal of preserving human civilization. Similar cosmological stories, based on the effects lute instruments could have over the world and its people, form integral parts of Indian and Middle Eastern thought.

To varying degrees, Spanish humanism conformed to the royal mandates behind the Inquisition. Some writers tested boundaries more than others, but, despite being public figures almost incessantly responsible for upholding official tasks that would reflect well on the government, Classically-inspired thinkers got away with founding a large portion of their work on a culture distantly removed from Catholic Spain. One struggles to entertain the position that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain was a tolerant society, but there were, surviving somewhere below the surface, traces of

138. Ted Motohashi, "The Discourse of Cannibalism in Early Modern Travel Writing," in *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, ed. Steven Clark (London: Zed Books, 1999), 83.

evidence to leading to the conclusion that belief systems to which Spain was strongly opposed had been resilient enough to endure.

In order to comprehend the non-textual symbology of the frontispiece, it will be necessary to summarize the image's parts. Two female angelic figures sustain the portrait of Joseph. Characteristic angel wings are absent, but an interpretation that sees the two serene women floating in midair is supported by the outstretched foot of the woman on the left. This woman, in addition to holding up the large frame with her right hand, raises a palm leaf in her left.

Palm leaves are traditional symbols of victory and peace, of triumph over enemies of the pious soul. On the right-hand side of the scene, one finds another gravity-defying woman, also holding the frame and lifting up an olive branch, another symbol of victory and peace. The portrait, angelic female figures, and three musicians are all contained under an arch structure that opens up onto a village scene, perhaps just outside the gates of a city or town.

Each of the three musicians differs from one another. The viol player (on the left), a strong male presence, is similar in appearance to the two angelic females. The garments of the viol player resemble those of the women. His arm muscles bulge, hinting perhaps at a level of strength comparable to that of the flying women. The women divert their gaze from Joseph while the viol player and harpist, a nude infant to symbolize innocence and purity, look straight at him.

I am tempted to see the guitarist as Sanz himself. Unfortunately investigating such an idea is a lengthy process and beyond the purview of this study. One may speculate on Sanz's having taken advantage of this opportunity for visual self-representation, but there can be much more certainty in identifying the guitarist's marked humanness.

Of all the five figures surrounding the portrait of Joseph, the guitarist is most oriented toward the viewer. The guitarist's eyes look toward Joseph, but there is also a relatively strong physical address to the viewer. On a more subtle level, one will notice that the guitarist is the only one not barefoot.

Beside the sandaled right foot of the guitarist are three stairs leading up toward Joseph and the angelic women and pointing in the direction of the village scene. The stairway, an obvious ascent, perhaps into elevated realms of consciousness and understanding, distinguishes the harpist and guitarist from the viol player, who sits upon a box adorned with a painting of a battle scene. Without further analysis, one begins to notice the engraver's, and presumably Sanz's, having opted for an intellectually meaningful depiction of the guitarist.

If the guitarist is indeed Sanz, then his visual self-representation recalls the groundbreaking mid-sixteenth-century work of Michelangelo (1475–1564) in Florence and Titian (ca. 1489–1576) at the Spanish court of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (Charles I of Spain, b. 1500–d. 1558). Spanish painter Diego Velázquez (1599–1660), a near contemporary of Sanz, evokes rich scholarly discussion on the practice of

commemorating oneself through one's art.¹³⁹ The frontispiece of *Instrucción* bears another similarity to Velázquez paintings, and this likeness fits into an exposition on the history of the guitar as an instrument that moves freely across class boundaries.

Janis Tomlinson presents historical analysis on two Velázquez paintings, *Las hilanderas* (1655–1660) and *Las meninas* (1656). Tomlinson notes that Velázquez employs a “scene within a scene” to turn *Las hilanderas* into an “iconographic conundrum.”¹⁴⁰ This painting shifts from the simple craft of weaving, in the foreground, to the eloquent world of myth, onto which the scene ultimately opens (fig. 5). Similarly, a multi-scene technique lends *Las meninas* the quality of, as Tomlinson describes, “a theatrical riddle.”¹⁴¹ The subjects are stratified to create a dynamic interplay among viewer and subjects of various social standings (fig. 6).

139. Robert ter Horst, “*Ut Pictura Poesis*: Self-Portrayal in the Plays of Juan del Enzina,” in *Brave New Words: Studies in Spanish Golden Age Literature*, ed. Edward H. Friedman and Catherine Larson (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 1999), 8–10.

140. Janis Tomlinson, *From El Greco to Goya: Painting in Spain 1561–1828* (London: Laurence King, 1997), 104.

141. *Ibid.*, 106.



Figure 5. Velázquez's *Las hilanderas* (*The Spinners*, 1655–1660).¹⁴²

142. Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez's *Las hilanderas*, 1655–60, oil on canvas, 86.61 in. x 113.78 in. (Museo Nacional del Prado Online Gallery), <https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/galeria-on-line/galeria-on-line/obra/la-fabula-de-aracne-o-las-hilanderas/>, for further reading see Tomlinson, *From El Greco to Goya*, 103–04.



Figure 6. *Las meninas* (*The Maids of Honor*, 1656).¹⁴³

The works above were painted around two decades before the publication of the first edition of *Instrvccion*. Sanz's frontispiece moves from a foreground of heavenly and noble imagery to a second scene of peasantry. Velázquez depicts a reversal of this progression in *Las hilanderas*. *Las meninas* offers a more complicated mixture of social classes, with the king and queen's reflections shown in the mirror beside the domestic

143. Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez's *Las meninas*, 1656, oil on canvas, 150 in. x 108.66 in. (Museo Nacional del Prado Online Gallery), <https://www.museodelprado.es/aprende/enciclopedia/voz/meninas-o-la-familia-de-felipe-iv-las-velazquez/296ac38f-8bf6-439d-b13c-ed22de8c39de?searchMeta=las%20meninas>, for further reading see Tomlinson, *From El Greco to Goya*, 104–06.

servant in charge of the palace bedrooms. Note that the servant appears to be ascending a flight of stairs.

For those clinging to an understanding of the early Spanish guitar as an instrument of the illiterate peasant, the conundrum of Sanz's frontispiece arises through the confluence of instrumental traditions. As the angelic viol player and harpist play for the rural background, the worldly guitarist plays for the viewer, who is situated within an architecturally sophisticated building, as one may infer from the foreground. One may contest that the frontispiece shows a role reversal of instruments.

It also exhibits a political about-face, a polemical statement in which Joseph champions the voice of the people over Spain's deeply engrained absolutist monarchism. For Spain, the seventeenth century was a time of revolt and upheaval. Sanz, through the visual medium of engraving, brings political concerns of the common classes into the realm of guitar music. The net effect of the frontispiece is a confirmation of the guitar's validity in addressing questions of civics.

Chapter Three:

Dedication, Approvals, And *Prologo*

The dedicatory remarks of the authors of seventeenth-century guitar methods honor the works' dedicatees elegantly and humbly.¹⁴⁴ Similar styles of prose are found in the vihuela publications of the previous century. Many of the dedicatees are kings or princes, perhaps other members of the governing body, which, in the case of Spain, was by no means confined to the monarch. Griffiths notes, "Unlike other vihuelists such as Luis Milán [the first of the seven great vihuelists], who chose John III of Portugal as dedicatee, it is indicative of his [Daça's] character that Daça chose someone from within in his own circle."¹⁴⁵

Befitting of a stronger presence of music not exclusively tied to royal or ecclesiastical circles, Amat avoided an official dedication and opted for an intense rogation that the guitar be used to praise the Catholic godhead and saints, particularly the Virgin Mary. Some later guitarists returned to prostrating before the nobility in their dedications, but there is no absolute statement to be made. Some books praised the cultured but musically amateur gentlemen, some the highest royalty. Daça's emphasis on

144. Gary R. Boye, "Montesardo, Girolamo: *Nuova inventione d'intavolatura (1606)*" (unpublished paper), Appalachian State University, 2013, <http://applications.library.appstate.edu/music/guitar/1606montesardo.html>.

145. John Griffiths, "Esteban Daça: A Gentleman Musician in Renaissance Spain," in "Iberian Discoveries," vol. 3, special issue, *Early Music* 23, no. 4 (1995): 442–43, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3138120>, brackets mine.

genio had strong repercussions, along with the importance of an author's good will and pure intentions, for nearly a century and a half after the publication of *Parnaffo* (1576). Reverberations of artistic humility and sincerity of affect in carrying out one's work ally with moral philosophy, the pinnacle of the liberal arts.

One evocative turn of phrase from Sanz's dedication may be a reminder of the challenges a guitar publication would have had to confront in Spanish society of the late-seventeenth century. Sanz seems relieved that such a high honor as that of Joseph's protection has been bestowed upon his book. He mentions a reduction in the risk attached to publishing his work.¹⁴⁶ What risk was involved? *Instrvccion* was completed at a time when music publishing in Spain found itself at a low ebb. A body of internationally diverse and potentially lascivious music ran contrary to the chaste nature of Spanish Baroque society, a culture that held tightly to the proud reticence of the Catholic faith. Piety was tragically heroic in the face of calamity.

The histories of the vihuela and the guitar as instruments unwelcome in Catholic sacred spaces continued to attract commentary, even into the early-eighteenth century. One may be certain that the attention paid to the problem of musical instruments and compositional styles appropriate for cathedral worship came about in response to practices displeasing to those concerned with conserving an accepted devoutness. Laws and rules respond to a problematic state of affairs.

146. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 4r.

Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro (1676–1764) was an educated Spaniard and Benedictine monk who worked as a teacher and writer during the years immediately following the reign of Charles II.¹⁴⁷ He experienced first hand the results of popular guitar music’s ascent into literate and ecclesiastic cultures. Though much had changed since the Medieval era, the world of letters was still very much tied to religion. The research of Neil Pennington provides a summary of Feijóo’s essay “Música de los templos” (Music of the temples). The first two sections of this essay clearly state Feijóo’s views:

Section I. Feijóo states that in ancient times, according to Plutarch, there was a distinction between music suitable for the temple and that for the theater. Since different affects were required, different modes were used. The Dorian, for example, since it was grave and majestic, was reserved for the temple while others were suited to the theaters.

Section II. He laments that today’s music does not keep to the above distinction:

The church chants of these times . . . are all composed of minuets, recitatives, light airs, and alegros [sic]. . . . Should not all the music in a church be grave? He who hears on the organ, the same minuet which he heard at the ball, what effect will it have on him? No other, than reminding him of the lady with whom he danced the preceding night (p. 127 [of Feijóo]).

He reflects that the church music of ancient days made people weep and repent, but today it “leads navigators on rocks and shoals” (p. 128 [of Feijóo]).¹⁴⁸

147. Inmaculada Urzainqui, “Benito Jerónimo Feijoo” (research sources), *CervantesVirtual.com*, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/benito_jeronimo_feijoo/presentacion/.

148. Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro, *Teatro crítico universal*, vol 1. (Spain: 1726), and Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro, *Three essays or discourses on the following subjects: A defense or vindication of women, church music, a comparison between antient and modern music. : Translated from the Spanish of Feyjoo, by a*

Feijóo's reference to "rocks and shoals" proceeds from the Iberian Peninsula's explorers having disseminated the music of their homeland. Spanish colonies in the Americas and those of Portugal in India have played important roles in modern music history's understanding of the music of these empires. The sarabande (*zarabanda*) and chaconne (*chacona*) were not only imports from the New World, but also serious threats to the chastity of Spanish *politesse*.¹⁴⁹ These musical forms were sung to the accompaniment of guitars, drums, and castanets, instrumentation that placed the forms outside of the austerity conveyed by the churches through music for chorus with optional, *ad hoc* support from the organ or wind instruments. The raucousness of popular tunes challenged Catholic university personnel in Portuguese India, even to the extent that the efficacy of music in conversion efforts became questionable.

In light of criticisms of the guitar's moral and ethical worth both before and after *Instrvccion*, one can understand Sanz's gratitude for Joseph's guardianship. Between the reign of Philip IV and Joseph's rise to power, the queen regent, persuaded by the highest officials of the Spanish Inquisition, shut down the public theaters and prohibited all

gentleman, trans. John Brett (London: For T. Becket, 1778), via Neil D. Pennington, *The Spanish Baroque Guitar with a Transcription of De Murcia's "Pasacalles y obras,"* vol. 1 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1981), 17, brackets mine.

149. For further reading see Richard Hudson and Meredith Ellis Little, "Sarabande," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.opac.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/24574?q=sarabande&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1 and Alexander Silbiger, "Chaconne," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.opac.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/05354#F005659>.

performances of dramatic works.¹⁵⁰ The stage was fundamental to Baroque guitar culture, so a halt to *comedia* productions was bad news for musicians who cultivated the popular dances.

With the closure of public theaters, musical practice that offered a meaningful contrast to academic curricula waned. Earlier, in the 1500s, the University of Salamanca maintained its long musical heritage in a tripartite music program: plainsong, polyphony, and counterpoint. This was a trajectory aimed at forming students in the tradition of sacred vocal music, yet one may be surprised to learn that official recognition of musical styles associated with the vihuela and guitar did exist. The recognition is rather negative, however. Dámaso Fraile reports,

In the “Constitutions” of the Colegios Mayores de Santiago de Cebedeo, de Cuenca, published in the year 1535, and in those of the Colegio Mayor de Santa María Magdalena, from 1561, we find that, within these colleges, students were prohibited from using two musical instruments: the *cítara* and the *salterio*. One exception was made: a student of these colleges was permitted to play the aforementioned instruments in his bedroom, as long as it did not cause any scandal or bother his neighbor(s).¹⁵¹

150. Julián Teurlais and Josep Albert, “La decadencia de un imperio (De los Austrias a los Borbones). 1652–1714,” *Memoria de España*, disc 9, vol. 9, ch. 15, 00:08:45–00:10:05, dir. José Manuel Armán and Adolfo Dufour (Spain: Corporación de Radio y Televisión Española and Divisa Home Video, 2013), DVD.

151. Luis Sala Balust, *Constituciones, Estatutos y Ceremonias*, *Op. cit.* (Salamanca, Spain: Colegio Mayor de Santiago de Cebedeo, de Cuenca, 1535), 4:229 and Luis Sala Balust, *Constituciones, Estatutos y Ceremonias*, *Op. cit.* (Salamanca, Spain: Colegio Mayor de Santa María Magdalena, 1561), 3:72 via Dámaso Fraile, “La vida musical en la Universidad de Salamanca durante el siglo XVI,” *Revista de Musicología* 23, no. 1 (2000): 48, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20797633>: “En las “Constituciones” de los Colegios Mayores de Santiago el Cebedeo, de Cuenca, publicadas en el año 1535, y en las del Colegio de Santa María Magdalena, del año 1561, encontramos la prohibición

The financial oppression of music (and its sister science, astrology) during the sixteenth century does not seem to have been alleviated in the seventeenth. It is an area of concern for today's academicians as well—at least in the United States of America. Concurrently with the growing cost of military efforts, government-funded university education must often adjust to a reduced budget. One can rarely expect prosperity in the state-funded liberal and creative arts colleges of the USA, so, in my opinion, one should honor any chance for innovative expansion.

The American Musicological Society listserv recently produced a brief treatment of how musical works outside of the traditional Western canon have and may, in the future, be smoothly integrated into the academy. The initial message and responses thereto call on major reference sources to add content on popular and non-Western musics. Deane L. Root and Anna-Lise Santella, editor-in-chief and senior editor of *Grove Music Online*, respectively, address questions and concerns.

In my opinion, it is nothing short of a blessing that Root and Santella share news of *Grove's* new articles on popular and non-Western topics. At a time when innovations in musicological research seek to overcome the at-times divisive workings of formal music education, it is important that as authoritative a source as *Grove* acknowledge the

de que los estudiantes utilicen dentro del Colegio dos instrumentos musicales: la cítara y el salterio. Se admite una excepción: el estudiante de estos colegios sí puede practicar estos instrumentos en su habitación, siempre que no cause escándalo o moleste a su vecino de habitación,” NB: The *cítara* and *salterio* are closely related to the guitar. I have used the Spanish names in order to avoid historical confusion that may result from translation.

change in praxis. The causal nature of the work of earlier generations, sometimes referred to as the formalist or positivist schools, sets a high standard for modern historians, and I respect that. In fact, I would say it is necessary. However, one cannot deny the changing focal points. This may manifest in increased attention paid to getting as close as possible to the cultural situation in which a given strand of music took shape.

Stylistic causes and effects are crucial, but so is expanding into more diverse territory. The music department at University of California, Santa Cruz offers a PhD program in Music with an emphasis in cross-cultural and interdisciplinary studies. This degree program finds its identity “traversing the disciplines of musicology and ethnomusicology.”¹⁵² As Root and Santella note, this is one part of a more pervasive movement: “The incorporation of popular musics—indeed, all musics previously marginalized by scholarly institutions but now increasingly represented in research—are very much on the minds of *Grove*’s editors.”¹⁵³ One is justifiably optimistic about reference sources that look to update and renew, to appreciate changes in musicological thought.

Today’s balancing of the musicological scales is a reminder that the road to equality among the world’s musical traditions has its share of obstacles. In a society where music printing was not a thriving market, publishing a book on an often ostracized

152. University of California Santa Cruz Music Department website (The Regents of the University of California, 2010), <http://music.ucsc.edu/phd-splash>.

153. Deane L. Root and Anna-Lise Santella, “References [*sic*] sources for popular music,” American Musicological Society listserv, February 5, 2015.

instrument and repertory was, for a variety of reasons, unsafe without a benefactor. Sanz's thanks to and praise for Joseph, particularly the dedication's last sentence, are not unlike the words of a prayer: ". . . My ability at the feet of your majesty, to whom may Heaven bring prosperity for as long as we servants need, and as long as the Monarchy requires."¹⁵⁴ I am reminded of the close of the Catholic Collect used in modern times: "Through our Lord Jesus Christ, your Son, who lives and reigns with you in the unity of the Holy Spirit, one God, for ever and ever. Amen."¹⁵⁵ In addition to the support of political power, the publication of Sanz's work would need the official permission of the Catholic Church.

Approvals

The first letter of approval, an enthusiastic and historically informed endorsement from *Licenciado* Sebastian Alfonso, leads to inquiry into the guitar's connection with sacred-music culture of the time. Alfonso was the chapel master at a church in Zaragoza, working exclusively with music designed for worship. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was not unusual for Inquisition censors to recruit specialists to

154. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 4r: "*habilidad a los Pies de V. A. Cuya vida prospere el Cielo los años que los criados de V. A. necefsitamos, y la Monarquia ha menester.*"

155. Committee on Divine Worship, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, ed., *New . . . Saint Joseph Sunday Missal: Prayerbook and Hymnal for 2015* (New Jersey: Catholic Book Publishing Corporation, 2014), 111.

determine whether a book reached publication. Pennington makes the distinction between censorship practice before and after the Bourbon assumption of power:

First, whereas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries attempts had been made to invoke the aid of the more outstanding intellects of the time in drawing up the index [*Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (List of Prohibited Books)], in the eighteenth century the control passed to “ignorant and small-minded clergy.”¹⁵⁶

Appreciating the breadth of *Instrvccion*, one may be grateful that the eighteenth-century standards were not applied.

Almonte Howell, after a survey of the work of seventeenth-century Spanish music theorists, concludes that in the corpus of theoretical treatises from 1492 to at least 1724, uniformity reigned. The texts of this period agreed on “the same classifications of consonance and dissonance, and the same rules for treating the latter.”¹⁵⁷ Howell also holds to the notion that these writings apply directly to the church music composed contemporaneously.¹⁵⁸ Stein connects Howell’s statements, noting that “the forms demanded by the liturgy (Mass, motet, psalm, lamentation) were most often written in the strict, contrapuntal church style or in the polychoral style involving choirs of voices

156. Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition* (New York: New American Library, 1965), 261 via Neil Douglas Pennington, “The Development of Baroque Guitar Music in Spain, Including a Commentary on and Transcription of Santiago de Murcia’s *Passacalles y Obras* (1732)” (doctoral dissertation), University of Maryland, 1979: 25–26, <http://0-search.ebscohost.com.opac.sfsu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,cookie,url,uid&db=rih&AN=1979-02557&site=ehost-live>, brackets mine.

157. Almonte Howell, “Symposium on Seventeenth-Century Music Theory: Spain,” *Journal of Music Theory* 16, no. 1 (1972): 68, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/843327>.

158. *Ibid.*, 68.

and/or instruments.”¹⁵⁹ Continuo parts appear in much of the Spanish sacred repertory. It would have been normal for a continuo ensemble in Spain to incorporate the guitar, so the guitar’s presence in a liturgical setting is possible. Yet—and Howell does not fail to mention this—the Spanish guitar tradition and the literature thereof was of little importance to theorists.¹⁶⁰

This avoidance of the guitar is curious when one considers the music of the guitar tradition’s likeness, both cultural and technical, to the *villancico*, a compositional form common first in secular music and, beginning around the dawn of the seventeenth century, a mainstay of vernacular sacred style. Both movements are popular in origin, forming a major defining aspect of the Spanish style in general. Paul Laird has provided accounts of the early history of the *villancico* and its dissemination in the Baroque:

The most important set of *villancicos* from the late-sixteenth century is found in the *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* (CVE) by Francisco Guerrero. It is a pivotal collection which summarizes the setting of Spanish vernacular poetry during the century and indicates directions for the development of the *villancico*’s musical style during the seventeenth century. . . . The secular works that he wrote were slightly recast and then used in Church, an example of the *a lo divino* practice. This helps illustrate the blurred line which existed between the sacred and secular vernacular works. . . . Several of the stylistic elements which predominated in the *villancicos* of the seventeenth century are found in the CVE. Triple meter with frequent syncopation and hemiola is standard after 1600.¹⁶¹

159. Louise K. Stein, “Spain,” in *The Early Baroque: From the Late Sixteenth Century to the 1660s*, ed. Curtis Price (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1994), 332.

