

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

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Chapter Six:
Figured-Bass Rules One through Six

In *The Early Baroque Era: From the Late Sixteenth Century to the 1660s* (1994), both Curtis Price and Louise Stein recognize the comparatively early uptake of figured bass in Spain. Both Price and Stein point to the quintessentially Spanish tradition of solo song with vihuela or guitar accompaniment.³⁷⁵ The familiar custom of pairing a vocalist with a lute-family instrument seems to have acted as a channel through which the innovative practice of figured bass was able to assert itself in Spain, where, in general, foreign advances in music were otherwise slow to put down roots.³⁷⁶ At the courts and academies of northern Italy, figured bass in published form was first seen in the works of Jacopo Peri (1561–1633), Giulio Caccini (1551–1618), and Emilio de' Cavalieri (ca. 1550–1602). Composer Lodovico da Viadana (ca. 1560–1627) was also central to the promulgation of the new mode of accompaniment.³⁷⁷ Scholarly opinion generally reaches the consensus that the new Italian style of accompanying made its way to Spain in the early-seventeenth century.

However, one finds vestiges of practices that, while perhaps not universally accepted as figured bass *per se*, suggest the Spanish had a significant interest in systems of musical shorthand that would allow for improvised accompaniment over a notated bass

375. Curtis Price, "Music, Style and Society," in *The Early Baroque*, 10.

376. Stein, "Spain," in *The Early Baroque*, 330.

377. Marla Hammel, "The Figured-Bass Accompaniment in Bach's Time: A Brief Summary of Its Development and an Examination of Its Use, Together with a Sample Realization, Part I," *Bach* 8, no. 3 (1977): 27, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41640029>.

line. Marla Hammel reports on the Spanish musician Diego Ortiz (ca. 1510–ca. 1570), author of the 1553 work *Tratado de glosas sopra clausulas y otros generos de puntos en la musica de violones* (*Treatise on the Ornamentation of Cadences and Other Kinds of Notes in the Music for the Contrabass-Viol*): “One of the suggestions which Ortiz gives to the *violone* player . . . is that he might play an ornate melody while the *cembalo* [harpsichord] is providing an accompaniment over a given bass, consisting of chords and counterpoints suitable to the melody.”³⁷⁸

Ortiz worked under Spanish nobility stationed in Naples, where Spain had exerted viceregal authority since 1504.³⁷⁹ Just as the harpsichord was generally excluded from the normal Spanish continuo ensemble of organ, harp, and vihuela (or guitar), so could it have been in Neapolitan practice? Seeing as Spain was the ruling power, one is not surprised to find that archetypically Spanish plucked strings figured prominently in the musical life of Naples and nearby Rome. More so in southern Italy than in the north, the guitar proves to be a logical antecedent to the establishment of figured bass, a learned practice indebted to popular, auro-oral customs.

James Tyler stresses the importance of the influence of south-Italian music on the Florentine Camerata, the famed academic circle within which the study of Greco-Roman music shaped monody, the new and immeasurably pivotal compositional technique that

378. Hammel, “The Figured-Bass Accompaniment,” 27, brackets and ellipsis mine.

379. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Kingdom of Naples,” <http://www.britannica.com/place/Kingdom-of-Naples>.

was to be so crucial to opera. Figured bass is definitive of the monodic style, as well as being tied to the four- and five-course guitars of southern Italy, particularly the Spanish territory of Naples. Tyler summarizes,

Recent ground-breaking research [These words of Tyler's were published in 2002] by Howard Mayer Brown and, especially, John Walter Hill has demonstrated the singular importance of south-Italian singing and accompanying practices, including the flexible sprezzatura (an artistic, seemingly nonchalant use of rubato and other dramatic devices to express the emotional content of song texts); the incorporation of recitational style and improvised, florid ornamentation; and the style of accompaniment, wherein simple harmonies derived from the bass line were played on a chordal instrument, often by the singer. Hill has noted also that many of the performers and composers employed at the northern courts, who played leading roles in the development of monody, were either Roman, Neapolitan, or trained by south Italians.³⁸⁰

Caccini and Cavalieri are counted among these performers and composers employed in the north. The historical motif of the guitar as an instrument suitable for self-accompaniment crops up repeatedly in the operatic milieu. It is an accurate reissue of ancient musico-mythological imagery. Tyler relates the Renaissance practice to a more modern context:

Apparently, it was common practice in sixteenth-century Rome and Naples to sing poetry to the accompaniment of standard recitational formulas. Sometimes these formulas were composed for a specific occasion, using a simple harmony and a neutral, almost chant-like melodic line; but more often than not a stock harmonic ground, such as the Romanesca, Tenor di Napoli, Ruggiero, or Passamezzo antico, played on a lute, cittern, or, above all, a guitar, was used to support the text. This style of singing a text to a chord pattern (not necessarily with a high degree of melodic profile) may be likened somewhat to a mid-

380. Tyler and Sparks, "*The Guitar and Its Music*," 37, brackets mine.

twentieth-century coffeehouse poet or folk-club vocalist, intoning or singing to a standard blues chord progression. Of course, in the Renaissance the practice was not confined to popular culture; indeed, the most celebrated court singers cultivated it to the level of high art.³⁸¹

To emphasize the humanistic, Tyler's digression into modernity becomes increasingly captivating when one contemplates the sociopolitical underpinning of twentieth-century popular song. Strains of dissidence in twentieth- and twenty-first-century music for voice with guitar-based accompaniment highlight moral philosophy within the genre. In this light one may view Renaissance and modern popular music alike, representatives of, as Ayn Rand writes, "art as a social document."³⁸²

Returning to the Renaissance period, Tyler notes that the 1520s saw the spread of south-Italian music for voice and lute-family instruments across Italy and into other parts of Europe.³⁸³ This musical style was not without precedent in Naples, where the courts and academies of the late 1400s were graced by the improvisations of dall'Aquila and Il Chariteo. Hence, the history of figured bass, like that of a humanistically inspired conception of the guitar on a more general level, finds common ground with the history of Spanish humanism typified by the work of DiCamillo; far from purely Italian, the formation of figured bass owes much to Spanish culture.

The body of written works by Spanish music theorists does little to confirm the presence of figured-bass practice during the time between the works of Mudarra and

381. Tyler and Sparks, "*The Guitar and Its Music*," 38.

382. Ayn Rand, *The Fountainhead* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1943), 69.

383. Tyler and Sparks, "*The Guitar and Its Music*," 38.

Sanz. Howell finds that the period in question furnishes but one hasty treatment of figured bass, a single page in *El porqué de la música* by Lorente.³⁸⁴ Yet, looking to the method book of Amat, one encounters in print a viable comparison to the pre-Florentine Camerata accompaniment styles of southern Italy described above.

The eighth chapter of Amat's *Guitarra* deals with an expeditious intabulation procedure. Setting forth a rather ambitious claim, Amat proposes a table in which the six syllables of the hexachord are paired with guitar chords in order to enable the swift conversion of any polyphonic piece of music to guitar tablature.³⁸⁵

384. Howell, "Symposium," 65.

385. Amat, *Guitarra*, 28–37.

Example 27. Using this table, Amat explains how to assign guitar triads to the sonorities of fully notated scores.³⁸⁶

fa, ut,	d	f	g	l.	l	n	n	p	q	r	x	z							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12							
sol, re,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—							
	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10							
la, mi,	p	q	r	x	z	d	f	g	h	l	m	n							
	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8							
fa,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—							
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1							
ut, sol,	p	q	r	x	z	d	f	g	h	l	m	n							
	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11							
re, la,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—							
	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9							
mi,	x	b	z	d	b	f	g	b	h	l	m	b	n	p	b	q	b	r	b
	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7							

386. Amat, *Guitarra*, 31.

Example 28. An unidentified piece arranged by Amat.³⁸⁷

The image shows a musical score for three voices: Soprano, Alto, and Bass. Each voice part is written on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Soprano and Alto parts consist of a sequence of notes with stems and flags. The Bass part also consists of notes with stems and flags, but it includes a series of figured bass symbols above the notes. These symbols are: b, b, bb, bbbb, and db. Below these symbols are the corresponding numbers: 64, 356, 45 7, 853434, 67587, 5, 475656.

At first glance, the figures over the bass look nearly identical to that which one might find in a figured-bass part. The numbers actually indicate chord shapes though, not intervals from the bass. Amat's is a system similar to the Italian *alfabeto* employed by Sanz. A full explanation of Amat's method of intabulating polyphony would be too extensive for the present study; briefly, the process consists of following the lowest voice of the notated composition and, according to the consonances among the other voices, choosing one of twenty-four chord shapes so that the harmonies are most accurately encapsulated. One expects objections to the claim that a mere twenty-four block harmonies might do justice to Palestrina, one of the most revered late-Renaissance master

387. Amat, *Guitarra*, 35.

contrapuntalists. Nevertheless, the guitar reduction is a practicable point of departure, if only for offering a logical hand position with which the main notes of the source composition might be reached. Laying this triadic framework is not uncomparable to the practices of the vihuelists, who would often significantly alter vocal scores to fit their instrument.

Figured bass and comparable systems proved very useful in sacred and secular music alike. Here one must address a possible distinction between figured bass and *basso continuo*. Although scholars often regard the two terms to be synonymous, Hammel claims, citing the work of F. F. Arnold, that the two are differentiated by the inclusion of numbers in the former, and the absence thereof in the latter. As one might expect, figured bass is seen as an outgrowth of *basso continuo*.³⁸⁸

In Spanish music, the tradition of improvised accompaniment from a bass line appears earlier in secular than in sacred contexts. One fairly early example of how sacred music would have adopted *basso continuo*—an example pertinent to the goal of this thesis—is found in the devotional *tonada* in Castilian “A Domingo, con razón” by Juan Bautista Comes (ca. 1582–1643).

388. Hammel, “The Figured-Bass Accompaniment,” 27–28 via F. F. Arnold, *The Art of Accompanying from a Thorough-Bass as Practised in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries* (London: The Holland, 1961), 6.

Example 29. An excerpt from the vernacular corpus of Comes. “A Domingo, con razón,” mm. 1–11.³⁸⁹

A Domingo, con razón

Tonada

Leg. X-29
Trans.: J. Climent

Tiples solo

(1) Acompañamiento

A Do—min-go con ra—zón

fes—te—jan sus hi—jos to—dos por que

Many works in the style of “A Domingo, con razón” continued to be composed throughout the rest of the seventeenth century, often going unpublished. The resourceful practice that has become known as recomposition, often illustrated through instances in which worldly texts were replaced by spiritual texts, figured prominently in music of the period. During the lifetime of Comes, the practice of sacred composition was moving

389. Juan Bautista Comes, “A Domingo, con razón,” in *Juan Bautista Comes (1582?–1643): Obras en lengua romance*, vol. 4, *Villancicos a los Santos*, ed. José Climent (Valencia, Spain: Instituto Valenciano de Musicología, 1979), 25.

from imitative polyphony toward polychoral homophonic textures. Motets began to include more elaborate instrumentation, while Masses kept accompaniment to the bass.³⁹⁰

The rules on figured bass from *Instrvccion* are part of the work's second book. Therefore, the first two editions of Sanz's work did not treat figured bass at all.³⁹¹ It is clear that the most pressing concern of Sanz was to share his knowledge of strummed and plucked styles in *alfabeto* and tablature notation, respectively. The sequence in which he wrote his volumes duplicates the historical background put forth above.

Introducing the twelve rules on figured-bass accompaniment, Sanz clarifies his purpose, "that the content of this compendium serve all musicians equally."³⁹² He proceeds to qualify his statement, mentioning guitarists, organists, and harpists specifically. Even with these details, the desire for establishing a universal system shines through. Page 62 (note 105) of the present thesis alludes to inter-instrumental translation among the guitar, harp, and organ by way of the front cover of *Instrvccion*. Amplifying this potential for rich instrumental crossover, the front cover of book two adds indefinitely to the three instruments mentioned above "any other instrument."³⁹³

Far from the world of nominal pitch, figured bass according to Sanz calls for the tuning of the guitar to the fixed-pitch system of the organ. The third course of the guitar

390. Greta J. Olson, introductory study to *Juan Bautista Comes Masses Part I: Masses for One and Two Choirs*, ed. Greta J. Olson (Madison, WI: A-R, 1999), ix.

391. García-Abrines, prologue and notes to *Instrvccion*, xxxiii.

392. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 28r: "para que lo contenido en este Compendio, sirva igualmente para todos los Muficos."

393. Ibid.: "QVALQUIER OTRO INSTRVMENTO."

is to be tuned to G, and from there, one proceeds as in the earlier rule on tuning. Here the shortcomings of a nominal-pitch tradition are resolved, perhaps arguably sterilized; limitless preparations of an instrument known for mutability are unified, systematized.

It is fitting to introduce a brief discussion on how the famed Spanish author Miguel de Cervantes y Saavedra (1547–1616) reshaped the picaresque novel in his exemplary novellas. The picaresque tradition thrives on tales of roguery, of the underclass depicted through the literal and figurative journeys of its individuals in a society of deceit, corruption, and yet, opportunities for social mobility. E. Michael Gerli has called it the “literature of delinquency.”³⁹⁴ It is of the utmost significance that, skirting the traditional exposition of the *pícaro* (rogue)’s own heritage, *El licenciado Vidriera* (*The Man of Glass*, 1613) by Cervantes does away with one of the picaresque school’s ruling components. Gerli explains,

While consciously alluding to the central picaresque motif of the search for a master (*búsqueda de amo*), Cervantes here also emphatically disavows from the outset the picaresque’s ideological determinism, which obliged characters to furnish an a priori identification of themselves while outlining their genealogy, naming their place of origin, and giving an account of their social status. Instead, the young man willfully refuses to supply his curriculum vitae and the anticipated genealogical details, establishing both his and the narrator’s belief in the primacy of the individual dissociated from a prehistory that circumscribes his actions or

394. E. Michael Gerli, *Refiguring Authority: Reading, Writing, and Rewriting in Cervantes* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995), 12.

places into question his liberty or personal moral worth. In short, Cervantes repudiates the principle of family lineage (*linaje*) in a literary as well as a social sense and opts for the confirmation of the preeminence of the person as the foundation for the portrayal of his character.³⁹⁵

From the unmeasured tunings of folk guitar playing emerges a single standard to which, for figured bass at least, all guitarists should accede. Like the process of Cervantes's literary criticism, which arrives at a new rendering of the picaresque conformable to a level moral playing field, the vileness of common guitar playing is brought into a musical arena wherein, with the help of fixed systems of tuning and notation, it is metaphorically cured of its previous ties to the undesirably base. *Pícaros* were often tied to impure, or *converso* lineage, families whose recent history showed conversions from Judaism or Islam. The early guitar is affiliated with the so-called *cristianos nuevos* (new Christians) as well.³⁹⁶ One is quick to look suspiciously upon the organ as a symbol of hegemonic force, but it is possible to argue that the guitar's acceptance into circles of erudition points to the cessation of past prejudices.

Keeping to Cervantes for a moment, one will take note of his esteem for Espinel, whom he recognizes among Alonso de Valdés, Fray Luis, Lope, Góngora, Argensola, and a long list of other *ingenios* of early modern Spain. Now would be a good time to recall that Espinel himself wrote a picaresque novel, *Vida del Escudero Marcos de Obregón* (1618), a largely autobiographical account. The following is the Spanish of Cervantes with a poetic translation into English by H. Oelsner and A. B. Welford:

395. Gerli, *Refiguring Authority*, 13.

396. Campo Tejedor and Cáceres Fera, "Tocar a lo barbero," 12–13.

*Del famoso Espinel cosas diría
que exceden al humano entendimiento,
de aquellas ciencias que en su pecho cría
el divino de Febo sacro aliento.
Mas, pues no puede de la lengua mía
decir lo menos de lo más que siento,
no diga más, sino que al cielo aspira,
ore tome la pluma, ora la lira.*

(Words I might speak of famous Espinel
That pass beyond the wit of human kind,
Concerning all the sciences that dwell,
Nurtured by Phoebus's breath, within his mind;
But since my tongue the least part cannot tell
Of the great things that in my soul I find,
I say no more save that he doth aspire
To Heaven, whether he take his pen or lyre.)³⁹⁷

Cervantes's mastery of word play is widely recognized.³⁹⁸ In the passage above, he shortens the Spanish word *ahora* (now) to *ora*, altering the first appearance of the abbreviation in such a way that it bears resemblance to the subjunctive mood. The Dictionary of the Royal Academy of Spain confirms that changing *ahora* to *ora* is not a practice unique to Cervantes;³⁹⁹ yet, in the context that houses it here, the device yearns for recognition as a Classically-inspired play on words.

397. Miguel de Cervantes y Saavedra, *La galatea* (Alcalá de Henares, Spain: 1585), ed. Jas Fitzmaurice-Kelly, trans. H. Oelsner and A. B. Welford (Glasgow: Gowans and Gray, 1903), 268–69.

398. Professor Michael Hammer, email correspondence, December 16, 2015.

399. *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, s.v. “ora,”
<http://dle.rae.es/?id=R8JoZLt>.

The Spanish *orar*, from the Latin *orare*, means to pray. Knowing that an orator is one who speaks with eloquence in public, the word *ora*, be it indicative of prayer or delivering a speech (or both), catches the eye of the student interested in humanism. As Espinel takes his pen, the *lira* (lyre, but here referring to the five-course guitar) prays—or does it speak?

Another deciphering of the word play sees *ore* and *tome* as first-person conjugations of the preterite tense. Correctly accented, the words would be *oré* and *tomé*. Entertaining this interpretation, and permitting poetic license to be flexible with the grammar of the Spanish, I have furnished the following translation: I prayed, then took up my pen. Now the lyre speaks.

If all opportunities for word play are denied, then at the very least one finds the pen and the guitar together. For Espinel, a leading artist of his age, these tools bring him one step closer to his heavenly aspirations.

Continuing in preparation for his twelve rules on figured-bass accompaniment, Sanz provides a list of the eight church modes. That Sanz lists only eight modes speaks to the antiquated conceptions of theory prevalent in Spain. It is a well-known fact that, all the way back in 1547, Glarean proposed in his *Dodecachordon* the addition of four more modes to the traditional set of eight. *Instrvccion* lays out the eight traditional modes and pairs each with an *alfabeto* harmony, which may easily be seen as an effort in translation from Latin- to vernacular-based music.

As far as I know, I am the first to write about the following important attribute of

this modal-*alfabeto* compatibility of Sanz. Owing to the fact that no *alfabeto* harmony is repeated, Sanz's list may suggest that certain accidentals were employed more frequently than others, depending on mode and ambitus. For example, Mode I takes a D-minor triad while Mode II takes a G minor triad. Modes I and II share the same final—one might classify them to be two versions of the same mode—but the G-minor triad contains a B-flat. Could this lead to a detailed understanding of how certain modes were chromatically altered? **While it may seem there are very few altered notes, the heptatonic Ionian and Aeolian modes from each triadic root broaden the possibilities.** To be clear, table 1 does not include any transposed modes. The roots of the triads do not necessarily match the modal finals.⁴⁰⁰ A brief discussion on this topic will be offered in chapter 9, where primary-source compositions more thoroughly form the basis of discourse. For now, see the table below.

400. I realize root is a modern term. In the interest of concision and in order to avoid unnecessary tangents, I have employed a tonal-theory term to which most readers will relate more easily, despite the problem of anachronism.

MODE	TRIAD	ACCIDENTALS
I	D Minor	None
II	G Minor	B-flat
III	E Minor	None
IV	A Minor, but ends with E Major	None, but ends with G-Sharp
V	C Major	None
VI	F Major	None
VII	A Minor	None
VIII	G Major	None

Table 1. Sanz's mode-*alfabeto* pairings.⁴⁰¹

From the declarations of Sanz that encompass all musicians to the requirement of tuning the guitar to the organ, and then the mode-*alfabeto* pairs, the introduction to the rules on figured bass do much to underscore support for popular style within a sacred setting. Figured bass was not confined to sacred music, but Sanz's reference to the organ as well as to the *Cantor*, as opposed to *cantante*, pique one's interest in how the rules are to be used.

Addressing the readers of *Nuevo modo de Cifra*, Doizi de Velasco directs his words "AL MVSICO, CANTOR, y Cantante (To the Musician, Singer, and singer)."⁴⁰²

401. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 28v.

While it is difficult to document differences between *cantor* and *cantante* in Spanish dictionaries, the title of *Nuevo modo de Cifra* gives a valuable clue.

Doizi de Velasco uses the two terms as if they held separate meanings. If they were interchangeable, then why include both? Moreover, prior and subsequent headings tend to use all capital letters for main words, leaving subtitles and less powerful details lower cased and, where appropriate, with capitalized initial letters. The front cover credits Doizi de Velasco thusly: “*POR NICOLAO DOIZI DE VELASCO, musico de camara de su Magestad, y dela del Señor Infante Cardenal.*”⁴⁰³ Doizi de Velasco’s name is set in all capitals, but chamber musician remains lower cased. Magesty and Sir Cardinal, Son of the King receive initial capitals. *Nuevo modo de Cifra* is dedicated to “*D. MARGARITA DE AVSTRIA BRANCHIFORTI, Y COLONA.*” In the long list of royal titles and territories over which Doña Margarita presides, nowhere does a word set in all capital letters appear. The last example offered here is relevant to an examination of the lesser status of women in early modern Spanish society. Don Francisco of Balboa and Paz offers a poem, and is recognized in a format that keeps his maternal surname below the honor of his paternal surname: “*D. FRANCISCO DE BALBOA, y Paz.*”⁴⁰⁴

Paolo Gozza dicusses the importance of ancient divisions of music as a complex intellectual entity. He notes that Boethius handed down this methodology to theorists of

402. Doizi de Velasco, *Nuevo Modo de Cifra*, 1.

403. *Ibid.*, front cover.

404. *Ibid.*, vi.

the Renaissance,⁴⁰⁵ namely, Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–1590), whom Doizi de Velasco frequently cited. Concluding *Nvevo Modo de Cifra*, Doizi de Velasco identified his work with the “Pythagorean-Boethian tradition”⁴⁰⁶: “Musician, the name held by he who knows music both theoretically and practically . . . Singer (*cantor*), he who reads and performs music . . . Singer (*cantante*), he who has not studied, but sings out of curiosity or natural inclination.”⁴⁰⁷ The Spanish *cantor* finds itself in use in modern English as well. With origins in the mid-sixteenth century, the word has come to designate a singer leading Jewish or Christian worship specifically.⁴⁰⁸ If Sanz’s use of *cantor* does not apply only to a singer of liturgical music, then it almost certainly implies a singer educated in the theory and notation of music—not just guitar tablature, but composition on the staff. Musical literacy was tied much more closely to ecclesiastical culture than to the laity.

Rule one is the perfect embodiment of a rebirth of ancient music theory within the parameters of modal polyphony. The three genera of ancient Greek music are dressed with triadic harmonies. Sanz was upfront about the diatonic scale, but identified neither the chromatic nor enharmonic genera by name. Be this as it may, the musical examples speak for themselves. The first of three scales Sanz proposes to be integral to figured bass is a diatonic scale from G, Mode VII. The second is the same fundamental heptatonic scale from G, but harmonized with only minor triads. That this second scale corresponds

405. Paolo Gozza, ed., *Number to Sound: The Musical Way to the Scientific Revolution* (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer, 2000), 10–13.

406. *Ibid.*, 12.

407. Doizi de Velasco, *Nvevo modo de Cifra*, 79.

408. *New Oxford American Dictionary*, s.v. “cantor.”

to the chromatic genera is easy to see; instead of the triad G-B-D, the first sonority is chromatically altered—G–B-flat–D. The other chromaticized chords occur as B-minor, C-minor, D-minor, and F-minor triads. The third scale may be seen as enharmonic in the sense that it shares the major triad from G with the diatonic scale, but differs in that its harmonizations are all major triads. Sanz applies the three-generae system of the ancients to practical accompaniment patterns consisting of major and minor triads.