160. Howell, “Symposium,” 66.

161. Paul R. Laird, “The Coming of the Sacred *Villancico*: A Musical Consideration,” *Revista de Musicología* 15, no. 1 (1992): 154–56, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20795542>.

Recomposition of secular poetry and music in order to suit purposes of worship is central to the study of the Spanish Renaissance and Baroque. Spain's large clergy was notoriously poor in Latin, and the congregation found itself in a similar state of linguistic ignorance.

Having to resort to the common tongue should not detach *villancico* composers from the topic of humanism. Knowing by which means Catholic congregations were most successfully reached, clergymen and church composers demonstrated rhetorical ferocity. Programming recompositions of secular music or any other synthesis of vernacular idioms and ecclesiastical themes repeatedly met with disapproval from the monarchy, the papacy, and the scholarly community; and yet, the practice spanned at least 400 years, from roughly 1500 to 1900.¹⁶²

Seventeenth-century *villancico* style is not far removed from the style in which Sanz composed his elaborations upon popular dance forms. One distinction is that the *villancico* was a poetic genre and, as such, set apart from purely instrumental music such as that of Sanz. In Sanz, homophony predominates, as do triple meter, syncopation, and hemiola. The rhythmic cell of a dotted quarter-note followed by an eighth-note, ending with either a quarter or string of eighths, is pervasive. One is reminded that the use of ostinato would have made for a tune to which one could easily dance.

162. Laird, "The Coming of the Sacred *Villancico*," 158–60.

Example 8. A defining rhythm of *Instrvccion*.



Example 9. One common variation on the rhythm above (ex. 8).



The pattern of example 8 appears in a startling number of pieces in *Instrvccion*. One may rightly call it the rhythmic foundation of the entire book. Variations on trochaic and dactylic rhythmic units are found in both Spanish and foreign forms.

For Alfonso, a working musician in charge of a church in a major city, the concision and danceability of Sanz's music must have shown a link to the popular-turned-sacred and, for that, controversial *villancico*. One suspects that, rather than following in the line of authority's disdain for the *villancico*, Alfonso took the more humanistic approach. Linguistic and musical vernaculars represented popular spirituality, and those working in the church would have been smart, if a little wily, to speak to common people in their own language.

The similarity between the *villancico* and Sanz's compositions does not constitute the entirety of Alfonso's representation of humanism. The guitar's rise to prevalence in high culture recalls the adoption of the rustic *villancico* into courtly poetry a century and a half earlier. Alfonso, reversing the cultural influence, impressed the magnificence of the Spanish sacred tradition upon the guitar: "Filled with the pleasant innovations, I am left admiring the delicate, masterful style with which he [Sanz] handles this instrument [the guitar], according it the four voices carefully measured onto the fretboard."¹⁶³ After making it clear that the archbishopric of Zaragoza had commissioned his reading of *Instrvccion* in order to approve its content under Inquisitorial censorship, Alfonso was quick to credit Sanz with an adept treatment of four-voice compositional technique. Just how accurate an assessment of Sanz's music Alfonso made by studying it within the confines of four-part choral style is debatable. The compositional languages of the guitar will be compared with sacred works further in chapter 9.

Regardless of how well Sanz's work preserves the strictures of sacred vocal music in Spain, the overall intent of Alfonso's letter remains clear: to validate *Instrvccion* according to Catholic values. But, even in the capacity of censor, Alfonso allows Classical, perhaps astrological themes into his writing. He notes that the four voices are "animated in artful motion."¹⁶⁴ The guitar in the hands of Sanz, Alfonso continues, seems

163. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 4v: "Con novedad gustosa quedo admirado, del primoroso estilo con que facilita este Instrumento, acordandole las quatro voces sumamente reguladas a sus dyapasones," brackets mine.

164. Ibid.: "animadas en artificioso movimiento."

less like a guitar and more like “a sonorous kithara, whose pulse is governed by the careful feather of its *ingeniofo* author.”¹⁶⁵ Using movement to describe the character of Sanz’s “sweet consonances” is reminiscent of the logic behind the music of the spheres: the planets, being such enormous and fast-moving objects, cannot fail to generate sound as they travel through their orbits.¹⁶⁶

Alfonso elevates Sanz’s skill to that of a kithara player, lifting the folk to new heights by describing it with the vocabulary of a powerful branch of Classical learning. This is not the first time a musician has been lauded with a metaphor involving the kithara. Though it may not seem to be the most logical choice for affiliates of the Church, the kithara evokes high honor. Its power to praise musical genius has been demonstrated by author and pedagogue Fray Luis de León (1527–1591), a defining figure of the Spanish Renaissance. Professor Don Javier San José explains the impact of Fray Luis: “Tasked with the age-old question, ‘Did the Renaissance exist in Spain?’, one says enough with the response, ‘Yes, because Fray Luis de León existed.’”¹⁶⁷

165. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 4v: “*parece de fonora Cítara, que pulfa con bien templada pluma su ingeniofo Autor,*” NB: Here I have entertained Loewenstein’s conclusion, that the word *ingenioso* is defiant of translation (see p. 50 of this study).

166. *Ibid.*: “*dulces confonancias.*”

167. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, “The Siglo de Oro,” 00:36:43–00:37:06: “*Ante la viejísima ya pregunta . . . ¿Existió un Renacimiento Español? bastaba con contestar, ‘Sí. Existió Fray Luis de León.’*”

In reverence for and adoration of Salinas, Fray Luis writes:

It [my soul] traverses the ether
 Until it reaches the highest sphere,
 And there it hears another mode
 Of imperishable
 Music, the first, the source of all.

It sees how the Great Master,
 Playing this immense cither [kithara],
 With skilled movement
 Produces the sacred sound
 By which this eternal temple is sustained.¹⁶⁸

Fray Luis, an Augustinian monk, sees his own soul traveling to the outermost heaven (sometimes called the firmament, or referring to that which is beyond Saturn) to witness life-giving music being played on the solar system itself, which here takes the form of the Greco-Roman kithara. This would have exceeded the limits of strict Catholic teaching. The Vatican repeatedly condemned astrological practices at the time. Considering Fray Luis's readiness to expand upon his religion's doctrine (or, arguably, his readiness to return to its roots), it is no wonder that, in 1572, the Inquisition had him arrested.

Like Erasmus, he took particular interest in reinterpreting Latin scripture vis-à-vis older texts in other languages, especially Hebrew.¹⁶⁹ In both Erasmus and Fray Luis one

168. Fray Luis de León, *Obras*, 2:748, lines 16–25 via Eugenio Florit, ed., trans., *Introduction to Spanish Poetry: A Dual-Language Book* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 1965), 47, brackets mine.

169. Javier San José Lera, "El autor: Apunte biográfico," *Fray Luis de León* (Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes), http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/fray_luis_de_leon/autor_apunte/.

is reminded of the emphasis Renaissance thinkers gave to finding ways in which Christianity and humanism could be mutually supportive.¹⁷⁰ A century later, in *Instrvccion*, attempts at this religio-philosophical union continued to act as central components of the discourse. It is via Erasmus's *Apophthegmatum opus* that Alfonso references Alexander the Great's shortcomings as a kithara player.¹⁷¹ The legendary Greek had good intentions, but, when the time came to apply what he learned, lacked the dexterity necessary to separate the correct from the incorrect notes.

The second of the two letters of approval does not overflow with Classical or rustic imagery. In fact, it may be useful in arguing against the present thesis. Diego Xarava y Bruna, a court chamber musician and church organist, founded his approval on Sanz's thoroughness, going so far, in some cases, as to say that Sanz has perfected a musical representation of the Catholic faith.¹⁷² Devoid of the florid language employed by Alfonso, Xarava y Bruna rests, rather, on simply communicating that Sanz's guitar method has "exhausted the instrument's artifice."¹⁷³

Far from the expansive, open-ended arguments of an Erasmus or a Fray Luis, Xarava y Bruna does not need to build a historical argument, or even explore the tenets of Catholicism. Although, similar to Alfonso's having represented chapel masters, the fact that Xarava y Bruna was an organist sparks intercultural dialogue. Here surges a musical

170. Fran Rees, *Desiderius Erasmus: Writer and Christian Humanist* (Minneapolis, MN: Compass Point, 2006), 35–39.

171. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 4v.

172. *Ibid.*, fol. 4r.

173. *Ibid.*: "parece averle agotado a este Instrumento las primores."

exchange between instrumentalists of the church and those of the street corner, barbershop, and college dormitory—venues occupied by the guitar.

Before continuing with excerpts from *Instrvccion* that link early Spanish guitar music with humanism, I would like to identify a potential obstacle in the developing logic of the present study. DiCamillo (this conclusion of his is quoted in full on p. 21), backed by Eugenio Garin, views humanism to be an all-encompassing movement, affecting “all the major institutions of the day, from politics to religion, from social organization to economic praxis, from technology to the arts and from thinking to literary expressions.”¹⁷⁴ So why would one even need to explain that the guitar has roots in humanism? If this practical eloquence permeated the entire society, then such an archetypically Spanish instrument as the guitar would have participated by default.

In response to this perspective, one must identify which parts of Spanish culture were patently different from the treasures cultivated by humanist thought. Here it becomes especially important to conceive of humanism in the simplest terms possible. Grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy constitute the basis of a concise definition; but one may do well to add that a respectful awareness of, even genuine interest in or love for traditions foreign to one’s own culture draws the vast web of history’s multifarious humanist projects together under an overarching principle. Heightened emphasis on the practical uses of human skill, especially the written and spoken transmission of language, reflects a more general concern for honoring the human

174. DiCamillo, “Fifteenth-Century Spanish Humanism,” 23.

spirit and its well being under the greater constructs of law .

Having again set some parameters of humanist thought, this study will present some points to arm a refutation of its thesis statement. For a large number of reasons, Spain must be seen as a close-minded and thoroughly conservative society. Griffiths shares a summary of his views:

Spanish unification in the late-fifteenth century was achieved by subjugating the nation to one single belief system. The alternative was voluntary exile or death at the stake. Not much cultural pluralism there! And in the early nineteenth century, the guitar, associated with the culture of *majos y majas*, was aimed at eradication of the cultural pluralism of the Napoleonic invasion.¹⁷⁵

Throughout the early modern period, Spanish authority did its best to quash any belief systems that ran contrary to the values of Catholic imperialism. Yet one does encounter opposition to regal policy. It is noteworthy that celebrated university professor Francisco de Vitoria (1492–1546) rose above, as Carlos Noreña writes, “ecclesiastical or royal emoluments through which, especially under Philip II, both the Church and Crown sought to tame critical or rebellious thought.”¹⁷⁶

Brushing a corrupt system of bribes aside, Vitoria took a stand for human rights. Of course proposing any likeness between the indigenous Americans and civilized humankind was, in this historical context, bold in its own right. Vitoria moves to ethical higher ground:

175. John Griffiths, email correspondence, June 14, 2013.

If the Peruvian natives were monkeys instead of human beings, I would recognize that they could not be victims of “injustice.” However, being our fellow-men and subjects of the Emperor, I cannot see how to excuse the *conquistadores* from the worst kind of cruelty and tyranny . . . Even if I desired the Archbishopric of Toledo, which is vacant now, very badly, supposing they offered it to me under the condition that I proclaimed the innocence of those Peruvian adventurers, I could never bring myself to do such a thing. I would rather lose my tongue and my hand than to say or write such an inhuman and anti-Christian statement. They can keep the seat of the Archbishop for themselves; all I want is to be left in peace. They will surely find somebody ready to go along with their plans; even among our Dominicans, they would find somebody ready to excuse them, to praise their deeds, their massacres, and their pillages.¹⁷⁷

To be sure, Spain was no democracy; and not all writers escaped punishment for words challenging the position of governmental authority. The case of Fray Luis has been outlined above. Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas (1580–1645) countered the Gongoristic “flood of insipidity”¹⁷⁸ with the first critical edition of the lyric poetry of Fray Luis.¹⁷⁹ Gongorism (*gongorismo*, also known as *culteranismo*), the poetic movement that so incensed Quevedo, provides a contrast to clear and simple styles, such as the style of Lope de Vega (1562–1635). In a separate but related study I conveyed the hardship Quevedo faced. The text is reproduced here:

177. Francisco de Vitoria to Provincial of the Dominicans in Andalusia, letter, 1534 via Beltrán de Heredia, “Ideas del Maestro Francisco de Vitoria anteriores a las Relecciones *De Indis* acerca de la colonización de América, según documentos inéditos,” *La Ciencia Tomista* 122 (1930): 145–65, via Noreña, *Studies in Spanish*, 63, translation Noreña.

178. J. D. M. Ford, “Luis de León, the Spanish Poet, Humanist, and Mystic,” *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 14, no. 2 (1899): 268, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/456575>.

179. *Ibid.*

That Quevedo did not publish most of his poetry is a telling piece of information. With such a strong censorship authority in the Inquisition, one may deduce that Quevedo harbored views questionable in the eyes of royal power. Adding to what one can speculate from his decision to keep his work out of public view, he was arrested and imprisoned for his 1666 social commentary, *Política de Dios*. Such an event proves quite clear discontent with the country his beloved *España* had become: Quevedo was punished for speaking out in favor of governmental adjustments.¹⁸⁰

In his treatise on dramatic theory, *El arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (The new art of producing comedies in modern times, 1609), Lope makes it known that, in the time and place in which he lived and worked, the art of writing comedies must be an art of tending to the tastes of the *vulgo* (masses).¹⁸¹ Everything, from the set to the script, had to speak to the people watching from the worst seats in the theater.¹⁸²

Luis de Góngora (1561–1627), initiator of the eponymous poetic style, produced works some have described to be mannerist. The notion of art for art's sake is immediately present.¹⁸³ It has been said that “Lope de Vega was an admirer”¹⁸⁴ of Góngora, but it is still fair to point out differences between their respective works. Using

180. D. Gareth Walters, *Francisco de Quevedo, Love Poet* (Cardiff, Wales: University of Wales Press, 1985), 4 via Lars Rosager, “Spanish Renaissance Music through the Lens of German Romanticism” (unpublished paper), San Francisco State University, 2014: 29, https://www.academia.edu/7152725/Spanish_Renaissance_Music_through_the_Lens_of_German_Romanticism.

181. Lope de Vega to Academy of Madrid, *El arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*, ed. Vern Williamsen (1609, ed. 1995), lines 54–60.

182. Hugo Albert Rennert, *The Life of Lope de Vega 1562–1635* (New York: G. E. Stechert, 1937), 146.

183. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. “mannerism,” <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/362538/Mannerism>.

184. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Luis de Góngora y Argote,” <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/238481/Luis-de-Gongora-y-Argote>.

a musical analogy, one could argue that if Quevedo represented unambiguous text declamation and unadorned homophony, Góngora symbolized all that was complex and convoluted, less-than-easily accessible to the folk.¹⁸⁵

The inaccessibility of art is always relative. Different levels of erudition and specializations of knowledge make defining a universally comprehensible work practically impossible. Yet, one may look again to Inquisition policy to learn about what was acceptable for publication. Being founded upon corrupt indictments, torture, and brutal executions, the Inquisition is about as far from humanism as possible. Few escaped the inquisitorial threat. Though bound by seemingly incontestable policy, the Catholic Church is comprised of individuals, and these individuals are capable of a wide range of viewpoints. Not every clergyman did as he was told, and no one was safe from denouncement. If audacity did not result in arrest, it could still give rise to any number of other problems. In the writings of Baltasar Gracián (1601–1658), one finds particularly telling examples of the challenges secular learning confronted.

Gracián was a Jesuit priest who, with the support of his nobleman friend Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa, became enthralled with scholarship, policy, the arts—all things cultured, worldly, and evocative of human talent. He discoursed on how one manages life in general, how to tolerate the human condition and triumph in a world full of corruption and deceit.

185. Hilaire Kallendorf, *Spanish Literature: Oxford Bibliographies Online Research Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 30.

The Jesuit Order condemned the work of Gracián not for any audacity toward Catholic teachings, but, as Christopher Maurer explains, “their worldly nature and Gracián’s stubborn refusal to submit them before publication to the approval of his Jesuit superiors.”¹⁸⁶ The forces working against Gracián’s affinity for extolling things earthly find parallels in music.

For a century before the life and work of Sanz, the Catholic Church was seeking to change in response to the Protestant movement, forming a period in Catholic history that has become known as the Counter-Reformation. From 1545 to 1563, the meetings of the Council of Trent addressed many of the Protestants’ charges against the papacy. High-ranking Catholic clergymen revised doctrinal code and edited core texts: the missal, the breviary, even the Bible.¹⁸⁷ No ritual was above scrutiny. The topic of music was not treated in depth, but the Council’s decree to “keep away from the churches compositions in which there is an intermingling of the lascivious or impure, whether by instrument or by voice”¹⁸⁸ aligns with pre-existing ecclesiastic views on the expression of human emotion.

186. Baltasar Gracián, *A Pocket Mirror for Heroes*, trans. Christopher Maurer (1637, trans. New York: Doubleday, 1996), xv.

187. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Council of Trent,” <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/604238/Council-of-Trent>.

188. Craig Monson, “The Council of Trent Revisited,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55 (2002): 10–11, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/jams.2002.55.1.1>: “*Ab ecclesiis vero musicas eas, ubi sive organo sive cantu lascivum aut impurum aliquid miscetur*,” translation Monson via David Crook, “A Sixteenth-Century Catalog of Prohibited Music,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 62, no. 1 (2009): 5, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/jams.2009.62.1.1>.

Studies on the humanistic in music so often center on how affect is communicated through a union of word and tone. The suppression of affect would be antithetical to a humanist current in music, be it a compositional technique or, in the case of the present study, a perspective on guitar culture. Wagstaff explains, “Emotions displayed during times of mourning were a particular concern in Spain during this time [1450–1550]. The complex interaction of grief, as a personal, necessary experience, and church teachings on the calm acceptance of death became a delicate issue for ecclesiastical leaders.”¹⁸⁹

David Crook notes that the 1324–35 decree of Pope John XXII banning “more rhythmically animated forms of polyphony”¹⁹⁰ influenced the discussion on music at the Council of Trent. The same document permitted contrapuntal compositions that did not stray too far from the chants on which they were based. Making chant melodies obvious in the highest voice and demonstrating a conservative approach to homophony, typically Spanish sacred style recalls the limitations imposed by Pope John XXII and, later, the Counter-Reformation.

In general, the expressive motets of Cristóbal de Morales (ca. 1500–1553) or the Lamentations of Jeremiah settings by fellow Spaniard Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548–1611) would have challenged Counter-Reformation policy on music. Eugene Casjen Cramer points out that the positive reception in Rome of the uncomplicated choral

189. Grayson Wagstaff, “Music for the Dead and Control of Ritual Behavior in Spain, 1450–1550,” in “Music as Heard,” special issue, *The Musical Quarterly* 52, no. 3–4 (1998): 555, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/742338>, brackets mine.

190. Crook, “A Sixteenth-Century Catalog,” 5.

writing in a Passion setting by Victoria, as opposed to the poorly received Lamentations, is relatable to the Church's restrictions on elaborate music.¹⁹¹ Being a ferocious proponent of the ideals of the Counter-Reformation, Philip II officially, but with little lasting consequence, banned the *villancico* from his royal chapel in 1596.¹⁹² Ironically, music the Church approved had more in common with the *villancico* than the more questionable music did.

Below are two musical examples from Victoria. The contrast in style between the *Passion According to John* (1585) and the *First Lamentation of Jeremiah* (1585) will be examined presently. Whereas in the Passion setting Victoria employed standard cadential dissonance, maintained one choral texture, and used imitative techniques only in the most minimal fashion, all these conservative approaches are expanded in the Lamentation. The Lamentation demonstrates a more frequent use of expressive dissonance.

One must keep in mind that a reciting tone is to be used for long narrative passages between the choral flourishes in the Passion. The choral bursts, crowd scenes in which the choir takes the voice of the Jews, are numbered in the score below. Alternation between Evangelist and four-part choir passages resembles the widespread practice of setting *villancico* verses for a soloist and refrains for a full choir. The style of choral writing Victoria has cultivated here does not exhibit the frequent use of madrigalian word

191. Todd Borgerding, review of *Studies in the Music of Tomás Luis de Victoria*, by Eugene Casjen Cramer, *Music & Letters* 84, no. 4 (2003): 655, <http://0-www.jstor.org.opac.sfsu.edu/stable/3525928>.

192. Laird, "The Coming of the Sacred *Villancico*," 20.

painting. When a particularly expressive polyphonic moment occurs, it stands out against the backdrop of homophonic declamation that, with its restrained imitation and conservative rhythm, would have done little to alarm the authorities.

Successive vocal entrances on *Ave* (choral response 7) contrast with the homophonic and homorhythmic style that precedes and follows. *Crucifige* (response 8) is set to two instances of a short rhythmic cell reminiscent of the ostinatos discussed on page 99 above. Rhythmic uniformity through repetition is a defining feature of this Passion setting.

Example 10. Victoria, *Passio secundum Ioanem*, mm. 30–43.¹⁹³

30 6 7

Non hunc, sed Ba-rab - bam. A - ve, Rex Ju - dae - o - rum.

Non hunc, sed Ba-rab - bam. A - ve, Rex Ju - dae - o - rum.

8

Non hunc, sed Ba - rab-bam. A - ve, Rex Ju - dae - o - rum.

Non hunc, sed Ba-rab - bam. A - ve, Rex Ju - dae - o - rum.

191. Tomás Luis de Victoria, “Passio secundum Ioanem,” in *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* (Rome: Alexandrum Gardanum, 1585), fol. 54v–55r, transcribed and ed. Nancho Álvarez, http://www.uma.es/victoria/pdf/Pasion_San_Juan.pdf.

39 8

Cru-ci - fi - ge, cru-ci-fi - ge e - um.

Cru-ci - fi - ge, cru-ci-fi - ge e - um.

8 Cru-ci - fi - ge, cru-ci-fi - ge e - um.

Cru-ci - fi - ge, cru-ci-fi - ge e - um.