Example 30. A simplified version of the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic scales as harmonized in *Instrvccion*.⁴⁰⁹

The image displays three staves of musical notation, each containing seven triads. The first staff shows the diatonic scale harmonization with triads G major, A minor, B minor, C major, D minor, E minor, and F major. The second staff shows the chromatic scale harmonization with triads G major, G-flat major, A minor, A-flat major, B minor, B-flat major, and C major. The third staff shows the enharmonic scale harmonization with triads G major, G-sharp major, A minor, A-sharp major, B minor, B-sharp major, and C major.

In the context of figured bass, Sanz conceives of Mode VII tetrachordally. A G-major triad begins the lower tetrachord, which proceeds to an A-minor triad and then, in order to avoid the B-F diminished fifth as well as any accidentals, the sonority from B features a minor third and a minor sixth. A C-major triad completes the lower tetrachord

409. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 33r.

as well as commencing the upper. Thus, Mode VII is harmonized as two conjunct tetrachords. Ancient Greek music theory is largely dependent on the interplay between conjunct tetrachords—those in which the highest note of the lower tetrachord begins the upper—and disjunct tetrachords—those in which the highest note of the lower tetrachord and the lowest note of the highest tetrachord are separated.⁴¹⁰

Sanz teaches that the Mi notes of the diatonic scale are to be harmonized with a minor third and a minor sixth. Therefore, one assigns the following syllables to Mode VII: Ut (G) Re (A) Mi (B) Fa/Ut (C) Re (D) Mi (E) Fa (F). Hexachordal theory is alive and well. In a potentially frustrating, though ultimately informative example of the association between *punteado* style and contrapuntal theory, Sanz harmonizes the note E of the diatonic scale with a perfect fifth and major third in *alfabeto* notation, but a minor sixth and minor third in tablature. Traditional vocal range is also maintained; Sanz directs the student to follow the same procedures for the middle and high registers as for the low.

410. Matthew Shirlaw, "The Music and Tone-Systems of Ancient Greece," *Music and Letters* 32, no. 2 (1951): 138, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/729343>.

Example 31. Musical example from the first of the twelve figured-bass rules. Spanish tuning shown here in modern notation.⁴¹¹

Example 32. Musical example from the first of the twelve figured-bass rules in Roman tuning and modern notation.⁴¹²

The figures above depict three distinct versions of a portion of the first rule. Sanz provides *alfabeto* for the tetrachord G-A-B-C. The transcription of the *alfabeto* appears first (ex. 31). Next, in spite of Sanz's explicit statement that the tablature provided in rule one is for playing in the plucked style—and the appropriate tuning for the plucked style

411. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 33r.

412. *Ibid.*

would not necessitate a bass clef in modern transcription—I have provided the tablature transcribed as if it were meant for a Spanish tuning, in this case with octave fourth and fifth courses. The plucked-style tablature appears after the double bar line of example 31.

My reasoning is well founded on an important aspect of the very first rule of *Instrvccion*, where Sanz counts among the uses for octave courses “to provide the bass for a vocal or instrumental soloist.”⁴¹³ Lastly, example 32 shows rule one in Roman tuning. The clumsy repetition of the note C, occurring on unison courses, results in a rather weak, incomplete sound, which challenges the notion that plucked-style tablature within the figured-bass rules is intended only for plucked-style tuning.

Rule two might serve as a counterargument to the notion that the figured bass practices of Sanz align with the chromaticized expressiveness of the *stile moderno*. This second rule places restrictions on composers’ freedom to employ accidentals wherever they wish—though this freedom would likely not have been arbitrary, but, rather, in accord with the text of a given piece—moreover, the rule is silent on concord between music and text in favor of upholding conventional applications of chromaticism.

As usual in *Instrvccion*, Sanz leaves generous room for exceptions to the rules. He notes that one “tends” to see sharps on G, C, D, and F. Explaining flats, Sanz is firmer, stating that “only” E, B, and A are to be flatted.⁴¹⁴ This less flexible stance reflects the persistence of hexachordal theory; E, B, and A are the Mi notes of the natural, hard, and

413. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 8r: “acompañarse el baxo con algun tono, ò sonada.”

414. *Ibid.*, fol. 29r: “se fuele,” “felo.”

soft hexachords, respectively. It should be clear by now that this exposition of accidentals contrasts sharply with the system of *alfabeto*, which permits triads with major and minor thirds from any note. Studying the seemingly rigid policy on flats more closely, one finds potential additions to E, B, and A. If one is to allow for transposed modes, a concept long associated with the equally tempered vihuela and guitar, then possibilities grow significantly within Sanz's assertion that "flats are added only to Mi notes."⁴¹⁵

Like clues of more adventurous uses of sharps and flats hiding within the strictures of modal polyphonic theory, progressive humanists in Spain had to confront or adapt to the conservative attitudes of the greater constructs of society. One need only review this study's expositions of the writers of the period in question in order to observe a general trend of subversion at one or another level. Fray Luis is a good example of the dynamic interplay between the old and the new, the conventional and the progressive. He is particularly interesting, in my view, because he was an educator.

In 1561, the students of Salamanca University elected Fray Luis professor of Thomistic philosophy. He taught theology also, at the same institution. These fields were territory of the scholasticists, but it is said Fray Luis moved in reformist circles, representing the humanist pursuit of eloquence and its ensuing functionality. He did not hesitate to address and attempt to improve "older methods in matters of the purely

415. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 29r: "*Los Bemoles se juntan folo a las notas, y fignos que tienen mies.*"

learnèd world,”⁴¹⁶ and did so with close attention to problems of translation from Classical to Renaissance languages, as well as sharpened focus on moral teachings of the ancients and their synthesis with Christianity. J. D. M. Ford perceives “the theologian who is also a humanist and philologist, one whose is motto is—‘*Philologia theologiae ancilla*’ [philology is the maidservant of theology]—but who believes that the servant deserves considerate treatment from her mistress.”⁴¹⁷

As this study progresses, I am increasingly drawn to the union between what Atlas considers to be a divided view of the movement that has come to be known as humanism.⁴¹⁸ On one hand, there is the Kristellerian idea of humanism; humanism belongs to the *umanista*, professor of the five *studia humanitatis*. On the other, one finds what may be called an attitude of humanism, a somewhat amorphous context in which Classical studies—those in which morality took shape by way of linguistic excellence—were pervasively reintroduced to the Western European world. It seems impossible to disentangle from either of these perspectives, as well as the two conjoined, the ubiquitously recurring motif of a sincere empowerment of marginalized sectors of society. Lope praises the pioneering work of Fray Luis:

416. Ford, “Luis de León,” 270.

417. Ibid.

418. Atlas, *Renaissance Music*, 701–02.

You were the august glory of Augustus,
 You the honor of the Castilian tongue,
 Which you desired to present in written form;
 You saw that it imitates Latin so much,
 That it might compete with this language of Rome.⁴¹⁹

In Christian Western Europe, many humanists wove religious sentiment, an effective bridge across class boundaries, into their thinking.

The attempt to extend knowledge and learning to the common classes in their own language appears in the Bible itself. But Jesus's use of parables is not a simple matter of changing linguistic registers. The parable of the sower (Matthew 13:1–23) is not just an explanation of the word of God for peasant farmers. Jesus himself reveals, according to scripture, that the reason for which parables are required is that those who have strayed from the teachings of the old covenant will be denied a pure understanding of “the secrets of the kingdom of heaven”⁴²⁰ as taught in the New Testament. As much as one wants to appreciate the poetic nature of the parables, there is no denying that one factor of coded

419. Lope de Vega y Carpio, *Laurel de Apolo, con otras rimas . . .* (Madrid, Spain: Iuan Gonçalez, 1630), fol. 33v–34r:

*Tu fuiste gloria de Augustino Augusta,
 Tu el honor de la lengua Castellana,
 Que deseaste introducir escrita,
 Viendo que a la Romana tanto imita,
 Que puede competir con la Romana.*

420. Matthew (Gospel) 13:11, (Revised Standard Version, Second Catholic Edition).

language is self-evident—the clearest possible communication is hindered. Arguably, this ciphering of thought is a process by which the teaching is greatly enriched.⁴²¹

The third of the twelve rules on figured bass draws on text, tablature, and bass lines to teach three types of cadences. Showing himself to be a bit of a conservative, not an unusual occurrence in *Instrvccion*, Sanz plainly states that the three types of cadences described in rule three exhaust the possibilities: “Rule Three: Accompanying All the Cadences of the Bass.”⁴²² Like the second rule, the third rule contains much that may be seen as contrary to the allowance of unprepared dissonance. But, yet again able to respond to absolutism with diplomacy, one locates important evidence supportive of the guitar’s innovation.

I will now provide an explanation of example 33 (below). Further details will be given preceding example 34. I have chosen four-two time because it affords temporal space for the solo part, which is absent from the score. The notation of Sanz does not indicate a mensuration sign or a time signature, but four-two time facilitates the depiction of rhythmic requirements found in Sanz’s text. Like prior transcriptions into modern notation, the octave, unison, and single-string courses of the Spanish guitar are distributed among three staves. Additionally, example 33 makes use of a figured-bass part, above which the realization is found in the aforementioned three staves.

421. Loyola Press, A Jesuit Ministry, “Parables and How Jesus Taught with Them,” (Loyola Press, 2013), <http://www.loyolapress.com/parables-and-how-jesus-taught-with-them.htm>.

422. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 29r: “Regla tercera: para acompañar todas las cadencias, y claufulas finales del baxo.”

All of the cadences are separated from each other by double bar lines. Sanz calls the first two cadences closed cadences; this is a type of cadence distinguished by the bass's descending by perfect fifth or ascending by perfect fourth. The notated ties to A and F in the first and second cadences, respectively, conform to Sanz's requiring that harmonic perfect fourths from the bass be appropriately prepared, that the two notes of said interval are not articulated at once. The third cadence of example 33 is a variation on the closed cadence. In this variant, the four-three suspension is "covered"⁴²³ by a sixth and a fifth.

The second of Sanz's three cadence types is exemplified in the fourth, fifth and six cadences. It is called a stepwise, or tenor cadence. The bass descends by step from Fa to Mi, and finally to Re. Variations include Mi, Re, Ut or La, So, Fa (fifth cadence below) and So, Fa, Mi (sixth cadence below). Seven-six suspensions are prepared with ties.

The seventh and final cadence of example 33 is defined by the bass's use of a motive characteristic of the *tiple*. *Tiple* is a Spanish term for the highest voice; cantus is a more well-known word with the same meaning. The motive Fa, Mi, Fa in the lowest voice gives the cadence its name, *cadencia de tiple* (cantus cadence). A two-three anticipation between the bass and the *tiple* couples with parallel sixths between the two lowest voices, illustrating one interpretation of Sanz's open-ended combination of text, tablature, and figured bass.

423. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 29v, 33r: "cubierta."

Example 33. A modern transcription of portions from the rule-three example. Text, tablature, and staff-notation bass lines with figures integrate.⁴²⁴

The image displays two systems of musical notation. Each system includes a vocal line (treble clef), a lute line (treble clef), and a bass line (bass clef). The bass lines are annotated with figured bass notation (figures) such as 43#, 43, 65, 43#, 6, 76#, 3, #, 6, 76, 3, 6, 3, 6, 2, 6, 3. The score is in 4/2 time and features various musical notations including notes, rests, and accidentals.

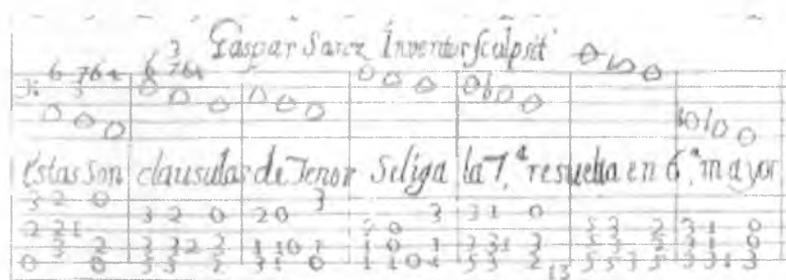
The text of rule three is indispensable to the application of the rule's principles. Standard performance practice and *musica ficta* also play into the clear communication of the ideas of Sanz. It is in the text that Sanz gives details on preparing dissonances with ties, chromatically altering intervals that do not appear with accidentals in the figured

424. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 29r–v, fol. 33r.

bass, and how to treat a fourth voice, if the accompanist opts for a fuller texture or, for example, does not want to double the solo part. It is significant that in the lute-style tablature that accompanies the bass line and figures, opportunity for unprepared dissonance abounds.

Be it a shortcoming of tablature format or an omission on the part of Sanz due to his having explained in words the specifics of how the cadences are to be executed, the absence of important details separates guitar tablature from traditional theory. One is able to argue that, standing alone, the intabulated realizations of the figured bass depict key aspects of the new style. Ties are nowhere to be seen. Relating the intricacies of formal counterpoint as espoused by Sanz seems incompatible with his system of tablature.

Example 34. Sanz's format shows a figured bass in staff notation above tablature for the guitar. Note the absence of ties in the tablature.⁴²⁵



Reading further on in rule three, after the text accompanying the tablature and figured-bass notation, one notices a tone in which innovation and humility mix. Sanz makes it known that neither Corbetta nor Juan Bautista Granada communicate contrapuntal or compositional guidelines; they do not offer repertory-like examples of bass lines with which the principals are to be employed. In stating this, he foregrounds his personal progress. Yet, he defers both to several of his contemporaries in the field of instruction on figured bass as well as to his “great teachers.”⁴²⁶ There is an unmistakably humble, perhaps even self-deprecating way about the closing words of the third rule on figured bass: “The following words of advice . . . will fall short only as a result of their having been reforged by my inferior talents.”⁴²⁷

425. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 33r.

426. Ibid., fol. 30r: “grandes Maestros.”

427. Ibid., “las advertencias de abaxo . . . solo tendran de malo, el aver estado en la fragua de mi corto talento,” ellipsis mine.

Comparable attitudes were adopted by many Spanish musicians and writers working in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The authority of tradition reared by Church-and-state powers had an important part to play in artistic and intellectual culture, but did not eclipse the individual, a human agent possessing free will and capable of meaningful inquiry. *The Measure of Things: Humanism, Humility, and Mystery* (2008), a book on philosophy by David E. Cooper, provides an example of the endurance of the issues described above.

Philosophy professors A. W. Moore and Peter Poellner, as well as the *Times Higher Education Supplement*, laud Cooper's tome, the thesis of which revolves around embracing mystery as a solution to "the impasse reached when humanism and absolutism are both rejected."⁴²⁸ Cooper examines necessarily pluralistic subjective inquiry—each human being manifests his or her own perspective on the universe—against a single metaphysical truth. "He argues, in an original manner, that the rival positions are indeed guilty of a lack of humility."⁴²⁹

A call for humility might be made in the name of modern musical culture as well. A strong financial incentive marks—perhaps mars—mainstream music and competitive conservatories alike. A greater awareness and more active mimesis of music history would provide a counterbalance to the drive for originality and self-expression, and

428. Amazon.com, description of *The Measure of Things: Humanism, Humility, and Mystery*, by David E. Cooper (Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.amazon.com/The-Measure-Things-Humanism-Humility/dp/0199235988>.

429. Ibid.

especially for Western-classical enthusiasts, to the obsession with reproducing flawless interpretations of sounds long since past. My admonition applies to an adoption of historically established musical philosophy in so far as this heritage may deem music a tool for understanding the world, far from just a vehicle for self-promotion and personal advancement.

I think of *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725) by Johann Joseph Fux. The teacher in this dialogue-style text says to his student-to-be, “Perhaps the hope of future riches and possessions induces you to choose this life? If this is the case, believe me you must change your mind; not Plutus but Apollo rules Parnassus. Whoever wants riches must take another path.”⁴³⁰ This quote serves the purpose of demonstrating the persistence of Classical learning, its centrality to post-Renaissance generations. The science of music, especially that of plucked chordophones, shows ever more relevance as a method of worshipping the divine and as a microcosm of nature, even an extension in the universal chain of creation: divine mystery, man, instrument. Vis-à-vis man’s building plucked chordophones in his own image, the Spanish guitar certainly stands out.

Figured-bass rule number four lays out an important rhythmic aspect of accompaniment. The basic premise of this guideline is that chords should be assigned only to strong beats. Only duple meter appears in the explanation of Sanz. He describes semiminims, crochets, and semicrochets. The notation represents the textual explanation

430. Johann Joseph Fux, *Gradus ad Parnassum*, trans. and ed. Alfred Mann (New York: W. W. Norton, 1965), 20.

with quarter-, eighth-, and sixteenth-notes, respectively. For the sake of clarity, I make the disclaimer that the net result is the equivalent of the time signature known to today's musicians as cut time. One half-note comprises one half of each measure.

Example 35. Figured-bass rule four.⁴³¹



As one will see from example 35, five of six measures feature chords only on beats one and two (if one were to think in modern four-four time, then the chords would occur on beats one and three). In the fourth measure, the second half of beat two (in cut time) is filled out with a chord. Sanz describes this anomaly in the text of rule four. His text and music conclude that, at times, it is permissible to play chords on weak beats if the bass happens to approach the note on that beat by a third. Considering the rhythmic flare characteristic of much Spanish music from the Baroque, one may be surprised Sanz writes in such a conservative manner. Hemiola, so favored a device of Spanish

431. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 34r.

composers, has no place in the fourth guideline. Other syncopations are basically prohibited by the simple fact that Sanz does not discuss them.

While one may begin to question if this figured-bass teaching is conducive to expressive texts, daring chromaticism, and lively folk rhythms, some lateral thinking may be required so that more traditional, word-to-tone renditions of musical humanism may be addressed. In this regard, a single concept applies to strummed-style harmonic patterns and contrapuntal restraint alike. The limitations put on instrumental accompaniment allow for clearer audibility of the text. When the guitar is occupied with emphasizing a steady beat, subtleties of the relationship between text and melody are more easily appreciated. Another explanation for the bland treatment of rhythm is that *Instrvccion* was written with the beginning guitarist in mind.

The Spanish repertory of music convenient for solo voice with figured-bass accompaniment contains several cases in which the concepts of rule four seem to be flouted. The predominance of triple meter in the repertory begs for more attention paid to groups of three equal beats early in the unfurling of the rules. The first unambiguous appearance of triple meter is found in rule ten.

Sanz himself challenges the limits of rule four in the exercises following the musically notated explanation of rule twelve. One notices discrepancies between theory and practice. Moreover, Sanz again requires induction, leaving the deviations from his teachings devoid of textual elaboration. In light of *Instrvccion*'s paucity of detail with regard to the intricacies of the rhythm of accompaniment, one sees that the Spanish guitar

was still working its way up into music of high culture. Thirty years before *Instrvccion*, in the most recent didactic treatise before that of Sanz, Velasco touched on some principles of accompanying from a bass line, but neglected to include practical examples resembling the repertory itself. Perhaps harpists would be better acquainted with the idiosyncracies of art songs suitable for figured-bass arrangement.

However, the musical characteristics of the traditionally Spanish *romances viejos* (old ballads), as arranged by the vihuelists, crop up again in a later setting of an Italian sonnet in Spanish.⁴³² I have shown the Spanish guitar to be an outgrowth of the vihuela, so the possibility of solo voice–and–guitar arrangements of seventeenth-century polyphonic vocal music should not be discarded. In the case that multiple continuo instruments would replace the lower parts of a polyphonic vocal work, especially a secular piece, the guitar would have likely been present.

Example 36 (below) comes from the 1625 Spanish *Cancionero de la Sablonara*, a collection of secular vocal polyphony that exemplifies

the confluence of the diverse popular, or popular-like, musical idioms that surged around the turn of the seventeenth century. . . . The underlying polyphonic texture of the majority of works in the *Cancionero* is also indicative of the more popular idiom: the three- and four-part works usually consist of two interchangeable upper parts (tiples) that tend to proceed in parallel thirds, while the lowest part (bass, bajete, or tenor) is oriented towards a more harmonic function; and whenever there is a middle part (usually an alto), it serves as a “filling-in.”⁴³³

432. Etzion, *Cancionero*, lv.

433. *Ibid.*, l.

With the melodic interest situated in the *tiples* and the harmonic role of the bass, the music found in the *Cancionero de la Sablonara* is easily transcribed in figured-bass notation. Apart from the description of texture found in the citation above, Etzion references romance settings of the vihuelists. The old ballad style, either purely vocal or with vihuela accompaniment, possesses the following attributes: phrases consisting of one line of poetry each, rare instances of textual repetition, duple meter, long note values implying a relatively slow tempo, predominating homorhythm, low and narrow range, and anapestic anacrusis at the beginning of each phrase.⁴³⁴ The setting of the Italianate sonnet below (ex. 36) shares all of these qualities.

434. Etzion, *Cancionero*, 1.

Example 36. The opening three phrases of a *soneto* setting by Blas.⁴³⁵

21. Desiertos campos, árboles sombríos

Soneto A 4

Juan Blas

f. 21v - 23r

De - sier - tos cam - pos, ár - bo - les som - brí -
 Ri - be - ras sor - das, des - pe - ña - dos rí -

De - sier - tos cam - pos, ár - bo - les som - brí -
 Ri - be - ras sor - das, des - pe - ña - dos rí -

De - sier - tos cam - pos, ár - bo - les som - brí -
 Ri - be - ras sor - das, des - pe - ña - dos rí -

435. Juan Blas de Castro, "Desiertos campos, árboles sombríos," in Etzion, *Cancionero*, 85–86.

⑥

os, me dro-so va- lle, ló-bre-go y ce-rra-do, al
 os, in-cul-to mon-te, es-té-ri-l, e-ri-za-do, e-

os, me dro-so va- lle, ló-bre-go y ce-rra-do, al
 os, in-cul-to mon-te, es-té-ri-l, e-ri-za-do, e-

os, me dro-so va- lle, ló-bre-go y ce-rra-do, al
 os, in-cul-to mon-te, es-té-ri-l, e-ri-za-do, e-

⑫

mie-do tris-te-men-te co-ro-na-do de os-
 co que de mis que-jas a-ni-ma-do for-

mie-do tris-te-men-te co-ro-na-do de os-
 co que de mis que-jas a-ni-ma-do for-

mie-do tris-te-men-te co-ro-na-do
 co que de mis que-jas a-ni-ma-do

Hence, one observes the assimilation of high-culture foreign poetry into musical styles associated with native Spanish verse. The sonnet of the *Cancionero de la Sablonara* is representative of “the more erudite, fashionable trend of the so-called

sixteenth-century ‘Spanish madrigals.’”⁴³⁶ However, the Hispanicization of the Italian sonnet along folk-inspired lines was clearly important for Blas. The auro-oral old ballad was attractive to vihuelists, and continued to entice the subsequent generation.

With regard to rule four of *Instrvccion*, one must realize that the bass line of the Blas disobeys the teachings of Sanz. The bass line also follows the teachings in an important way. One prospective point of contention deserves clarification before any more detailed analysis.

Sanz’s musical example for rule four appears to be in cut time, while the Blas is transcribed into modern notation in common time. But this discrepancy does not impinge upon the basic logic behind the rule and its exceptions. Sanz does not explicitly hold his teachings to the time signature employed in his musical example. “Every down beat and every up beat should receive chordal accompaniment,”⁴³⁷ he writes, and qualifies his statement not with a prescribed mensuration sign or time signature, but, rather, with a discussion of note values. Furthermore, the exercises provided as practice for the twelve guidelines of figured bass are composed in common time, but place stress on beats one and three.

The sonnet setting by Blas also accents beats one and three. The recurring rhythmic emphasis is achieved by several means. Quarter-note anacruses place weight on beat one, as in the last beat of measures 1, 7, and 11. Cadences on beat one of measures 6,

436. Etzion, *Cancionero*, lix.

437. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 30r: “*todo el dar, y alçar de compás, se deve acompañar.*”

11, and 15 highlight beat one. Beat three receives some attention from the quarter–dotted–eighth rhythm in measure 12, but assumes its due importance in earnest when one begins to study the word accents of the text.

In the first iteration of the above example, referring to the top line of text, there are ten first beats of the measure on which syllables begin; seven receive syllables accented in speech. The three that do not receive the spoken accent occur at cadences, displaying Blas’s organizational skill and attention to linguistic detail. All of the spoken accents in the above portion of the text that are not assigned to beat one sound on beat three instead. This type of metrical accent has been passed down to modern music.

The full chords on beats other than one and three are integral to the style of Blas’s sonnet setting, especially in so far as they imitate spoken language. The following is an extract from the opera *La púrpura de la rosa*, a work drawn from the music of Juan Hidalgo (1614–1685) and that of Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco (ca. 1644–1728).

Example 37. The syllabic-style arioso response, with figured-bass, of Adonis to a question asked by Venus.⁴³⁸

No sé, que a som-bras me dor - mí... dees-tos tron-cos, y co - mo se sue-len re-pe-
 tir en fan - tas - mas del sue-ño dea-que-llo quean-tes vi las es-pe-cies, so -
 ñe queel fie - ro_ ja-ba - lí

Here too, spoken accent aligns faithfully with the accents on beats one and three, respectively, in common time. Beat three of the first measure receives the stressed syllable *som* of *sombras*. The accented *mí* of *dormí* commences the following measure. The excerpt continues on in this manner; this solo for Adonis holds to metrical accents on one and three throughout. When the bass proceeds in quarter notes, figures on beat two

438. Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco and Juan Hidalgo, *La púrpura de la rosa* (Lima, Peru: 1701), ed. Louise K. Stein (Madrid: ICCMU, 1999), 71.

challenge the rule of Sanz. In his practical examples, Sanz duplicates this tendency.

Clearly, Sanz admits that the exception proves the rule. To borrow terminology from the language arts, practical usage differs from grammar theory.

Example 38. Sanz's figured-bass exercises, mm. 1–11.⁴³⁹



An excerpt from the figured-bass exercises of *Instrvccion* appears above. In measure 1, the full chord on beat two serves to establish the modal final. The same device is employed in measure 3, but this time the tenor is rectified. In measure 5, the harmonic focus returns to the final. Though the terminology is modal—the title of the exercises explicitly mentions Mode I—one easily observes an early example of the tonally minded compositional practice of establishing the tonic triad at the outset of a piece via alternation between tonic- and dominant-function harmonies.

Pablo L. Rodríguez describes the undying native Spanish elements in the music of composer Sebastián Durón (ca. 1660–1716) in a 2003 edition of Durón's *Oficio de*

439. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 35r.

difuntos (Office for the dead), a sacred composition in Latin. Though foreign influences on Spanish music were steadily growing, Durón is known for his blend of Spanish conservatism and international innovation. Chief among the traditional characteristics of Durón's music is the integration of instruments into the vocal parts, as opposed to a more strictly *concertato* separation of voices and instruments.⁴⁴⁰ Reminiscent of the guitar's close associations to the voice, here too one finds a push toward uniting the sounds of the voice with the sounds of an instrument. The metrical accents of figured bass relate to the ideas of Sanz.

Example 39. Durón, *Oficio de difuntos*, mm. 18–44.⁴⁴¹

440. Sebastián Durón, *Oficio de difuntos a tres y cinco coros*, ed. Pablo L. Rodríguez (Madrid: Alpuerto, 2003), 28.

441. *Ibid.*, 71–73.

30

Fl I
Cl B♭
Tp
can De - o: No - li me, no - li me con-dem - na - re:

VII
Cl B♭
A
De - o: No - li me, me, no - li me con-dem - na - re:

Cl C
T
o: No - li me, me, no - li me con-dem - na - re:

Tp
A
C4
T
B
no - li me con-dem - na - re: no - li me, no - li me con-dem - na - re in -
no - li me con-dem - na - re: no - li me, no - li me con-dem - na - re in -
no - li me con-dem - na - re: no - li me, no - li me con-dem - na - re in -
no - li me con-dem - na - re: no - li me, no - li me con-dem - na - re in -

Tp
A
C5
T
B
no - li no - li me, no - li me con-dem - na - re in - di - ca
no - li no - li me, no - li me con-dem - na - re in - di - ca
no - li no - li me, no - li me con-dem - na - re in - di - ca
no - li no - li me, no - li me con-dem - na - re in - di - ca

Ac
Ac

Example 39 demonstrates the text's governance of rhythm, as well as its authority to bend the rule that assigns accompanying harmonies to strong beats only. *Amaritudine* (bitterness), beginning in measure 20 in chorus four (two measures after the beginning of the excerpt), is set according to spoken accent through measure 30. The syllable *tu* is correctly given a long note value in imitation of how the word would be spoken. *A* from *animae* (soul) is stressed on beat one in all but the triple of choir one, making for a brief point of incipient imitation. *Dicam* does not conform to the notion that beats one and three are inherently strong, but the figured bass (second part from the bottom) fills in for the voices.

The word accent of *noli* asks for a strong beat on *no*, but it is denied, save for choir one in measure 40. On *condemnare*, Durón regains traditional rhythmic stability. That Durón decided to disobey the agreement between word accent and metrical accent at this particular juncture is notable. Altering the expected rhythmic scheme underscores the powerful text, "I say to God: do not condemn me."⁴⁴²

Example 40 comes from Francisco Valls (1665–1747). Many bass figures appear on beats two or four, though word accents align with metrical pulse on the words *vides* (mm. 15–17) and *animosa* (mm. 17–18). *Firmat* and *fides* (mm. 18–20) take part in a confusion of word and metrical accent at the cadence ending on the first beat of measure 20.

442. Durón, *Oficio*, 72–73: "*Dicam Deo: Noli me condemnare.*"

One point in common with the typically Spanish music of *La púrpura de la rosa* is frequent movement through the circle of fifths. Harmonic shifts of Valls take place from C to G, followed by D and A, and then imply the flat side of the circle of fifths after melodic material reminiscent of the opening theme of the motet (measure 14). Stein describes the changes of mode of *La púrpura*:

The harmonic scheme of the opera has been moving from the “higher” realm of sharps to the “lower” realm of flats along the circle of fifths, not through the rationalized, symmetrical movement characteristic of early eighteenth-century modulation, but through a kind of modulation derived from the older Renaissance practice of modal modulation and described in seventeenth-century manuals for guitar, with changes of signature and downward shifts through the hexachordal system.⁴⁴³

Stein correlates movement through the circle of fifths with the trajectory of the plot of the opera, thus linking the chordal theory of the guitar to an artistic world in which the content of the text would dictate the composition and execution of accompaniment parts. The reverse is also true: purely instrumental music was mounting more precise expressive force.

Example 40. Mm. 1–29 of the motet *Dogma datur christianis* of Valls.⁴⁴⁴

443. Stein, introductory study to Torrejón y Velasco and Hidalgo, libretto De la Barca, *La púrpura*, xxx, NB: While I have done my best to be careful not to confuse the tonal term “modulation” with words associated more closely with modal theory, I have left the text of Stein unaltered.

444. Francisco Valls, *Four Motets for 6 Voices with Continuo*, ed. Scala Aretina (Mollerussa, Catalonia, Spain: Scala Aretina, 2002), 5.

2. Dogma datur christianis

In festo Corporis Christi

4

Alto
Dog - ma da - tur chris - ti a - nis quod in car - nem tran - sit pa - nis

Tenor
Dog - ma da - tur chris - ti a - nis quod in car - nem tran - sit pa - nis

Tiple
Dog - ma da - tur chris - ti a - nis quod in

Alto
Dog - ma da - tur chris - ti a - nis quod in

Tenor
Dog - ma da - tur chris - ti a - nis quod in

Bajo
Dog - ma da - tur chris - ti a - nis quod in

Bajo Continuo

6

et vi - num in san - gui - nem, et

et vi - num in san - gui - nem, et vi - num in san - gui -

car - nem tran - sit pa - nis et vi - num in san - gui - nem

car - nem tran - sit pa - nis et vi - num in san - gui - nem

car - nem tran - sit pa - nis et vi - num in san - gui - nem

car - nem tran - sit pa - nis et vi - num in san - gui - nem

6 6 7 6 6

11

vi - num in san - gui - nem, quod non ca - pis, quod non vi - des, quod non ca - pis, quod non

nem, et vi - num in san - gui - nem; quod non ca - pis, quod non vi - des, quod non ca - pis, quod non

et vi - num in san - gui - nem quod non ca - pis quod non vi - des

et vi - num in san - gui - nem quod non ca - pis quod non vi - des

et vi - num in san - gui - nem quod non ca - pis quod non vi - des

et vi - num in san - gui - nem quod non ca - pis quod non vi - des

et vi - num in san - gui - nem quod non ca - pis quod non vi - des

17

vi-des, a-ni-mo-sa fir-mat fi-des, praeter re-rum
 vi-des, a-ni-mo-sa fir-mat fi-des, praeter re-rum
 a-ni-mo-sa fir-mat fi-des praeter re-rum or-di-nem
 a-ni-mo-sa fir-mat fi-des praeter re-rum or-di-nem praeter re-
 a-ni-mo-sa fir-mat fi-de praeter re-rum or-di-nem praeter
 a-ni-mo-sa fir-mat fi-de praeter re-rum or-di-nem.

64

23

or-di-nem subdi-ver-sis spe-cie-bus sig-nis tan-tum et non re-
 or-di-nem subdi-ver-sis spe-cie-bus sig-nis tan-tum et non re-bus
 praeter re-rum or-di-nem
 -rum or-di-nem
 re-rum or-di-nem
 praeter re-rum or-di-nem

7 6 6 64 64

Rule five continues the orthodox approach to figured bass. The basic guideline is to always accompany the second note of a melodic leap in the bass line with a consonance. Furthermore, leaps of a third, sixth, and octave will not usually require a change in the scale from which one was forming chords. One finds Sanz especially bound

to tradition upon reading that chromaticized melodic leaps must be prepared in the accompaniment of the first note. See the following example for further detail.

Example 41. Sanz notates what seems to be a staple of traditional performance practice.⁴⁴⁵



The implication here is that, even if no figure were to appear over the note A in the example above, one would be obligated to accompany the A with a C-sharp because of the following note. As Sanz hints in rule three, this idea is not original. It was passed down to Sanz by his teachers from Spain, Rome, Venice, and Naples.⁴⁴⁶ Owing to the plurality of sources, there must be some remnant of established performance practice. One may find it interesting that Sanz justifies his reasoning by stating that one's own aural perception should be the judge. Not abiding by this rule would be to make "music of bad taste, and infirm ear."⁴⁴⁷ The "proximity of the strong and the bland"⁴⁴⁸ is prohibited.

Yet, the propinquity of diatonic and chromatically altered notes was familiar for Victoria nearly a century earlier. One may argue that Sanz was writing from the

445. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 34r.

446. *Ibid.*, fol. 29v–30r.

447. *Ibid.*, fol. 30v: "*Mufica de mal gufto, y de oïdo enfermo.*"

448. *Ibid.*: "*la vezindad de fuerte, y blando.*"

viewpoint of a reformer as much as that of an innovator. Shedding the complexities of master contrapuntalists, he proposes a measured and unstartling approach to harmony, an approach distinctly reminiscent of the pastoral sounds of Spanish folk music. The following excerpt of the motet *Ascendens Christus in Altum* challenges the fifth rule of Sanz from beats three to four of measures 78 and 80. D-naturals clash with D-flats as the bass ascends by minor third.

Example 42. Victoria, *Ascendens Christus in Altum*, mm. 78–81.⁴⁴⁹

The image shows a musical score for five voices. The top staff is the soprano line, followed by alto, tenor, and two bass lines. The music is in G minor (one flat) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: - us in iu - bi - la - ti - ó - ne, a - in iu - bi - la - ti - ó - ne, iu - bi - la - ti - ó - ne, a - scén - dit iu - bi - la - ti - ó - ne, in iu - bi - la - ti - ó - ne, iu - bi - la - ti - ó - ne,.

“Tened, parad, suspended, elementos,” a secular *tono* by Hidalgo, follows Sanz’s rule from measures 16 to 17, but elsewhere displays close encounters between diatonic

449. Tomás Luis de Victoria, *Ascendens Christus in Altum: Mass and Motet for Five Voices*, transcribed and ed. Bruno Turner (London: Vanderbeek & Imrie, 1985), 8.

and chromatically altered versions of the same note. An F-natural in the voice in measure 16 would have broken Sanz's fifth rule because of the subsequent F-sharp in the bass. Keeping in mind the fact that the topic of figured bass is afforded but one page in the entire mainstream theoretical corpus of seventeenth-century Spain, one realizes how helpful it is to examine music as it existed in practice. The guitar was also kept separate from the theory books, which took liturgical music to be their primary topic of inquiry. Observing the harmonic principles of figured bass in Spain, one finds they were lagging behind contemporaneous practice, as well as embodying characteristics of the music that fostered much of the guitar repertory. I am referring specifically to the harmonic progressions of the guitar repertory, which are defined by their steady, almost bland essence. Simple consonances prove vital to the codification of accompaniment practices that were, up until the Spanish guitar methods, the domain of folk musicians and Classically inspired monodists.

Example 43. Hidalgo, “Tened, parad, suspended, elementos,” mm. 1–21.⁴⁵⁰

1. Tened, parad, suspended, elementos

Solo humano

Juan Hidalgo

Texto: Agustín de Salazar y Torres

Transcripción: Luis Robledo

Estribillo

[Tiple]

Te - ned, pa - rad, sus - pen - ded,

[Acompañamiento]

Estribillo

7

sus - pen - ded, e - le - men - - - tos, que el a -

(2)

13

mor no es a - gua, ni es fue - go,

17

ni es tie - rra, ni es vien - to, porque so - lo es un caos con -

450. Juan Hidalgo, “Tened, parad, suspended, elementos,” in *Tonos a lo divino y a lo humano en el Madrid barroco*, ed. Luis Robledo Estaire (Madrid: Alpuerto, 2004), 81.

Rule six offers more unwavering policy on counterpoint. This sixth guideline requires two notes of at least the length of half a measure. The second note must be approached by ascending fifth, descending fourth, or descending second. The first note is accompanied first with the prescribed consonance, then with a sixth and an augmented fourth. As opposed to the preparation-suspension-resolution model presented before, rule-six dissonance makes use of neighbor and passing tones. Refer to the second half note of the highest voice of each illustration.

Example 44. Modern transcription of two of the five illustrations of rule six.⁴⁵¹

The musical score for Example 44 consists of four staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom two are in bass clef. The first illustration (measures 1-2) shows a dissonance in the highest voice (treble clef) with a half note. The second illustration (measures 3-4) shows a dissonance in the highest voice (treble clef) with a half note. The bass clef staves show the accompaniment, with labels '6 4#' under the first two measures and '6 4#' under the last two measures.

The dissonances above do not appear in the practice exercises of Sanz, a sample of which appears in example 38. Rarely does his bass make the movement required for

451. Sanz, *Instrucción*, fol. 34r.

this rule to show itself. In search of sources outside of *Instrvccion*, I thought first of the frequent use of plagal harmony to close movements of sacred music. But these cadences from Morales, Josquin, and Victoria do not exhibit the same approach to counterpoint. In the following excerpt from Morales, the only dissonance within the ascending fifth of the bass is a brief major ninth.

Example 45. The final cadence to the *Sancta et immaculata virginitas* of Morales.⁴⁵²

8

140

tu - o gré - mi - o con - tu lí - sti.

- sti .

- o gré - mi - o con - tu lí - sti.

- sti, con - tu lí - sti.

452. Cristóbal de Morales, "Sancta et immaculata virginitas," in *Nicolas Gomberti musica cum quatuor vocibus (vulgo Motecta . . .) Liber Primus* (Venice: 1541), transcribed and ed. Martyn Imrie (London: Bruno Turner, 1980), 8.

Example 46. Josquin, *Mille regretz*, final cadence.⁴⁵³

The image shows a musical score for the final cadence of Josquin's 'Mille regretz'. It consists of four staves: a vocal line and three instrumental lines. The vocal line has lyrics: 'ver - ra brief mes jours def - fi - ner, brief mes jours def - fi - ner, brief mes jours de - fi - ner.' The instrumental lines provide harmonic support. The score is marked with measure numbers 35 and 40. The key signature has one sharp (F#).

Josquin was indispensable to the musical development of Morales, and that of Spain in general. This final cadence to the *chanson Mille regretz* does not match the guidelines of Sanz either. In example 47 (below), one will observe that the final cadence of the motet *Ascendens Christus in Altum* by Victoria differs from Sanz's theory.

453. Josquin des Prez, "Mille regretz" in *Cristóbal de Morales: Missa mille regretz*, transcribed and ed. Martyn Imrie (Isle of Lewis, Scotland: Vanderbeek & Imrie, 1983), 4.

Example 47. Victoria, final cadence of the *prima pars* of the motet *Ascendens Christus*.⁴⁵⁴

65 70

- le-lú-ia, al - le - lú - ia, al - le-lú-ia, al - le - lú - ia.

- lú - ia, al - le-lú-ia, al - le - lú - ia.

- lú - ia, al - le-lú-ia.

- ia, al - le-lú-ia, al - le-lú-ia, al - le-lú-ia.

- le-lú-ia, al - le - lú - ia, al - le-lú-ia.

Example 48. Morales, *Sancta et immaculata virginitas*, mm. 18–23.⁴⁵⁵

20

- ni - ras, qui - bus te láu - di - bus ét - te -

ét - te - ram né - sci - o,

- ni - ras, qui - bus te láu - di - bus ét - te - ram

- bus te láu - di - bus ét - te - ram né - sci - o,

454. Victoria, *Ascendens*, 8.

455. Morales, "Sancta," 3.

Example 51. *La púrpura de la rosa* contains a pertinent example. See the descending fourth in the bass and passing augmented fourth in the voice.⁴⁵⁸

muer - tea quien la vi - da di.

Concluding a survey of the music that extends further than the extracts provided above, one finds that, with regard to Sanz's rule, most instances in the repertory—even if they are not always exact replicas of the counterpoint of Sanz—are found while the bass is in descending stepwise motion. Contrapuntal conservatism is demonstrated through stepwise motion in the bass as well as stepwise motion in the voice with which the dissonant interval is formed. Rule six is not necessarily a cadence formula. It may be employed in the middle of a phrase.

Similar to the letters of approval, which validate *Instrvccion* in the eyes of Church and state, a strict, perhaps anachronistic set of counterpoint lessons is understandable when one puts the treatise into its proper context. The erudite theoretical writings of Spain at the time are, when examined against concurrent practices, nothing short of

458. Torrejón y Velasco and Hidalgo, libretto De la Barca, *La púrpura*, 71.

antique.⁴⁵⁹ Thus, Sanz falls in line with the older schools of thought, but does not fail to include a few hints of modern style.

459. Donald W. Forrester, "An Introduction to Seventeenth-Century Spanish Music Theory Books," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 21, no. 1 (1973): 67, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3343980>.

Chapter Seven:

Figured-Bass Rules Seven through Twelve

Rule seven of the figured-bass teachings of Sanz treats bass-line movement by ascending fourth or descending fifth in the context of a cadence. This rule is basically a repetition of the first section of rule three, which deals with closed cadences. The main idea is that no unprepared fourths are allowed. Additionally, given the choice, an accompanist should opt for a seven-six over a four-three suspension. Like fourths, all sevenths must be prepared with consonances: third, fifth, or sixth.

Possible exceptions to this rule may be found as early as Blas. In recitative and styles of homophony that imitate speech, preparation of dissonance is often relaxed. Since this easing of the rules is more easily traced in secular than sacred music, one must infer that Sanz aims to please an ecclesiastical readership. On top of finding a more progressive treatment of dissonance in secular music, one may note the word choice of Sanz as he refers to making music in an ensemble. Warning against the dangers of combining sevenths and fourths, he writes, “If you do not do it this way [keep seven-six and four-three suspensions separate], then the instrumentalist [accompanist] can turn an entire chapel sour.”⁴⁶⁰ Below, the final cadence to the romance setting *Estávase el aldeana* by Blas displays forward-thinking compositional technique.

460. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 30v: “*fi no lo hazen afsi, echa a perder el Instrumentista vna Capilla*,” brackets mine.

Example 52. Blas, "Estávase el Aldeana," mm. 45–49.⁴⁶¹

tan, con su es - po - so ce - na quien tie - - ne di - cha.
na, si a la me - dia no - che ve - nir pen - sa - va.

tan, con su es - po - so ce - na quien tie - - ne di - cha.
na, si a la me - dia no - che ve - nir pen - sa - va.

tan, con su es - po - so ce - na quien tie - - ne di - cha.
na, si a la me - dia no - che ve - nir pen - sa - va.

tan, con su es - po - so ce - na quien tie - - ne di - cha.
na, si a la me - dia no - che ve - nir pen - sa - va. %

The notes of what musicians of today would call a diminished triad converge on beat two of the antepenultimate measure, measure 47. This includes an unprepared augmented fourth between the alto (second from bottom) and first tiple (top). The word *pensava* (second verse) in the penultimate and final measures, 48 and 49, shows the stark rearticulation of a perfect fourth between the lowest and highest voices. Though the tenor (bottom) provides some stability with a brief E pedal point, there is no doubt Sanz's seventh rule was broken fifty years before it was written. Other instances in which

461. Juan Blas, "Estávase el Aldeana," in Etzion, *Cancionero*, 43.

dissonance is not traditionally prepared occur throughout this piece, many of them within phrases, not at cadences.

Robert Samuel Marcus writes, “[Murcia’s] *Resumen* and Sanz’s *Instrvccion* represent the highest points of development of Spanish guitar accompaniment manuals.”⁴⁶² Published forty years after *Instrvccion*, in 1714, the continuo treatise of Spanish guitarist Santiago de Murcia (1673–1739) points to a slightly less rigid doctrine of counterpoint. Marcus notes Sanz’s fondness for basing his guidelines on the movement of the bass. Murcia, in the introductory text to the figured-bass realizations, is not concerned with the bass as a point of departure; rather, “his concern is always with the intervals that will appear above it in the realization.”⁴⁶³

Murcia recommends the student already be educated in composition so that the teachings on figured bass will make sense. Sanz, though he acknowledges the extreme difficulty of the subject matter, seeks to guide his readers through the process more than Murcia does. Yet the two method books have some important points in common. Both lack notated ties in the guitar tablature, a topic the present study brings up on pages 237–41. From an analysis of the specifics of musical notation, an effort akin to humanist textual criticism and evaluations of translation, one supports an argument for the transitional role of the guitar in music theory and composition. The rearticulation of

462. Robert Samuel Marcus, “The Use of the Five-Course Guitar Spanish Guitar as a Continuo Instrument as Described in Spanish Treatises: 1596–1764” (master’s thesis), California State University, Fullerton, 1978: 55, <http://0-search.proquest.com.opac.sfsu.edu/docview/302944354?accountid=13802>.

463. *Ibid.*, 61.

intervals traditional counterpoint demands tied may be seen as an intermediary between Renaissance and Baroque styles. Rearticulation also implicates the popular, strummed style, an important precursor to formal figured bass on the Iberian Peninsula as well as in Spanish Naples.

Example 53. One of the practical examples of Murcia's treatise.⁴⁶⁴

The image shows a musical score for 'Exemplo. 1º'. It consists of two staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a style characteristic of 17th-century Spanish lute or guitar music, featuring various ornaments and accidentals. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a common time signature (C), containing a figured bass line with numbers and symbols (such as asterisks) indicating fingerings and ornaments. The notation is handwritten and appears to be a reproduction of an original manuscript.