The image shows a musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) in a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are 'Cru-ci - fi - ge, cru-ci-fi - ge e - um.' The score is divided into two systems. The first system contains the first two staves (Soprano and Alto), and the second system contains the last two staves (Tenor and Bass). The lyrics are written below each staff. The number '39' is written above the first staff, and the number '8' is written above the first staff of the second system. The music features a variety of note values, including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, and rests.

Artistic conveyances of the text in the Lamentation (see below, ex. 11) far exceed the techniques of the Passion setting. In measure 4, prior to any hint of a cadence, Victoria colors the word *lamentatio* (lamentation) with a nine-eight suspension from the bass. Entering on beat two, a weak beat, the second cantus floats down into a cadential figure that ends in an evaded cadence. The first cantus enters on an A above the E in the second cantus, sounding a bold perfect fourth and subsequently forming a seven-six suspension above the B-flat in the bass. The ascending octave leap in the second cantus is effective in reiterating the word *lamentatio*. Passing dissonance appears frequently before a conspicuous repeated articulation on a B-flat–E augmented fourth resolving to the first cadence, a triadic harmony on the modal final.

The second phrase eases into a cadence more defined than the first, but not without some rhythmic complexity that results in a stratification of vowels among the voices. Not until the last two measures of the phrase do all the voices synchronize and remain on the same vowel. This textual device is, to me, a stunning instance of attention

to compositional detail; however, supervisors of post-Tridentine musical regulations concerned with the clearest audibility of every word of text could have grounds for complaint.

Example 11. Victoria, *Incipit Lamentatio Ieremiae*, 1–14.¹⁹⁴

The image shows a musical score for four vocal parts: Cantus I, Cantus II, Altus, and Bassus. The music is in a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: Cantus I: "In - ci - pit la - men - ta - ti - o Ie -"; Cantus II: "In - ci - pit la - men - ta - ti - o, la - men - ta - ti - o"; Altus: "In - ci - pit la - men - ta - ti - o"; Bassus: "In - ci - pit la - men - ta - ti - o".

194. Tomás Luis de Victoria, "Incipit Lamentatio Ieremiae," in *Officium Hebdomadae*, fol 12v–r, transcribed and ed. Nancho Álvarez, http://www.uma.es/victoria/pdf/LJ1-Incipit_Lamentatio.pdf.

9

C1
- re-mi - æ pro - phe - tæ.

C2
Ie - re-mi - æ pro - phe - tæ.

A
Ie - re-mi - æ pro - phe - tæ.

B
Ie - re-mi - æ pro - phe - tæ.

It has been shown that there was a significant force working against attempts to communicate human emotion through music, as well as against the incorporation of folk-based musical style into high spirituality. Historical background on aspects of Spanish society less inspired by humanistic thought gives purpose to an exposition of how the early guitar of Spain may be viewed as a vector for humanism.

Prologo

“Prologo al deseoso de tañer” (Prologue to he who desires to play) is an introduction written to supply historical information on the guitar, as well as to explain the originality and utility of *Instrvccion*. This introduction is a chance for Sanz to address his readership directly. If there were ever any doubt that the history of the guitar abounds in crossovers into a rediscovery of Classical learning and its implementation through linguistic excellence, then the introductory remarks of Sanz do much to dispel such

uncertainty.

Sanz speaks briefly to the mysterious nature of the history of the guitar, and confirms the presence of the instrument in “past centuries.”¹⁹⁵ Judging from the prompt quote from the *Aeneid* of Virgil, one may take past centuries to mean ancient times. Of all the Classical references to lyres and kitharas, Sanz chose a passage that describes a “high priest”¹⁹⁶:

And there the Thracian singer, in his long robe,
Played to the beat, through seven intervals,
Changing between his ivory pick and fingers.¹⁹⁷

Was Sanz dignifying the guitar by presenting these verses of Virgil, a poet so revered in early-modern Western Europe? García-Abrines notes that it is nearly certain Sanz found the lines neither in the original text nor in any translation thereof; he came across the passage in a 1614 treatise on plainsong by Andres de Montserrate called *Arte Breve, y compendiosa de las difivltades que se ofrecen en la Mvsica practica del canto llano* (A compendious treatise on the practical difficulties arising from plainsong).¹⁹⁸ This

195. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 5v: “*paffados figlos.*”

196. Ibid.: “*Sumo Sacerdote.*”

197. Virgil, *Aeneid*, book 6, lines 645–47, trans. Sarah Ruden (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 135:

*Nec non Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos
obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum,
iamque eadem digitis, iam pectine pulsat eburno,*

for Latin text see Project Gutenberg, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/227/227-h/227-h.htm>.

198. García-Abrines, prologue and notes to *Instrvccion*, xxiii, for further reading see Andres de Montserrate, *Arte Breve, y compendiosa de las difivltades que se ofrecen en la Mvsica practica del canto llano* (Valencia, Spain: Pedro Patricio Mey, 1614), 31.

finding might test Sanz's Classical erudition if he were not proficient as a poet in Latin himself. Sanz's studiousness with regard to his linguistic heritage, both distant and recent, is given mention by García-Abrines. In his *Ecos Sagrados* (1681), Sanz pays respects to two fellow countrymen of Aragon: the ancient Martial as well as the more contemporary Gracián.¹⁹⁹

One may argue that, as soon as it found its way into printed music, the guitar was no longer in need of any further dignification. Sanz's quoting Virgil, arguably the greatest poet of all time, boosts the guitar's historical clout; although, being a priest, Mudarra consecrated the entrance of the guitar into officially respectable culture in 1546. Sanz does not give any hint that he was aware of the work of Mudarra, but does list several guitar publications that preceded *Instrvccion*. Of course not every author of every Spanish guitar book was a priest, but religiosity is a salient characteristic in the texts. "The art of Spain and Spanish America during the seventeenth century is overwhelmingly religious,"²⁰⁰ writes Ronda Kasl. Kasl refers here to visual art, but her observation applies across the spectrum of artistic media.²⁰¹ The content of *Instrvccion* is not the only Catholic aspect of the work. The author himself committed his life to God.

199. García-Abrines, prologue and notes to *Instrvccion*, xx–xxi.

200. Ronda Kasl, ed., *Sacred Spain: Art and Belief in the Spanish World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 12.

201. Werner Preiser has explored the religious and ethical sides of writing in "The Ethical Value of Spanish Literature," *Hispania* 26, no. 2 (1943): 155–60, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/333845>, NB: Music is closely linked to religion. For evidence backing this statement, one need only review the didactic literature that has been informing this text. Much of the secular practice is founded on sacred music theory, and similar transmissions move in the opposite direction.

Espinel was a priest, and so was Francisco Guerau (1649–1722), who published a book of guitar music in 1694. For an instrumental culture based on secular dance forms, there is a strong clerical presence. Through the Spanish didactic books on the guitar, one gains insight into less doctrinal aspects of priestly life.

Prologo continues, outlining a conception of the guitar that relies on personal ability coupled with an anthropomorphization of the instrument itself. The question of whether the guitar is a perfect instrument may seem absurd today. Faced with the world's vast array of instruments and their different musical roles, how can one even define perfect? Though perhaps contrary to logic, the perfection, or lack thereof, of the guitar was a recurring theme in the guitar literature of early-modern Spain.

Bermudo proposed his idea of the perfect vihuela, basing his reasoning on the precision of his tuning scheme. The Portuguese guitarist Nicolao Doizi de Velasco (ca. 1590–1659), who was active in Spain and Italy, is said to have met Espinel.²⁰² Experiencing first hand the exchanges in guitar culture between the Iberian and Italian Peninsulas, Doizi de Velasco found himself in a position to learn from, reflect upon, and write about the initial stages of the five-course Spanish guitar. Like Bermudo before him, Doizi de Velasco uses tuning theory to back an argument for the status of the guitar as a perfect instrument. Other aspects of his thinking are not far removed from those of Brizeño, who championed the guitar for its expressive variety. Doizi de Velasco presents

202. Robert Stevenson and Monica Hall, "Doizi de Velasco, Nicolás," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.opac.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/07931>.

his arguments in *Nuevo modo de Cifra para tañer la Guitarra* (A new tablature for guitar, 1640).

Doizi de Velasco begins to confirm his views by explaining that, by virtue of being tuned to equal temperament, the guitar demonstrates the most abundant musical potential.²⁰³ His second point hinges on the notion that the equal-semitone fretboard of the guitar invites all three genera of classical Greek music: enharmonic, chromatic, and diatonic.²⁰⁴ Thirdly, Doizi de Velasco dismisses those who complain of the limitations of the guitar when it comes to playing polyphonic music for four or more voices. He recommends the use of octaves on the fourth and fifth courses to extend the range of the guitar, making it “more similar to the range of natural voices.”²⁰⁵

Doizi de Velasco finds ancient teaching on music to be paramount. He cites Plutarch (46–ca. 119) and Francisco de Montanos (ca. 1528–1595) in the same breath, noting that both theorists advocate equal major seconds (tones). From here, Doizi de Velasco moves on to promote equal minor seconds (semitones) and the facilitation of transposition they afford. He continues, treating the three genera of ancient Greek music and concluding that, while the duty of instruments is to imitate but not equal or substitute the voice, the guitar is most capable of matching the subtleties of vocal intonation.²⁰⁶

In true Spanish humanist fashion, Doizi de Velasco challenges contemporary

203. Nicolao Doizi de Velasco, *Nuevo modo de Cifra para tañer la Guitarra* (Naples: 1640), 8.

204. *Ibid.*, 15.

205. *Ibid.*, 16: “*mas femejante a los puntos delas bozes naturales.*”

206. *Ibid.*, 6–15.

usage with Classical learning. Responding to the charge that the perfect fourths from the basses of some standard chords contradict proper harmonic theory, he insists that ancient theorists regarded the perfect fourth to be even more stable than the perfect fifth.

However, to satisfy the early-modern ear, he clarifies that his treatise offers ways around the problems posed by forbidden perfect fourths. This awareness of how ancient and modern harmony differ, given value by suggesting practical solutions to the resulting musical obstacles, is perfectly in line with DiCamillo's description of the Renaissance-humanist movement in Spain.

Sanz imparts to his readers a perspective on the romantically intimate character of the guitar:

Others have written on the perfection of this instrument. Some think it is perfect; some think it is not. I opt for a middle stance, and opine it is neither perfect nor imperfect, but, rather, however one should make it. I hold this view because the perfection, or lack thereof, lies with whoever may be playing the guitar, not with the guitar itself. I have seen many musical wonders performed on one fretless string, feats that for other musicians would require all the registers of an organ. Each player gives the guitar its good and bad qualities, for the guitar is like a lady to whom the prudery "look, but do not touch" does not apply.²⁰⁷

An absolute statement on the perfection of the guitar is not necessary for Sanz. His concession to the circumstances created by each individual player allows musical

207. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 6r: "*Otros han tratado de la perfeccion de este Instrumento, diciendo algunos, que la Guitarra es Instrumento perfecto, otros que no; yo doy por vn medio, y digo, que ni es perfecta, ni imperfecta, fino como tu la hizieres, pues la falta, ò perfeccion està en quien la tañe, y no en ella, pues yo he visto en vna cuerda sola, y sin traftes hazer muchas habilidades, que en otros eran menester los registros de vn Organo; por lo qual, cada vno ha de hazer a la Guitarra Buena, ò mala, pues es como vna dama, en quien no cabe el melindre de mirame, y no me toques.*"

language to adapt to any given context. Kasl shows that the mutability of art's purpose, brought closer to the spiritual aspects of the guitar through her points concerning the divine, caters to individualized ritual:

[Repairing and repainting a work of art] reveals an attitude that views the image as something that is receptive to care and to the cultivation of intimate physical and emotional bonds. This private interaction was a prelude to the ritual practice of displaying the sculpture on the altar, at first only on feast days, then in the intimate confines of the sacristy, then publicly and permanently, on an altar in a chapel established for the purpose.

The creation of public and private devotional spaces where individuals might encounter and interact with the divine was one of the central practices of belief in the seventeenth-century Spanish world.²⁰⁸

As one will observe in the next chapter, tailoring the guitar to fit the situation at hand is a cornerstone of *Instrvccion's* pedagogy.

The sexually charged simile that follows Sanz's view on the perfection of the guitar seems to intrude on any Catholic austerity the dedication and letters of approval prepared. Although, one must be open to the idea that a phrase potentially belittling to women would not have caused uproar in Catholic society at the time. If one may adduce the words of Grunfeld on defining the distinctiveness of the guitar (see p. 15 of this study), then Sanz offers evidence of a feminized conception of the guitar. Adding to the debate of exactly when and where the guitar took on the figure-eight shape is the image of a miniature from the *Cantigas de Santa María* on page 147 of the present text.

However the historiography of the shape of the guitar's body may be constructed, it

208. Ronda Kasl, "Delightful Adornments and Pious Recreation: Living with Images in the Seventeenth Century," in *Sacred Spain*, ed. Kasl, 149, brackets mine.

remains clear that the instrument's association with the feminine endured: "Each player gives the guitar its good and bad qualities, for the guitar is like a lady to whom the prudery 'look, but do not touch' does not apply."²⁰⁹

Andrée Kahn Blumstein exposes the longstanding presence of the misogynistic in literature: "Since the beginning of recorded history—and who knows how long before that—men have voiced the belief that *malum est mulier sed necessarium malum* [woman is an evil, but a necessary evil], and sometimes even that *omnia mala ex mulieribus* [all evil comes from woman]."²¹⁰ Kahn Blumstein continues, moving into a historical definition of misogyny: "Being a misogynist in Roget's *Thesaurus* is tantamount to being a celibate, a monk—and perhaps this is not as outrageous as it seems when one considers the possible background of Medieval prejudice as regards women."²¹¹

Perhaps the most dynamic point Kahn Blumstein makes is that the literal and figurative deification of women within Medieval courtly-love literature occludes systemic antifeminism.²¹² At the end of the Middle Ages, courtly-love poetry was evolving at the hands of the *stilnovisti*, Tuscan writers working in the sweet new style. Much of the scholarly discussion of the troubadours, unquestionable influences on the generation of Dante and the *stilnovisti*, is based on juxtaposing divine love and lustful

209. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 6r: "*cada vno ha de hazer a la Guitarra Buena, ò mala, pues es como vna dama, en quien no cabe el melindre de mirame, y no me toques.*"

210. Andrée Kahn Blumstein, *Misogyny and Idealization in the Courtly Romance* (Bonn, Germany: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1977), 1, translations in brackets mine.

211. *Ibid.*, 5.

212. *Ibid.*, 2.

love.²¹³ With early-Renaissance poetry and the birth of Renaissance humanism, spiritual and earthly love are fused.²¹⁴

From the very beginning of the five-course guitar literature, a femininity is conferred upon the guitar. From the realm of God, love has permeated the realm of man, settling in his female companion. Love travels from a womanly incarnation into an object built by human hands, a typically rustic musical instrument that retains love's supreme power to elevate the human soul. The guitar speaks to the reader of Amat's method book in an Italian sonnet:

I am she who sings of all things,
I am queen of delicate songs,
She who pacifies all dark states,
And I am she who banishes cries of sadness.

I have five children; and,
As they play in my gardens and meadows,
I devise games so merry
That at times I frighten Phoebus himself.

If you want to see, reader, the gracefulness
Carlos [Joan Carles Amat] gave me while I was in his care,
Taste the banquet he has prepared.

You will see I am charming, caring, instructive,
Gracious, lovely, pleasure, gallant,
Tasteful, vast, glorious: guitar.²¹⁵

213. Bernard O'Donoghue, *The Courtly Love Tradition* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1982), 97–98.

214. *Ibid.*, 258–61.

215. Amat, *Guitarra Española*, fol. A5v:
Yo foy aquella que todo lo canto,

Love: sublime, yet conveyed in human terms. Amat's work follows a general view of Elias L. Rivers on Spanish poetics, that the Baroque is a stretching of and elaboration upon the Renaissance.²¹⁶ That the above poem takes the form of an Italian sonnet begins a significant inquiry into historical corridors thick with humanist culture. The Italian sonnet reached maturation with Petrarch.²¹⁷ Because courtly love figures prominently in the present discourse, it is appropriate to be aware of Petrarch's stylistic likeness to both the troubadours and the *stilnovisti*. Though Petrarch, writing in a less dense, less labyrinthine manner, veered from the path set out by the *stilnovisti*, he is still remembered for the *dolce dolor* (sweet suffering) of the troubadours. O'Donoghue clarifies, "Much of the mentality implied in the words 'Petrarchan' and 'Petrarchism' is

*foy Reyna de los tonos delicados,
foy la que allegro à todos los estados,
y foy la que condena al triste llanto.*

*Yo tengo cinco hijos, que entre tanto
que van por mis jardines, y mis prados,
concierto juegos tan regojizados
que al mismo Febo à vezes doy espanto.*

*Si quieres ver (Lector) la gallardia
que Carlos me dio estando en fu guarda,
gusta los caídos que dà fu cuchara.*

*Veràs que foy galana, guarda, guìa,
graciosa, gala, gracia, gallarda,
gustosa, general, grata, guitarra.*

216. Elias L. Rivers, *Renaissance and Baroque Poetry of Spain* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland, 1988), 11–23.

217. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. "sonnet," <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/554519/sonnet>.

founded in the *stilnovisti*.”²¹⁸

The idea that love is an illusive passion, a sentiment unable to be fulfilled, forms an important part of the courtly-love tradition. One would be incorrect in stating that the impossible romance disappeared in Spanish Baroque poetry. However, some of Quevedo’s love poetry²¹⁹ and the following excerpt from an Italian sonnet by Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola (1559–1613) point to a desirous, lustfully explicit mode that Sanz embraced in likening the guitar to a woman who does not deny physical contact:

And you, Drusila, with subtle definition,
Your chest hurries its two bulges.
And on each one, atop the pristine peak,
A lively ruby shapes its delicate center.

.....

Thus far your visits have been faithful;
But if the pleasant meadow lets in a snake,
No wonder its flowers lose their honor.²²⁰

218. O’Donoghue, *The Courtly*, 260–61.

219. Rivers, *Renaissance and Baroque Poetry*, 22.

220. Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, “Silvio, en tu edad,” in *Rimas de Lupercio y del Doctor Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola*, ed. Gabriel Leonardo de Argensola (Zaragoza, Aragon, Spain: Hospital General, 1634) via Coedición del Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes and Océano, ed., *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos* (Spain: Conaculta, 1999), 213:

*Y en ti, Drusila, de sutil relieve
Ya el pecho sus dos bultos apresura,
Y en cada cual, sobre la cumbre pura,
Vivo forma un rubí su centro breve.*

.....
*Fiel ha sido hasta aquí vuestra frecuencia;
Mas si áspides admite un suelo ameno,
Con razón pierden crédito sus flores,*

The penultimate paragraph of *Prologo* recapitulates some of the earlier points and sets out a decorated summation of Sanz's musical philosophy: "If you commit to learning this skill [playing the guitar], carry it through to its primary goal, to laud the Author of the Universe, who, with more heavenly music, arranged the Celestial Spheres in perfect harmony."²²¹ Capitalized words from Sanz's Spanish are left capitalized here, in the translation. I have done this to emphasize the weight given to both creator and created. There can be little doubt that "*Autor del Vniverso*" should be read in the context of Catholic Christian spirituality. Nonetheless, one may be surprised that Sanz is not more obviously Catholic in his wording. He looks forward to writing more literature on the guitar, "*con el favor de Dios*"²²² (God willing), yet does not go to the lengths of Amat, who paints a vivid verbal portrait of Catholic teaching. A more open and historically diverse depiction of the guitar's spiritual capacity in Sanz's text, especially the clear exaltation of the celestial spheres, sets forth an indication that, over the period of a century, the worldview associated with the guitar was expanding.

The definitive phrase of the front matter of *Instrvccion*, perhaps even the entire book, is located between a quote from Saint Augustine, stating that music is "knowing how to make controlled variations of sound correctly,"²²³ and a related quote from

ellipsis mine.

221. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 6v: "*fi determinas de aprender esta habilidad, que la dirijas a fu fin principal, que serà alabando con ella al Autor del Vniverso, q̃ con mas propia Mufica dispuso las Esferas Celestes en armonia perfecta,*" brackets mine.

222. Ibid.

223. Augustine, *De Musica* 23.28: "*scientia bene modulandi,*" via

Boethius, “A musician is one who has gained from reason an understanding of the science of music, not through servitude of work, but through the dominance of cogitation.”²²⁴ Sanz urges the student to accompany “the Angelic Choirs,” transforming “baseness into perfect consonance.”²²⁵ One should notice the obvious allusion to the alchemical side of the art of playing the guitar.

An infusion of the humanly divine spirit turns lead into gold when the accompaniment of the oppressed rises to the status of worthy intellectual pursuit, traverses geopolitical borders, mingles with the high born, enters the house of God, and, coming nearly full circle, obtains credibility as a viable avenue of expression for the musical vanguard. Sanz promises to teach the *stile moderno* and its Spanish adaptations by Romero in forthcoming writings. *Prologo* closes with emphasis on why working musicians will find *Instrvccion* helpful, an instance of validating one’s work through pragmatism.

R. P. Blackmur, review of *St. Augustine’s De Musica: A Synopsis*, by W. F. Jackson Knight, *The Hudson Review* 3, no. 3 (1950): 459, <http://www.jstor.org.opac.sfsu.edu/stable/3847470>.

224. Boethius, *De institutione musica* 1.35: “*Is uero est musicus qui ratione perpensa canendi scientiam non seruitio operis. sed imperio speculationis assumpsit*,” via Schirmer, “Ancius Manlius Severinus Boethius,” 3.

225. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 6v: “*acompañes a los Coros Angelicos, haziendo confonancia perfecta la baxeza*.”