Rule eight picks up from where rule seven leaves off with regard to how to apply a four-three suspension to a cadence in which the bass leaps down a fifth or up a fourth. One must note that Sanz refers specifically to situations in which the antepenultimate note of the bass line descends to the penultimate note by a skip of a third or a leap of a fifth. The more general lesson is that, for a cadence whose antepenultimate bass note forms a dissonant interval with the note a perfect fourth above the penultimate note, there are special procedures to follow.

464. Santiago de Murcia, *Refumen de Acompañar la Parte con la Guitarra* (Madrid: 1714), 45.

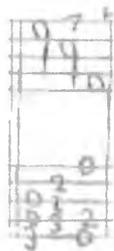
If the note value of the penultimate note is large enough, and a major third above this note is permissible in the given composition, then Sanz suggests an upper neighbor-tone cadential fourth.

Example 54. One solution to the problem presented in rule eight.



But when note values do not allow for the neighboring fourth, a seventh may be prepared with a tie and resolved by step to a third above the final bass note. Ironically, the guitar tablature for the musical example of this rule is corrupted by an unprepared seventh. At first, it seemed likely to me this was an error on the part of Sanz; looking closer at the potential fingerings required of the guitarist if the voice leading were entirely consistent with the textual instructions, it is not impossible the guitar accompanist received a bit of unannounced leeway as a result of instrumental limitations.

Example 55. The figured bass is shown above the guitar tablature.⁴⁶⁵



There are no accidentals in the signature here. The bass line of the cadence begins on G, descends a minor third to E, and then a perfect fifth to A. The guitar tablature offers the following realization of the figured bass:

Example 56. An unprepared seventh in the illustration of the rule prohibiting the selfsame interval.⁴⁶⁶

The image shows a musical score for three staves in 4/2 time. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a whole note G4, a whole rest, and a whole note G4. The middle staff is in treble clef and contains a whole note chord consisting of G4, B4, and D5. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a whole note G2, a whole rest, and a whole note G2. The number '8' is written below the first two staves.

465. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 34r.

466. *Ibid.*

In the first harmony, the third and second courses are open, sounded together with the first course, which is closed at fret three. This chord shape is germane to the other applications of the figured-bass rules in that it shows a preference for open strings. When the required notes cannot be found on open strings, rarely does the left hand move past the sixth fret. The majority of the music is produced on the lowest third of the fret board.

The first of the three harmonies in example 56 exhibits another common attribute of Sanz's treatise, that the third of the chord takes priority over the fifth. The minor seventh above the penultimate bass note in example 56—D above E—could have been prepared by forfeiting the B on the open second course and closing this same course on third fret. See figure 12 below.



Figure 12. The third, second, and first courses would be sounded, creating the harmony G-D-G.

In spite of this possibility, Sanz maintains the B. This concession of traditional voice leading in exchange for accentuating the major sonority above the root of the triad, G, points to a growing preference for vertically conceived blocks of harmony. As Russell asserts, the guitar led the way to a new musical aesthetic.

Both a prepared D above E and triadically inspired B above G are available in a closed-position chord that employs the fourth-course fifth fret, the third-course fourth fret, and the second-course third fret (see fig. 13). Although it is possible to sound the raised subfinal G-sharp and the bass note, E, on the fourth and fifth courses, respectively, such a stretch involving such high frets and no open courses would be entirely anomalous. This unexpected fingering, shown in figure 14, would also be very difficult to execute while sightreading a figured bass line.



Figure 13. Fully closed chords without accidentals are not common in the figured bass treatise of Sanz.



Figure 14. The first finger remains on the second course third fret, preparing the minor seventh D above E.

One can see from this exposition of harmony and hand position that the language of figured bass for the guitar in the time of Sanz, and into the eighteenth century with Murcia, was based on undemanding chord shapes that held much in common with the *alfabeto* system. Executed mostly in the open position of the guitar, these simple chords would be easy to improvise above a bass line read at sight, or with minimal preparation time. The guitar in particular required flexibility in how the music was to be realized. As one will see from the following illustrations, transposing bass notes up or down an octave was a necessary practice because of the guitar's limited range, which, according to Sanz, did not even reach the bottom of the *graves*, the notes comprising the lowest of three vocal registers. The following realization in modern notation (ex. 58) conveys that the lower of the two strings comprising the course on which the first bass note would have

been played would have sounded an octave below written pitch. This results in an inversion of the descending perfect fifth B-E in the figured-bass notation (ex. 57).

Example 57. The second of rule eight's two illustrations.⁴⁶⁷



Example 58. The second of rule eight's two illustrations, in modern notation.⁴⁶⁸

Rule nine continues the discourse smoothly by employing the bass line of the first example of rule eight. The ninth rule calls forth the topic of *musica ficta*, specifically the

467. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 34r.

468. *Ibid.*

question of when to raise the subfinal. Discussing the *cadença sfugita*, Sanz calls into question some of his earlier statements as well as reinforcing his previous thinking with scrupulous teachings on counterpoint. In mainstream polyphonic theory, a *cadença sfugita* (evaded cadence) creates the impression of leading toward a perfect cadence—a cadence whose ending interval is either a perfect unison or perfect octave—but does not provide the same finality a perfect cadence does. This denial of repose can be achieved in a number of ways. Some of these ways deal with replacing the perfect unison or perfect octave with other consonances; some rely on rhythmic stratification or rests in a defining voice of the texture.⁴⁶⁹ The compositional techniques are many. The evaded cadence is by no means a single arrangement.

The main idea of rule nine refines rule eight. According to rule nine, unless the cadence is a *clausula final* (literally, final cadence), the penultimate note of the descending bass line G-E-A—Sanz also uses F-D-G—must be harmonized with a minor third. In subtle defiance of rule nine, the language of rule eight leaves room for a major third over the penultimate note, even in cadences that are not *clausulas finales*. Thus, it is possible that *clausula final* refers here not to the last cadence of a piece, but, rather, to a

469. Markus Neuwirth, “Fuggir la Cadenza, or the Art of Avoiding Cadential Closure,” in *What Is a Cadence?: Theoretical and Analytical Perspectives on Cadences in the Classical Repertoire*, ed. Markus Neuwirth and Pieter Bergé (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2015), 120–22.

perfect cadence. This type of cadence could occur at some point in a piece other than at the very end, usually at an important pause in the text.⁴⁷⁰

Rule eight also employs the Spanish word *final* in reference to a cadence, in a discussion of what is commonly known as a Picardy third, a cadence in which a chromatic major third is sounded instead of the diatonic minor third above the final. Again, Picardy thirds could occur in situations besides the very last cadence of a piece, and may not necessarily require perfect cadences. “Ay corazon amante” (ca. 1665) by Hidalgo provides clues of an internal Picardy third, but an examination of the original score reveals the major third is not required by the composer.⁴⁷¹

Be this as it may, the authenticity of playing a major third is not altogether lost. The recording of “Ay corazon amante” featuring this particular Picardy third was put together by Jordi Savall (b. 1941), the prolific and widely respected performer of early Spanish music.⁴⁷² As an early-music specialist, Savall has had much exposure to *musica ficta* and the appropriate applications thereof. In this particular case, he makes the artistic decision to execute a Picardy third on a perfect cadence. Blas notates a chromatic major third at what might be an internal perfect cadence in “Desiertos campos” (p. 249). It is necessary, in my opinion, to acknowledge the possibility that this cadence in the Blas

470. Neuwirth, “Fuggir la Cadenza,” 120.

471. Juan Hidalgo, “Ay corazon amante,” MS M-Caja 3880, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000079527&page=1>.

472. Juan Hidalgo, “Ay corazon amante,” Jordi Savall and Hespèrion XX, recorded September 10, 1976, London: Virgin Classics 7243 5 61964 2 1, 2001, compact disc, 00:00:35, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9727705?q&versionId=11293259>.

would not qualify as a perfect cadence. This cadence does not take the modal final, C, for its lowest voice.

In rule nine, the cadence is evaded by keeping the subfinal a whole-step below the final as opposed to raising it a half-step. In an evaded cadence of this type with the bass line G, E, A, the E would be harmonized with a G and a B. As in rule five, which also deals with false relations, Sanz claims the ear will be the best judge of theoretical reasoning: “I leave the reasoning to the ear itself, which requires it [the music] be this way, and despises the alternative.”⁴⁷³ Is justifying a condemnation of startling chromaticism by citing the collective ear musically logical?

In the eighth of the strummed-style guidelines, Sanz supports the labyrinth of *falsas* with the following thought process: the sonorities disobey the rules of counterpoint, but find their way into cultured music and are perceived by only those with trained ears.⁴⁷⁴ The question of whether the statement on recognizing incorrect dissonance treatment by ear holds up in every context aside, one cannot deny that aural judgement of contrapuntal theory in action had a bearing on shaping rules and applications. The practice of matching textual affective states to musical procedures that conform to, or deviate from, what is thought to be pleasing to the ear—especially at cadences or in evasive cadential motion—increases the power of human perception, both individual and collective, to inform the policy of the erudite. The philosophy behind the changing

473. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 31r: “*la razon la dexo al mismo oido, que lo pide afsi, y aborrece lo contrario.*”

474. *Ibid.*, fol. 10v.

treatment of dissonance from the Renaissance to the Baroque is seemingly endless and at times confusing. About this period of development Albert Cohen writes, “The mind continued to question what the ear had begun to accept.”⁴⁷⁵

In the text portions of his figured-bass rules, Sanz did little to address how contemporaneous practice might have strayed from his teachings. His musical examples make some attempts to fill in the blanks of his writing, but also raise some questions. Textual explanation alone would not suffice, and music without theoretical discussion would be cryptic at best. In its fusion of assiduousness and practicable but liberal syntheses of theory, *Instrvccion* continues upon, and yet rises above, the previous vihuela and guitar methods of early-modern Spain.

Native Spanish song is united with contrapuntal artifice in rule ten. This rule offers an approach to harmonizing bass ligatures. *Proporcion*, which designates triple meter, is linked to typically Spanish compositions, and rightly so. The seventeenth-century *villancico* repertory is characterized by triple meter, following the secular-sacred crossover styles set forth by Guerrero in the late-sixteenth century.

Unfortunately, Sanz does not entirely succeed in his efforts to coordinate triple-meter Spanish dance styles with chains of suspensions in which the bass is tied across the bar line. It is a case of rhetoric’s getting too far ahead of foundational information, the latter being easily accessible if Sanz could provide a wider web of proof to support his

475. Albert Cohen, “*La Supposition* and the Changing Concept of Dissonance in Baroque Theory,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24, no. 1 (1971): 63, <http://0-www.jstor.org.opac.sfsu.edu/stable/830893>.

ideas. Focusing on placing dissonance on appropriate beats and resolving suspensions according to custom, the tenth rule lacks practicability in that bass lines in the popular Spanish style so often move by leap.

Example 59. The last sixteen measures of “El pícaro de cupido” by Durón.⁴⁷⁶

12

mi cons - tan - cia, en - con - tró - mi con - tin - gen - cia.

6 3

Detailed description: This system shows measures 12 through 17. The vocal line (treble clef) contains the lyrics. The bass line (bass clef) features a prominent leap from a low note in measure 12 to a higher note in measure 13. The piece is in 3/4 time.

18

Je - sús mil ve - ces, quien tal cre - ye -

6

Detailed description: This system shows measures 18 through 22. The vocal line continues with the lyrics. The bass line has a leap from a low note in measure 18 to a higher note in measure 19. The piece is in 3/4 time.

23

- ra, quien tal cre - ye - ra.

2 6

Detailed description: This system shows measures 23 through 26. The vocal line continues with the lyrics. The bass line has a leap from a low note in measure 23 to a higher note in measure 24. The piece is in 3/4 time.

476. Sebastián Durón, “El Pícaro de Cupido,” in *Tonos a solo y a duo*, ed. Scala Aretina (Spain: Scala Aretina, 2001), 10.

Beginning in measure 20 of this secular melody by Durón, one may observe several ties across the bar line in the bass, none of which bear suspensions. This liberal use of homophonic hemiola is typical of Spanish song, both secular and sacred. The rhythmic motive dotted-quarter-eighth-quarter so central to the *villancico* tradition, as well as to *Instrucción*, appears in the Durón above, though with longer note values, in measures 15 and 17. In measure 25 of example 59, one finds a very atypically resolved dissonance. The major second G-A moves in direct motion to octave Fs.

Example 60. Hidalgo, *Celos, aun del aire matan*, mm. 302–13.⁴⁷⁷

302
plo des-cu-bre del do-ra-do cha-pi-tel, al-me-nas y ba-la-us-tres; mas no-

306
ven-gas sin o-fren-da. De-pas-be-las flo-res pu-le-si-

310
quie-ra al-gún ra-mi-lla-te, y tras mí con to-dos su-be; pues

477. Juan Hidalgo, libretto by Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Celos, aun del aire matan*, ed. Francese Bonastre (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2000), measures 302–13.

In opera as well, one finds derivation from the theory of Sanz. The example above, an arioso-like portion of the opera *Celos, aun del aire matan* (1660), provides an excellent aid to the study of figured-bass rule ten. From measures 308 to 309 and 310 to 311, the bass descends in stepwise motion. In rule ten, Sanz refers the student to his previous guidelines if the bass leaps. The new information concerns a stepwise descending bass.

According to Sanz, if a four-two harmony on the first of the measure's three beats is prepared by a tie in the bass, the accompanist should resolve the dissonant fourth second to a fifth and a third, respectively. In measure 308 of the excerpt above (ex. 60), Hidalgo shifts the metrical accent of the triple meter established by another of Sanz's favorite rhythms, which appears in the Hidalgo as a whole-note on beat one followed by four half-notes over beats two and three.⁴⁷⁸ The rhythmic surprise is a standard hemiola pattern, three groups of two beats within the flow created by regularly recurring groups of three beats. Rather than the alternating tension and release inherent in chains of suspensions, Hidalgo assigns imperfect consonances to each bass note in the descending stepwise passage.

The first of these bass notes forms a major third with the *tiple*. The *tiple* ascends to form a dissonant perfect fourth, which resolves by skip as the bass descends by step. This does not conform to the treatments of dissonance advocated by Sanz. It is significant that this rhythmic disruption occurs on the words *bellas flores* (beautiful flowers). Here,

478. See ex. 9, p. 99 of this study.

one finds a case of madrigalian text expression alongside Spanish folk rhythms. Francese Bonastre recounts of Hidalgo that the *tonos* of this composer “brought him immediate recognition thanks to the particularly expressive intensity achieved through rhetorical devices, as well as the delicate equilibrium between Italian models—true motors of the genesis and expansion of the Baroque in Europe—and contemporaneous Spanish music’s own capacity for evolution and experimentation.”⁴⁷⁹ The term *tono* may be used to refer to a number of Spanish secular polyphonic song forms. It is important to reiterate that the music of many *tonos* was fitted with sacred poetry in order to be employed during Catholic worship.⁴⁸⁰

Constituting a movement distinct from the polyphonic artifice of previous generations, early-Baroque Spanish composers of sacred music in Latin absorbed techniques from vernacular styles. The following is an excerpt from the motet *Beatus vir* by Comes.

479. Francese Bonastre, introductory study to Hidalgo, *Celos*, ix: “*le otorgaron un inmediato reconocimiento gracias a la peculiar intensidad expresiva lograda con la aplicación de la retórica, y con el logro de un delicado equilibrio entre los modelos italianos—verdadero motor del nacimiento y expansión del barroco por Europa—y la propia capacidad evolutiva y experimentadora de la música española de su tiempo.*”

480. For more on the *tono*, see Mariano Lambea, ed., *La música y la poesía en cancioneros polifónicos del siglo XVII*, vol. 1, *Libro de tonos humanos (1655–1656)* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Claret, 2000), 65–67.

Example 61. Comes, *Beatus vir*, mm. 124–38.⁴⁸¹

net in sae-
net
net
net in sae-
net in sae - cu - lum sae - cu - li:
net in sae - cu - lum sae - cu - li:
net in sae - cu - lum sae - cu - li:
net in sae - cu - lum sae - cu - li:

481. Juan Bautista Comes, *Beatus vir*, ed. Robert L. Goodale (New York: Schirmer, 1965), 27–29.

130

- cu - lum sae - - - cu - li, in sae -

mf
in sae - cu - lum sae -

mf
in sae - cu - lum sae - - cu - li,

- cu - lum sae - - cu - li, sae -

130

135

cu-lum sae - cu li:

- cu li:

sae - cu - li:

- cu - li:

135 *f*

cor - nu e - jus ex - al - ta - bi - tur in

f cor - nu e - jus ex - al - ta - bi - tur in

f cor - nu e - jus ex - al - ta - bi - tur in

f cor - nu e - jus ex - al - ta - bi - tur in

Syncopated homophony blends with brief points of imitation in example 61.

Bouncy rhythms predominate. The excerpt shows many instances of ties over the bar line in the bass, but only one is comparable to the counterpoint teachings of Sanz. In measure

129, the second part from the bottom in the first choir takes on the role of the lowest voice. From an A-minor triad, a four-two dissonance is sounded as the uppermost part and bottom part descend from E to D and C to B, respectively. The A in the part second from the bottom, which is the lowest-sounding voice for the moment, resolves the dissonance by descending stepwise to G.

The fact that the point of imitation at measure 128 is identical to the homophonic motive at measure 124 links contrapuntal to homophonic vernacular style. The rhythmic interest of native Spanish music, notably, hemiola and syncopation, abound here in a piece with Latin text.⁴⁸² The motive on *in saeculum* (forever) frustrates the metrical first-beat accent. At *cornu ejus* (his horns), an entirely homophonic texture sounds trochaic divisions of three groups of three beats each. Duple meter is obscured by a traditional folk-dance rhythm.

482. Louise K. Stein, "Spain, 1600–1640," in *European Music: 1520–1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge, Suffolk, United Kingdom: Boydell, 2006), 470.

Example 62. Victoria, close of the first Kyrie from the *Missa Ascendens Christus*.⁴⁸³

10

Ký - ri - e e - léi - son.

- léi - son, Ký - ri - e e - léi - son.

Ký - ri - e e - - - - - léi - son.

e - - - - - léi - son, Ký - ri - e e - léi - son.

- e - - - - - e - - - - - léi - - - - - son.

The close of the first Kyrie from the *Missa Ascendens Christus* by Victoria (ex. 62) offers an alternative to Sanz's treatment of a descending stepwise bass tied across the bar line. Although Victoria did not employ bar lines in his original parts, the tactus is unaltered by the bar lines in the modern edition. It is important to note that Sanz employs bar lines throughout *Instrvccion*.

483. Victoria, *Ascendens*, 13.

Example 63. Juan Pujol (ca. 1573–1626), *Regina caeli*, mm. 9–12. The second measure of this excerpt contains a two-three suspension between the bass and the tenor.⁴⁸⁴

The musical score for Example 63 consists of four staves: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The lyrics are: "re, læ ta - re, re, Re - gi - na cæ - li læ ta - re, læ ta - re, Re - gi - na cæ - li læ ta - re, læ ta - re." The second measure shows a two-three suspension between the bass and tenor parts.

Example 64. The Benedictus of Guerrero's *Missa Sancta et immaculata* demonstrates a common tied-bass figure from m. 83 to m. 84.⁴⁸⁵

The musical score for Example 64 consists of four staves: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The lyrics are: "Be - ne - di - ctus, be - ne - Be - ne - di - ctus, qui ve - nit, ve - nit, be - San - cta et im - Be - ne - di - ctus, qui ve -". The score highlights a common tied-bass figure from measure 83 to 84.

484. Juan Pujol, *Regina caeli*, ed. Higinio Anglés (Barcelona: Library of Catalonia, 1926), 153.

485. Francisco Guerrero, *Missa Sancta et immaculata* (Paris: Nicolas du Chemin, 1566), ed. Bruno Turner (Lochs, Isle of Lewis, Scotland: Vanderbeek & Imrie, 1998), 31.

A device found in the music of other Spanish contrapuntalists as well, assigning the tied bass note only consonant intervals on the downbeat of the new measure is fundamentally different from the Sanz. The tie from measure 88 to 89 in the fifth part of example 65, which sounds the lowest for the moment, is met with consonance. The *Agenda defunctorum* a sacred piece in Latin by Vázquez (ex. 66), contains four examples of the bass line described in rule ten, none of which meet with dissonance on the downbeat of the measure into which the lowest voice—in this case it is the tenor—is tied. Two instances are shown below.

Example 65. An excerpt from the secular polyphonic piece “Gracias al cielo doy” by Juan Vázquez (ca. 1500–ca. 1560).⁴⁸⁶

The image shows a musical score for a five-part polyphonic setting. It consists of five staves, each with a different clef (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and another Bass). The music is in a common time signature. The lyrics are written below the staves, with some words split across lines. The score is divided into two systems, with measure numbers 90 and 95 indicated above the staves. The lyrics are: 'A - le-gra - rá-m'el 'mal de los mor - ta - llo. A - le-gra - rá - m'el mal, A - le-gra - rá-m'el 'mal de los mor - ta - les, A - le-gra - rá-m'el mal de los mor - ta - les, llo. A - le-gra - rá-m'el mal de los mor - ta - les,'

486. Juan Vázquez, “Gracias al cielo doy,” in *Recopilación de Sonetos y Villancicos a quatro y a cinco* (Seville: 1560), ed. Higinio Anglés (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1946), 18–19.

Example 66. Vásquez, *Agenda defunctorum*, mm. 4–11.⁴⁸⁷

5

e - nim sunt di - es me - i, di -

e - nim sunt di - es me - i, di - es

e - nim sunt di - es me - i, di -

e - nim sunt di - es me - i, di - es

10

es me - i. Quid est ho -

me - i. Quid est ho - mo, qui -

es me - i. Quid est ho - mo qui -

me - i. Quid est ho - mo qui -

487. Juan Vásquez, *Agenda defunctorum* (Seville: 1556), ed. Samuel Rubio (Madrid: Real Musical, 1975), 27.

Example 68. Josquin, Gloria from the *Missa de beata Virgine*, mm. 165–80.⁴⁹⁰

165 170

ad Ma-ri-ae glo-ri-am. glo-ri-am. glo-ri-am. Qui se-des -

stram ad Ma-ri-ae glo-ri-am. glo-ri-am. glo-ri-am. Qui se-des -

175 180

Qui se-des ad dex-te-ram Pa-tris, mi-se-re-re no -

Qui se-des ad dex-te-ram Pa-tris, mi-se-re-re no -

ad dex-te-ram Pa-tris, mi-se-re-re no -

Josquin greatly influenced the internationalization of Spanish polyphony, and is very important in understanding the music of Morales. Measures 172–74 of example 68 include consonant harmonizations of bass notes tied onto strong beats.

An examination of various genres of Spanish music pertinent to the generation of Sanz leads to the conclusion that rule ten seeks to legitimize Spanish music in triple meter, a meter typical of popular song. While none of the examples above meets the

490. Josquin des Prez, *Missa de beata Virgine* (Fossombrone, Marche, Italy: Petrucci, 1514), ed. Nigel Davison (Newton Abbot, Devon, England: Antico, 1993), 11.

requirements of rule ten thoroughly, many of them contain fundamental elements, namely, either the four-five or two-three suspension.

The intent of the above exposition of primary musical sources is not to discredit Sanz, or prove that his analysis of Spanish style is wrong. A study of the music above as well as a clarification of the language of rule ten results in the understanding that Sanz has proposed a contrapuntally decorated Spanish style of homophony. Like the union of strummed and plucked styles of guitar playing, musical erudition, specifically the controlled application of dissonance, is brought to the popular homophonic idiom.

Few examples of the popular Spanish repertory from the generations closest to Sanz convey the theory suggested in *Instrvccion*. Rule ten informs the reader that the four-two suspensions will fit over a bass note tied across the bar line, not that they are the norm. Technically, the writing does not imply the prevalence of these suspensions; but, persisting with topics of the discussion on rule nine, Sanz promotes his ideas by opining, “This method of accompaniment brings much harmony to the ear.”⁴⁹¹ Appealing to the tastes of musicians, presumably the learned, Sanz aims to revise popularly inspired Spanish music. As a call to revive and apply principles of learned generations past, rule ten sits comfortably within the bounds of humanist thought.