Chapter Four:
Eight Rules on Setup and *Rasgueado*

Sanz begins the pedagogical exposition of *Instrvccion* with a set of eight rules that progress from the most elementary — stringing, tuning, and arranging frets — to a rudimentary study of *rasgueado*.²²⁶ Eleven rules on *punteado* follow, and, finally, twelve rules on how to accompany *sobre la parte* (above the part). Above the part refers to playing figured bass. The teachings of Sanz contain a significant amount of mechanical, prosaic guidance; yet, more intuitive and florid, imaginative thinking plays an important part as well. Chapters 4 through 7 of this study will lay out principals of theory and technique, but reflections on impacts of the *studia humanitatis* will be primary. As in chapter 1, the methodological core is a review of didactic guitar literature from Mudarra to Sanz.

As I mentioned in the introduction to this text (p. 16), the earliest notated guitar conventions do not hold to a single correct tuning. Stringing arrangements share the same characteristic; different combinations of unison and octave, even single-string courses, make the early guitar a somewhat amorphous instrument. In fact, one should specify genre and geographical region when discussing Renaissance and Baroque guitar. Certain stringings and tunings were favored in certain countries, but, as usual, there are exceptions to general tendency.

226. NB: A table of contents separates the front matter from the sets of rules. The table of contents will be referenced as necessary throughout the remainder of this study.

The first point to be explored warrants a brief survey of the history of stringing. Sanz has written with confidence that the Roman masters of the guitar, among whom figures his teacher, Lelio Colista (1629–80),²²⁷ strung their guitars with only light strings. This would imply, as Sanz verifies, that no octave courses were used. In Spain, on the other hand, common practice was to include at least one heavy string on each of the two lowest-pitched courses. Some Spanish guitarists, according to Sanz, preferred a pair of heavy strings to the usual octave course, creating an immediate precursor to the most common six-string tuning found today. Judging from the first rule of guitar playing in *Instrvccion*, Spaniards strung their guitars in a variety of ways. Guitarists in Rome held to one configuration.²²⁸

Historiographers should be grateful for the contributions of Mudarra to the notated guitar repertory because, aside from being the first works of their kind, they provide valuable clues toward establishing a foundation for later stringing practices. Neither Mudarra nor Bermudo suggest that popular strumming merits a stringing different from that of learned polyphony.²²⁹ Both record the same standard practice: a single bourdon on the fourth course to form an octave.²³⁰ It is important to bear in mind

227. For a thorough study of Lelio Colista, see the German text of Helene Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista, ein römischer Meister vor Corelli: Leben und Umwelt* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1961).

228. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 8r.

229. Mudarra, *Tres libros*, fol. 21r.

230. Juan Bermudo, *Declaraciō de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna, Seville, Spain: Juan de León, 1555), fol. 96v.

that the guitar was generally a four-course instrument at the time. Working from Bermudo's definition of the guitar, that it is simply a vihuela without the first or sixth courses, one takes the octave fourth course into account and arrives at an understanding of common four-course guitar stringing.

Still, the notion of a standard stringing arrangement is difficult to construct. The vihuela is, for all intents and purposes, identical to the Western European lute save for the figure-eight body shape. Therefore, one must recognize the possibility of uniformity between vihuela and lute stringing configurations. Renowned lutenist and scholar Lynda Sayce finds that, around the dawn of the sixteenth century, the six-course lute was strung with a single-string first course, unison second and third courses, and octave fourth, fifth, and sixth courses.²³¹ It is reasonable to believe the vihuela would have been strung in an identical manner, given the strong foreign influences on learned compositional style. Some scholars, however, conclude that the vihuela was strung with two-string courses throughout.

The sole difference between lute stringing from 1500 and guitar stringing a century later is the number of total courses. Amat is clear in his description of the

231. Lynda Sayce, "Tunings," in "Lute," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.opac.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/40074pg5>, NB: The single-string first course is known as the *chanterelle*, presumably for its likeness to a singing melody in the highest voice. One curious fact, which could prove to be a very fruitful line of research, is that the highest string on a modern cello is called the *chanterelle* also. One suspects a common denominator to both Baroque guitar and modern cello in a single Medieval stringed instrument that could be plucked with the fingers, played with a plectrum, or bowed.

Spanish guitar, revealing a stringing arrangement to which no alternative is provided: single-string first course, unison second and third courses, and octave fourth and fifth courses.²³² From this point on, it is difficult to delineate the possible stringing arrangements into correspondence with strummed and plucked styles. Brizeño advocated the use of the Roman stringing for strummed songs, an unmistakably clear reversal of the roles Sanz assigns. Doizi de Velasco alludes to both octave and unison courses as well as a single-string first course, but does not confidently distinguish one tuning for accompaniment and one for solo lute-style pieces.

From Mudarra to Sanz, the history of stringing exhibits first a dissolution of one acceptable arrangement, followed by a recodification of stringing systems according to genre. Figured-bass accompaniment to solo song was a principal innovation in seventeenth-century vocal music. The increasing value of solo instrumental music bespoken for a single instrument also emerged as a movement of prime importance. Heeding the demands for a strong bass necessary to vocal accompaniment, and enjoying the newfound liberties of idiomatic approaches to solo instrumental composition, it was logical to divide the guitar world. For Sanz, two approaches to stringing meant, in essence, two separate instruments altogether.

The discussion of stringing arrangements in *Instrvccion* does not come to a full close in that the final advice Sanz gives is that the reader should choose from either the

232. Amat, *Guitarra*, 1–2.

Spanish or Roman stringing “according to the goal with which you play.”²³³ At face value, Sanz provides two options, but could his words not be extended to include alternative stringings appropriate to other musical idioms? The reader is given a choice between “the method you prefer of the two [stringings],”²³⁴ though Sanz names four stringing arrangements explicitly. Two bourdons on the fourth course, two on the fifth, one bourdon on each, no bourdons at all: from this one may infer that at least two other arrangements are possible—one bourdon on the fourth course or one on the fifth. Other possibilities could quickly manifest in the mind of one of Sanz’s more clever readers.

The topic of stringing calls to mind the debated perfection of the guitar. Sanz’s views on both of these issues reflect a shift away from scholastic thought processes. Rather than propose a fixed commandment, Sanz honors the mutability of the guitar, at once placing the instrument in its proper place within the dynamic lute family tree as well as strengthening the bonds between the Spanish folk and its instrumental representative.

In 1555, Bermudo formally proposed a seemingly perfect vihuela loyal to the theoretical notion that only minor, not major semitones are appropriate in practical music. Bermudo’s creation lacked the transpositional facility of an equally tempered instrument, making it unfit for posterior concepts of transposing simple harmonic progressions to any mode.²³⁵ These changes in approach to the theory behind, and general applications of, the

233. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 8r: “*segun para el fin que tañeres.*”

234. *Ibid.*: “*el modo que te gustare de los dos,*” brackets mine.

235. Wolfgang Freis, “Perfecting the Perfect Instrument: Fray Juan Bermudo on the Tuning and Temperament of the ‘vihuela de mano,’” in “Iberian Discoveries,” vol. 3,

guitar resemble the notable revision of intellectual life in which proponents of literary eloquence took large steps forward.²³⁶ Unlike the unforgiving, and perhaps outdated mathematical policies of Bermudo, the authors of the Baroque guitar literature strived for fluency of expression and universal accessibility.²³⁷

The second *regla* (rule) has to do with tuning. According to my assessment, Sanz makes a mistake by putting the instructions on tuning before those on how to prepare the frets. I take this stance because throughout the rule on tuning, he teaches to tune according to matching fretted and open strings. Others may find that the tuning and fretting guidelines are interchangeable. I feel they should complement each other.

For today's musician, the most foreign idea Sanz presents here is probably nominal pitch. Initiating the reader into stringing the guitar, he gives the laughably vague direction that, "not tightening them much,"²³⁸ the student should bring the strings of the third course into a unison. Hopefully leaving some slack in the third course would allow the others to find their place without breaking.

On its own, tuning the Baroque guitar to an indefinite pitch is not a new idea. But more may be said about Sanz's omitting specific tuning notes when one learns that the first rule on figured bass requires that the third course of the guitar match G on the organ. In the context of strumming, the technique on which the first eight guidelines focus,

special issue, *Early Music* 23, no. 3 (1995): 427–30, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3138119>.

236. Nauert, "Humanism as Method," 428–31.

237. Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 21–26.

238. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol 8v: "no fubiendolas mucho."

guitarists may tune the lowest course to any pitch that results in a comfortable amount of tension on all the strings. Figured bass brings a standardized conception of pitch along with the demand for an advanced knowledge of theory as well as music-reading skills.²³⁹

Rather than build an explication of the geometry of the monochord or substantiate his tuning instructions with numerical equations, Sanz is content to satisfy the basic idea that a single composition may be realized on a single instrument from any starting pitch. This idea was already present in the writings of Bermudo.²⁴⁰ From Sanz, one gathers that as long as the guitar's five courses are in tune with each other, the science of tuning was of relatively little importance. It is apparent that, at least in strummed music, the guitar was prepared more as a self-contained, circulating system and less as an example of mathematical perfection.

The same is true of the fretting procedure outlined in rule three. The stringing method of Sanz relies on the ability to tune a perfect unison, and fretting the guitar is based on perfect octaves. These intervals are the easiest to tune, and, furthermore, were not debated in the same way theorists argued over major and minor semitones or pure versus tempered thirds and fifths. Shaped from an attitude that emphasizes variability over class divisions, antique music theory, and the sonic restraints of the laws of physics, the guitar mechanics of Sanz are closer to rhetoric than to dialectic.

239. W. L. Sumner reveals that the standard pitch for Spanish Baroque organs was A 415, significantly lower than today's A 440, for further reading see W. L. Sumner, "The Baroque Organ," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 81st session (1954–55): 9–10, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/766124>.

240. Freis, "Perfecting the Perfect Instrument," 427.

Now would be an appropriate time to reiterate that humanistic eloquence did not altogether deny the educational value of scholastic thinking. Unfortunately, it is likely that a hasty survey of the Renaissance would depict the victory of humanism over scholasticism. As one will learn from the work of Paul Oskar Kristeller, the apparently opposing intellectual camps were actually covering different fields with different goals. Humanists employed some scholastic methods. Logic was still important. Truth was still important. While keeping its roots in the erudition of vihuelists, the early Spanish guitar came into cultural proximity with a vibrant philological tradition aimed at the pressing realities of a decaying society.

The Spanish Empire was immensely powerful under Charles V, who ruled from 1516 to 1556. But in spite of all its exploratory conquest and military might, the reign of Charles V met much opposition. Financial complications constituted one serious impediment. At the dawn of the seventeenth century—under the authority of King Philip II (1527–1598) and, later, King Philip III (1578–1621)—the livelihood of Spain, one of the world's most powerful empires, was threatened by war, plague, and economic disaster. These problems would grow more severe in the coming century. Concurrently, novel approaches to theory, composition, and aesthetics caused the fundament of musical thought to evolve considerably.

Before moving on from the fretting instructions, one last point deserves mention: Sanz verifies there are twelve frets on the guitar. The guitar of the mature Baroque shows a significant increase in the number of frets from the early-sixteenth-century instruments

and even those from the time of Amat, as the documented history confirms. The presence of twelve frets provides an octave range for each string, and, in so doing, looks forward to a tonal system based on the diatonic octave. The Baroque witnessed a considerable diminishing of the centrality of the Guidonian system of modal hexachords, and it is important to remember that the guitar was part of the vanguard. To compare the work of Amat with that of Brizeño is instructive with regard to hexachordal versus octave-based conceptions of theory.

The fourth rule of *Instrvccion* is an exposition of the Italian *alfabeto*, a system in which letters of the alphabet represent chord shapes on the guitar. *Alfabeto* harmonies persist in the guitar pedagogy of today; many of the shapes are still taught, identified—without much of a modal backdrop—as basic major and minor triads used by amateurs and professionals around the world. The characteristic of the fourth rule most pertinent to an attempt to relate guitar culture and humanism is the fact that, being the student's entrance into genuine music making, it does not consist of monophony.

In 1565, a little over a century before Sanz published the first edition of *Instrvccion*, organist Fray Tomás de Sancta María unveiled his magnum opus, a treatise on polyphonic instrumental music entitled *Arte de tañer Fantafía*. Rich contrapuntal textures are Sancta María's ultimate goal, but he begins with an exposition of plainsong. Because the teachings of Sancta María are being compared with those of Sanz, it is important to know that the former does not give any examples of actual plainsong, just theoretical principles illustrated in various academic pieces of notation.

Example 12. Examples of mutation between the soft and natural, as well as between the natural and hard hexachords from *Arte de tañer fantasia* by Sancta María.²⁴¹

EXEMPLO.

por.b.y natura.

re. mi. fa, fol, mi. re. mi. fa, re.mi. fa, fol, la, fol. fa.

mi. fa. re. mi. fa. fol. fa. la. fol. fa. mi. fa. fol. re. mi. fa mi. fol.

por natura y. b.

fa. mi. re. re. vt. vt. re. mi. fa. fol. mi. re. mi. fa. mi. fol fa,

Nineteen years before Sancta María, Mudarra showed similar thought processes in the way he explained tablature. Also telling are the frequent single-note passages in the first three fantasias of Mudarra's book, pieces whose goal is "to loosen up the hands."²⁴² Following these warm-up fantasias, the compositions' titles call attention to a progression into territory of more demanding instrumental skill. The music concurrently exhibits a

241. Fray Tomás de Sancta María, *Arte de tañer Fantasia* (Valladolid, Spain: Francisco Fernandez de Cordoua, 1565), fol. 7v.

242. Mudarra, *Tres libros*, fol. 1r: "para deséboluer las manos."

decreasing amount of writing for one string at a time. In example 13, *redobles* (single-note passages) are marked either with *dedi* (*dedillo*, one-finger technique) or *dos de* (*dos dedos*, two-finger alternation).

Example 13. The first page of the first warm-up fantasia of *Tres libros de Musica* by Mudarra.²⁴³

243 LIBRO. I. FOL. I.

Fantasia de pasos para desêboluer las manos.

dedi dos de dedi

dos de dos de dos de dos de

243. Mudarra, *Tres libros*, fol. 1r.

Example 14. Close of the second easy fantasia of *Tres libros*. Mudarra uses single-note texture not as part of the structural core, but only in the drive to the final cadence.²⁴⁴

A vihuelist studying Mudarra warms up with music at a slow tempo, moves into faster tempo markings, then into pieces called easy fantasias—a step up from the initial preparatory works. Easy is then omitted from the titles, leaving the student with two fantasias before an intabulation of vocal polyphony, “La postrera parte de la gloria de la

244. Mudarra, *Tres libros*, fol. 6r.

miffa de fayfan regres'²⁴⁵ (The last part of the Gloria from the *Missa Faisant regretz*) by Josquin. The Josquin model on which the vihuela arrangement is based contains melismatic passages similar to the *redobles* of Mudarra, but the polyphonic weaving is incessant. There are sections of pure homophony as well, perhaps most notably the final cadence.

A microcosmic example of Renaissance music theory as it may be conceived as a progression from monophony to polyphony appears in the first vihuela publication, *El maestro* by Milán. Laying out the system of tablature that appears in his book, Milán first displays a succession of single notes, one on each of the six courses of the vihuela. After explaining the linear style, he offers an example of up to four strings plucked simultaneously.

245. Mudarra, *Tres libros*, fols. 1r–11v.

Example 15. Milán's explanation of vihuela tablature from *El maestro*.²⁴⁶

Prima en el primero traste. ————— 1 —————
Segunda en el tercero traste. ————— 3 —————
Tercera en el cuarto traste. ————— 4 —————
Quarta en el tercero traste. ————— 3 —————
Quinta en el quinto traste. ————— 5 —————
Sexta en el sexto traste. ————— 6 —————

¶ Quando las cifras está vna despues de otra / tañereys las cuerdas de la vibuela vna despues de otra: como agora arriba vos las he figuradas. Y si vienē dos o tres / o quatro cifras juntas / tañereys las cuerdas de la vibuela juntas como ellas vienē: assi como aq̄ debaxo esta figurado.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 5 | 0 | | | | |
| 5 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| | 6 | 5 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 1 |
| | | 5 | 5 | 2 | 2 | |
| | | 3 | 3 | 0 | | |
| | | 3 | 3 | | | 0 |

¶ En qualquier cuerda de la Vibuela que balle: reys este zero. o. tañereys la dicha cuerda en vazio dōde elestara: como agora auer visto.

This traditional approach to theory, which reflects the broader history of Western music's defining element, polyphonic building upon sacred chant, sees its mirror image in *Instrvccion*. Faced with the choice of beginning with either strummed or plucked style, Sanz decided the guidelines on strumming should come first. Though playing a monophonic line on the guitar is arguably easier for a beginner than chord shapes across all five courses, the musical train of thought clearly proceeds from the chordal to the independently melodic. Even the rules on plucked style develop from a harmonic point of view.

246. Milán, *El maestro*, fol. 5r.

*REGLA PRIMERA, DOCUMENTOS, Y
advertencias generales para tañer
de Punteado.*

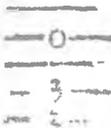
SVpuesto que los numeros son los trastes en el Punteado, guardan la siguiente execucion. El cero significa, que la cuerda en que se halla, se toca sin pisar, y quando se hallan dos, tres, ò quatro numeros, v.g.  en drecho vnos de otros, aque-

Figure 7. The guidelines of *Instrvccion* on plucking commence with a discussion on the proper manner of playing consonances. An intabulated example of a three-note harmony is put forth (bottom left).²⁴⁷

Performer and scholar Craig H. Russell asserts that the guitar was to be indispensable in the shift of musical composition's premises from the melodic to the harmonic:

Chords were the *starting* point of a composition, not an afterthought. The vertical alignment of sounds, as opposed to the horizontal, became paramount. No instrument better represents this radical transformation than the guitar, which was at the forefront of this aesthetic revolution from the horizontal to the vertical.²⁴⁸

247. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 11r.

248. Craig H. Russell, "Radical innovations, social revolution, and the baroque guitar," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Guitar*, ed. Victor Anand Coelho (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 153.

The vertical harmonies of the guitar symbolize new directions not only because they contrast with melodically conceived music of traditions past, but also in so far as their importance is illustrated through the music of everyday Spanish life. To test the student's understanding of *alfabeto*, Sanz provides two short *pasacalles*.²⁴⁹ Under the heading for passacaglia in the *Oxford Dictionary of Musical Terms* (2004), one finds that the origins of this variation form have been traced back to the typical accompaniment for the *pasacalle*, a "Spanish street dance."²⁵⁰

The first three guidelines are logistical, pertaining to the mechanics of readying the guitar. The fourth guideline is the first to address real music making, and does so with a rudimentary piece, a simple selection from the vast collection of dances behind the compositional efforts of Sanz. Belonging to the line of mainstream vernacular theoretical writing begun by Domingo Marcos Durán in the late fifteenth century, Sancta María approaches music much differently than Sanz does.

Citing the theoretically more advanced set of rules of *Instrvccion*, the guidelines on figured bass, one may begin to effectively contest the difference between Sancta María and Sanz I have portrayed above. After all, Sanz explains his figured-bass concepts through hypothetical fragments of music in a manner very similar to that of Sancta María. Yet an important disparity remains. Even though in his figured-bass guidelines Sanz does not employ excerpts from well-known composers or traditional Spanish tunes, it takes

249. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 9v, 16r.

250. Alison Latham, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Musical Terms*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), s.v. "passacaglia."

less than three brief rules for contemporaneous musical figures to appear. Sanz explains that he will be teaching that which is practiced by the masters of his day. The “fine organists of Spain”²⁵¹ as well as two organists, a chapel master, and a guitarist-composer, all working in Italy and whom Sanz cites by name, receive the credit due to them for having passed on their musical knowledge.²⁵²

In contrast, Sancta María cites only one musician in four lengthy chapters on plainsong theory. The referenced authority is Boethius, a source temporally far removed from, albeit very influential on composers of the Renaissance. How can a focus on readily available, well-known musical material relate to humanism?

For now, a response to the question need not be long or complex. The larger scope of this text as whole should support an answer to this specific query. Presenting the secular music of Juan Cornago (ca. 1400–after 1474), a prominent Spanish composer in both sacred and secular idioms of the fifteenth century, Rebecca L. Gerber proposes that the “rustic texts” of the *villancico* form comprised the primary poetic movement of the late 1400s.²⁵³ Words lingering in the auro-oral tradition of Spain were finding form in the aristocratic adoption of the *villancico*, a movement propelled in large part by Encina, a composer of both music and texts who has earned the title Spain’s First Playwright.

251. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 29v: “los buenos Organistas de España.”

252. Ibid.

253. Rebecca L. Gerber, ed., *Johannes Cornago Complete Works* (Madison, WI: A-R, 1984), xi.

Encina and Nebrija, the latter being the author of the first printed grammar in the Castilian Spanish vernacular, moved in the same circles in the university city of Salamanca during the late fifteenth century.²⁵⁴ The music of Encina, and in equal measure his poetry and dramatic works, initiated a momentous rise in the consecration of a Spanish national identity. This ever more defined portrayal of a unified Spain was prefigured by the vernacular linguistics of Nebrija. If the grip of Latin on eloquence was loosening, so was that of Flemish polyphony on music. Language arts and music began to stand for a wider demographic, a reshaping of culture that meets the humanists' goal of applying literary education to morality through real-life contexts.

Emilio Carlos González makes a crucial link between the music of Encina and the vihuela. Working from the research of John Ward and Otto Gombosi, Carlos González demonstrates that the *folías* harmonic progression appears undisguised in the Encina *villancico* "Pues que ya nunca nos véis" (ca. 1500). The *folías* is of first importance to the Baroque guitar repertory, and, due to its associations with crass manners of dancing, relates directly to other harmonic forms such as the *zarabanda* and *jácaras*. The vihuela is primary to the scholarly activity of Ward.²⁵⁵ To trace a defining compositional device of the vihuelists, which would become a defining compositional device of the guitarists,

254. Ignacio Enrique Navarette, *Orphans of Petrarch: Poetry and Theory in the Spanish Renaissance* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), 243.

255. Emilio Carlos González, "Juan del Encina, Antonio de Nebrija, and Music for Poetry in Late Fifteenth-Century Spain" (PhD dissertation), Brandeis University, 2011: 142–47, ProQuest (3439928).

back to a composer so closely associated with depictions of common Spaniards leaves little room to doubt that the guitar belongs to a humanistic lineage.

Precursors to the *villancico* as a poetic form are found in the *zajal* (الزجل) and the verse-refrain forms of the *Cantigas de Santa María*, examples of Iberian literature in Arabic and Galician-Portuguese, respectively. As an antecedent to the *villancico* of the Renaissance, the *zajal* fits logically into a historiography that recognizes the necessity of the Islamic world in the process of Classical learning's revival in Catholic Europe. The *villancico* entered high culture in the late fifteenth century, coinciding precisely with the establishment of the vihuela in Aragon. The thirteenth-century *Cantigas* foreshadow unified Catholic Spain's adaptation of the Arabic *'ūd*.



Figure 8. The miniature from canticle 150 of the *Cantigas de Santa María* portrays two versions of the early guitar: the *guitarra latina* (Latin guitar; left) and *guitarra morisca* (Moorish guitar; right).²⁵⁶

Classical men of letters Seneca (ca. 4 BCE–65 CE) and Quintilian (35–ca. 95 CE), both born on Spanish soil, were presented by both Nebrija and Encina as founders of a national intellectualism. This “attempt to appropriate ancient authors”²⁵⁷ was typical of early Spanish humanism, as DiCamillo confirms. Pairing claims to uncontaminated Greco-Roman heritage with an undeniable and incontrovertible effort to underline the

256. Alfonso X, *Cántigas de Santa María* 150 via Julián Ribera, *La música de las Cántigas: estudio sobre su origen y naturaleza, con reproducciones fotográficas del texto y transcripción moderna* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1922) via Greg Lindahl, *The Cántigas de Santa María*, <http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/cantigas/imagenes/>.

257. Navarette, *Orphans of Petrarch*, 28, 244.

music and mindsets of the folk, the literati of the Spanish Renaissance cleared the way for a national swelling of the guitar, a culture at once refined and banal.

To expound on the humanistic qualities of the fifth guideline is not difficult. The main obstacle lies in limiting one's thoughts to the confines of this study. I have chosen to be brief with my assessment of the fifth rule because a discussion of topics presented through this rule could easily become excessive in scope. The challenge at present would be to promote further investigation on the part of the reader, and still put forth a well-constructed analysis of the material at hand.

The fifth rule is an explanation of the labyrinth found on page 28 of this study (ex. 1). The instructions Sanz gives are numerical, composed upon a set of twelve columns that represent the twelve notes of the chromatic scale. In the context of Renaissance humanism, numerology may be seen as an adhesive among disciplines. After all, numbers were keys to understanding the universe in ancient systems central to Renaissance thought. Catholicism continued the systems of the pre-Christian world.

In alluding to the nexus between music and astrology, my goal for the present text is to entice rather than fully elucidate. To abide by the authority of the available historical record, I will note that the 1613 theoretical treatise *El melopeo y maestro* by Pietro Cerone (1566–1625) devotes three dense pages to the topic of celestial music. These ideas are woven into a discussion of history and theory, playing important roles in further developments of the text. Howell enumerates a few key points that make this Neapolitan work applicable to a study of Spanish music history, namely

that it was addressed to Spanish readers, that it contained a great deal of material from Bermudo, Sancta María, and other leading theorists of Spain, and that it remained an unimpeachable authority on the [Iberian] peninsula for the next two centuries.²⁵⁸

Seven diatonic notes correspond numerically to seven planets visible to the naked eye. Twelve notes of the chromatic scale. Twelve signs of the zodiac. Other examples call for further inquiry into how musical representations of celestial observation and interpretation were cultivated. For now, one may take an immediately available instance in which Sanz calculates twenty-four possible variations on a single *pasacalle*. A natural result of the dodecatonic musical system, the number twenty-four is represented in astrology from ancient India to ancient Greece, where a single cycle through all twelve zodiacal ages was said to take some 24,000 years.

The Renaissance was a time in which parallels between seemingly unrelated phenomena, a concept known as the doctrine of correspondences, formed an integral part of the philosophical effort in general. The doctrine of correspondences was preserved within a more general system of thought derived from Classical antiquity, the notion of a highly ordered arrangement of the entire contents of the universe according to divine plan. That the same numbers could explain both music and the proportions of the heavens would not have struck the Renaissance mind as mere coincidence.²⁵⁹ One striking

258. Howell, "Symposium," 63, brackets mine.

259. Lilia Melani, "Renaissance" (unpublished paper), City University of New York, 2009, <http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/english/melani/cs6/ren.html>, NB: Citing her source, the author acknowledges a publication by the English Department of

example of this type of thinking was given by Sancta María when he drew a parallel between counting the seven letters of the diatonic scale and counting the seven days of the week.²⁶⁰

Striving for a smoothly functioning social mechanism through a proper application of language, the mind of a Renaissance humanist would draw from a worldview based on such interdisciplinary links as those which have been outlined above. Cerone, citing “Plato, Aristotle, and others [Pythagoras figures prominently in this area of study],”²⁶¹ lays out a system of musical intervals that is supposed to correlate with the distances among the planets. This system hints at concurrence with astrology in other numerical systems of music, namely, those based on the numbers three, seven, and twelve.

As a brief aside, this study will now delve into how Sanz and his contemporaries would have employed the rules of capitalization in Castilian Spanish. As the foundation of humanist endeavor, clarification on proper grammar should be welcomed into an analysis of *Instrvccion*. The particular issue of capitalization pertains to how a writer could emphasize certain words over others, at times giving the special terms an almost holy appearance.

Brooklyn College, *A Guide to the Study of Literature: A Companion Text for Core Studies 6, Landmarks of Literature* (2009).

260. Sancta María, *Arte de tañer*, fol. 1v.

261. Pietro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples: Juan Bautista Gargano, Lucrecio Nucci, 1613), 223–24: “Platon, Ariftoteles y otros,” brackets mine.

Locating a historically viable guide to capitalization rules in seventeenth-century Spanish is a trying pursuit. Nonetheless, much is to be gained from simply examining the primary-source texts. To generate sincere and unbiased learning, a non-musical text will be studied against the words of Sanz.

In 1668, Andrés Ferrer de Valdecebros published *Gobierno general moral y político hallado en las aves* (General morals and politics of government observed in birds). The treatment of capitalized words in Ferrer's text matches the approach taken by Sanz: besides Judaeo-Christian terms and proper nouns, the recipients of initial capital letters are words from the topical lexicon. In a book on the guitar, one finds *Guitarra* (guitar), *Laberinto* (labyrinth), *Musica* (music), and other related terms. Reading about the birds of the world, one encounters *Aguila* (eagle) and *Gallo* (rooster). Covarrubias, dealing with the organization of the Castilian tongue into his historic dictionary, likewise draws attention to *Tesoro* (dictionary) and *Autor* (author). If a beginning student takes up the first-hand study of *Instrvccion*, or any other text of the period, understanding capitalization procedures will do much to dispel any confusion resulting from seemingly irregular formatting.

The sixth rule in the first group of guidelines is on composing variations on a *pasacalle*, a topic Sanz has not seen in any previous publication: "To date, I have not seen it practiced by any of the masters who have composed."²⁶² Sanz's method of

262. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 10r: "*hasta aora no la he visto practicar a ninguno de los Maestros que han compuesto.*"

composing variations exhibits a drive to innovate, yet does not uproot the teachings of generations past. It is a didactic procedure in which the teacher calls attention to new and original contributions, while upholding overt citations of contemporary sources and Classical, Biblical, or mythical fonts. The vihuelists worked in a comparable manner, as did a number of authors and scholars of literature.

In 1612, almost exactly halfway between the publications of Mudarra and Sanz, Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, a Spanish humanist known also as El Brocense, wrote, “I do not consider he who does not imitate the ancient masters to be a good poet.”²⁶³ Of the Romans themselves, he explains, “There is no Latin poet who, in his own genre, has not imitated others.”²⁶⁴

Yet one must not be deceived into thinking that humanists devalued original contributions to their fields. El Brocense came under fire from conservative colleagues because he made use of his own texts on grammar in a formal university class. In the same text quoted above, he paraphrases Virgil: “To take the verses of Homer and make them one’s own is rare erudition.”²⁶⁵ To provide an example from the guitar world, the first published pieces for the instrument, like the first published pieces for the vihuela, are

263. Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, *Obras de Garcilaso de la Vega* (Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1612), fol. 2r: “*Que no tengo por bué Poeta al que no imita los excelentes antiguos.*”

264. *Ibid.*: “*Ningun Poeta Latino ay, que en su genero no aya imitado a otros,*” for further reading on Sánchez de las Brozas, see Francisco Martínez Cuadrado, *El Brocense: Semblanza de un humanista* (Badajoz, Extremadura, Spain: Diputación de Badajoz, Departamento de Publicaciones, 2003).

265. *Ibid.*, fol 2v: “*Tomar a Homero sus versos, y hazer los propios, es erudicion que a pocos se comunica.*”

not intabulations of previously composed pieces. They are original works and variations on traditional ground basses.

The musical outcome of Sanz's liberated approach to composing variations is easily linked with growing disregard for contrapuntal severity of the past, this rebellion being a staple of the *stile moderno*. Composers began to use dissonance in novel ways, in manners such that intervals considered disagreeable to the ear would occur in relief from a musical texture that still followed, with varying obedience, the rigor of polyphonic vocal theory. One notable effect of this so-called unprepared dissonance was an increased sense of disjunction—a term referring here not to a melodic leap, but to a general lack of cohesion—either within a single voice or among more than one. A harmonic, or vertical, approach to composition, though it was not altogether absent from the music of previous generations, necessarily brought about new definitions of that which would constitute an acceptable melody. The example below follows the precepts of the first labyrinth of *Instrvccion*, a system founded on inverting and rearranging harmonies. Each timbre of the guitar strung in the Spanish manner is assigned its own staff: single-string first course on top, unison second and third courses in the middle, and octave fourth and fifth courses on the bottom.

Example 16. One of the many possible chord progressions generated by the Sanz labyrinth.

The musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a single melodic line in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The middle staff is a two-voice texture in treble clef, with an '8' indicating an octave shift. The bottom staff is a two-voice texture in bass clef, with an '8' indicating an octave shift and '8va' and 'loco' markings above the staff.

In the first set of harmonies of example 16, which constitutes one unaltered cycle through the first of Sanz's *pasacalles*, no voice moves more than a major second from its initial note. Relatedly, only one leap occurs. Some would differentiate between motion by thirds and leaps of wider intervals, referring to the former as skips in order to preserve in terminology their less jarring sound.

The second progression exemplifies one of the most drastic employments of the variation technique taught by Sanz. Perhaps unable to identify singable melodic material, one notices movement by large leaps in the uppermost voice. At this advanced stage of a guitarist's exploration of the labyrinth, it is reasonable to ponder that melodic embellishment upon the rudimentary chord shapes would fill out an otherwise rather bare and fragmented harmonic pattern. Frequent leaps notwithstanding, everything about a wider range for the melodically prominent first-course of the guitar would open the door

to expressive ornamentations not unlike those found in Italian madrigals or operatic solo singing.

The seventh guideline is on left-hand dexterity. It explains the nomenclature of the *alfabeto* harmonies that are to be shifted from open to closed positions, shapes guitarists today would call barre chords. Not often in the *punteado* pieces, but certainly here, in the *rasgueado* labyrinth, one sees all twelve frets of the guitar being employed. That the highest reaches of the fretboard should become useful through *alfabeto* does much to solidify a connection between strummed, essentially guitar-specific folk music and future theory on octave-based major and minor tonalities.

Mudarra is clear that there are nine frets on the vihuela, but warns that some exceptions to this rule may indicate a tenth or even eleventh fret.²⁶⁶ Prior to his first guitar piece, Mudarra advises that the guitar be prepared with ten frets.²⁶⁷ In Spanish Renaissance vocal theory, proper range dictates that the lowest and highest notes are the first and last notes of the hard hexachord, respectively. The range of G to G in the low register, G to G in the middle, and only G to E in the upper register would show an awareness of sacred vocal style and a hope to adapt it to the guitar.

In the *temple viejo* (old tuning), a ten-fret four-course guitar would reach from C to D, an octave plus a major ninth.²⁶⁸ *Temple nuevo* (new tuning) would result in a

266. Mudarra, *Tres libros de musica*, iii.

267. *Ibid.*, fol. 21v.

268. Pitch would have been nominal, or notional, and as such would not conform to exact letter-name measurements as far as hertz are concerned. However, as it has been

consonant perfect fifteenth, an open-fourth-course D up two octaves to D on the first-course tenth fret. The new tuning approximates polyphonic theoretical range in that the lowest and highest notes form a consonant interval.

Amat manages to construct a well-founded method with just four frets. Although, like Sanz does in some cases, he leaves open the option of adding frets.²⁶⁹ Doizi de Velasco boasts the guitar's "seventeen points,"²⁷⁰ by which he means there are at least seventeen major seconds from the lowest note to the highest. An allusion to a twelve-fret arrangement in the same text by Doizi de Velasco threatens to narrow his range to fifteen and a half points. To my mind, this unjustified contradiction makes Doizi de Velasco's text, an otherwise careful treatise on the guitar and music in general, slightly less trustworthy.

Sixteen and a half points would correspond exactly to traditional vocal range. The extra half point in a seventeen-point system would mean a guitar with fifteen frets, which is rather unlikely, given that Sanz refers to a twelve-fret system thirty-four years after the publication of Doizi de Velasco. Another option would be to lower the fifth course a major second, creating a version of the *temple viejo* for the five-course guitar. Could Doizi de Velasco, an obviously fluent and experienced musician, have considered a lowered fifth course in order to coincide with the natural vocal range? He used bourdons

shown in Sanz's tuning the guitar to match the organ, the idea of a suitable letter name, at least for the lowest pitch, usually G, was conspicuous. The lowest course of the vihuela is often tuned, in modern times among historically informed players, to either G or A.

269. Amat, *Guitarra*, 20–21.

270. Doizi de Velasco, *Nuevo modo de Cifra*, 16.

to achieve a range closer to that of the human voice.²⁷¹ His writing displays a thorough understanding of history. So one would not be surprised to learn of his awareness of the *temple viejo*. All that is missing is a clear indication in the text.

The seventh rule culminates in a simple and poignant, yet poetically creative description of the challenging nature of love. That Sanz would use this fragment of poetry to express the difficulty of learning to play the guitar speaks to the endeavor's profundity of humanness and emotional meaning. The Latin by an unnamed Roman poet reads thusly:

*Amor qui
Est Laberintus opus quod, si tu laberis intus,
Non Laberintus erit, sed labor intus erit.*²⁷²

The word play of this excerpt makes translation difficult, but attempts to put the original text into English set off one's curiosity nonetheless. The author toys with lexical rearrangements of *Laberintus* (labyrinth). *Laberis* (you work), and *labor* (labor) are placed near *intus* (within, inside) to form pronunciations nearly identical to *laberintus* with different, but related meanings. Sanz prefaces the Latin with some advice on how *Instrvccion* may be understood, nearly arriving at a translation of the citation: "With this text, and some study on your part, it will no longer be a labyrinth, but, rather, an effect of diligence, your own craft."²⁷³ Two revealing translations into English:

271. Doizi de Velasco, *Nvevo modo de Cifra*, 16–17.

272. Anonymous via Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 10r.

273. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 10r: "Con ella, y vn poco de estudio que apliques, yà no ferà Laberinto, fino trabajo, y obra tuya."

Love:

It is a labyrinth that, if you labor at it,
Will no longer seem labyrinthine but become a labor of love.²⁷⁴

Love:

At first a labyrinthine effort that, if you work and study into it,
Will no longer deceive you, but will become your faculty.²⁷⁵

It is perhaps impossible to express in another language that, although the Latin poetry explored here may seem entirely hopeful, one is left wondering if the tone is actually pessimistically submissive. With the final two words, the writer surrenders to the inescapable mystery and confusion of love, invoking *laberintus* by way of *labor intus*. One may be destined to struggle through mazes of emotion for eternity, but, to my mind, that is no reason to halt one's effort.

Verses on the topic of romantic human industry evoke key ideas that have come to define Renaissance humanism; for one, that earthly existence is not worthless. On the contrary, there is much wisdom to be gained from the human experience. This view is not entirely separated from Catholic theology, the dominant worldview in early modern Spain.

The parable of the man born blind, found in the Gospel According to John 9:1–12, demonstrates humanity's obligation to participate in salvation.²⁷⁶ Jesus initiates the

274. Paul Ellison, email correspondence, May 29, 2015, NB: Ellison clarifies that this translation is not the final word on the matter of a suitable version in English, but it conveys some measure of the play on words from the Latin.

275. My translation, which does not attempt to recreate the word play.

276. John (Gospel) 9:1–12 (Revised Standard Version, Second Catholic Edition).

healing of the blind man, but it is incumbent upon the latter to go away and wash in the pool of *Silo'am* (Sent). Here, one sees a definitive aspect of Catholicism, that people are sent forth to act righteously, to labor in this world in order to nurture their faith in the next. The cleansing of ten lepers (Luke 17:1–19), the healing of the possessed Gerasene (Mark 5:1–13), and the call to take up one's cross (Matthew 10:34–39) feature the necessity of action on the part of the believer. But scripture is not monothematic; many works of Jesus do not require of the recipient of blessing anything more than unwavering faith.

And yet faith is not always effortless. While all of Catholicism is impossible to define with a single concept, one of the principles that have come to dominate modern Catholic discourse is that believers have a responsibility to bring the light of Christ to the world. Prayer alone does not fulfill this requirement, but community outreach strives for immediacy of divine mandate. On July 21, 2013, Pope Francis spoke at St. Peter's Square:

A prayer that does not lead you to practical action for your brother—the poor, the sick, those in need of help, a brother in difficulty—is a sterile and incomplete prayer. But, in the same way . . . When time is not set aside for dialogue with Him in prayer, we risk serving ourselves and not God present in our needy brother and sister. Saint Benedict sums up the kind of life that he indicated for his monks in two words: *ora et labora*, pray and work. It is from contemplation, from a strong friendship with the Lord that the capacity is born in us to live and to bring the love of God, his mercy, his tenderness, to others. And also our work with brothers

in need, our charitable works of mercy, lead us to the Lord, because it is in the needy brother and sister that we see the Lord himself.²⁷⁷

Sanz highlights the importance of human effort, recognizing it as a way to come to terms with the most universally transcendental achievement of all humankind, love! Fray Luis, the main exponent of Spanish Renaissance thought, as Professor San José asserts, aimed for a manifestation of love to unite the thematic diversity of his poetry. Alain Guy calls this *concierto* (concert, accord) of Fray Luis a “freely accepting bond of vast fraternity.”²⁷⁸ Quevedo, who published an edition of the poetry of Fray Luis in 1631, oscillates fluently between poetic themes of love and death, frequently finding common ground between the two.

Futility and contradiction, themes taken from the Latin citation of *Instrucción* in a reading that underscores the inescapability of love’s labyrinth, figure prominently in the poetry of Quevedo. The clear and relatively unadorned language found in the work of Quevedo recalls the literary style of Lope, the supremely influential poet whose words were set to music by Romero. Bearing in mind that Sanz concerns himself with preparing his readers for comprehension of the music of Romero, one is able to follow historical

277. United States Conference of Catholic Bishops Department of Justice, Peace, and Human Development, comp., *Selected Quotes of Pope Francis by Subject* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2015), <http://www.usccb.org/beliefs-and-teachings/what-we-believe/catholic-social-teaching/upload/pope-francis-quotes1.pdf>.

278. Alain Guy, *El pensamiento filosófico de Fray Luis de León* (Madrid: Rialp, 1960), 156 via Cristóbal Cuevas, introduction to *Fray Luis de León y la escuela salmantina*, ed. Cristóbal Cuevas (Madrid: Taurus, 1982), 35: “*un lazo libremente consentido, de vasta fraternidad.*”

connections from the ecclesiastic erudition of quintessentially Renaissance-humanist poetry to the cross-culturally passionate world of the Spanish Baroque guitar.

Sanz seasons his rules on guitar playing with excerpts of poetry, third in the set of the five *studia humanitatis* of the Renaissance. The poetry signifies his continuing a time-honored tradition of creative literature within plucked-string culture. Emphasizing the centrality of verse, Sanz brings his guidelines to a close with another anonymous citation, as well as a quotation from the *Ars Poetica* (ca. 19 BCE) of Horace.

*Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis,
Ut possis animo quemquam suffere laborem.*

(Intersperse joy among your anxieties,
So that you may be able to endure in your heart any toil.)²⁷⁹

*Omne tulit, punctum, qui miscuit vtile dulci,
Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo.*

(He who mixes the useful with the pleasant gains every point,
By pleasing the reader and, equally, by exhorting him.)²⁸⁰

If the fact that guitar teaching is buttressed with Latin poetry does not form a bond with humanism, one may investigate the content of the excerpts to find that Neo-Platonism and Aristotelian thought are infused into a musical practice that represents national identity, intellectual and spiritual advancement, and a tempering of the humors. From the transformation of the lover and the beloved to a *varietas* in which pleasure and

279. Anonymous via Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 13v, trans. David Leitao.

280. Horace, *Ars Poetica* 333–34 via Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 13v, trans. David Leitao.

pain reach equilibrium, Sanz's poetic inspirations maintain the expression and drama of humanistic musical customs.