Rule eleven appears to be straightforward, but raises some potentially interesting questions on composition. Generally speaking, the reader gains only the notice that, in

491. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 31v: “*caufa mucha armonia al oïdo este genero de acompañar.*”

order to accompany in the right mode, the figured-bass player must look to the last harmony of a given piece, not the first. The reason for this? “Many times the parts enter singing, and the bass waits, responding in imitation beginning from the *diapente*, or fifth of the mode.”⁴⁹² Thus, figured bass is placed within an imitative polyphonic context.

Discussing details of how to accompany textures commonly associated with sacred vocal music is not as out of place as it may seem. The *Libro de tonos humanos* (1655–1656) is one of several seventeenth-century songbooks that relate to rule eleven. Figured-bass accompaniment appears several times in the collections of *tonos* from the period. Etzion ponders the likely impact of the sacred polyphonic *villancico* on the compositions of the *Libro de tonos humanos*, a shift in stylistic influence.⁴⁹³ Before, sacred music imitated the rhythmic and chordal sounds of the popular *villancico*. Now, transformed by its use in Church, the *villancico* was returning to the music of the theater.⁴⁹⁴

A comparison of “¡Qué bien sienten mis suspiros!” with “En una concha de Venus,” both anonymous compositions from the *Libro de tonos humanos*, illustrates the first part of the issue presented in rule eleven. “¡Qué bien” begins with a clear establishment of the G-major triad for the first line of poetry, appearing to adhere to

492. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol 31v: “*muchas vezes entran las partes cantando, y espera el baxo, y entra imitando con el diapente, ò quinta del tono.*”

493. Judith Etzion, “The Spanish Polyphonic Cancioneros, c. 1580–c. 1650: A Survey of Literary Content and Textual Concordances,” *Revista de Musicología* 11, no. 1 (1988): 76, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20795186>.

494. *Ibid.*

Mode VII in spite of the raised seventh degree in the signature. The first phrase, which ends in measure 5 before rests in every voice, displays an effective use of expressive dissonance on *suspiros* (sighs). The descending half-step, or sigh motive, highlights the text. This word painting is realized with only notes from Mode VII.

Example 69. Anonymous, “¡Qué bien sienten mis suspiros,” mm. 1–8.⁴⁹⁵

The image displays a musical score for a four-part setting of a Spanish text. The score is divided into two systems. The first system shows the vocal parts for Tiple 1º, Tiple 2º, Alto, and Bajo. Each part begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The Tiple parts are in a 3/4 time signature, while the Alto and Bajo parts are in a 12/8 time signature. The lyrics for the first system are: "¡Qué bien sienten". The second system shows a four-part setting of the text "mis suspiros la grandeza de". The lyrics are: "mis sus - pi - ros la gran - de - za de" for the Tiple 1º part, "mis sus - pi - ros la gran - de - za" for the Tiple 2º part, "mis sus - pi - ros la gran - de -" for the Alto part, and "mis sus - pi - ros la gran - de - za de" for the Bajo part. The music features a descending half-step (sigh motive) on the word "suspiros" in all parts.

495. Anonymous, “¡Qué bien sienten mis suspiros!” in *La música y la poesía en cancioneros polifónicos del siglo XVII*, vol. 1, *Libro de tonos humanos (1655–1656)*, ed. Mariano Lambea (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Claret, 2000), 129.

As the *tono* draws to a close, Mode VII in both transposed and untransposed forms interweave. The transposed version of the mode, D Mixolydian, has the final word, reached by a perfect cadence that, due to the movement from the fifth to the first scale degree in the bass, essentially eliminates the possibility of the final harmony's being heard as a chord built on the fifth degree of untransposed Mode VII.

Example 70. Anon., “¡Qué bien,” mm. 50–79.⁴⁹⁶

50

de - jad - me. que sus ce - los me bas - tan. me

de - jad - me. que sus

de - jad - me,

de - jad - me. que sus ce - los me bas

55

bas - tan pa - ra ma - tar me,

ce - los me bas - tan, me bas - tan, que sus ce - los me

que sus ce - los me bas - tan pa - ra

tan, que sus ce - los me

496. Anon., “¡Qué bien,” 131–32.

60

que sus ce - los me bas - tan, que sus
 bas - tan. me bas - tan pa - ra ma - tar me, que sus
 ma - tar me, pa - ra ma - tar me, que sus
 bas - tan pa - ra ma - tar me, que sus

65

ce - los me bas - tan pa - ra ma - tar me, que sus *aspacio*
 ce - los me bas - tan pa - ra ma - tar me, que sus *aspacio*
 ce - los me bas - tan pa - ra ma - tar me, que sus *aspacio*
 ce - los me bus - tan pa - ra ma - tar me, que sus *aspacio*

70

ce - los me bas - tan pa - ra ma - tar me, que sus *más aspacio*
 ce - los me bas - tan pa - ra ma - tar me, que sus *más aspacio*
 ce - los me bas - tan pa - ra ma - tar me, que sus *más aspacio*
 ce - los me bas - tan pa - ra ma - tar me, que sus *más aspacio*

75

ce - los me bas - tan pa - ra ma - tar me.
 ce - los me bus - tan pa - ra ma - tar me.
 ce - los me bas - tan pa - ra ma - tar me.
 ce - los me bas - tan pa - ra ma - tar me.

“En una concha” bears the same signature as “¡Qué bien.” The prominent G-major triad at the outset is also a point in common between the two *tonos*. “En una concha,” unlike “¡Qué bien,” employs F-sharps in the first phrase—not as a raised seventh degree to strengthen the cadence, but, rather, within the phrase itself. This may result in a sound more tonal than modal. Judging by the toneset, it might also be heard as a transposed Mode V or VI, a Lydian mode with a C final.

Vocal ranges that, instead of outlining the final-to-final octave, place the final somewhere between the higher and lower limits, lead one to believe the first phrase is composed in Mode VIII, Hypomixolydian. This approach to ambitus is seen most clearly in the second *tiple* and bass voices. The soprano (*tiple*) and tenor traditionally indicate the ambitus of the mode. Here, the first *tiple* and alto do not complete the octave, leaving room for interpretations that may identify the ranges of these voices to be plagal. As one will observe below, these voices are kept within a narrow interval either above or below the final, G, through much of the piece. The first phrase cadences on a C-major triad at the word *Amor* (love). C is the tenor of Mode VIII, a note that would be expected to appear frequently within phrases as well as at cadential arrival points.

The refrain touches upon several modes, which, recalling the modulatory techniques informing the composition of *La púrpura de la rosa*, are revealed through motion around the circle of fifths. After a spirited journey through cadences on C-, G-,

E-, A-, and D-major triads, the *tono* arrives back at its initial mode. One observes a clear relationship to the text of this passage, “Take in the sails and lift the oars.”⁴⁹⁷ Returning to a G-major triad, the four-measure coda comprised of only three notes—G, B, and D—brings the galley to a point of repose after a wild journey at sea. At the bottom of traditional vocal range, the low G in the bass sounds alone to close the piece. It is confirmation of a safe return, or at least momentary peace.

Example 71. Anonymous, “En una concha de Venus,” mm. 1–7.⁴⁹⁸

The image displays a musical score for the piece "En una concha de Venus." The score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes four vocal parts: Tiple 1ª, Tiple 2ª, Alto, and [Bajo]. Each part has a vocal line and a corresponding line of lyrics. The lyrics for the first system are: "En u - nu con", "En u - na con -", "En u - na con -", and "En u - nu con -". The second system continues the vocal lines with lyrics: "cha de Ve - nus. la nue - va ma - dre de A - mor.", "cha de Ve - nus. la nuc - va ma - dre de A - mor.", "cha de Ve - nus. la nue - va ma - dre de A - mor.", and "cha de Ve - nus. la nue - va ma - dre de A - mor." The musical notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The score shows various rhythmic values and rests across the measures.

497. Anonymous, “En una concha de Venus,” in *La música y la poesía*, vol. 1, ed. Lambea, 152–53: “*amaina vela y leva remos.*”

498. Anon., “En una concha,” 150.

Example 72. Anon., "En una concha," mm. 33-59.⁴⁹⁹

33

na, a mai - na, ve - la y le - va re - mos, ve - la y le - va re -
 a - mai - na, ve - la y le - va re
 a - mai - na, ve - la y le - va re
 a - mai - na, ve - la y le - va re

38

mos, a - mai - na, a - mai - na, ve - la y le - va re -
 mos, a - mai - na, a - mai - na, ve - la y le - va re
 mos, a - mai - na, a - mai - na, ve - la y le - va re
 mos, a - mai - na, a - mai - na, ve - la y le - va re

42

mos, a - mai - na, a - mai - na, ve - la y le - va, le - va re -
 mos, a - mai - na, a - mai - na, mos, a - mai - na, ve - la y le - va re
 mos, a - mai - na, ve - la y le - va re
 mos, a - mai - na, ve - la y le - va re

46

mos, ve - la y le - va re - mos, ve - la y le - va re -
 na, a - mai - na, a - mai - na, a - mai - na
 mos, a - mai - na, a - mai - na, a - mai - na
 mos, a - mai - na, a - mai - na, a - mai - na

499. Anon., "En una concha," 152-53.

Like many of the pieces from the *Libro de tonos humanos*, the two discussed above begin with homophonic declamation. Seeming to obviate the latter portion of the warning of rule eleven, the mode in which many of the lowest voices enter is rarely ambiguous—at least within the *Libro*. At the beginning of these pieces, the lowest voice most often begins on the modal final. A greater cause of confusion is found at an imitative section that begins after the first phrase.

“Quereros siempre mirar,” another anonymous *tono* in the *Libro*, cadences on a G-major triad in measure 8 on the syllable *rar* of *mirar* (to see), as the example below shows. This is the end of the first phrase of the piece. A brief ascending sequence ensues, built on triads whose roots form a pattern of descending diatonic third followed by ascending diatonic fourth. As the second descending leap of a diatonic third is completed,

a point of imitation begins in the alto (second lowest voice, m. 11). It is worth noting that, although the F-major triad may not be convincing as a modal center to which the music has shifted because neither a fourth nor a fifth has resolved to F, the final and tenor of F Lydian initiate the contrapuntal interest in the alto and bass (lowest voice), respectively. Complicating matters further, the anonymous composer of “Quereros” changes to Mode III for a cadence in measure 17.⁵⁰⁰ Between the first statement of the motive, which begins from F (see the alto in m. 11), and the imperfect cadence in measure 17, each subsequent voice starts from C. F is the final of Mode V, and C is the tenor of the same. C is also the tenor of Mode III, which makes for smooth yet delicate transition, especially if one wishes to provide a figured bass accompaniment.

500. This cadence is a good example of how a composer might apply a *cadença sfugita*.

Example 73. Anonymous, “Quereros siempre mirar,” mm. 8–17.⁵⁰¹

8

rar no es só - lo que - re - ros ver,
 rar no es só - lo, só - lo que - re - ros ver,
 lo que - re - ros ver, es gus - to
 rar no es só - lo que - re - ros ver, es

13

es gus - to de pa - de - cer,
 es gus - to
 de pa - de - cer,
 gus - to de pa - de - cer, de pa - de - cer,

As is typical of romance texts beginning around 1625, the refrain of “Quereros” contrasts metrically with the verses. Above (ex. 73), one will catch a glimpse of the elaborate treatment composers usually gave the refrain.⁵⁰² These frequent shifts in mode present a figured-bass player with a number of important decisions. The accompanist must be careful to formulate bass figures from the upper voices. This should go without

501. Anonymous, “Quereros siempre mirar,” in *La música y la poesía*, vol. 1, ed. Lambea, 225–26.

502. Etzion, “The Spanish Polyphonic Cancioneros,” 72.

saying, but the diatonic scale of figured-bass rule one, for example, could lead the inexperienced accompanist astray.

After the cadence in measure 8, the harmony shifts from the *escala diatónica* (diatonic scale) to the *escala cromática* (chromatic scale) explained in rule one. If one were not careful, the minor sixth above E, as prescribed by the diatonic scale, would clash with the vocal parts. In short, “Quereros” is a testament to just how chromatically far afield a *tono* from seventeenth-century Spain could venture. This piece begins and ends in what one may be tempted to call C Ionian; during the compositional discourse, F-sharp, G-sharp, C-sharp, and perhaps even B-flat draw one’s ear into various modal and tonal territories.⁵⁰³

The twelfth and final rule aims to prepare the student for accompanying in the chromaticized Italian style. Sanz refers to two types of chromatic composition, one with sharps in the signature and one with flats. In agreement with the conventional placement of accidentals put forth in figured-bass rule two, rule twelve discusses signatures with either C-sharp and F-sharp or B-flat and E-flat.

Like rule eleven, rule twelve appears to be comprehensible and uncomplicated. Sanz does not go much further than stating that, if a piece bears a signature with C-sharp and F-sharp, the accompanist will play major thirds over A and D. For a piece whose signature shows B-flat and E-flat, one must play minor thirds over G and C. Sanz does

503. I am not stating that B-flat is absolutely valid because it appears in the cited score as a suggestion from the editor.

not identify these signatures to be signatures, key signatures, or any other technical term. He simply notes that some pieces bear two sharps or two flats beside the clef. Because theory was not yet tonal when Sanz was writing, I have employed the term signature. Also like rule eleven, there is great significance behind what seem like mere passing references.

It is mentioned in rule twelve that, for the signature with two sharps mentioned above, one can imagine the diatonic mode on G a whole-step higher—in other words, a transposed Mode VII or VIII, depending on the ambitus. For the signature with two flats, Sanz states that one would do well to think in terms of Mode I or II transposed down a whole-step. Thanks to the guitar's having been tuned in equal temperament, a practice dating back to the time of the vihuela's predominance, transposition had long been a staple of plucked-string aesthetics.

The works of Doizi de Velasco,⁵⁰⁴ Brizeño,⁵⁰⁵ and Amat⁵⁰⁶ all incorporate transposition. In 1995, Wolfgang Freis published a study on the transpositional capabilities of the vihuela, noting that, while the vihuela was tuned to nominal pitch, imagined tunings served to map intabulations of vocal polyphony. In an imagined tuning Freis calls *A-re*, some of the final sonorities of the fantasias of Mudarra “seem analogous to the natural modes or common transpositions.”⁵⁰⁷ In the same tuning, other final

504. Doizi de Velasco, *Nuevo Metodo*, 3–8.

505. Brizeño, *Metodo*, 13.

506. Amat, *Guitarra*, 23–28.

507. Freis, “Perfecting the Perfect Instrument,” 426.

harmonies break with traditional soundscapes, resulting in a freely transposable idiom employed by the other six vihuelists as well.

In one sense, the vihuela and guitar are humanistic instruments on account of their simplicity and accessibility for hobbyists. Especially with the guitar, one is able to sing a popular tune in any key. Discussions of which modes convey which affective states are left aside, as are other expansive theoretical topics. The focus is on application.

Tensions between theory and practice may be seen in studies of Roman learning, a culture so crucial to what has come to be known as Renaissance humanism. Gwynn writes, “The history of Roman education is very largely the history of Cicero’s intellectual growth, maturity, and influence.”⁵⁰⁸ Cicero is directly pertinent to humanism on the Iberian Peninsula through the vernacular translations of his works present there as early as the first half of the fifteenth century, as well as through his rhetorical stylings, models of Latin eloquence.⁵⁰⁹ The evolution of education during the lifetime of Cicero and early Spanish guitar traditions share comparable trajectories.

According to Gwynn, the democrats of Rome opposed the study and application of Greek language and culture at the time when Cicero was beginning his schooling.

508. Gwynn, *Roman Education*, 59.

509. Jeremy N. H. Lawrance, “Humanism in the Iberian Peninsula,” in *The Impact of Humanism On Western Europe During the Renaissance*, ed. Anthony Goodman and Angus MacKay (London: Routledge, 1990), 220–35.

These democrats considered Greek studies to be superfluous and unnecessarily expensive.⁵¹⁰ Greek rhetoric was the object of particular disdain.

Rhetoric was able to survive total censorship, and began to be taught in Latin. The translation from Greek to the more mainstream Latin parallels the attitudes of the anonymous author of the rhetoric textbook *ad Herennium* (ca. 84 BCE), one of the earliest pieces of prose in Latin.⁵¹¹ The author has no time for the overly theoretical nature of Greek rhetoric. Gwynn reports this typically democratic anti-Hellenism: “[the anonymous author] complains that Greek textbooks are pedantic and unpractical.”⁵¹² Armed with public-speaking skills reinforced by philosophical awareness, students of Latin rhetoric would be prepared to debate contemporaneous issues of society. Gwynn presents many historical examples that situate democratic thinkers at the helm of educational systems of Latin rhetoric. Condemnations of rhetoric, the source of much controversy in Greek and Roman academies since long before the time of Cicero, came during the lifetime of this legendary orator from conservative aristocrats. Politics were inseparable from educational reform.⁵¹³

Juan de Valdés (ca. 1490–1541) brought forth his ideas on usage of the Castilian language in *Diálogo de la lengua* (*Dialogue on language*, ca. 1535). The information on Valdés supplied by *Encyclopædia Britannica* is worth quoting for its insight into how

510. Gwynn, *Roman Education*, 59–60.

511. *Ibid.*, 66–67.

512. *Ibid.*, 67, brackets mine.

513. *Ibid.*, 63–74.

humanism might be defined in today's world: "*Diálogo de la lengua* . . . treated of Spanish style and language with that blend of wit, grace, learning, and common sense that characterizes humanism at its best."⁵¹⁴ Context for the life and work of Valdés takes shape through noting that Valdés himself, forging his own identity as an Erasmian thinker who wrote on the experiential nature of religion as well as the everyday uses of language, left Spain for Italy because the threat of the Inquisition was so grave.

Seth Kimmel summarizes the ideas of Valdés on Castilian Spanish compared with the teachings of Nebrija:

A contradictory figure deeply influenced by Erasmus and later associated with the *alumbrados*, Valdés mocked Nebrija's view of Castilian as a grammatical *arte* [art] taught in books rather than a lived form of communication. Nebrija's "gramatiquerías [grammatical pedantries]," as Valdés sardonically dubbed such *arte* in his *Diálogo de la lengua*, a conversation between a group of curious Italians and their Iberian interlocutor composed in the 1530s, consequently missed the truly dynamic aspect of spoken Castilian, replete with popular refrains and nonstandard usage.⁵¹⁵

The *alumbrados* were mystics persecuted by the Inquisition for their personalized conceptions of the divine. It is clear that Valdés was no slave to convention. K. Anipe notes, "Sociolinguistic variability, including variation in his own usage and preferences, is at the heart of Valdés's thinking process."⁵¹⁶ Shortly after these trends in linguistics, and

514. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Juan de Valdes," <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Juan-de-Valdes>.

515. Seth Kimmel, *Parables of Coercion: Conversion and Knowledge at the End of Islamic Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 72, brackets mine.

516. K. Anipa, ed., "*Diálogo de la lengua*," by Juan de Valdés: *A Diplomatic Edition* (Cambridge: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2014), 17.

in the same geographical regions, the figured-bass tradition reached maturity. From what has been stated thus far, developments in both the study of vernacular language and styles of guitar accompaniment hinged on that which could be learned from exposure to common practice. The everyday habits of the Spanish people were assumed into both disciplines.

With regard to modernity's applications of principles akin to those found within the guidelines of Sanz, one would do well to look to Zoltán Kodály (1882–1967). Kodály was a composer known not only for his own music, but also for the still-vibrant legacy of Hungarian music education he helped build and propagate together with Béla Bartók (1881–1945). The approach to music education known as the Kodály method, a name that often denotes the broader scope of Hungary's renowned systems of musical training, relies on student participation in singing folk songs and playing games associated with the tunes.

Students acquire musical literacy on the heels of much activity in music making and sound-related problem solving. Far from professorial, the Kodály method seeks to draw understanding from the students and involve inquisitive minds in the learning process. Both folk and academically refined music have roles to play, and various musico-cultural registers are unified under an insistence on competency in various skills related to musical notation. And though theory has its place, the Kodály method takes sound for its primary objective.

Having contemplated the ideas put forth in chapters 6 and 7, one might attempt to summarize them in a single sentence. For the folk- and popular-inspired Spanish guitar of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, written language, both textual and musical, served to relax socioeconomic-class boundaries without making guitar music formulaic.

The guidelines of *Instrvccion*, widely recognized as some of the most valuable lenses through which early-Baroque guitar traditions of Spain may be observed, end with the confession that the rules of counterpoint and composition are infinite. Sanz notes tellingly, “whatever might be lacking will be supplied by practice.”⁵¹⁷ Like Sanz, who in several places within *Instrvccion* makes known his desire to write more on guitar playing, Doizi de Velasco, Brizeño, and Amat all mention plans to publish more on the same topic. This open-ended mindset is true scientific inquiry. Ever-developing accumulations of knowledge invite excellence without getting stuck in absolute truth.

517. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 32r: “lo que faltare, lo suplirà la misma practica.”

Chapter Eight:
Compositions in *Rasgueado* Style

For the climax of this study, I have chosen to let the music speak for itself. There is a variety of rich subtopics at the disposal of the reader who has tended carefully to the points presented in the sections of this thesis that precede the final two chapters; the intention now is to demonstrate how the musical repertory of the early Spanish guitar acts as a unifier. Having become familiar with some trends of guitar culture in Renaissance and Baroque Spain, one should not require much more than an analysis of the music itself to be convinced of the guitar's ties to humanism.

True to the historical development of Spanish didactic publications for the five-course guitar, Sanz begins the musical content of *Instrvccion* with pieces that employ only the strummed style. The cyclical nature of the strummed style hearkens back to Encina's employment of phrasal symmetry and, even more common, his extended repetitions necessary to accommodate several stanzas composed in a single metrical scheme. The modern scores of Encina's music may seem rhythmically complicated and unpredictable at first glance, but this complexity is usually dispelled in two ways.

Where changes of time signature lure the eye into perceiving disjointedness, a steady pulse may lie beneath what appears turbulent. "Todos los bienes del mundo" serves as an instructive example.

Example 74. Encina, “Todos los bienes del mundo.”⁵¹⁸

61. Todos los bienes del mundo

♩ = 1/8

1. To-dos los bie-nes del mun-do pa-san pres-to y su me - mo-ria, sal-vo la fa-ma y la
 4. To-dos son bie-nes for-tu-nos y de muy po-ca me - mo-ria,

1. 1) glo-ria. 2. El tiem-po lle-va los u-nos, a o-tros for-tu-na y suer-te, 1) 1)
 3. y al ca-bo vie-ne la muer-te, que no nos de-xa nin-gu-nos.

[Fine] [D.C. al Fine]

Alternating between the first contra and *triple* voices, measures of six-eighth and measures of three-four are superimposed, the latter being found in the three voices that do not change to six-eighth. Like hemiola, which flavors later Spanish music of the *Siglo de*

518. Juan del Encina, “Todos los bienes del mundo,” in *La obra musical de Juan del Encina*, ed. Manuel Morais (Salamanca, Castile and Leon, Spain: Centro de Cultura Tradicional and Gráficas Varona, 1997), 283.

Oro with syncopation both within and to close a phrase, six-eight time adds rhythmic interest to endings of lines of poetry in the composition shown above. Owing to the fact that a single meter of either three-four or six-eight occupies the same temporal space, the overall effect of the change of meter only lightly disturbs the pulse.

Considering the fact that bar lines are employed in the original parts only to separate the A and B sections, and the mensural sign remains unaltered throughout, one may look to the text to study the composer's approach to rhythm. Indeed, one discovers that every line, consisting of eight syllables each, is assigned to six beats. Behind the façade of rhythmic complexity lies an even distribution of poetry.

Another counter to the abstruseness of Encina's rhythms is repetition. This regulating feature of his music relates directly to the harmonic cycles of strummed-style guitar music. At just six measures long, "A tal pérdida tan triste" showcases Encina's predilection for concision. Begging for improvised variety, the piece's six additional stanzas of poetry, if all are sung, make for a performance roughly fifteen times the length of the music offered in notated form below.

Example 75. Encina, “A tal pérdida tan triste.”⁵¹⁹

49. A tal pérdida tan triste

A tal pér - di - da tan tris - te bus - car - le con - so - la - ción, cla - ro es -

1. Contra

Tenor

2. Contra

tá qu'es tra - I - ción.

[Pincel]

Nineteen beats are arranged into groups of varying number of beats. Adjusting eight-eight time to four-four in order to count the total number of beats more easily, one finds the following pattern (numbers indicate how many beats to each group): one, four, two, three, two, four, three. The time signatures shown here are deceiving, however.

Being notated without bar lines or changes to the mensuration sign, the original parts of

519. Juan del Encina, “A tal pérdida tan triste,” in *La obra*, ed. Morais, 259.

Encina are much less daunting. The simplest and most useful way to analyze the phraseology of this piece arises from the text. Guided by the three lines of poetry for each iteration of the musical material, one observes an irregular rhythmic scheme nonetheless: six beats for the first line, five for the second, and eight for the third.

With regard to the collection of songs from which examples 74 and 75 are taken, Miguel Manzano Alonso observes, “The extreme economy of musical means with which these songs were written is one of their traditionally charming attributes, directly opposing the techniques of the composers of the preceding period who sought as much contrast as possible between A and B sections.”⁵²⁰ Likewise, in Latin sacred music, contemporaries of Encina were shedding the cryptology and intellectual artifice cultivated by composers of the generation of Ockeghem, whose ties to Spanish secular music are illustrated in the music of Cornago. Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta proclaims, with regard to the compilation of the music of Encina consulted for examples 74 and 75, “If one must be limited to three qualities that describe polyphony at the dawn of the Spanish Renaissance, then one must not miss this music’s naturalness, efficiency, and escape from hollow and grandiloquent rhetoric.”⁵²¹

520. Manuel Morais, introductory study to *La obra*, ed. Morais, 62: “*La gran economía de medios musicales con que estas canciones fueron escritas es uno de sus tipismos, oponiéndose frontalmente a la manera de escribir de los compositores del periodo anterior que buscaban lo mas posible contrastar la sección B con la A.*”

521. Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, foreword to *La obra*, ed. Morais, 13: “*Si por algo se distingue la polifonía en los albores del Renacimiento español es por su naturalidad, su eficacia y su huida de una retórica hueca y grandilocuente.*”

Even Morales, a composer known for his imitation of Flemish polyphonic inventiveness, employed unifying devices comparable to the repetition of the short passages of examples 74 and 75. In his *Missa Sancta et immaculata*, Guerrero pays homage to “his admired predecessor and one-time teacher, Morales,”⁵²² with various incorporations of the opening theme of the eponymous motet by Morales. Most appropriately notable among these devices of Guerrero is the *cantus firmus obstinatus*, which is found in the Benedictus.

Acting in the manner of a ground bass, the repetition of Morales’s theme gives rise to a series of *diferencias*, the precursor to the well-known theme-and-variations form. To demonstrate points in common between popular Baroque styles and contemporaneous sacred music, it is important to note that the use of the *cantus firmus obstinatus* lasted into the seventeenth century, overlapping with the rise of the five-course guitar.⁵²³

The notation of the strummed-style pieces of *Instrvccion* is very simple. When compared with plucked-style pieces of the same formal classification, the strummed style is consistently less complex in terms of rhythm. This skeletal notation would have left plenty of room for regional variants on the popular dance forms, a phenomenon similar to the variety of romance dialects spoken in the different regions of Spain. It is appropriate here to remind the reader that, though efforts toward a unified Spain were being made, the early-modern Iberian Peninsula is arguably more accurately described as *Las Españas*

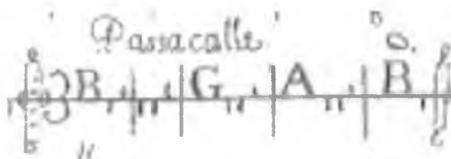
522. Bruno Turner, introduction to Guerrero, *Missa sancta*.

523. Ibid.

(literally, The Spains). Owing to the potential for stylistic variation and evolution, I have omitted up- and down-strums from the modern transcriptions of the *rasgueado* progressions. Refer to the *alfabeto* notation of Sanz for the original strumming patterns.

The first strummed-style piece of *Instrvccion* is a demonstration of the first labyrinth. Two *pasacalles* illustrate the manner in which the reader is to use the labyrinth. Four *pasacalles* are offered in the compendium of strummed-style music included after the second labyrinth. Presented in six different versions—more than any other strummed-style form—and being the first of sixteen strummed-style progressions offered in *Instrvccion*, the *pasacalle* assumes a position of primary importance.

Example 76. The first *pasacalle* of the compendium of strummed-style forms.⁵²⁴



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

Example 77. The first *pasacalle* of the compendium of strummed-style forms, in modern notation.⁵²⁵

The image shows a musical score for a piece in 3/4 time. It consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a single melodic line with eighth notes. The middle staff is in alto clef and contains a series of chords, each marked with a circled '8' below it, indicating an octava (octave) shift. The bottom staff is in bass clef and also contains a series of chords, each marked with a circled '8' below it, indicating an octava shift. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Having begun from a subordinate social position, the *pasacalle* was beginning a process of refinement at the time the first edition of *Instrvccion* was published. According to Thomas Schmitt, the last quarter of the seventeenth century saw a shift in how the *pasacalle* came to bear. From roles as a simple functional accompaniment or a teaching tool, the *pasacalle* was becoming a legitimate style through which educated composers crystallized their own ideas in sophisticated musical language.⁵²⁶ Andrés Sanchez Serrano treats the *pasacalle* from a similar perspective in his doctoral dissertation, *El pasacalles en la “Instrucción de Música sobre la guitarra española” de Gaspar Sanz (1640–ca. 1710) II* (2013). It is instructive to note that Sanz sets the *pasacalle* in duple as well as

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

526. Thomas Schmitt, “El pasacalles español y la idea de la obra,” in “Actas del IV Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Musicología: La investigación musical en España: Estado de la cuestión y aportaciones,” vol. 1, special issue, *Revista de Musicología* 20, no. 1 (1997): 315–20, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20797419>.

triple meter. All six strummed-style *pasacalles* are in triple meter, while eight of the ten settings in book three of *Instrvccion* employ duple meter.

After the *pasacalles* to demonstrate the labyrinth comes the *gallarda*, the first form included in the compendium. The linguistic similarity to the well-known galliard may be deceiving in this case, because the *gallardas* of *Instrvccion* are composed in duple meter. One common understanding is that after a pavan in slow duple meter, the galliard reworks the thematic material of the pavan into a quicker dance in triple meter.

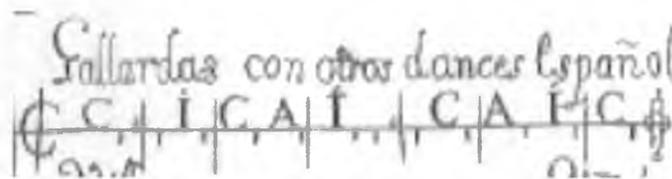
Even though from strummed-style *gallardas* of Sanz to polyphonic *gallardas* compositions by the organist Juan Cabanilles (1644–1712) one finds the music is composed in duple meter, the proper metrical accent can be elusive. Maurice Esses provides a valuable piece of information on the interplay between binary and ternary rhythm that tends to occur in the *gallardas*:

It is important to emphasize one general feature of the notational practices of Western Europe during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In any piece the given mensuration sign and barlines do not necessarily indicate the metrical framework and accentual organization of the music. Thus instrumental dance-song settings based on triple-meter schemes are sometimes notated as if they were in duple meter. This often occurs in Spanish settings of “Guárdame las vacas” from the late sixteenth century . . . ⁵²⁷

527. Maurice I. Esses, “Dance and Instrumental ‘Diferencias’ in Spain during the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries” (doctoral dissertation), University of Toronto (1986): 392, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/303534273?accountid=13802>.

This proposition of Esses can be supported with a primary source. Brizeño subtitles one *gallarda* “Las vacas,”⁵²⁸ a reference to the traditional Spanish tune “Guárdame las vacas,” which is based on the *romanesca* ground. Following “Las vacas,” Brizeño presents another *gallarda*, this being generically titled “una gallarda romanesca.”⁵²⁹ Listening to recordings of “Guárdame las vacas” by Jacob Heringman (2003), Segovia (1956), or the Los Angeles Guitar Quartet (2015), one is easily able to feel triple meter. The strummed-style settings of Sanz are set in duple meter, but ultimately bring about a pulse in three.

Example 78. First *gallarda*, showing *compasillo*.⁵³⁰

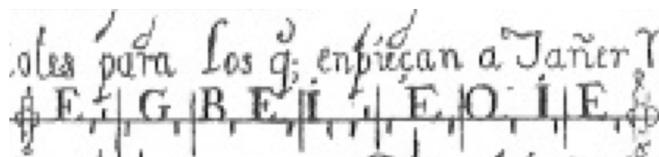


528. Brizeño, *Metodo*, 12.

529. *Ibid.*, 13.

530. Sanz, *Instrucción*, fol. 18r.

Example 79. The second of three *gallardas*. The *compasillo* mensuration sign still applies. The markings above this setting clarify the rhythm.⁵³¹



Example 80. Second *gallarda*, in modern notation. Ovals mark the accented first beat of each three-beat rhythmic unit.⁵³²

The accentuation demarcated by the ovals in the modern transcription above corresponds with the plucked-style *gallarda* that opens book two of *Instrvccion*.⁵³³ I would understand if one is not convinced this triple-meter pulse is unequivocally pronounced, but there can be no denying that the phrasal structure of the chord

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

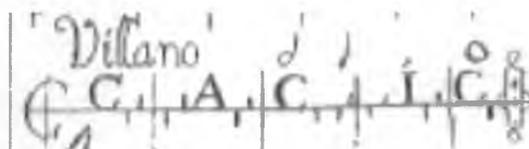
532. *Ibid.*

533. *Ibid.*, fol. 40r.

progression consists of two phrases of three measures each. Perhaps the reader will find it interesting that in every *gallarda* composition for organ by Cabanilles I have examined, no such delineation of ternary rhythm is perceptible.

Next comes the *villano*. The etymology of the name of this harmonic progression speaks to the societal connotations of the music. Covarrubias describes the *villa* to be “a workers’ quarters or farmhouse in the country . . . in which laborers stay with their livestock.”⁵³⁴ These laborers were identified as *villanos*, and, according to Covarrubias, were thought to be “very rustic and unpleasant,”⁵³⁵ of a disposition opposite to that of an *hidalgo*, the classification of a man of the lowest-ranking nobility.⁵³⁶

Example 81. The first of two *villanos*.⁵³⁷



534. Covarrubias y Horozco, *Tesoro*, s.v. “villa,” 1531: “la casería o quinta que está en el campo . . . a do se recogen los que la labran con sus ganados,” ellipsis mine.

535. Ibid.: “muy rústicos y desapacibles.”

536. Ibid.

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

Example 82. The first *villano*, in modern notation.⁵³⁸



Russell takes note of the lively nature of the *villano*, which was reflected in its choreography.⁵³⁹ In 1577, Salinas used the *villano*, among several other popular Spanish melodies associated with dancing, in *De musica libri septem*, a treatise on music written in Latin. In this work Salinas does not shy away from an opportunity to critique ancient Greek poetics, and employs vernacular Spanish song “not as examples of music but as illustrations of rhythm considered from the standpoint of Classical prosody.”⁵⁴⁰ In another evocation of the cross-cultural history of Spanish humanism, *De musica* legitimizes the Islamic origins of the the melody “Rey don Alonso.”⁵⁴¹ This is more than one could say about early-modern official histories of the vihuela and guitar, which tend to bypass the contributions of Middle Eastern Muslims.

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

539. Craig H. Russell, *Santiago de Murcia’s Códice Saldívar No. 4: Commentary* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 35–36.

540. J. B. Trend, “Salinas: A Sixteenth-Century Collector of Folk Songs,” *Music and Letters* 8, no. 1 (1927): 19, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/726187>.

541. *Ibid.*, 22–24.

Next comes the *dance de las hachas*. Miguel Ángel Berlanga Fernández has noted that, compared to “Guárdame las vacas,” the *dance de las hachas* appeared infrequently during the Spanish Renaissance.⁵⁴² Yet simply change the mensuration sign from duple to triple and the *dance de las hachas* form becomes none other than “Guárdame las vacas.” Both take for their foundation the *romanesca* ground, a musical formula of renown and longevity.

The attention paid by modern research to these forms is telling of their disparate impacts. *Grove Music Online* retrieves no search results for *dance de las hachas*. “Guárdame las vacas” brings twelve results. Searching for the word *romanesca* generates eighty-three search results, three of which are individual subject entries. Thus, that which the triple- and duple-meter versions of the form have in common has taken a firm hold in musical history.

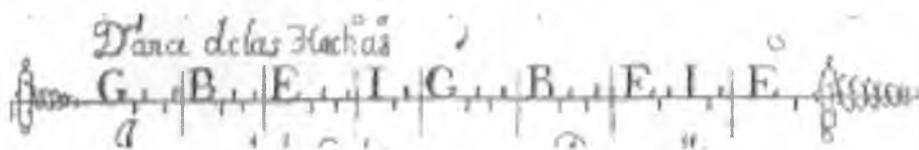
Giuseppe Gerbino attributes the first appearance of the term *romanesca* to *Tres libros de musica* of Mudarra.⁵⁴³ From there, it is rational to hypothesize a sociological elevation of the *romanesca*. Sacred music in Latin is typified by duple meter, Spanish folk tunes by triple meter. Sanz omitted “Guárdame” in favor of the *dance de las hachas*,

542. Miguel Ángel Berlanga Fernández, “El bajo ‘Guárdame las vacas’ y las músicas tradicionales en el sureste español,” in “Actas del VI Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Musicología,” special issue, *Revista de Musicología* 28, no. 1 (2005): 502, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20798085>.

543. Giuseppe Gerbino, “Romanesca,” *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.jp11net.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/23732>.

thereby illustrating the metamorphosis of folk music. “Guárdame las vacas” translates to “Look after my Cows,” an unmistakably rustic turn of phrase. Furthermore, the term *dance*, which is obviously related to *danza*, is employed to distinguish this form from the more lewd *bailes*.

Example 83. The only strummed-style *dance de las hachas* to appear in the compendium.⁵⁴⁴



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

Example 84. The same *dance de las hachas*, in modern notation.⁵⁴⁵

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the *dance de las hachas*. Each system consists of three staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a guitar line (treble clef), and a bass line (bass clef). The first system is in C major, and the second system is in C minor. The guitar line features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and chords. The bass line features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and chords. The first system ends with a half cadence on the tenor, and the second system ends with an authentic cadence on the final.

One notable aspect of the *dance de las hachas* form is its equally measured bipartite structure. Both of the progression's two phrases begin with the same musical material. The difference between the two phrases lies in the cadences. In modal terminology, the first phrase cadences on the tenor, and the second on the final. Modern tonal theory would employ the terms half cadence and authentic cadence. This musical architecture is precisely that of the *estampie*, a popular Medieval form in which the two cadences were termed open (on the tenor, half) and closed (on the final, authentic). Much

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

of today's musical scholarship points to the *estampie*'s being the first purely instrumental genre of Western Europe. Also, it is possible the *estampie* served as accompaniment for dancing.⁵⁴⁶ Both of these research lines arrive logically at a connection with the *dance de las hachas* in that Sanz presents it as a purely instrumental form and Esses links it to a particular dance.⁵⁴⁷

The focus of the doctoral work of Esses is dance, but his text provides much valuable information on the origins of early-modern Spain's common musical forms as well. This is particularly true in the case of the *jácaras*. The threat posed by the base, vulgarly entertaining *jácaras* to traditionally respectable and powerful sectors of society was serious enough to warrant, in 1644,⁵⁴⁸ an official ban imposed by the Council of Castile, the government's "ultimate decision-making body."⁵⁴⁹

The poetry of the *jácara* depicted the life of the underclass, street villains and rogues typical of picaresque literature. The musical accompaniment was normally provided by a guitarist. In dramatic works, this harmonic progression has been employed to confuse the societal boundaries between the rich and honorable and the poor and detestable. Russell mentions its impact on the sacred *villancico*: "The Church became as enamoured as the theater with the *jácaras*—indeed, no other subgroup of *villancico* is

546. Latham, *Oxford Dictionary*, s.v. "estampie," 63.

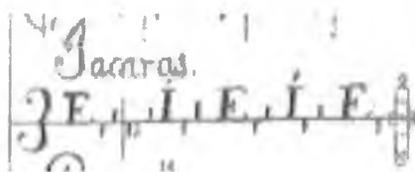
547. Maurice Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias in Spain during the Seventeenth and Early-Eighteenth Centuries*, vol. 1, *History and Background, Music and Dance* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1992), 664–65.

548. *Ibid.*, 670.

549. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Spain," <http://www.britannica.com/place/Spain/The-reign-of-Charles-III-1759-88>.

more numerous.”⁵⁵⁰ Collections of guitar and keyboard music also illustrate the broad reach of the form: “the *jácaras* was of supreme importance, taking second place only to the *pasacalle* in popularity and number.”⁵⁵¹

Example 85. One of the compendium’s two *jácaras*.⁵⁵²



Example 86. The same *jácaras*, in modern notation.

550. Craig H. Russell, “Jácaras,” *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.opac.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/14013>.

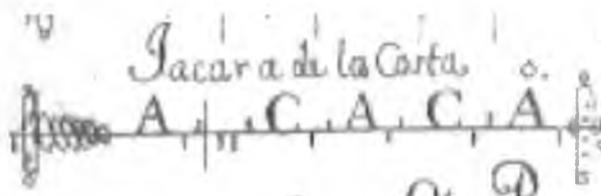
551. *Ibid.*

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

One will infer from the transcription into modern notation above that the *jácaras* is a very simple harmonic formula. In its most basic form, the progression consists of just two different harmonies. Variations on the framework come into play, none of which disrupts the arrivals at the harmonies that begin the first measure and end the last. Two of a total of four measures are occupied by hemiola, a trait likewise unaltered by well-known elaborations of the basic harmonic scheme.⁵⁵³ Considering the conspicuous blurring of metrical accent in this popular genre, one may trace frequent hemiola and a general tendency toward syncopation from music of the common classes to notated compositions and publications associated more with noblemen and literati. The minor triad most often anchors the *jácaras* to associations with Mode I or Mode II. The *jácaras de la costa* (*jácaras* of the coast) employs a major triad on the modal final, constituting a progression tonally-minded theorists would label I-V-I.

553. Russell, "Jácaras."

Example 87. Only one strummed-style *jácaras de la costa* is found in the compendium.⁵⁵⁴



Example 88. The *jácaras de la costa*, in modern notation.

A modern musical score for 'Jacara de la Costa'. It consists of three staves. The top staff is a single melodic line in treble clef, 2/4 time, with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The middle and bottom staves are accompaniment parts, also in treble and bass clefs respectively, 2/4 time, with a key signature of one sharp. Both accompaniment parts feature a steady eighth-note strummed pattern. The number '8' is written below the first two staves.

Esses finds little written on the choreography of the *jácaras de la costa*.⁵⁵⁵ His one source, a late-eighteenth-century author on dance named Felipe Roxo de Flores, clearly denominates the form a *baile*, not a *danza*. It is generally understood that the *jácaras* on the minor triad was employed more frequently than the *jácaras de la costa*. Russell advises researchers not to overlook *jácaras* compositions whose titles omit *de la costa*

554. Sanz, *Instrucción*, fol. 18r.

555. Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, 673.

because sometimes, even though the major-triadic final is not indicated in the title, the music shows otherwise.⁵⁵⁶

The *jácaras de la costa* variations from *Cifras selectas de guitarra* (1722) by Murcia is “highly demanding from a technical point of view.”⁵⁵⁷ Here, Alejandro Vera conveys the assumption of lewd, rowdy music into a virtuosic repertory. Continuing with help from Esses, Vera warns of the complications associated with putting music into either the *baile* or *danza* category. The distinction is not always clear. While the tendency is toward the ascent of lowly forms into learned circles, the reverse process might have constituted a significant area ripe for musicological inquiry.⁵⁵⁸

The *pasacalle* appears next in *Instrucción*'s compendium of strummed-style forms, but, owing to its primacy in Spanish guitar culture and early appearance in the text of Sanz as a pedagogical tactic, I have placed the *pasacalle* first in my exposition. The *españolito* follows.

The name *españolito* hints at strong patriotism, or at least a musical genre definitive of the sound of Spain. Sources point to the pivotal role played by the Spanish Netherlands in the dissemination, perhaps even creation, of the *españolito*.⁵⁵⁹ The earliest notated example of the *españolito* form comes from *Il bailarino* (1581), a dancing guide

556. Russell, *Murcia's Códice Saldívar*, 166.

557. Alejandro Vera, introduction to Santiago de Murcia, *Cifras selectas de guitarra*, ed. Alejandro Vera (Middleton, WI: A-R, 2010), xxiv.

558. Ibid.

559. Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, 632.

by Italian dancer Fabritio Caroso (ca. 1530–ca. 1605).⁵⁶⁰ Caroso worked under the patronage from the Caetani, a powerful family in control of Sermoneta, located near the border of Rome and Naples. Contacts between Caroso and influential Italian families the Medici, Farnese, Gonzaga, d'Este, and Sforza, as well as the Spanish elite presiding over Milan and Naples, generate interest in the international attributes of the *españolito*.⁵⁶¹

Esses has highlighted the aristocratic nature of the *españolito*. Furthermore, the popularly inspired Spanish theater of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries found little use for this form.⁵⁶² The phraseology of the *españolito* testifies to associations with high art. This strummed-style form is the longest yet of the compendium. With three distinct phrases, more than any form of the compendium so far, and pronounced shifts from a D-minor to an F-major triadic center and vice versa, the *españolito* invites compositional ingenuity and formal development.

560. Richard Hudson, "Spagnoletta," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.opac.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/26342>.

561. Julia Sutton, "Caroso, Fabritio," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.opac.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/04986>.

562. Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, 630–31.

Example 89. The one *españolleta* in the compendium.⁵⁶³



Both triple- and duple-meter settings are found in Italian dance books from around the dawn of the seventeenth century. Caroso published his triple-meter *españolleta* in 1581, twenty-one years before the duple-meter setting of Cesare Negri (ca. 1535–ca. 1605) was taken to the press. Esses discusses a comparison of the two forms: “By considering two measures of the former to be equivalent to one measure of the latter, one finds that both settings employ a similar, but not identical, harmonic-metric scheme consisting of three repeated strains.”⁵⁶⁴

The rhythm of example 90 may seem facile. The plucked-style *españolleta* two pages further into *Instrvccion* reveals more complexity. Of particular note in the plucked-style composition are two instances of the dotted-quarter–eighth–quarter rhythmic cell illustrated in ex. 8 of this text (p. 99). Also, the plucked-style version employs more chromaticism. Instead of the minor triad on the modal final in measure 18 of this example, an E-major triad leads to the A-major triad in measure 19.

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

564. Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, 632.

Example 90. The *españolito*, in modern notation.⁵⁶⁵

The musical score is presented in three systems, each containing three staves. The first system begins at measure 1, the second at measure 8, and the third at measure 16. The notation includes a treble clef staff with a melodic line, a middle treble clef staff with a rhythmic accompaniment of chords, and a bass clef staff with a bass line. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 2/4. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots at the end of each system.