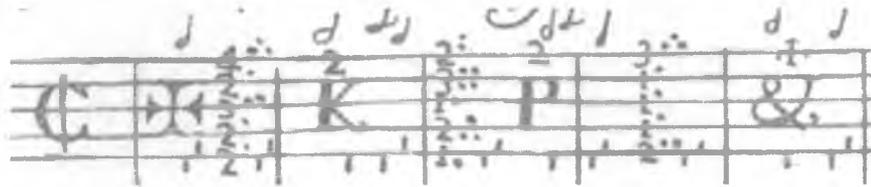
The opportunities to connect early-guitar and humanist traditions in the eighth rule are many, but the practice of accenting dissonant intervals stands out above the rest. The idea of the *falsa consonante* (false consonance) is the principal matter of the eighth rule. Four-part counterpoint, accompanying a vocalist, likenesses between music for the guitar and music for the harp, and a student's reverence for his teacher—all mentioned in the eighth rule—are better dealt with elsewhere. Also, being the principal theoretical component in the shift from Renaissance to Baroque musical style, the acceptance of unprepared dissonance unites a variety of issues presented in the eighth rule of *Instrvccion*.

Sanz's method of teaching unprepared dissonance is very straightforward. The text calls for the use of *rasgueado*, even though the dissonant harmonies are quite unlike anything from the *alfabeto* system. Sanz tells the reader of *Instrvccion*, "due to the extravagance of the chord shapes, the letters are not enough."²⁸¹ Sanz also permits the use of the *arpando* technique, which would result in harp-like sounds characteristic of music for the chapel.²⁸²

281. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 10v: "por la extravagancia de posturas, no bastan las letras."

282. Bordas, "The Double Harp in Spain," 152–55.

Example 17. The opening seven chords of the second labyrinth, alternating between *alfabeto* shapes and *falsas*.²⁸³



Tonal theory would be completely appropriate to the musical situation presented above, if only the theoretical texts demonstrated support. *El porqué de la música* (1672) by Andrés Lorente (ca. 1624–1703), published just two years before *Instrvccion*, adheres to modal theory based on the hexachord and its use in plainsong. This work of Lorente is the principal theoretical treatise of seventeenth-century Spain. In 1640, Doizi de Velasco illustrated a clear example of the concept embraced by tonal theory as the circle of fifths.

283. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 17r.

Example 18. Doizi de Velasco shows a series of ascending fifths beginning and ending on G.²⁸⁴

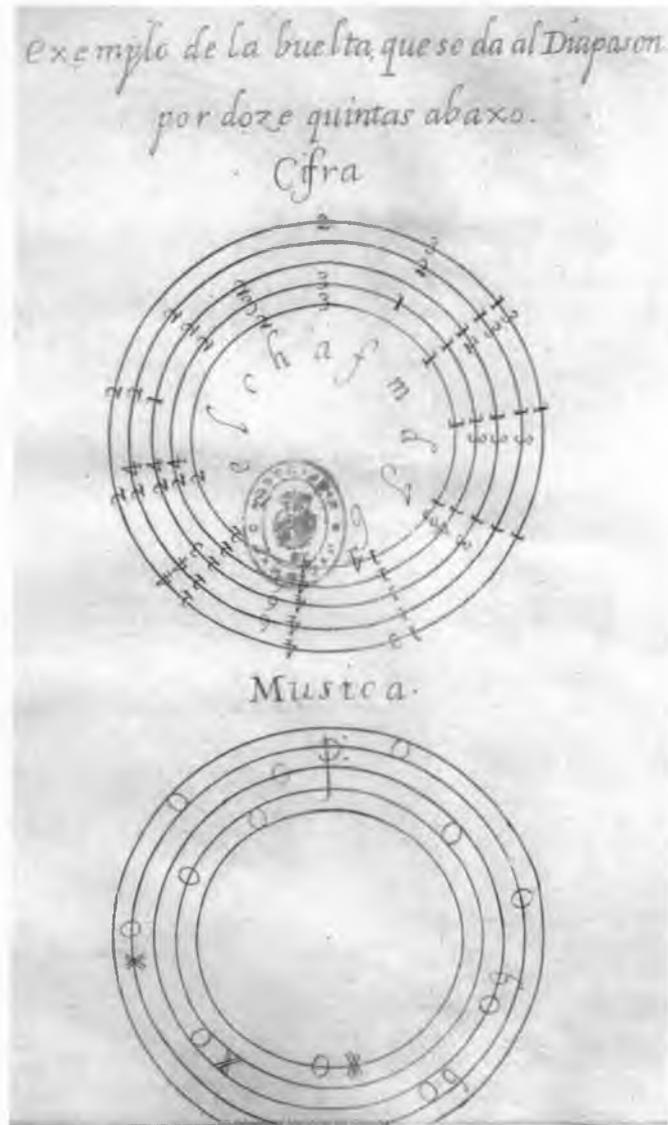
*Exemplo de la buelta, que se da al Diapason
por doze quintas arriba.*

Cifra.

MUSICA.

284. Doizi de Velasco. *Nuevo Modo*, 69.

Example 19. This circle comprised of descending fifths completes, in effect, the tonal concept of movement either clockwise or counter-clockwise around the circle of fifths.²⁸⁵



285. Doizi de Velasco, *Nuevo Modo*, 71.

In addition to the two circles shown in examples 18 and 19, Doizi de Velasco offers circles that move from G to G by ascending minor seconds, ascending major thirds, descending major thirds, ascending minor thirds, descending minor thirds, and ascending major seconds. Before the circle of ascending minor seconds, but aptly applied to any and all of the circles, Doizi de Velasco states that the circles will facilitate transposition to any modal final.²⁸⁶ Anticipating more concrete establishments of tonal theory that took hold in the early-eighteenth century, a nascent guitar-specific theoretical language began to form. For example, Sanz lays out portions of the *alfabeto* system in progressions tonal theory would see to be I-IV-V-I or i-iv-V-i.

In chapter 6 of this thesis, one will find a brief discussion of how changes of mode through the circles of fifths and fourths functioned in the context of opera and motet. At the time of the publication of *Instrvccion*, Sanz's guitar teacher, Lelio Colista, had already been composing pieces whose titles indicate major or minor key centers. Musicians across Western Europe were beginning to work within heptatonic and triadic parameters. At the same time, it would be a shame to neglect the raw material present in the hexachordal system. The notes C, F, and G define Ut of the natural, soft, and hard hexachords as accurately as they define the roots of the quintessential I-IV-V harmonic progression.

The excerpt below may be succinctly described as an instance of clockwise motion around the circle of fifths. With secondary-dominant seventh chords as the main

286. Doizi de Velasco, *Nvevo Modo*, 61.

vehicle, the chords progress through minor triads on E, B, F-sharp, and C-sharp. Below, the mixed tablature of example 17 is transcribed into modern notation.

Example 20. The first seven harmonies of the second labyrinth in detailed modern notation.²⁸⁷

The image displays two systems of musical notation for guitar. Each system consists of three staves: a treble clef staff, a middle treble clef staff, and a bass clef staff. The first system is marked with an '8' and the second with a '4'. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and various chordal and melodic figures. The first system shows a sequence of chords and melodic lines, while the second system continues this sequence. The notation is detailed, showing individual notes and their positions on the strings.

Sanz's text calls for the strummed style here. Therefore, as on pages 153–54 (see ex. 16), I have worked with intricacy enough to communicate how the octave (fourth and fifth), unison (second and third), and single-string (first) courses would sound in one of

²⁸⁷ Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 17r, transcription mine, NB: all transcriptions mine unless otherwise noted.

the common Spanish tunings as described by Sanz. The direction of the strum (either up or down) is indicated by the vertical arrows. These arrows do not express the order in which the notes of a given harmony would be sounded. The first two beats of the first measure of example 20 provide a model. On the down-strum (first beat) the sounding order is the following (notes are given from the lowest staff to the highest: high B, low B, high E, low E, unison G, unison, B, E. On the up-strum: E, unison B, unison G, low E, high E, low B, high B.²⁸⁸

Taking the first secondary-dominant seventh sonority as an example—it occurs on the third beat of measure 1 in the music above—one finds that the lowest voice, C-sharp, forms an unprepared perfect fourth (perfect eleventh) with the highest voice, F-sharp. Perhaps the main source of sonic clash is the adjoined augmented fourth and diminished fifth formed by the third-course A-sharps between the octave Es of the fourth course. If one believes the writing of Howell, the suddenness of these dissonant perfect fourths and tritones would be blasphemy in the minds of conservative Spanish theorists.

In seventeenth-century Spain, printed music was mostly a representative of the upper classes, the Church included. So one would expect uniformity between those educated in theory and those composing for wealthy patrons. And yet, the seemingly daring style found in the second labyrinth is not without its links to elite society.

288. This information on the sounding order of the notes has come to light thanks to the research of Donald Gill and James Tyler. These orders appear to reflect historical practice, but, as always, one must bear in mind the possible exceptions to these findings.

In the introduction to *Instrvccion*, Sanz names Romero, known widely as *Capitán*, a Spanish composer known for writing in the chromatic Italianate style. One of Sanz's goals is to prepare his reader for the surprises encountered in the music of *Capitán* and others working with similar sounds. The way in which *Capitán* handled dissonance is an informative precursor to the secondary-dominant seventh chords of Sanz. The musical lineage of *Capitán* shows a connection to what Sanz calls *música culta* (cultured music). The refined practices of Spanish composer and court musician Juan Blas de Castro²⁸⁹ were passed down to *Capitán*, who was trained in the Royal Chapel.²⁹⁰

289. Luis Robledo, "Blas de Castro, Juan," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online (Oxford University Press), <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.opac.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/05150>.

290. Judith Etzion, "The Music," in the introductory study to *The Cancionero de la Sablonara: A Critical Edition*, edited by Judith Etzion (London: Tamesis Books, 1996), lviii.

Example 21. *Capitán*'s setting of Lope's Italianate *canción* "En una playa amena" (ca. 1625), mm. 21–31.²⁹¹

21

ta - va a so - las, llo - ran - do al son del a -

ta - va a so - las, llo - ran - do al

ta - va a so - las, llo - ran - do al son

27

gua y de las o - las, y de las o -

son del a - gua y de las o -

del a - gua y de las o -

Above, one will find a good example of how *Capitán* employed dissonance to startling, expressive effect. I treated this very passage in a previous study, and wish to reiterate my points here:

Untraditional treatment of dissonance catches one's ear, especially the accented augmented fourth B-flat to E-natural in measures twenty-five in the bottom two voices and twenty-six in the top two. The C-natural-to-F-sharp augmented fourth in measures twenty-seven to twenty-eight stands out in two ways. One, the same vowel from the words *de* and *del* is used at the infamous *diabolus in musica*

291. Mateo Romero, "En una playa amena," text by Lope de Vega, in *The Cancionero*, Etzion, 220.

interval for salient quarter notes in the lowest and highest voice; and two, the harmonic devil's interval between the top two voices is reinforced by the highest voice on *las*. Overall, dissonance is instituted far more daringly than the preparation-suspension-resolution formulas of past teachings. It is imperative to keep in mind, though, that Spanish Baroque style was more influenced by simple songs and folk traditions than Baroque music in many other parts of Europe was. New madrigalian and operatic styles were known in Spain, but taken to further extremes elsewhere. One good example of a more jarring sound is Claudio Monteverdi's *Madrigali guerrieri et amorosi, libro VIII* [1638]. Spanish rhythmic singularity may seem innovative, but there is much evidence that such asymmetric rhythms originated in the oral traditions of common people.²⁹²

Additionally, the sudden appearance of the uneasy minor seventh E to D on the third beat of measure twenty-five brings out the meaning of the word *llorando* (crying). These novel uses of dissonance relate to familiar studies of the musically humanistic in the sense that they often lend themselves to conveying the meaning of the text of a piece of music. Judith Etzion proposes that, in contrast to the preceding wave of music composed after light popular song—its predilection for “attractive and facile melodic lines”²⁹³ stands out as a main component—*Capitán* followed the *secunda prattica* in having positioned dissonant intervals “deliberately in accented position for expressive means.”²⁹⁴ This heightening of the meaning of the text fits into *Instrvccion*, even though *Instrvccion* does not contain vocal music.

Describing the manner in which the student should play through the labyrinth of false consonances, Sanz recommends a free tempo, a pace governed by the student's

292. Rosager, “Spanish Renaissance Music,” 34–35, brackets new.

293. Etzion, *Cancionero*, lviii.

294. *Ibid.*, lvii.

reason and personal taste. Progressing through the chords in this manner, one will move “with sweetness, with gravity, the harmonies now strong, now subtle.”²⁹⁵ It is clear that Sanz is providing a palette of sonic expression from which the student may draw as it is necessary in adding spirit to instrumental music or supporting the voice.

These *equivocos fonoros* (wrong sonorities), taught in the context of *rasgueado* music, find their way into extremely simple musical forms. The uncluttered compositions of Sanz are classical in their restraint and concision. The thoughts of Cristobal Cuevas on Fray Luis and the Salamanca poetic tradition echo one’s describing Sanz to be a classicist:

On the plane of expression, their [the Salamanca poets’] ideal is one of sobriety and economy of means. *Ne quid nimis* [nothing in excess] is their motto in this field as well. Their desire for simplicity makes them shy away from any lexical affectation.²⁹⁶

To conclude, I offer my interpretation of why Sanz includes a set of dissonant chords in his teachings on strumming. The sonorities are permitted in the first rules of guitar playing because they are permitted in cultured music. Sanz explains that the student may not like these sounds, but it must be remembered that erudite composers put them to use.²⁹⁷ One discovers another blurred line between high and low art.

295. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 10v: “con dulçura, y gravedad, los vnos puntos fuerte, y los otros suave.”

296. Cuevas, *Fray Luis*, 15: “En el plano de la expresión, su ideal es el de la sobriedad y la economía de medios: ne quid nimis, es su lema también en este campo; su afán de llaneza les hace huir de toda afectació lexica,” brackets mine.

297. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 10v.

Chapter Five:
Eleven Rules on *Punteado*

With rule nine begins the study of the plucked style. While this rule is the ninth overall, Sanz rightly restarts his count, labeling it the first rule of *punteado*. He begins with an explanation of guitar tablature, stating that the numbers represent the frets of the guitar and the horizontal lines the strings. The lowest-pitched string is located in the highest physical position on the page. This section of the rule is a grammar lesson in the language of guitar playing; similar reviews commence the books of the vihuelists and guitarists before Sanz.

Next comes a brief lesson on right-hand technique. The thumb, index, and middle fingers of the right hand serve as the main producers of sound, but Sanz permits the ring finger if a fourth voice is present in the music. This reasoning is evidence of the persistence of polyphonically conceived music within the world of vertically constructed harmony. Being quite the opposite of the strummed style, plucked music is to be played “with much restraint.”²⁹⁸

The end of the first rule transitions smoothly into the second, which, according to its title, tackles the issue of how to employ the right hand. Before beginning the second rule, however, Sanz had covered the better part of the right hand. He notes that in the plucked style, there should be no scratching of strings—only enough force as is necessary to sound the strings well. In instances of single-note lines, the teaching is to distribute the

298. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 11r: “*con mucha policia.*”

fingers equally among the strings. Alternating between two fingers, or perhaps cycling among three or four, is imperative so that one finger does not pluck twice in a row.

The second rule is concerned mainly with the thumb. The instruction is that the thumb always takes the bass voice. Even if the lower of two voices does not appear to be part of a bass line, it must be treated like one according to the technical principals of Sanz. His goal is to have the lowest voice stand out in the musical texture, an idea cohesive to the compositional styles of the time that focused primarily on the relationships between the highest and lowest voice. Pronouncing the bass invites the human voice to provide a melody in the uppermost register. Also important is the cleanliness of attack. No extraneous sound.²⁹⁹

One must be aware that Sanz justifies the teachings of the second rule with an example from a piece of music, not with metaphysical argument or fixed historical tradition. Instead of extolling custom for custom's sake, Sanz shows that rules on guitar playing should follow sensible applications of technique. This pedagogical reasoning aligns with the notion of *saber operativo* (operative knowledge), an idea associated with Gracián.

The main tenet of operative knowledge in this context is, as one might guess, that truly beneficial learning is that which may be put to immediate use. One is reminded of Amat's main reason behind having written his book, his observation that the educational

²⁹⁹. For more on Baroque guitar technique, see Pennington, *The Spanish Baroque Guitar*, 55.

attitude in Spain at the time was one of impatience.³⁰⁰ By making a quick and easy course in the art of guitar playing available to a public who did not want to invest the time required to study with a teacher, Amat seeks to apply his musical knowledge in accordance with the conditions of the society in which he lived.

The third rule of playing in the plucked style offers some ideas on how to properly use the left hand. To begin, Sanz asserts that “the left hand should be applied with grace (*garbo*) and colorful gallantry (*vizzaria*) to the neck of the guitar.”³⁰¹ *Garbo* implies ease, an unimpeded and natural flow reminiscent of the return to Classical clarity during the Renaissance. *Vizarria* signifies variety and vigorous action, hinting at a connection to Baroque aesthetics as they may be seen as highly ornate, detailed, and extravagant.

Sanz continues, advising that the thumb not grasp the neck so tightly that it cannot perform with alacrity. Metaphor is used to significant effect here: “The thumb is the rudder of this sonorous little boat, and it must not be fixed, but, rather, interactive with all the winds of song.”³⁰² Also linked to maritime vocabulary is the Castilian Spanish word for fret, *traste*. The word doubles as a translation for crossbeam, one of the main structural components of a ship as it would have been built in imperial Spain.³⁰³ A close

300. Amat, *Guitarra*, A3.

301. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 11v: “*La mano izquierda deve aplicarse con garbo, y vizarria al mastil.*”

302. Ibid.: “*Pues este es el timon de esta sonora barquilla, y no ha de estar fixo, fino dispuesto a todos los aires de las fonadas.*”

303. Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, s.v. “traste,” 1486.

look at the language of Sanz reveals references to one of the most integral tools in efforts of conquest, the galley.

One may be sure that, by the time Sanz published *Instrvccion*, the Spanish guitar had, in various ways, outgrown the four-fret configuration of Amat. Yet, with Amat as with the vihuelists before him, one perceives a strong nationalist attitude recalling the long history of humanist pride in and service to the state. From the Greek and Roman men of letters to Dante, Petrarch, and comparable waves of intellectual advancement in Spain, making the application of eloquence a concern on the level of state policy was paramount. As shortly before Sanz as 1640, Doizi de Velasco sang the praises of Spain and her music in his didactic book on the guitar.

The decorative language of Sanz, clear precursors to which may be found in the didactic works before *Instrvccion*, is the result of diligence, structured educational training. Spoken communication notwithstanding, the mastery of language was central to humanism in Spain. Gracián alludes to the reasons behind such heavy importance placed upon good writing skills. Through mention of a work on the art of writing letters by Vives, who adds weight to any words as far as studies of humanism are concerned, Gracián brings up an important concept in the world of Spanish literature and political life during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—social mobility. “This [the language of power] is surely practical wisdom, the art of the discreet . . . this art that, from the dirt beneath our feet, raises a Pygmy to the commanding throne. . . . Oh, what a lesson on what truly matters and how to progress! Not politics, not philosophy, not all the arts

together amount to that which this art [writing as a method of obtaining power] offers in a single letter [of the alphabet].”³⁰⁴ “Pygmy” here refers to a widely told myth in which the diminutive Pygmy people fought off attacking cranes. Reaching the top of the social ladder was becoming less dependent on lineage or honor and, more than ever, achievable through learning and specialization, in particular the ways in which writing acted as an indissoluble representation of the individual.³⁰⁵

Far from a world where securing power at court was undergoing a monumental evolution, living conditions for common Spaniards were just cause for social upheaval. The attention of musical culture focused more and more on popular material, ultimately confusing any distinction once held between folk and learned. Iberian social discourses focused intensely on the problem of how to raise the quality of everyday life for the impoverished. Capitalism began to replace feudalism, but opportunities for economic equality and an overall sense of charity were polemical.

Anne J. Cruz shows that, halfway through the sixteenth century, Spain saw a bifurcation of the commonly held view that poor and needy members of society were necessary to a Christian god’s demand for charitable action on the part of the wealthy. In

304. Baltasar Gracián, *El criticón* (Zaragoza, Aragon, Spain: Juan Nogués 1651–1653), 2.12 via David Castillo, “Gracián and the Art of Public Representation,” in *Rhetoric and Politics: Baltasar Gracián and the New World Order*, ed. Nicholas Spadaccini and Jenaro Talens (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 203: “*Este sí que es el práctico saber, esta la arte de todo discreto . . . esta la que del polvo de la tierra levanta un pigmeo al trono del mando . . . ¡Oh, qué lección esta del valer y del medrar! Ni la Política, ni la Filosofía, ni todas juntas alcanzan lo que ésta con sola una letra,*” brackets mine.

305. Castillo, “Gracián,” 201–04.

one camp were the traditionalists, those who accepted the indigent because of their role in God's design of spiritual wellbeing by way of material generosity. The other group concerned with solving the poverty problem was debatably less humane. A newer stance "considered the disenfranchised potentially antisocial reprobates, and advocated for their social reform."³⁰⁶ Any complete historiography of early modern Spain should highlight the problem of widespread poverty. Through the positions of Spanish historian José Antonio Maravall, Cruz notes a major difference between feudalism and capitalism in Spain during the time period in question:

If, in the Middle Ages, commoners and nobles alike could acquire a comfortable level of existence through servitude, by the sixteenth century there was no longer any guarantee for those taking on the role of servant that such employment equaled good treatment and a satisfactory life. Material gain, as opposed to traditional spiritual values, not only came to signify success and status, but itself assumed a new kind of virtue, one that Maravall associates with the development of individualism.³⁰⁷

For many, prosperity was no more than a dream. John Lynch writes that the depopulation of Spain in the seventeenth century "could only be the result of an exceptional concurrence of adversities."³⁰⁸ The expulsion of the Moriscos, plague, famine, war, decreased immigration, economic downturn, disease, and urban overcrowding contributed to over a century of suffering, the worst of which would come

306. Anne J. Cruz, *Discourses of Poverty: Social Reform and the Picaresque Novel in Early Modern Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 23.

307. Ibid.

308. John Lynch, *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change, 1598–1700* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 173.

in the first half of the seventeenth century. Lynch also discusses the issue of a “social distribution of morality.”³⁰⁹ The rich and powerful were able to travel or retreat to their estates to escape catastrophic epidemics, leaving the less fortunate to face the horrors.³¹⁰

The Spanish government did little to aide the masses, who bore the greater part of the century’s hardships. Lack of funding for proposed public works and, concurrently, excess in the military budget, stopped welfare projects short of any notable effect. Even the university system, a thriving institution in the sixteenth century, was depleted under financial stress. Furthering the negative effects of this cultural loss, the nobility took control of key aspects of the educational bureaucracy, a significant move toward “perpetuating the social and political dominance of the aristocracy.”³¹¹

Thus, the subjugation of less politically powerful classes both at home and abroad occurred at the same time as the instrument of the Spanish folk made its way into the circles of the elite. The dawn of the seventeenth century was marked by a trend—unfortunate, in my opinion—of luxuries at court, miseries for the masses. Income inequality was pronounced, and the underprivileged majority protested.

The working poor rose up in response to unfair taxation, collusion between government and business, and high food prices.³¹² In response to the governing body of Castile’s proposition of a union throughout the Iberian territories in the name of armed

309. Lynch, *The Hispanic World*, 176.

310. *Ibid.*, 173–77.

311. *Ibid.*, 181.

312. *Ibid.*, 198.

defense, Catalonia, Portugal, and Andalusia each saw significant independence movements. Only that of Portugal was successful. Halfway through the seventeenth century, as Pierson concludes, “The whole peninsula seethed with revolt and sedition.”³¹³

The next four rules will receive a drier explanation because they are chiefly technical in nature. Upon reaching the end of the six rules on ornamentation, I will summarize the following four along with two additional rules that offer richer avenues through which humanism may be studied.

Ornamentation was an indispensable skill for the early-modern guitarist, as indispensable as it was for other instrumentalists or vocalists. In the expectation to enhance music in its written form, one sees a process of humanization. No longer is the music a prescription. In its adorned state, music, like language, becomes a malleable system.

The subject of rule number four is an ornament called the *trino*. Most English-speaking musicians of today would know the *trino* as the trill, a rapid alternation between two notes, typically either a half-step or whole-step apart.³¹⁴ In *Instrvccion*, notes to be trilled are marked with a T.

It would seem that, for a beginning guitarist uneducated in music theory, Sanz’s instruction on how to play a trill would be difficult to thoroughly comprehend. As usual, the primary debate revolves around whether the trill is to begin on the main note or the

313. Pierson, *The History*, 68–69.

314. Russell, “Radical innovations,” 159.

upper note. Sanz leaves quite a bit of room for interpretation on this issue, perhaps creating more confusion than necessary by coupling the discussion of the trill with instruction on the mordent. Pennington does much to clarify the issue, showing through primary and secondary sources that Spanish guitarists followed the established Spanish practice of beginning ornaments on the main note.³¹⁵

For those interested in humanism, one potentially intriguing component of Sanz's lesson on the trill may be seen in how certain notes, and their locations on the fret board of the guitar, receive trills more readily than other notes. Sanz teaches that the "*mies, ò fuftenidos*" (Mi notes, or sharps), always welcome a trill, even when there is no written indication.³¹⁶ The first course open, second course open, fourth course second fret, fifth course second fret, and any course on the fourth fret receive the designation Mi, and thus are appropriately decorated with Fa.

Example 22. One possible interpretation of the trill. The possible rhythmic variants are many.



315. Pennington, *The Spanish Baroque Guitar*, 62–67.

316. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 11v.

If one follows the later directions to match the lowest course of the guitar to the note G of the organ, then the courses and frets named above correspond to the notes E, B, E, B, G-sharp, D-sharp, B, F-sharp, and C-sharp. This information is valuable in assessing the expressivity of certain diatonic notes, as well as how the affective qualities transfer to increasingly chromatic situations.

Also pertinent is the way in which plucked-string instruments informed changes in tuning schemes from the Renaissance to the Baroque. By giving specific fret numbers for Mi notes, Sanz implicates subtle, but very important, contrasts among the placement of frets. Often citing ancient Greek and Roman authorities on intonation, theorists of the early-modern period focused on disputes over how the music of their day conformed to, or deviated from, numerical and geometrical methods of dividing a string.³¹⁷

The *mordente* (mordent) is mentioned in rule four, but receives a more thorough explanation in rule five. Notes to which a mordent should be added are marked with a curved line below the fret number. Pennington posits that Guerau was the only Spanish guitarist to properly explain the mordent. Reading through the fifth rule of *Instrvccion*, one is likely to agree with Pennington. All Sanz does to describe the mordent is compare it with the trill, stating that the mordent ends on the higher of the two notes.

The nebulous tone of Sanz may be a symptom of a deeply engrained musical tradition in Spain at the time. While the particulars of performance practice, and indeed

317. For further reading see Mark Lindley, *Lutes, viols and temperaments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

the sound world of Sanz as a whole, lie at a far remove for the scholar of today, seventeenth-century readers of *Instrvccion* would be, comparatively, rather immersed. A similar phenomenon is likely within the context of *Metodo mvi facilissimo* by Brizeño. Where Brizeño denies the reader of any melodic profile for the text that is to be accompanied by the guitar, one suspects the pieces were so well-known that little more than a notational reminder was required.

Thankfully, Pennington supplies a reasonable solution to the vagueness of the mordent: “The universal application of the mordent, and the reference by Guerau to the Italian mordent, suggest the following interpretation”³¹⁸:

Example 23. Mordent executed in the Italian manner.



Sanz points toward this application of the mordent by way of his teaching on the trill: “[The trill] does not land where the trill takes place, but, rather, a half-step below.”³¹⁹

One reads within the rule on the mordent, “The mordent sits on the same fret as that on

318. Pennington, *The Spanish Baroque Guitar*, 71, NB: I have used my own musical example in place of that of Pennington.

319. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 11v: “no se firma donde se trina, fino medio punto mas abaxo,” brackets mine.

which the trill takes place, and ends there.”³²⁰ Like Guerau, Sanz refers to the Italian manner of playing the mordent.

Musicians today employ the trill and the mordent in manners more or less similar to the ways in which musicians of the time of Sanz would have executed these ornaments. It is likely that more liberties would have been taken with a notated piece of music in Sanz’s day than in modern times. However, the historically informed musician of today is able to interpret compositions according to research on customs of performance. While the functions of trills and mordents are familiar to modernity’s musically literate, such may not be the case when it comes to vibrato, the subject of rule six.

Many of today’s guitarists who play in the Segovian classical style, as well as jazz guitarists and others, make liberal use of vibrato. *Instrvccion* considers vibrato to be an ornament unto itself, an effect distinguished from non-vibrato notes and probably not to be added too generously. Sanz uses an asterisk (*) to mark notes vibrato, but the symbol often ends up looking like a pound sign (#). Contemporaneous treatises on lute and viol techniques confirm what is taught in *Instrvccion*.³²¹

320. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 11v: “El Mordente se queda en el mismo traste que trina, y apaga alli la cuerda.”

321. Pennington, *The Spanish Baroque Guitar*, 71–72.

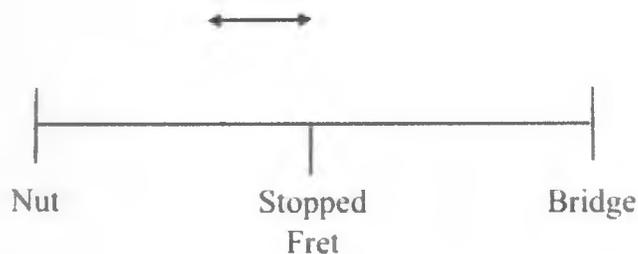


Figure 9. A diagram of the physics of vibrato during the time of Sanz.

The arrows in the diagram above show the directions in which the left hand of the guitarist is to move in order to create a proper vibrato, or *temblor* (shake), as it was known in Spanish. These arrows also illustrate correct left-hand finger placement—just behind the fret. This technical detail results in the clearest sound, and its pertinence to the art of guitar playing as taught by Sanz is in some cases confirmed by the fingerings of *alfabeto* chord shapes demonstrated in *Instrvccion*.³²² To be fully convinced of the superior tone produced by fretting the string as close to the upper fret as possible, one needs only to compare the sound with that produced by depressing the string near the lower fret. The buzzing that results from the latter manner of execution is next to intolerable.

Blues, jazz, and rock guitarists, as well as players of other styles less easily defined, and yet probably best not deemed classical in the Segovian sense, often employ a vibrato created by moving the left hand perpendicular to the string. This interpretation of

322. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fols. 14r–15r.

vibrato is not unlike the way in which a veena or sitar player would bend a string in order to arrive at a pitch altogether different from the pitch articulated originally.

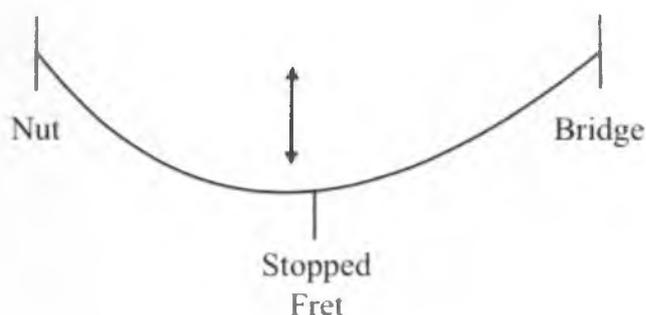


Figure 10. Modified vibrato.

My personal experience in the world of Western classical music has led me to the conclusion that the vibrato described by Sanz and his contemporaries (fig. 9) is still considered correct. Both vocalists and instrumentalists have affirmed that the note to which true vibrato is applied should dip slightly flat and return to its proper intonation. In figure 9, the proximity of the finger to the fret prevents a significantly noticeable rise in pitch. The second diagram above (fig. 10) raises the note, so would not be appropriate to many Western classical contexts. However, music is always evolving. I am not aware of any music for the classical guitar that includes directions for the second form of vibrato shown above; although, this less standard version of the ornament is not outside the realm of possibility, especially given the growing trend of notating styles of music in which it

figures prominently.

As far as performing early music in a historically accurate manner is concerned, the tendency has been conservatism with regard to vibrato.³²³ Howard Mayer Brown wrote in 1978:

In recent decades many choirs which specialize in Renaissance music seem to be developing a rather light sound, produced far forward in the mask [referring to the facial part of the vocal mechanism] and with little or no vibrato. That sort of sound produces to my ears the best results—a clear texture in which all of the polyphonic strands are clearly audible—but the justifications for such a solution are empirical rather than historical.³²⁴

While some feel that disparity between performance practices of the Renaissance and Baroque and those of modernity should be welcomed into interpretations of early music, the push for accurate recreations of lost techniques is still strong. Given the drive to imitate and complement the voice with instruments, and especially the undeniable legacy of the plucked string tradition in Greco-Roman history, one may gain insight into vocal technique through descriptions of instrumental vibrato. Vibrato could be an especially useful ornament in what has become known as word painting. Shaking and shimmering on certain words would certainly make them stand out in a crowd of notes sung non-vibrato, or as it is widely known today, straight tone.

323. Kenneth Keaton, review of *Mudarra: Vihuela Pieces*, by Alonso Mudarra, Antonio de Cabezón, Luis de Milán, Luis de Narvaez, Esteban Daça, and Diego Ortiz, performed by Raquel Andueza, s; Pierre Pitzl, vi, g; Hugh Sandilands, lute, g; Szilard Chereji, Thomas Wimmer, gamba, *Accent* 24210, *American Record Guide* 72, no. 5 (2009): 157–58, *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost.

324. Howard Mayer Brown, “Choral Music in the Renaissance,” *Early Music* 6, no. 2 (1978): 166–67, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3125600>.

In fact, all of the ornaments serve well the purpose of expressing text through tones. The slur is no exception. The slur appears in the seventh rule with the Spanish title *extrasino* (from the Italian *stracinare*, literally to drag). It is marked with a curved line beneath two or more notes to be connected. Dragging is a good description of how the slur is executed on the guitar, though Sanz is not overly clear about whether the left hand should slide from one fret to another with a single finger or implement pull-offs and hammer-ons, as they are known today. The pull-off is a descending slur in which a left-hand finger plucks the vibrating string. The hammer-on raises the pitch of a vibrating string by tapping and holding it at a given fret.

The instructions of Sanz state that the *extrasino* begins with the right hand plucking the first note within the group of notes to be slurred.



Figure 11. Slur marking given in rule seven.³²⁵

325. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 12r.

Following the striking of the first note, the left hand is to “run with some force through the joined notes, giving them whichever value the piece specifies.”³²⁶ Again, one observes that inductive reasoning plays a major role in *Instrvccion*; and while it may seem that the didactic guitar literature of early modern Spain was written with the goal of eliminating the need for teaching in person, the books tend to raise many questions left unanswered. One doubts that the longstanding tradition of dialogic inquiry between teacher and student would be abandoned so hastily.

Sanz notes that the four ornaments discussed in rules four through seven are the most common in Italian tablature. The *apoyamento* and *esmorsata* (ascending and descending appoggiatura, respectively) deserve their own rule because they are especially beautiful. Sanz uses the term *ligadura* (ligature) in an attempt to Hispanicize the terminology. Like for the mordent, Sanz marks notes to which an appoggiatura should be added with a curved line beneath the fret number. While it is unfortunate that this may confuse the student, it is also a telling piece of information with regard to the close relationship between the mordent and the appoggiatura.

The remarks of Sanz on the ascending and descending appoggiaturas’ exclusivity to the guitar is not a claim in which I am particularly confident, but the proposition interests me in conjunction with the intended result of these two ornaments, “that the

326. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 12r: “*fe corre la mano izquierda con alguna fuerza, por los numerous ligados, dandoles el valor que le pidiere la fonada.*”

guitar will not seem like a guitar, but, rather, voices unreachable for human hands.”³²⁷

One is led to believe that the most heavenly ornaments, those that imitate the voice most closely, are unique to the guitar. Additionally, the ligatures described in rule eight are rarely indicated in notated music. Pennington confirms this statement.³²⁸

Example 24. The ascending and descending appoggiaturas as described by Sanz. One possible interpretation for each is shown here. The grace-note appoggiatura is also possible in descent, as is the tied version in ascent.



In ancient Greek music, the human voice exceeded any inanimate instrument in artistic value.³²⁹ Both Arabic³³⁰ and Western European musical aesthetics agree with the Greek model, and yet *Instrvccion*, touted as a complete method for the Spanish guitar, is absent of vocal music. The guitar represented Spanish national identity, often in

327. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 12r: “*que no parezca Guitarra, fino voces, a que no llegan las manos.*”

328. Pennington, *The Spanish Baroque Guitar*, 72.

329. Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo’s Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 159.

330. Theodore Grame, “The Symbolism of the ‘ūd,” *Asian Music* 3, no.1 (1972): 29, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/834102>.

cooperation with literary sources, and Sanz was a poet himself; therefore it is curious no texted compositions appear in Sanz's book.

An ample number of sources of vocal music with vihuela or guitar accompaniment may be found in the corpus of didactic literature beginning with Mudarra. *Instrvccion* is surely a reflection of the growing acceptance of solo instrumental music, and may even be seen to extend ahead of the more traditionally humanist reliance on the spoken or written word. For Sanz, the guitar alone encompasses the musico-literary cultivation of the previous century and a half. Such a quality places the guitar in the vanguard, territory familiar to the Renaissance humanist.

Sanz mentions the Italian names for the ascending and descending appoggiaturas used by his own guitar teacher, Colista. This brings up another noteworthy component of rule eight. To some, *Instrvccion* will be regarded as a substitute teacher of sorts. In reality, Sanz's text presents valuable points on the teacher-student relationship. The question of how the vihuelists and guitarists of early modern Spain thought about teachers is open to debate, and the source material shows considerable variety.

Milán's text, the first of the seven vihuela books, draws one's attention to the dismissiveness with which Milán treats the subject of teacher-student transmission. The title, *El maestro* (The teacher, or The master), unmistakably likens the text to the method a teacher would take with a student. Moreover, in his introductory remarks, Milán claims that he never had any teachers, except for music itself. From these examples, Milán would seem to be taking an approach to music that does not require the real-time

guidance of a teacher.

Perhaps there is evidence of a contrasting opinion. The intention of the first section of Milán's book is "to teach and formally train a musician on the vihuela in the intimate manner of a teacher working with a student who has never played before."³³¹ He recognizes the intimacy of private musical instruction, but perhaps never knew its merits firsthand.

When Amat took *Guitarra española* to the press and extended the vihuela tradition into the hands of the guitarists, the question of the practicability of teacher-student education was still unresolved. Amat was writing for an audience of Spaniards who would rather not endure the arduous training required of a thoroughly informed musician. With Sanz, one witnesses the straddling of extremes—even some poignant musings on the responsibilities of a teacher.

The introduction to Sanz's book advocates the text's originality. For Sanz, no other method known to him adequately prepares the student for independent exploration in the field of guitar music. He writes, "Teachers should not show the student everything, but must clear a path so that the student does not trip."³³² One does well to take into account that, in Sanz's Spanish, both teacher and student are capitalized. This would imply that these two terms are central to *Instrvccion*. The introduction, rules six and eight

331. Milán, *El maestro*, fol. B1v: "formar y hazer un mufico de vihuela de mano: daquela misma manera que vn maestro haria en vn dicipulo que nunca huvieffe tañido."

332. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 6r: "no todo lo han de enseñar los Maestros, pero estos deven dar camino para que el Dicipulo ande fin tropieço."

of the strummed-style guidelines, and, presently, the eighth of the plucked-style rules all convey the importance of education in person.

The little historical information on Socrates scholars today have at their disposal includes the fact that this famed teacher of Plato defied the accepted definition of his profession. Socrates committed to the humanization of the educator, moving the scope of the vocation beyond the linear transmission of knowledge. If a book serves as the gift of raw material, then it is the teacher's job to go beyond the pages and carefully craft the resources into objects of value within the mind of the student. C. George Boeree reports on Socrates, "He said that he did not teach, but rather served, like his mother [the vocation of his mother was midwife], as a midwife to truth that is already in us! Making use of questions and answers to remind his students of knowledge is called maieutics (midwifery), dialectics, or the Socratic method."³³³

The Socratic method does not manifest between a reader and a book. Texts in dialogue style comprise an important part of Classical didactic literature, but these writings cannot compare with conversational experience. The philosophies of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle thrived on verbal discussion³³⁴—as did the ideas of the Romans Cicero and Quintilian.

Aubrey Gwynn studies the famous 55 BCE dialogue *de Oratore* (*On the Orator*)

333. C. George Boeree, "The Ancient Greeks, Part Two: Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle" (unpublished paper), Shippensburg University, 2000, <http://webpace.ship.edu/cgboer/athenians.html>, brackets mine.

334. Ibid.

of Cicero in a way that highlights the written work's subservience to personal interaction of many sorts. Indebted to his own father for the gift of good education, Cicero wrote the *de Oratore* as his sons were taking up the subjects treated in the text. Gwynn exalts the written work:

But the *de Oratore* is far more than a mere manual of rhetoric. With amazing literary skill Cicero has contrived to weave into the structure of his dialogue all that he had learnt from his early Roman patrons, from Diodotus, Philo, and Antiochus, and from the experience of thirty years in the forum.³³⁵

And, similar to both *Instrvccion* and the vihuela and guitar books written previously, *de Oratore* seeks a positive impact on the civil construct beyond the apparent limitations of the mechanics of the texts' subject matter. The vihuelists and guitarists shared the moral virtues of musical study; Cicero and other Greco-Roman thinkers looked, through the application of their educational theories, to ensure the general functionality of the state. Gwynn calls the *de Oratore* "an appeal to the younger generation to imitate the example which he had set them, and to aim at a wider and nobler culture than was usual in contemporary Roman society."³³⁶ *De Oratore* confronts the norm, reflecting a trend in which an aspect of the social majority is challenged. Proposing that training in the liberal arts would bring order and harmony into human affairs would return as a prominent theme for many years to come.

Around 95 CE, Quintilian published his *Institutio Oratoria*, a textbook on rhetoric

335. Aubrey Gwynn, *Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926), 81.

336. *Ibid.*

calling for a return to Ciceronian practices. Building largely on his own experience as a classroom instructor, Quintilian outlines the ideal educational tract for an orator from childhood to maturity. It is significant that he begins by proposing who, not what, should form the first lessons of children.³³⁷ The emphasis on human character is impossible to overlook.³³⁸ Charles W. Fuller notices the pragmatism of Quintilian and relates it to Aristotle as well as Sophist philosophy. But even when the main concern is as seemingly straightforward as crafting a convincing speech and delivering it persuasively, Quintilian holds to “a very strong ethical component and a key emphasis on real character.”³³⁹

Sanz tends to forego examinations of his text that would be intelligible only to music specialists, opting for topics that demonstrate human worth through ecclesiastical, governmental, and literary repute. One senses that Sanz sees much more than texts, that he recognizes the built-in shortcomings of written language. One key example of this is that Sanz critiques the shortcomings of other musical texts, then declares the importance of his own experiences as a student of the best teachers in Spain, Naples, and Rome. He does not spare his own writing, keeping to the chief goal of self-instruction through original composition.

The ninth plucked-style rule deals with *arpeado* ornamentation. Closely

337. Gwynn, *Roman Education*, 189–90.

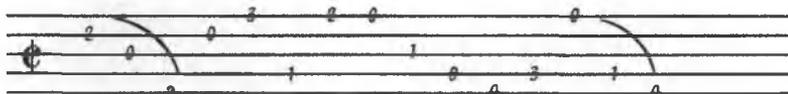
338. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, ed. E. Capps, T. E. Page, and W. H. D. Rouse, trans. H. E. Butler, Loeb Classical Library Quintilian I (London: William Heinemann, 1920), 5–25.