565. Refer to fol. 20r of *Instrvccion* for the plucked-style *españolito*.

The *folías* harmonic ground comes next. Hudson identifies two distinct periods of the *folías*, both of which share points in common—similar chord progressions, similar rhythmic cells, and similar musical functions (both were frameworks for variation).⁵⁶⁶ Hudson details other methods of comparison; for details I refer the reader to his writings. Briefly, the earlier version of the *folías* originated in Portugal and spread throughout the Iberian Peninsula and into Italy. The later version is said to have begun in late-seventeenth-century France and England.⁵⁶⁷

The one strummed-style *folías* in the compendium contains the two-beat anacrusis on the modal-final triad typical of the earlier version. Though many later composers assimilated the *folías* harmonies into large-scale works, one should not assume the *folías* of Iberian origin was simply a folk song. The term *folías* was often employed in reference to dancing and poetry as well.⁵⁶⁸

In *El sueño de la muerte*, a satirical work written by Quevedo in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, barbers play the *folías* along with *pasacalles* and *vacas*, the last being short for “Guárdame las vacas.” Campo Tejedor notes that these tunes would be played in the street and barbershop alike.⁵⁶⁹ According to Esses, “The Spanish nobility

566. Richard Hudson, “The Folia Melodies,” *Acta Musicologica* 45, fasc. 1 (1973): 114–119, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/932224>.

567. *Ibid.*, 98.

568. For further reading see Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, 636–48.

569. Campo Tejedor, “Tocar a lo barbero,” 16.

began to perform *folías* during the second half of the sixteenth century.”⁵⁷⁰ Thus, one will note the socially mutable nature of the *folías* and its potential to blur class boundaries.

The *folías* in *Instrvccion*, like the *dance de las hachas*, replicates precisely the form of the *estampie*. The music of the *estampie* is generally understood to be instrumental. However, via associations with the dance music of the troubadours, the vocal music of the *Cantigas* proves fruitful while researching alternate purposes of the *estampie*.⁵⁷¹ The refrain is a defining feature of troubadour dance music and the *Cantigas* alike. Timothy J. McGee reports, “The *Leys d’amors*, a treatise compiled by Guillaume Molinier during the first half of the fourteenth century, acknowledges the existence of a musical form [of the poetic form called *estampie*] and goes on to state, ‘but sometimes [*estampie*] refers not only to the music but also to the text, which is based on love and homage.’”⁵⁷² In light of what McGee has found, one is enticed by the possibility of tracing popular forms of Renaissance and Baroque Spain back to courtly-love poetry in Provençal.

There is also the linguistic commonality, Portuguese, between the history of the *folías* and the poetry of the *Cantigas*. Encina employed the *folías* progression in his *villancico* “Pues que ya nunca nos véis” (see p. 145 of this text). Given the poetic lineage

570. Esses, *Dances and Instrumental Diferencias*, 646.

571. J. Peter Burkholder, Donald J. Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 7th ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006), 82–86.

572. Timothy J. McGee, “Estampie,” *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.jpllnet.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/09012>, first brackets mine.

of the *villancico*, which includes the verse-refrain forms of the *Cantigas* and the Arabic *zajal*, one is reminded of two issues central to the sociopolitical climate of Spanish Renaissance humanists; namely, the polemics of popular spirituality and the widespread prejudice toward the Muslim community. To forget these two matters are absent from today's world would be a grave mistake.

Example 91. The *folías*, a relatively extensive harmonic ground, is presented only once in the compendium.⁵⁷³



The early music of Spain is laden with interjections of trochaic and iambic rhythms within the same piece or even the same phrase. In example 92, the trochee occurs in measure 7. The iamb, found in measure 13, takes on a slightly different guise. This particular iamb is a result of the harmonic rhythm, which assigns two quarter-notes to the second harmony of the measure, and just one quarter-note to the first.

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

Example 92. *Folías*, in modern notation.

The musical score for 'Folías' is presented in three systems, each with three staves. The first system starts at measure 8. The top staff is a single melodic line in treble clef. The middle and bottom staves are guitar accompaniment, with the middle staff in treble clef and the bottom staff in bass clef. Both the middle and bottom staves have an '8' below them, indicating an octave shift. The second system also starts at measure 8. The third system starts at measure 12. The notation includes various chords, arpeggios, and melodic lines, with some measures featuring long horizontal lines (possibly indicating sustained notes or specific guitar techniques).

The pavan, or *pavana*, as it was known in Spain, comes next in the strummed-style compendium. Owing to the general consensus that the pavan most likely originated

in Italy, probably in the town of Padua, it is not necessary to delve much into this form's history or musical characteristics.

To be sure, the importing of music to the Iberian Peninsula has been a long and involved process. In the context of the present exposition, I will address the most pertinent examples of definitive Spanish music. The complexities of how various civilizations interacted through migrations to and from the homeland of the great Spanish Empire present thick subjects of inquiry perhaps impossible to solve. There may be counterarguments with regard to how Spanish the Spanish forms presented here actually are. The endeavor I have undertaken aims at a recreation of the music that people of Renaissance and Baroque musical cultures took to be representative of Spanish identity.

It is noteworthy that Esses does not trace, in the history of the pavan, the popular-to-aristocratic assimilatory path many Spanish strummed-style forms took. Alan Brown has stated that the earliest printed pavan is a piece of lute tablature by Joan Ambrosio Dalza (fl. 1508). The *Intabulatura de lauto* of Dalza was published by Ottaviano dei Petrucci (1466–ca. 1539) in Venice in 1508.⁵⁷⁴ One should note that both Padua and Venice are found in the north, far from Spain's influence in the south-Italian region of Naples.

Eventually, in the late-sixteenth century, a characteristically Spanish version of the pavan was established. In spite of this fact, the documentary evidence of the Italian

574. Alan Brown, "Pavan," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.jpllnet.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/21120>.

origins of the pavan convince me to consider it Italian music. It should be noted, however, that the Spanish pavan is defined in part by a standardized harmonic-metric plan, an attribute absent from the Italian model.⁵⁷⁵ The compendium of *Instrvccion* contains one pavan.

Next comes the *rugero*, a strummed-style form of which there is also just one representative in the compendium of Sanz's text. The *rugero* remained more strongly linked to its Italian roots than did the pavan. With a clearly traceable history back to Ferrara, the north-Italian region just south of Padua and Venice, the *rugero* shared with the pavan a broad, international appeal. Unlike the Italian pavan, however, the Italian *rugero*, known as the *ruggiero* in Italy, would have unwaveringly denoted a specific chordal formula and rhythmic pattern. This form is linked through both etymology and music to Italian epic poetry.⁵⁷⁶

In the 1532 epic work *Orlando Furioso* by the Italian author Ludovico de Ariosto (1474–1533), Ruggiero is “a heroic Saracen knight beloved by Bradamante, a female Christian knight.”⁵⁷⁷ Legend has it, the d'Este family—in whose service Ariosto found himself from 1503 to about 1525—began with the offspring of Ruggiero and Bradamante.⁵⁷⁸ Thus, while the *ruggiero* harmonic-metric formula does not appear to be

575. Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, 695.

576. *Ibid.*, 703–05.

577. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Ruggiero,” <http://www.britannica.com/topic/Ruggiero-fictional-character>.

578. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Ludovico Ariosto,” <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Ludovico-Ariosto>.

born from the peasantry, it entails a story in which the matrimonial norms of Christian society play a central role. A so-called pagan by birth, Ruggiero was later baptized, yet continued to struggle to be seen as a worthy suitor for Bradamante. Together with providing a point of departure for discussing interclass relationships and religious supremacism, the success of the marriage of these two figures confirms the power of *cortesía* (courtesy).⁵⁷⁹

Information on the *paradetas* is scant. This dance form, which follows the *rugero* in *Instrucción*, appears in only one other Spanish guitar method of the seventeenth century, the 1677 book *Luz y norte musical* by Lucas Ruiz y Ribayaz (fl. ca. 1670–ca. 1680).⁵⁸⁰ Unfortunately, due to two missing folios from the method of Brizeño, the absence of the *paradetas* from this work cannot be certain.

It may come as a disappointment that the piece in *Luz y norte* is but a reproduction of the music of Sanz. Ribayaz borrowed liberally from other composers, a practice he makes known in his book.⁵⁸¹ *Luz y norte* includes a *paradetas* for harp as well, and not just a transcription of the guitar work by Sanz. As Bordas confirms, the harp music may well be composed by either Lorente or Juan del Vado (ca. 1625–1691). This

579. For further reading see David Marsh, “Ruggiero and Leone: Revision and Resolution in Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*,” *Modern Language Notes* 96, no. 1 (1981): 144–51. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2906434>.

580. Robert Strizich and Craig H. Russell, “Ruiz y Ribayaz, Lucas,” *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/jpllnet.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/24130>.

581. Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz y norte musical* (Madrid: 1677), 32.

is a significant statement, though impossible to confirm because the necessary works have been lost.

Both Lorente and Vado were both organists and composers of sacred music.⁵⁸² Especially for the theorist Lorente, composing in a popular-style dance form would signify a striking break with traditional counterpoint and erudite Spanish theory in general.⁵⁸³ Regardless of who the composer was, the harp *paradetas* points to this form's acceptance into high musical culture. A *paradetas* by Guerau seems to have been edited by Giuseppe Gazzelloni and published in Italy by Bèrben in 1980, but the piece is not contained in the didactic text by Guerau.

The Dictionary of the Royal Academy of Spain (*Real Academia Española*) posits Spanish origins of the *paradetas*.⁵⁸⁴ It is interesting, in my opinion, to note the difference in terminology between the version of this dictionary I have consulted and the version cited by Esses. Quoting the first edition, published in 1714, Esses shows that the entry uses the word *baile*.⁵⁸⁵ Today's entry changes this detail, opting instead for *danza*. Continuing on the subject of the *paradetas*, Esses finds it connected to Catalonia and Valencia, but no other region either within or outside of Spain. This musical form's

582. Luis Robledo, "Vado y Gómez, Juan del," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.jpllnet.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/28887>.

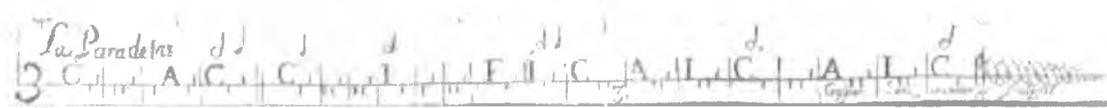
583. Álvaro Zaldívar, "Lorente, Andrés," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.jpllnet.sfsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/16985>.

584. *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, s.v. "paradetas," <http://dle.rae.es/?id=RpW8kzU>.

585. Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, 683.

function as a *baile* is incorporated into a mid-seventeenth-century staged comedic work by Sebastián Rodríguez de Villaviciosa (1618–1663).⁵⁸⁶

Example 93. The notation of the one *paradetas* in the strummed-style compendium is rather difficult to follow.⁵⁸⁷



586. Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, 683–84.

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

The plucked-style *paradetas* in book two of *Instrvccion* is helpful in elucidating the notational problems of the strummed-style progression. For example, measures 4 and 8 are unclear. Does the guitarist observe a rest on beat one before playing the two-strum pattern that spans beats two and three? The plucked-style piece leads one to believe that a rest would in fact be necessary.

Also, Sanz seems to forget to expressly change the note value at certain points in the strummed-style progression. In measure 8, is one supposed to continue on with dotted half-notes? Common sense says otherwise. In the final measure, the half-note would result in a strange truncation of the form and cycle back to the beginning of the progression incorrectly. The plucked-style *paradetas* confirms—again on the side of common sense, but not necessarily in line with the particulars of the notation—that the final measure should last for three beats.

The portion of Sanz's compendium containing Spanish dances comes to a close with the *paradetas*. The following group of chord progressions—which Sanz calls *sonadas* instead of *dances*, the latter being the denomination employed for the Spanish forms—is comprised entirely of foreign music. One primary goal of this thesis is to lay out the characteristics of early music for the Spanish guitar as it was conceived within Spain; so, at the present juncture, it is appropriate to move on to an exposition of the music of *Instrvccion* composed in plucked and mixed-tablature styles.

Chapter Nine:
Compositions in *Punteado* and Mixed-Tablature Styles

The table of contents of book one of *Instrvccion* states that the first set of plucked-style compositions is meant for the beginner. These pieces are not technically demanding, and, moreover, demonstrate a convenient transition from the strummed style to more advanced techniques. Like the compendium of strummed-style music, the first set of plucked-style pieces begins with a *gallarda*.

Now in a more refined and delicate style, Sanz treats many forms found in the strummed-style compendium. There are also many forms that do not feature in the section on strummed style. Mixed-tablature settings play important roles in understanding the assimilation of strummed style into high art. The table below shows how many times each form is set in each style. The data are taken from all three books of *Instrvccion*, and the listed order of the forms corresponds to their order of appearance throughout the three books.

Form	Strummed Style	Plucked Style	Mixed Tablature
<i>Gallardas</i>	3	2	0
<i>Villano</i>	2	2	0
<i>Dance de las hachas</i>	1	2	0
<i>Jácaras</i>	2	2	2
<i>Jácaras de la costa</i>	1	0	0
<i>Pasacalle</i>	6	18	1
<i>Españoletas</i>	1	3	0
<i>Folias</i>	1	1	0
<i>Pavana</i>	1	2	0
<i>Rugero</i>	1	1	0
<i>Paradetas</i>	1	1	0
<i>Gran Duque de Florencia</i>	2	2	0
<i>Baile de Mantua</i>	1	0	0
<i>Saltaren</i>	1	0	0
<i>Zarabanda francesa</i>	2	0	3
<i>Tarantela</i>	1	0	0
<i>Mariona</i>	0	1	1
<i>Torneo</i>	0	1	0
<i>Batalla</i>	0	1	0
<i>Canarios</i>	0	2	1
<i>Preludio</i>	0	1	1
<i>Alemanda</i>	0	0	2
<i>Jiga</i>	0	1	1
<i>Coriente</i>	0	0	1
<i>Fuga</i>	0	2	0
<i>Matachín</i>	0	1	0
<i>Zarabanda</i>	0	1	0
<i>Chacona</i>	0	1	0
<i>Maricápalos</i>	0	0	1
<i>Bailete francés</i>	0	1	0
<i>Clarines y trompetas</i>	0	3	0
<i>Cavallería de Nápoles</i>	0	1	0
<i>Canciones</i>	0	1	0
<i>Garzona</i>	0	1	0
<i>Coquina francesa</i>	0	1	0
<i>Lantururu</i>	0	1	0
<i>Esfachata de Nápoles</i>	0	1	0
<i>Miñona de Cataluña</i>	0	1	0
<i>Minina de Portugal</i>	0	1	0

<i>Trompetas de la Reyna de Suecia</i>	0	2	0
<i>Clarín de los Mosqueteros del Rey de Francia</i>	0	1	0

Table 2. These data will serve to better understand the relationship between the strummed and plucked styles.⁵⁸⁸

The disproportionately large number of *pasacalles* stands out immediately. One should clarify that two of these six strummed-style *pasacalles* belong to the didactic examples of the first labyrinth. Relatedly, the potential number of *pasacalles* offered in *Instrvccion* is far greater than six. The first labyrinth manifests through a table of twenty-four rows and four columns, which gives rise to two *pasacalles* from each note of the chromatic octave—one *pasacalle* from the major triad and one from the minor triad. Permitting each variation by inversion to count as a separate *pasacalle*, the labyrinth makes for a set of 1536 *pasacalles*.⁵⁸⁹

As the alpha and omega of the music of *Instrvccion* in a literal as well as a figurative sense, the *pasacalle* prompts an examination of how Sanz treated forms that belonged to similar cultural registers. Of the nine Spanish strummed-style forms described in chapter 8, six are set in the plucked style more than once. Of the other thirty forms in table 2, again six are employed for more than one plucked-style composition.

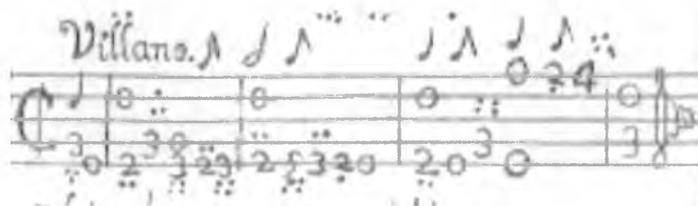
588. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, 3rd ed., fols. 18r–27r, 36r–38r, and 40r–49r, 8th ed., fols. 49r–58r.

589. Special thanks to Robert Spurgeon for his help on working out this calculation.

These statistics show a ratio of 3:2 versus 5:1. Clearly, Sanz's preference was for native popular styles familiar to the reader of *Instrvccion* when it came to choosing a basis for plucked-style compositions.

The first set of plucked-style pieces in *Instrvccion* incorporates eight fragments of music that, like the progressions of the strummed-style compendium, provide foundations for improvisation. These eight plucked-style examples would also rightly be seen as practice exercises or warmups, which recalls the trajectory of the didactic text of Mudarra. They offer only one or two variations on the harmonic progressions of the strummed style.

Example 95. Sanz offers one iteration of the *villano* progression in the plucked style. The groups of dots next to the fret numbers indicate which finger takes the note in question.⁵⁹⁰



590. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 20r.

Example 96. The same *villano*, in modern notation.⁵⁹¹

Example 96 illustrates the placement of *alfabeto*-based intervals in positions corresponding to the strummed-style *villanos* (see pp. 331–32 of this thesis). The anacrusis in the plucked-style setting differs from the strummed-style statement of the major triad on the modal final. Sanz opts instead for an ascending stepwise preparation of the F-sharp on the first-course second fret on the down beat of the first full measure.⁵⁹²

591. Recall that in the plucked style, no bourdons are used. Hence, a re-entrant tuning is depicted on two staves—the bottom for the unison fifth, fourth, third, and second courses, and the top for the single-string first course. The marking 2 and 4 refers to the course numbers involved in a unison played on two different courses. This results in a thicker timbre.

592. The reader must understand that even in *punteado*, pitch is still nominal. In order not to sow confusion with incessant course and fret numbers, I will use the pitches found in my transcriptions while discussing the music in the text.

Other than this brief example of replacing chordal harmony with monophonic melody, Sanz obeys all other *alfabeto* shapes and their appropriate rhythmic accents.

In efforts to understand the plucked style in terms of sacred polyphony, an analysis of the role of the first course of the guitar aids greatly. The single-string first course provides the guitarist with an opportunity to add emphasis to the separation of independent voices. With a clear, singing timbre at the top of the instrument's range, the first course makes intabulating solo song a process particularly well suited to the guitar.

Nevertheless, phrases executed entirely on the singing first course are very rare. It is much more common to see melodic phrases shared between two or among several courses. This is easily observed in example 96.

One point that sometimes goes unmentioned is that the guitar is capable of obscuring written note values by way of allowing notes to ring out while a string is not being plucked. This aspect of performance practice, which often goes unexpressed in notation—especially in early music, which tends to allow for a range of interpretations—would be useful in creating a fluidity more pronounced than that which one sees in the music of example 96. Sanz would likely have been in favor of letting unoccupied courses ring through the activity of courses being plucked by the fingers of the right hand. As support for this proposition, one may consult the tenth *punteado* rule (p. 201 of this thesis). Additionally, *campanelas* have an effect comparable to that of the now widely employed practice of letting strings ring out. *Campanelas* will be explored in the examination of the next piece from the plucked-style collection.

Following the set of diminutive compositions that opens the plucked-style portion of *Instrvccion*, one finds four compositions occupying one recto side of a folio each. One recto is an area equivalent to one side of a modern page. Now able to develop his compositions further, Sanz takes the next step toward ratifying popular guitar style.

Among these more extensive *punteado* and mixed-tablature compositions, one encounters the *canarios*. The *canarios* is a dance form said to have originated with the natives of the Canary Islands, the territory to the north-west of Africa conquered by the Spanish Empire in 1496. At the dawn of the seventeenth century, the *canarios* was danced by the aristocracy, but never lost its crude flavor. As the century continued, the form cropped up frequently in the theater in association with humor and general silliness.⁵⁹³

593. Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, 600–09.

Example 97. Sanz introduces the *canarios* in mixed-tablature notation.⁵⁹⁴

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a piece titled "Canarios". The notation is a mix of standard musical notation and guitar tablature. The top staff uses a treble clef and a common time signature. The following nine staves use a system where circles represent fret positions and 'x' marks indicate natural harmonics. The piece is signed "Gaspa. Sanz. autor." in the bottom right corner.

594. Sanz, *Instrvccion*, fol. 23r.

Example 98. Mixed-tablature *canarios*, in modern notation.

Musical notation for measures 1-5. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 6/8 time signature. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. Measure 4 contains a trill (tr) above a note.

6

Musical notation for measures 6-10. The system consists of two staves. Measure 6 starts with a rest in the upper staff. Measures 9 and 10 have vibrato (vib.) markings above notes in the upper staff.

11

Musical notation for measures 11-16. The system consists of two staves. Measures 11 and 12 have vibrato (vib.) markings above notes in the upper staff. Measures 13 and 14 have vibrato (vib.) markings above notes in the lower staff. Measure 16 has a "2 and 4" marking above the lower staff.

17

Musical notation for measures 17-21. The system consists of two staves. Measure 17 has a vibrato (vib.) marking above a note in the upper staff. Measure 18 has a vibrato (vib.) marking above a note in the upper staff. Measure 20 has a "2 and 4" marking above the lower staff. Measure 21 has a "camp." marking above the lower staff.

22

Musical notation for measures 22-26. The system consists of two staves. Measure 22 has a vibrato (vib.) marking above a note in the upper staff. Measure 23 has a "2 and 4" marking above the lower staff. Measure 24 has a "camp." marking above the lower staff.

27

vib. vib. vib.

2 and 4

33

38

43

48

54

vib. vib. vib. vib.

D 2 and 4 sim. A 3 and 5



Examples 97 and 98 illustrate an approach to mixed tablature that highlights the differences between *rasgueado* and *punteado*. For the most part, the texture of this *canarios* is light. Aside from the one *alfabeto* harmony, which receives two strums, more than two courses are struck simultaneously only once throughout the entire composition. This occurs in measure 19. Like the final note of the plucked-style *villanos* (ex. 96), two courses frequently sound the same pitch in order to thicken the texture.

In the *canarios*, a full, five-course texture sounded with an emphatic down-strum followed by an up-strum marks the rhetorical climax of the piece. This expressive outburst is further highlighted by the longest rest of the composition. Studying the tablature, one will see that Sanz has implied rests by inserting note values that do not add up to a full measure. This *canarios* provides an example of how *rasgueado* technique would have been employed in order to infuse meaning into a pervadingly delicate *punteado* composition. By contrasting the raucous with the refined, Sanz broadened the spectrum of musical affectation.

Campanelas offer another way to add interest to the melody and texture of a *punteado* composition. In one sense, *campanelas* are the guitar's response to its limited

range and reduced polyphonic capacity. In measure 21 of example 98, I have indicated the passage is to be played in the *campanelas* style by simply writing *camp*. In all such instances, I refer the reader to the original tablature to find out which courses are employed in the *campanelas*.

Measure 21 exhibits a short descending melodic sequence played on only open strings. In the second half of measure 20, the descending stepwise third initiates the melodic activity. Contrasting with the *campanelas* performed on all open strings, the anacrusis in measure 20 begins with the second and fourth courses in unison. The remaining two notes are sounded on the second course on the second fret and open string, respectively.

The first half of measure 22 is reminiscent of the first statement of the descending melodic third (m. 20) in that open and stopped strings both have a role to play; but now the first course is given a part. Having reached the bottom of Roman stringing's range, Sanz leaps a major seventh up to F-sharp for the descending melodic third F-sharp–E–D. This continuation of the imitative material begins on the fourth fret of the fourth course, then moves to the open first course, and finally to the open fourth course.