339. Charles W. Fuller, *The Trouble with Truth through Personality: Phillips Brooks, Incarnation, and the Evangelical Boundaries of Preaching* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2010), 99.

resembling the well-known musical term arpeggio, *arpeado* consists of plucking one note of a chord at a time—in the manner of a harp. Sanz proposes both three- and four-fingered *arpeado* styles, designating one finger to each string. The compositions of *Instrvccion* illustrate only bass-to-treble arpeggios, but the text of Sanz's guideline allows for ascent and descent. Pennington takes a page from the book of Robert Strizich, identifying the measured arpeggio as notated by Sanz, as well as two versions in which less strict note values result in quick strums, *repicco*-like bursts in ascent alone or ascent followed immediately by descent. Descent alone would also be possible.

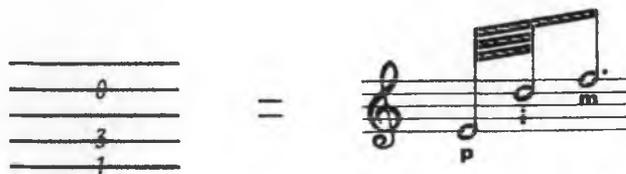
Example 25. Arpeado from the work of Pennington.³⁴⁰

- 1) The arpeggio actually notated in the music, as in the following example by Gaspar Sanz.¹¹⁰



- 2) A quick rolling of the chord from bass to treble, a form described by Guerau:

I also advise you that in those chords which contain three notes, you accustom yourself to playing them in arpeggiated fashion, which you will execute by striking first with the thumb the course which it plays, then with the index finger, and finally with the middle finger, such that you do not hold the chord any longer than its indicated value, nor allow the beat to falter. (5r.)

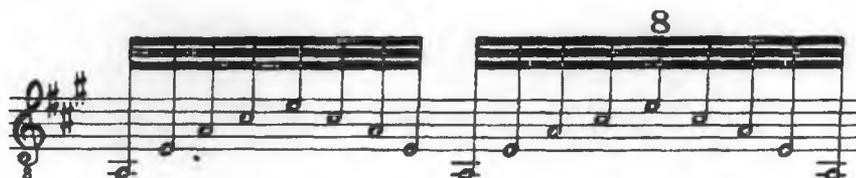


- 3) A rolling from bass to treble and back to bass, perhaps with repetitions, to fill the given time value of the chord:



340. Pennington, *The Spanish Baroque Guitar*, 74–75.

Or perhaps:



Example 26. Sanz requires that the thumb strike first, but one must not dismiss potential variation by more curious students.



Unlike the vihuela or the guitar, the harp was welcomed into Spanish chapels before it played an increasingly significant role in popular song during the last quarter of the seventeenth century.³⁴¹ Thus, in contrast to the guitar's struggle from association with the untouchable toward learned musical legitimacy, the harp enjoyed the favor of the elite before late-Baroque *tonos* and *villancicos* attracted harp accompaniment. Again the guitar is found in a position to translate between instrumental languages. Imitating the sound of the harp, the guitar invokes a culture foreign to the barbershops and rowdy theaters it usually calls home. It is obvious then; the language of popular music in the time of Sanz aimed at inclusivity. Class boundaries weakened with relaxed limits between one

341. Bordas, "The Double Harp in Spain," 152–53.

instrument and the next.

Ornaments are a reminder that a wealth of expression lies beyond notation. One may argue that so expansive a practice as *ad libitum* embellishment contradicts the position that Baroque guitar music shares with Spanish humanist poetry the maxim “nothing in excess.” Responses to such an argument may rely on the fact that ornamentation was considered an indispensable component of Renaissance and Baroque guitar playing. It was to be employed in a measured fashion; random or overindulgent applications are generally understood as patently incorrect.

In past as well as modern contexts, observations of common guitar technique show the left hand positioned in front of the heart. The left hand is the primary agent in most ornamentation, and thus, in an anatomically spiritual sense, one might say that ornaments are the building blocks of a highly expressive and, almost literally, heartfelt aspect of the art of guitar playing. Medieval physicians in the West inherited the belief that a small vein connected the fourth finger of the left hand directly to the heart, the belief connected to the tradition of placing wedding rings on this finger. While the physiological truth to this argument has been unequivocally dispelled, Renaissance Europe perpetuated the idea passed down by many Classical and Medieval scholars.³⁴² The modern wedding customs of the West continue the practice in spite of scientific advances.

342. Adrian W. B. Randolph, *Engaging Symbols: Gender, Politics, and Public Art in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 122.

Studying a perpetually changing and often evasive system of performance practice, aside from confirming likenesses between language and music, offers a chance to re-examine ideas that situate the Renaissance humanist not in direct philosophical opposition to scholasticism, but, rather, in a historiography that defines humanism to be a focus on topics with which scholastics did not concern themselves.³⁴³

The least sprawling definition of Renaissance humanism confines the movement to the study of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy. Some are hesitant to propose a quintessentially humanist philosophy, but the nature of language itself begins to close the gap between the mechanics of speech and writing and more sociological issues having to do with human rights and civic policy.

If the possibility of divine intervention may be considered with skepticism for now, then language is created by humans. Perhaps the human construction of language is a justification for relating a strict description of Renaissance humanism to philosophical aspects of the Renaissance-humanist mindset. Furthermore, language can be a method of communicating divine or religious experiences, holding strong connections to the creative artistic process that proved so crucial to humanist culture. In Western Europe, literacy was inextricably linked to the Church.

Looking to pre-Christian times, some researchers have shown associations

343. C. B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, and Eckhard Kessler, *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 113–14.

between the Latin alphabet and the cycle of the zodiac.³⁴⁴ Another example of language's forming philosophical and religious thought (perhaps the formation is less causal and more a cooperative synthesis of language and spirituality) appears in the Vedic texts of Ancient Indo-Persia. The formal progression of the *Vedangas* (*Organs of the Vedas*), subsets of the principal canon of Hindu scriptures,³⁴⁵ parallels a viably structured course in the capacities of linguistic eloquence: phonetics, grammar, poetry, etymology, astrology (and astronomy), and Vedic action (pragmatics of ritual worship, proper execution of chants, overall application of principles).

The purpose of the *Vedangas* is to preserve traditional enactments of the religious texts of Aryan settlers on the Indian subcontinent.³⁴⁶ The likeness and relevance to Renaissance Europe might not be immediately convincing for everyone, but especially with the history of Arabic and Persian interaction with cultures of South Asia in mind, the topic of communication and exchange from West Asia to Western Europe validates an observance of shared functions of language in society.

The tenth guideline closes the section on plucked technique. The aim is to coordinate the right and left hands, a facet Sanz thinks paramount and, accordingly, tells

344. For more sources, refer to the work of Santos Bonacci as well as that of Alvin Boyd Kuhn.

345. Vladimir Braginsky, *The Comparative Study of Traditional Asian Literatures: From Reflective Traditionalism to Neo-Traditionalism* (London: Curzon, 2001), 45.

346. S. Yegnasubramanian, "The *Vedangas* (*Organs of the Vedas*)," Indic Studies Foundation website, <http://www.indicstudies.us/Hinduism/Vedangas.htm>.

his readers to “pay attention, for the following is very important.”³⁴⁷ Indeed, the ensuing advice turns out to be central not only to guitar technique, but also to the present study’s aims of revealing humanist thought within the culture of the early Spanish guitar.

The uncomplicated and, for the ornaments, widely germane concept of the tenth rule is the championing of legato articulation over “hammer playing,”³⁴⁸ a term relatable to the mechanism that sounds the strings of a plucked-string keyboard instrument. Sanz warns that making a keyboard of the guitar is offensive to the ear. This results from insufficient left-hand preparation in descending passages; if the string is not depressed at a lower fret before lifting the finger from a higher fret (e.g., fifth fret descending to the third fret on the same string), then a messy staccato effect is produced. Other instances of a preference for legato may be found in the teachings on *arpeado* and, relatedly, in a common plucked technique called *campanelas* (little bells) whereby scalar passages are distributed among several strings, creating fluidity and resonance. The seven ornaments just outlined by Sanz also exhibit tendencies toward legato. With regard to what may be interpreted as contempt for plucked-string keyboard instruments, one’s understanding will be aided by learning that, compared to many other Western European countries that embraced the lute and harpsichord, Spain showed less hospitality to these instruments, reserving a significant portion of the accompaniment responsibilities for harpists.³⁴⁹

Continuo ensembles in Spain consisted mainly of the organ, harp, and vihuela (or

347. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 12v: “atiende, que lo figuiente importa mucho.”

348. Ibid., fol. 13r: “tañer de martinete.”

349. Bordas, “The Double Harp in Spain,” 155.

guitar). These are instruments whose histories abound with imitation of the human voice. Legato is demonstrated most purely with the voice, and so Sanz again validates the guitar by way of the instrument's vocal capabilities. The superiority of vocal music, particularly that which sounded over lyre accompaniment, is illustrated in Greco-Roman culture by the mythological contest in which the god Apollo and Marsyas, a flute-playing satyr from Phrygia, test each other's musical skill.

The goddess Athena invented the flute. Repulsed by her own inflated cheeks and contorted features, the unfortunate side effect of the respiratory exertion required of playing, she rid herself of her invention and cursed whoever would find the discarded wind instrument. Marsyas found the flute, gave many well-received performances, and, with his ego inflated much larger than his cheeks, invited Apollo to a musical duel. The loser was to suffer any punishment the victor chose.

The bout began, and, for a while, the two musicians performed equally well on the lyre and flute, respectively. No change to the stalemate was to occur until Apollo made a cunning proposition. The deciding phase of the competition was to consist of playing and singing simultaneously. Clearly, the singing talents of even the finest of musicians would be essentially silenced by flute embouchure. Marsyas was defeated and skinned alive. Sir Peter Ustinov jokes, "That was musical criticism at its most active."³⁵⁰

That the story of Apollo and Marsyas was known in early modern Spain is

350. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, "Apollo: Light and Harmony," Films on Demand, 1995, 00:17:44–00:20:40, <http://0-digital.films.com.opac.sfsu.edu/PortalPlaylists.aspx?aid=1681&xtid=32806>.

evidenced by the entry *Marsias* in the dictionary of Covarrubias.³⁵¹ This myth is also referenced by Mudarra. For the authors of the guitar methods, references to Greco-Roman mythology were common devices. Amat's praise is sung in a poem by Montserrat Bastus that depicts Amat with the lyre of Apollo.³⁵² Don Gonzalo de Mendoza likewise commends Doizi de Velasco, addressing a poem to the guitarist for whom he reserves the title Portuguese Apollo.³⁵³ Instancing mythological plucked strings is a continuation of the humanist aesthetics of the vihuela books.

A thorough treatment of how the lyre relates to lyric poetry would be too extensive for this thesis, but the obvious etymological connection reinforces bonds between early modern poetics and ancient organology. The *New Oxford American Dictionary* (2005) defines lyric poetry: "Expressing the writer's emotions, usually briefly and in stanzas or recognized forms."³⁵⁴ Unlike *New Oxford American*, the *Tesoro* of Covarrubias demonstrates that at least the Renaissance-to-Baroque Spanish intelligentsia, if not the literate in a broader sense, set the lyre and lyric poetry side by side.³⁵⁵ Covarrubias names the Greek Pindar and the Roman Horace, lyric poets who receive the title for composing poetry and singing it with lyre accompaniment.

Poets were the lifeblood of Greco-Roman spirituality. Edith Hamilton states, "The

351. Covarrubias y Horozco, *Tesoro*, s.v. "Marsias," 1249.

352. Amat, *Guitarra Española*, fol. A3v.

353. Doizi de Velasco, *Nuevo Metodo*, fol. A3v.

354. *New Oxford American Dictionary* (2005), s.v. "lyric."

355. Covarrubias y Horozco, *Tesoro*, s.v. "lira," 1203.

myths as we have them are the creation of great poets.”³⁵⁶ The epic poetry of the myths differs from the passionate lyric verses, but, in Classical thought, the two genres possess commonalities. According to Pindar, the nine Muses, along with being patrons of all types of song, shared ownership of the lyre with Apollo. Hamilton asserts, “The man they [the Muses] inspired was sacred far beyond any priest.”³⁵⁷ The poet-priest-musician figure of the Spanish Renaissance plays an important role in music and letters. Encina and Mudarra call to mind fundamental aspects of ancient holy men, but perhaps Espinel best displays the characteristics of the divinely inspired lyric poets. He was a poet. He was a priest. He composed and performed his own texts with guitar accompaniment.³⁵⁸

In rule ten, the beginning guitarist learns to correctly interpret the rhythm of a piece of music. An explanation of tempo is not rendered, but several tempo indications enhance the *punteado* compositions of book three of *Instrvccion*. Dynamic markings appear in book two and continue in book three. Unfortunately, Sanz does not tend to tempo or dynamics in the guidelines. An exposition of these two components of music could have added to an understanding of the guitar that highlights the instrument’s ability to convey emotion and meaning. An explanation of duple and triple meter is laid out, but any teleological difference between the two is not discussed. The complexities of mensural music are not germane to *Instrvccion*. Simple versions of two of today’s

356. Edith Hamilton, *Mythology: Timeless Tales of Gods and Heroes* (New York: New American Library, 1940), 14.

357. *Ibid.*, 37, brackets mine.

358. Ayala Ruiz, “Vicente Espinel,” 8–9.

frequently employed time signatures are enough to prepare for the remainder of the method book. In this thesis I will refer to mensuration sign or time signature as appropriate to historical context.

Sanz again enters into intellectual territory central to the evolution of education. Drawing his outline on how to follow notated rhythm to a close, he claims that the student will now be able to read any piece of tablature without requiring the instruction of a chapel master. These words strike the scholar interested in humanism for two reasons. First, they challenge what is written above (pp. 191–95) on Sanz’s possible support for individual private instruction. This possible support is likewise brought into question by the cover of book two of *Instrvccion*, which advertises the acquisition of guitar skills without a teacher. Second, one must observe the wording Sanz chooses, that he writes *Maestro de Capilla* (chapel master) and not just *Maestro* (teacher, master). The title unaffiliated with ecclesiastical settings appears numerous times in *Instrvccion*.

That the guidance of a chapel master—not simply a teacher—is eschewed clearly displays the exit of mensural notation from the Church. If a student were to have required the help of a teacher to learn mensural notation, such a teacher would have been a chapel master—or so it is implied. In this migration of literacy, an elite system of musical nomenclature stands out against the auro-oral roots of the folk guitar tradition.³⁵⁹

359. I have employed the compound auro-oral here to describe the unwritten side of guitar tradition. The term joins aural, implying the transmission of music by listening, and oral, meaning transmission through speech, song, and even instrumental music as

Written culture did not outshine orality during the so-called Golden Age of Spain, ca. 1500–1700; this statement is supported in a study by Chad M. Gasta on the poetry of the period.³⁶⁰ Nonetheless, the exportation of letters from the Church was of prime importance for the entire era. From Erasmian criticism of an ecclesiastically dominated society to performances of lowly, popular song in the house of God, a major topic of Golden-Age culture was the exchange between linguistic and musical registers of the clerics and those of society at large.

The rise in literacy during the sixteenth century in the dominant kingdom of Castile escaped the close supervision of the Church at a time when fiction was contentious among those concerned with preserving the ethics of publicly available texts.³⁶¹ Due to the infrequency with which seventeenth-century composers published their music, Stein postulates a low rate of musical literacy among the general public.³⁶² But the number of Spaniards able to read and write the common tongue (not music) continued to grow into the seventeenth century. Thus, linguistic competence and musical skills would seem to have been moving in opposite directions in terms of prevalence among the populace.

performed, as opposed to instrumental music as notated. Auro-oral will continue to appear as this thesis progresses.

360. Chad M. Gasta, “‘Señora, donde hay música no puede haber cosa mala’: Music, Orality, and Poetry in *Don Quijote*,” *Hispania* 93, no. 3 (2010): 362–63, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25758207>.

361. Sara T. Nalle, “Literacy and Culture in Early Modern Castile,” *Past & Present*, no. 125 (1989): 65–76, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/650861>.

362. Stein, “Spain,” in *The Early Baroque*, 327.

Although, as the number of book owners did not always faithfully represent literacy rate,³⁶³ so the scarcity of publications for the guitar is incommensurate with the instrument's ubiquity, especially as an emblem of the vile.³⁶⁴ The guitar was associated with the disenfranchised, and so respected men of letters' authoring readily available didactic texts on the instrument serves to instill a sense of literacy and, relatedly, refinement and tradition. It is interesting, in my opinion, to note the divergent approaches to notation exhibited by Amat, Brizeño, Doizi de Velasco, and Sanz. Each writer brings written culture into the guitar world differently.

Before Sanz closes his first set of guidelines with excerpts of Latin poetry,³⁶⁵ he places a weighty moral imperative upon the reader: "To banish idleness with so decent an exercise as this [playing the guitar]."³⁶⁶ The call is to move from laziness to positive, prudent action. This demand of Sanz's involves the reader's return to his or her "principal occupation,"³⁶⁷ an activity in which the benefits of guitar playing are supposed to be seen. The plan is an overall honing of character toward greater efficacy in one's professional role.³⁶⁸

Mudarra gives comparable worth to the vihuela, submitting, "Cicero . . . said the

363. Nalle, "Literacy and Culture," 68–74.

364. For further reading see Alberto del Campo Tejedor and Rafael Cáceres Fera, "Tocar a lo barbero: La guitarra, la música popular y el barbero en el siglo XVII," *Boletín de Literatura Oral*, no. 3 (2013): 9–47, dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/4706687.pdf.

365. A discussion on this subject may be found on pp. 157–62 of this thesis.

366. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 13v: "*defterrar el ocio con exercicio tan decente como este*," brackets mine.

367. *Ibid.*, "*principal ocupació*."

368. *Ibid.*

Greeks thought the abode of the highest erudition to be the voice and the strings [of the lyre or kithara].”³⁶⁹ Valderrábano shares the sentiment, citing Socrates and Plato in an exaltation of true music, which “balances the emotions with the intellect, giving rise to consonance of reason, knowledge, feeling, understanding, and judgement of the good in order to avoid the bad.”³⁷⁰ The three vihuelists Pisador, Fuenllana, and Daça also continue to promote the virtues of plucked strings. Amat and the guitarists worked in the same vein.

The presiding theme of the plucked-style rules speaks of the empowering effects of written language, situating it at an important crossroads between classes as well as musical aesthetics. Sanz tends to the usefulness of learning in his call to act on the responsibilities of one’s vocation. The questions posed by the introduction of notation into a mostly auro-oral musical culture touch upon the role of language in the diffusion of philosophical, religious, and moral teachings. More specifically, the folk-inspired work of the Spanish guitarists echoes the collecting of popular poetry a century prior.

Archiving previously uncatalogued folk verse was not the only way to appreciate the rustic style that appealed to Spanish court circles. Learned men emulated the newly accepted forms. Laird points out that, in the second half of the fifteenth century, the first

369. Mudarra, *Tres libros*, fol. A2v: “*Marco Tullio Ciceron en el primero de las Tusculanas: toca tambien lo de Epanimundas: y Themistocles: iuntamente con dezir que los griegos pensauan estar en los cantos delas bozes: y sonido delas cuerdas la fuma erudicion,*” brackets and ellipses mine.

370. Valderrábano, *Silva de firenas*, A2: “*je acuerdan las potentias fenfitiuas e intellectiuas, de donace la consonancia de la razon, del conofcer, del fentir, del entender, del iuzgar lo bueno, para huir lo malo.*”

unequivocal instances of *villancicos* were being composed by Spanish poets and musicians. The authorship of the earliest *villancico* might be credited to the Marquis of Santillana (1398–1458). But, scholars continue to debate the accuracy of this information, citing sources in which the poem whose title contains the first emergence of the term *villancico* is attributed to Suero de Ribera (fl. ca. 1450–1480). Another possibility is that the poem in question received the title later, in the sixteenth century, when the *villancico* was no longer a novelty.³⁷¹ Santillana and Ribera were men of considerable erudition who displayed their humanist training through their poetic work. The same may be said about Juan del Encina, the main exponent of the *villancico* at the dawn of the sixteenth century.

The poem possibly remained unnamed for at least half a century; nonetheless, foreshadowings and genuine early examples of *villancico* poems originate in settings where Classical learning played important roles. The *Cántigas de Santa Maria*, *Cancionero Herberay des Essarts*, *Cancionero de la Biblioteca Colombina*, and *Cancionero Musical del Palacio* exerted an artistic influence on the development of the *villancico*. The 1496 work *Arte de poesía castellana* (*Art of Castilian Poetry*) by Encina dignifies the practice of verse composition by identifying its presence in the sacred texts of the ancient Hebrews and Greeks.

As Laird notes, this same text of Encina's supports "the early conception of the *villancico* as a rustic refrain."³⁷² Blanca Periñán offers more consequential information:

371. Laird, "The Coming of the Sacred *Villancico*," 140.

372. *Ibid.*

“The first signs of the popular current [of poetry] emerge at the Neapolitan court of Alphonse the Magnanimous.”³⁷³ On pages 39–40 of this thesis I relayed that Milán worked at the Valencian court of the Dukes of Calabria, where the culture of Alphonse’s court was preserved. The popular and the Classically learned would continue to commingle for the next two centuries.

Humanism is a lettered discipline, but it is also an exercise in civic responsibility. Guitar music, as hopefully it has been and will continue to be demonstrated in this study, shares a similar pair of qualities. It is at once a science and art, in addition to wielding the power to influence and reflect upon society in general. In the words of historian Juan Brom, “Above all, it is art that expresses, to varying degrees of fidelity, the mindset and inner workings of a given class.”³⁷⁴

373. Blanca Perinián, “Las poesías de Suero de Ribera: Estudio y edición crítica anotada de los textos,” *Miscellanea di studi ispanici* (1968): 122: “*las primeras muestras de la corriente popularizante se dan en la corte napolitana de Alfonso el Magnánimo,*” brackets mine.

374. Juan Brom, *Para comprender la historia* (Mexico City: Grijalbo, 2003), 167: “*Es sobre todo el arte el que expresa, con mayor o menor fidelidad, el estado de ánimo y las características del ‘mundo’ de la clase en cuestión.*”