The descending-third motive sounds next on the first course alone without any open-string notes. After this, the motive is split between two octaves. A stopped first-course timbre blends with open and stopped strings on the third and fourth courses, respectively. Finally, the motive is inverted in the same timbre with which the section

began. The *campanelas* come to a temporary point of repose on a unison sounded by both the second and fourth courses.

Instead of a number of different voices exploring a contrapuntal subject concomitantly, Sanz tends to present melodic material sequentially. This means, unlike Josquin, Morales, Palestrina, Victoria, and other composers whose work thrived on the ability of single voice to state a theme in its entirety while other voices responded to and interacted with said theme, Sanz developed his themes in a less synchronous style. Sanz's guitar teacher, Colista, portrayed a comparable thought process in his *Pasacaille dite Marionas* (ca. 1655).

Why is a comparison between *punteado* guitar style and sacred polyphony important? For one, differences in compositional techniques threaten to undermine the authoritarian society that approved of *Instrvccion* in the first place. Expecting strict adherence to conservative theoretical principles entrenched in Church doctrine, musically knowledgeable censors would be in for a surprise. So when Alfonso lauds Sanz for working four-voice polyphony onto the fretboard of the guitar (see p. 100), his words must be reinterpreted in accord with the music as it was actually presented.

Especially in the theoretical discussions on the figured-bass treatise, Sanz brings *punteado* style in near alignment with vocal polyphony. He likens the guitar to the human voice and implies the use of his ideas in ecclesiastical settings. Nonetheless, traditional Renaissance counterpoint manifests on the guitar so as to make its execution practical, though noticeably transformed. Mudarra employed a similar practice in his vihuela

transcription of the second section of the Gloria from the *Missa faisant regretz* by Josquin. Alterations to the original vocal parts resulted in music more suitable to the plucked-string idiom.

Thomas F. Taylor notes that alternations between soloists and choir was a defining element of seventeenth-century sacred style.⁵⁹⁵ Taylor highlights the frequent use of individual solos—as opposed to passages for solo ensemble—in Spanish motets, but it should be noted that solo writing was a significant aspect of *villancicos* as well. With this in mind, one identifies an important component of Spanish sacred composition in the music of Sanz. Like the *redobles* of the vihuelists, which some have likened to the florid single-note *picado* lines of the Moorish-influenced flamenco tradition, frequent monophonic writing in guitar music parallels the role of a solo singer.

The *Salve regina* by Durón, known widely by the title *Salve de ecos* (*Salve of echos*) because of the consistent echo effect provided the second choir, does not include passages for an individual soloist, but provides a good example of the juxtaposition of imitative development and homophonic declamation. A traditional exposition of the plainsong melody quickly gives way to chordal exchanges between the two choirs. In this example of the polychoral style, one notes that various textures rarely compete to be heard. This is reminiscent of the *campanelas* above.

595. Thomas F. Taylor, “The Spanish High Baroque Motet and *Villancico*: Style and Performance,” *Early Music* 12, no. 1 (1984): 67, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3127154>.

23

S. vi - ta, dul - ce - do et spes nos-tra sal - ve. Ad te cla - ma - mus,

A. vi - ta, dul - ce - do et spes nos-tra sal - ve. Ad te cla - ma - mus,

T. vi - ta, dul - ce - do et spes nos-tra sal - ve. Ad te cla - ma - mus,

B. vi - ta, dul - ce - do et spes nos-tra sal - ve. Ad te cla - ma - mus,

S. sal - ve. cla - ma - mus,

A. sal - ve. cla - ma - mus,

T. sal - ve. cla - ma - mus,

B. sal - ve. cla - ma - mus,

Org. sal - ve. cla - ma - mus,

Cont. sal - ve. cla - ma - mus,

31

S. ad te cla - ma - mus ex - su - les fi - li - i E - vae. Ad te

A. ad te cla - ma - mus ex - su - les fi - li - i E - vae. Ad te

T. ad te cla - ma - mus ex - su - les fi - li - i E - vae. Ad te

B. ad te cla - ma - mus ex - su - les fi - li - i E - vae. Ad te

S. cla - ma - mus fi - li - i E - vae.

A. cla - ma - mus fi - li - i E - vae.

T. cla - ma - mus fi - li - i E - vae.

B. cla - ma - mus fi - li - i E - vae.

Org. cla - ma - mus fi - li - i E - vae.

Cont. cla - ma - mus fi - li - i E - vae.

4

39

S. sus-pi-ra - mus, ge - men - tes et flen - tes, et

A. sus-pi-ra - mus, ge - men - tes et flen - tes, et flen -

T. sus-pi-ra - mus, ge - men - tes et flen - tes, et

B. sus-pi-ra - mus, ge - men - tes et flen -

S. Ad te sus-pi-ra - mus,

A. Ad te sus-pi-ra - mus,

T. Ad te sus-pi-ra - mus,

B. Ad te sus-pi-ra - mus,

Org. Ad te sus-pi-ra - mus,

Cont. Ad te sus-pi-ra - mus,

48

S. flen - tes, in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le,

A. tes, in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le,

T. flen - tes, in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le,

B. tes, in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le,

S. in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le,

A. in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le,

T. in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le,

B. in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le,

Org. in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le,

Cont. in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le,

58

S. in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le. E - ia er - go,

A. in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le. E - ia er - go,

T. in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le. E - ia er - go,

B. in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le. E - ia er - go,

S. in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le,

A. in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le,

T. in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le,

B. in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le,

Org. in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le,

Cont. in hac la - cri - ma - rum val - le,

65

S. ad - vo - ca - ta nos - tra, il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los ad

A. ad - vo - ca - ta nos - tra, il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los ad

T. ad - vo - ca - ta nos - tra, il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los ad

B. ad - vo - ca - ta nos - tra, il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los ad

S. ad - vo - ca - ta nos - tra, il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los ad

A. ad - vo - ca - ta nos - tra, il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los ad

T. ad - vo - ca - ta nos - tra, il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los ad

B. ad - vo - ca - ta nos - tra, il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los ad

Org. ad - vo - ca - ta nos - tra, il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los ad

Cont. ad - vo - ca - ta nos - tra, il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los ad

6

73

S. nos con - ver - te, et Je - sum, be - ne dic - tum fruc - tum

A. nos con - ver - te, et Je - sum, be - ne dic - tum fruc - tum

T. nos con - ver - te, et Je - sum, be - ne dic - tum fruc - tum

B. nos con - ver - te, et Je - sum, be - ne dic - tum fruc - tum

S. con - ver - te,

A. con - ver - te,

T. con - ver - te,

B. con - ver - te,

Org. con - ver - te,

Cont. con - ver - te,

79

S. ven - tris tu - i, no - bis post hoc ex - si - li - um os - ten - de. O,

A. ven - tris tu - i, no - bis post hoc ex - si - li - um os - ten - de. O,

T. ven - tris tu - i, no - bis post hoc ex - si - li - um os - ten - de. O,

B. ven - tris tu - i, no - bis post hoc ex - si - li - um os - ten - de. O,

S. os - ten - de. O

A. os - ten - de. O

T. os - ten - de. O

B. os - ten - de. O

Org. os - ten - de. O

Cont. os - ten - de. O

88

S. O cle - mens, O O pi - a,
 A. O cle - mens, O O pi - a,
 T. O cle - mens, O O pi - a,
 B. O cle - mens, O O pi - a,
 S. cle - mens, O pi - a,
 A. cle - mens, O pi - a,
 T. cle - mens, O pi - a,
 B. cle - mens, O pi - a,
 Org. O pi - a,
 Cont. O pi - a,

98

S. o dul - cis vir - go Ma - ri - a, o dul - cis vir - go
 A. o dul - cis vir - go Ma - ri - a, o dul - cis vir - go
 T. o dul - cis vir - go Ma - ri - a, o dul - cis vir - go
 B. o dul - cis vir - go Ma - ri - a, o dul - cis vir - go
 S. dul - cis vir - go Ma - ri - a, dul - cis
 A. dul - cis vir - go Ma - ri - a, dul - cis
 T. dul - cis vir - go Ma - ri - a, dul - cis
 B. dul - cis vir - go Ma - ri - a, dul - cis
 Org. dul - cis vir - go Ma - ri - a, dul - cis
 Cont. dul - cis vir - go Ma - ri - a, dul - cis

8

105

S. Ma - ri - a, o, o dul - cis vir - go

A. Ma - ri - a, o, o dul - cis vir - go

T. Ma - ri - a, o, o dul - cis vir - go

B. Ma - ri - a, o, o dul - cis vir - go

S. vir - go Ma - ri - a, O, dul - cis

A. vir - go Ma - ri - a, O, dul - cis

T. vir - go Ma - ri - a, O, dul - cis

B. vir - go Ma - ri - a, O, dul - cis

Org. vir - go Ma - ri - a, O, dul - cis

Cont. vir - go Ma - ri - a, O, dul - cis

112

S. Ma - ri - a, o dul - cis vir - go

A. Ma - ri - a, o dul - cis vir - go

T. Ma - ri - a, o dul - cis vir - go

B. Ma - ri - a, o dul - cis vir - go

S. vir - go Ma - ri - a, dul - cis

A. vir - go Ma - ri - a, dul - cis

T. vir - go Ma - ri - a, dul - cis

B. vir - go Ma - ri - a, dul - cis

Org. vir - go Ma - ri - a, dul - cis

Cont. vir - go Ma - ri - a, dul - cis

117

S. Ma - ri - a!
 A. Ma - ri - a!
 T. Ma - ri - a!
 B. Ma - ri - a!
 S. vir - go Ma - ri - a!
 A. vir - go Ma - ri - a!
 T. vir - go Ma - ri - a!
 B. vir - go Ma - ri - a!
 Org.
 Cont.

In chapters 6 and 7, I noted that the rules on figured bass contain references to sacred settings. The appendix of the figured-bass treatise, a collection of *punteado* and mixed-tablature pieces, closes with a chromatic *pasacalle* composed by Sanz for a Spanish chapel master. The penultimate piece is a mixed-tablature *pasacalle* containing notable intersections between strummed and plucked styles.

Example 100. Sanz, *Pasacalles por la E*.⁵⁹⁷

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "Pasacalles por la E" by Gaspar Sanz. The score is written on ten staves. The first staff contains the title and the lyrics "3 E D 1 O 2 E N E". The music is written in a style characteristic of the 17th-century Spanish lute tablature, with letters and numbers on the staff lines. The score is signed "Gaspar Sanz Invent" at the bottom right.

Example 101. Sanz, *Pasacalles por la E* in modern notation.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁷. Sanz, *Instrucción*, fol. 37r.

⁵⁹⁸. In m. 1 and in every such instance, each note of the C-D major second should be understood as a double note, a unison sounded on one of the lower four courses just like in the rest of the transcription. No courses are split in the transcriptions of this thesis.

8

D 2 and 4 sim. D 2 and 4 D 2 and 4 C# 2 and 5 sim. 2 and 4

A 3 and 5 sim. A 3 and 5 A 3 and 5

6

2 and 4 sim. sim.

13

camp.

17

2 and 4

21

vib. vib.

2 and 4 vib.

25

vib. vib.

vib. vib. 2 and 4 2 and 4

29

2 and 4

34

2 and 4 2 and 4 3 and 5

38

D 2 and 4 2 and 4 3 and 5 A 3 and 5 2 and 4

41

C 2 and 5 D 2 and 4 A 3 and 5

44

D 2 and 4 D 3 and 5

47

8
8

D 2 and 4

2 and 4

sim.

camp.

sim.

camp.

3 and 5

sim.

sim.

50

8
8

D 2 and 4

sim.

camp.

sim.

camp.

D 2 and 4

sim.

camp.

A 3 and 5

A 3 and 5

A 3 and 5

sim.

53

8
8

camp.

G 2 and 4

camp.

D 2 and 4

camp.

A 3 and 5

D 3 and 5

sim.

A 3 and 5

sim.

56

8
8

2 and 4

60

8
8

63

8
8

2 and 4

The melodic disjunction in measure 15 invites a brief discussion on a modern point of contention with regard to interpreting music for the early guitar. The descending pentachord A-G-F-E-D is denied continual stepwise motion by the limitations of the guitar's range. Having reached the third-course G, the lowest note on guitars strung in the Roman manner, Sanz is forced to leap up a minor seventh and then resume the descending scale. Similar situations arise in this and other compositions for the Baroque guitar.

Luthier Clive Titmuss (b. 1941) responds to the broken melodies of Sanz and Guerau with the proposition that, contrary to what Sanz has explained in his rule on tuning, the third course should actually be comprised of an octave. Titmuss has shown that an octave course with one string at the specified pitch and one an octave higher would solve the melodic interruptions, a complication seen in the music of Corbetta as well.⁵⁹⁹ There is no basis for this alteration to the established practice except for aspects of the music, and these aspects have been identified by other scholars as normal for the Baroque guitar idiom. Yet, looking to the music for such practical clues is not entirely

599. Clive Titmuss, email correspondence, July 27, 2014.

useless. Quite on the contrary, it is a natural response to the problem of assigning a single tuning to a single style. Sometimes, one finds bourdons facilitate certain *punteado* passages. After all, Doizi de Velasco advocated bourdons because they brought the guitar into closer alignment with traditional vocal ranges.⁶⁰⁰

The melding of *rasgueado*, *punteado*, and sacred-polyphonic idioms is perhaps most obvious in notational practices that place *alfabeto* harmonies alongside lute-style tablature; but the mixing of styles is not confined to notation. Having just completed his detailed explanation of the contrapuntal rules of figured-bass accompaniment, Sanz tests the boundaries of dissonance treatment in *Pasacalles por la E*.

As early as the first full measure, Sanz makes use of dissonance without preparation by tie. The bass note, C, creates tension with the inner voices, D and F-sharp. This resolves to a G-minor triad on the downbeat of the next measure, which moves without tied preparation to a seventh harmony on the tenor of the mode, A, and then to a triad on the final.

False relations also bring Sanz's discipline into question to a certain extent. Though in several places over the course of the rules on figured bass Sanz warns against the proximity of diatonic and chromatic versions of the same note, he challenges his own authority with *Pasacalles por la E*. The manner of applying false relations seen in this *pasacalle* is not expressly forbidden by the rules of Sanz. However, rules five and nine

600. Doizi de Velasco, *Nuevo Modo*, 16.

hint at the potential offensiveness of this type of chromaticism. See measures 16, 20, and 58 for examples.

Indications of down-strums and up-strums on harmonies notated in tablature demonstrate a significant mixing of *rasgueado* and *punteado* styles. These indications are seen on beat two of both measures 1–2, all of measures 25–26, the second harmony of measure 45, beat one of measure 46, the second harmony of measure 47, and the second beat of measure 53. In these situations the *alfabeto* system was unable to provide the harmonies Sanz wished to employ. Conversely, the second beat of measure 50 exhibits an *alfabeto* harmony without a specific strumming direction. This can only mean that the *alfabeto* chord was intended to be plucked.

Beginning in measure 36, mixed tablature is used to striking expressive effect. On the tail of explosive strums on the downbeats, slurred sixteenth-note runs recall the vocal subtlety of the plucked style. This device ceases in measure 56, at which point sixteen measures of more subdued music bring the piece to a close. At the halfway point of the composition, one finds the most active and dynamic material. The mixed-tablature *canarios* contains a parallel to this climax. From measures 37 to 54 (ex. 98), one finds the most exciting musical material.

Formal plans that place the most energetic compositional techniques just after the midpoint of the piece are analogous to dramatic theory of the Spanish Golden-Age comedy. Basing their works on the principle of exposition-climax-resolution, Lope and his contemporaries were also interested in maintaining suspense until the latest possible

juncture. Toying with the expectations of the audience was key in penning a successful comedy. In the mixed-tablature *canarios* and *Pasacalles por la E*, Sanz recalls the forms of popular drama writing.

Example 102. Sanz, *punteado chacona*.⁶⁰¹



601. Sanz, *Instrucción*, fol. 41r.

Example 103. Sanz, *punteado chacona*, in modern notation.

8 trill upper note only sim. trill vib. vib.

8

7

8

8

13

8

8

18

8

8

22

8

8

The *chacona* was one of the most controversial of the Spanish *bailes*. Proven to be a moral threat to society, the *chacona* was officially banned from the theaters in 1615. This legislation was not highly effective, however. The dance associated with the musical accompaniment, often performed on the guitar, also provoked serious concern. The vocal refrain normally depicted an escape from the responsibilities of everyday life, and extended an invitation to travel to Chacona, a distant, paradisiacal place where one's cares could be forgotten.⁶⁰²

602. Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, 612–22.

Sanz decided to forgo a *rasgueado* setting of the *chacona* in *Instrvccion*. In the *punteado* work, the texture is prevaillingly light, absent of the unruliness characteristic of the strummed style. This piece is found in book two of *Instrvccion*, a collection of *punteado* and mixed-tablature compositions to further illustrate the guidelines set forth in the first book. Book two was not published until the third edition of *Instrvccion*. Sanz had not yet shifted his dedication from Joseph to Charles II.

The *punteado chacona* examined here shows the assumption of lewd guitar style into musical culture defined by detail and melodic finesse. Studying the fifth iteration of the harmonic ground (begins m. 17, ex. 103), and the progression of its motivic material through to the end of the piece, one begins to suspect a logical awareness of timbral differences among the courses of the guitar as well as a desire to work this variety into the details of composition. Could keeping the first course clear of singing melodies, monophonic texture to which its unique single-string timbre was well suited, be more a result of intention and less a submission to the limitations of the instrument's range? Based on the implied polyphony of the music beginning at measure 17, I believe so.

The first course does not play a role equivalent to that of a vocal soloist, but it does serve an important purpose. The proximity of single- and double-string timbres has a dialogical effect. This phenomenon is exemplified in Sanz's use of the note E in the top space of the staff in measures 18–29. This E is an important note in that it may be conveniently sounded by the open first course, fifth-fret second course, or second-fret fourth course.

The first E of measure 18 is sounded on the second-fret fourth course. This choice of timbre installs a contrast to the motive F-sharp–E–F-sharp played on the first course. Moreover, executing the first note of the measure on the second course allows for a *campanela*-like ringing effect. Measure 19 may be seen in a similar light. After the last note of the measure for the first course, the final three eighth-notes begin with a change in texture. The pivot note is again E. Presented with the option of assigning E to the first, second, or fourth courses, Sanz makes his decisions in accord with the melodic discourse. The reader is invited to study the remainder of the *punteado chacona*, as well as the other *punteado* and mixed-tablature works featured in this thesis, and either substantiate or challenge the claim that the textural variety of the guitar contributes positively to the adaptation of polyphonic theory.

Example 104. Sanz, *Pasacalles por la L por el Dos bemolado y por Primer Tono punto bajo.*

Pasacalles por la L per el Dos bemolado y por Primer Tono punto bajo.

Quase *suave* *suave* *suave*

Juan Sanz Inventt.

Example 105. Sanz, *Pasacalles por la L por el Dos bemolado y por Primer Tono punto bajo* in modern notation.

The musical score is presented in two systems, each with a treble clef staff and a guitar tablature staff. The key signature is two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The score includes various fingering and articulation instructions:

- System 1 (Measures 8-11):**
 - Measure 8: Treble clef has a quarter note G4 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Measure 9: Treble clef has a quarter note A4 with an upward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Measure 10: Treble clef has a quarter note B4 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Measure 11: Treble clef has a quarter note C5 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Chordal instructions below the tablature: Eb 2 and 4, sim. → C 2 and 5, Eb 2 and 4, sim. →
- System 2 (Measures 12-17):**
 - Measure 12: Treble clef has a quarter rest. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Measure 13: Treble clef has a quarter note D5 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Measure 14: Treble clef has a quarter note E5 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Measure 15: Treble clef has a quarter note F5 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Measure 16: Treble clef has a quarter note G5 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Measure 17: Treble clef has a quarter note A5 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Chordal instructions below the tablature: C 2 and 5, sim., Eb 2 and 4, C 3 and 5
- System 3 (Measures 18-23):**
 - Measure 18: Treble clef has a quarter note B5 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Measure 19: Treble clef has a quarter note C6 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Measure 20: Treble clef has a quarter note D6 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Measure 21: Treble clef has a quarter note E6 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Measure 22: Treble clef has a quarter note F6 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Measure 23: Treble clef has a quarter note G6 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Chordal instructions below the tablature: D 2 and 4
- System 4 (Measures 24-27):**
 - Measure 24: Treble clef has a quarter note A6 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Measure 25: Treble clef has a quarter note B6 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Measure 26: Treble clef has a quarter note C7 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Measure 27: Treble clef has a quarter note D7 with a downward arrow. Tablature has a double bar line.
 - Chordal instructions below the tablature: C 3 and 5, D 2 and 5, Bb 3 and 5, C 2 and 5, sim., Eb 2 and 4, G 2 and 5

Additional annotations include "Mordent on Ab only" under measure 15 and "8" written below the first staff of each system.

29

8

8

F sim. Eb sim. D sim. C

2 and 5 2 and 5 2 and 5 3 and 5

34

8

8

C D Bb C

2 and 5 2 and 5 3 and 5 2 and 5

39

8

8

C

2 and 5

44

8

8

49

8

8

54

8

8

58

62

67

72

76

80

Pasaje

88

88

8

2 and 4

2 and 5

96

96

8

2 and 4

forte

2 and 5

piano

2 and 5

104

104

8

112

112

8

3 and 5

119

119

8

125

125

8

With book three of *Instrvccion*, dedicated to Charles II and devoted entirely to ornate settings of the *pasacalle*, one finds even more noble assimilation of popular musical language. *Alfabeto* is an active component of the third book, even though no *alfabeto* letters appear in the notation. The titles of the book-three *pasacalles* include *alfabeto* harmonies in the same way tonally minded musicians classify pieces according to key center, but all of the *alfabeto* letters are transcribed onto the five lines of *punteado* tablature. Sanz alludes to staff notation in some titles. In examples 104–05, *por el Dos bemolado* (with two flats) refers to the signature of Mode I transposed down a major second. In fact, Sanz clarifies in the title that this piece is in Mode I transposed to a C final, “*por el Primer Tono punto bajo.*”

Pasacalles por la L por el Dos bemolado y por el Primer Tono punto bajo is one of two triple-meter *pasacalles* in book three. Out of a total of ten *pasacalles*, a mere two pieces in triple meter reflect how sacred music, the less folk-inspired of which shows a preference for duple meter, has exerted its influence on the *pasacalle*. Another feature of the ascent of the *pasacalle* into high art is the sectional organization in *Pasacalles por la L*. Labeled *pasaje* (passage), the closing section of the piece acts in a manner similar to that of an afterdance like the galliard or the *saltarello*. One distinction to be made is that the mensuration sign does not change. This holds true for the duple-meter pieces in which a clearly delineated second section closes the piece.

Though the original pulse is retained, the music of the second section is often rhythmically uncomplicated. A major foundational aspect is ostinato. One makes no

mistake in identifying ostinato to be a primary feature in the opening sections of the *pasacalles* of book three. Nevertheless, simpler and more prolonged ostinati define the closing sections. Sometimes, there is a change of mode.

The forty-five measures of the *pasaje* contain twenty-one A-naturals. One counts just fifteen A-naturals in the eighty-four measures of the opening section. Thus, clearly, Sanz intended the closing section of his work to offer a contrasting approach not just to rhythm, but also to melody and harmony. Unadorned quarter-notes string together, contrasting with the artifice of the opening section. There are many instances in the *pasaje* in which the C-minor triad seems to lose the authority of a harmonic center, but, in my opinion, there is no change of mode *per se*.

Here, the mode-*alfabeto* pairings of table 1 aid the study of the thought processes of Sanz concerning modal theory. According to *Instrvccion*, Mode I is represented by the D-minor triad and is assigned no accidentals. Mode II, by comparison, is associated with the G-minor triad and bears one accidental, B-flat. Keep in mind that the piece examined presently is in Mode I transposed to a C final. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the second chord of the *pasacalle* pattern beginning on the *alfabeto* harmony L is the minor triad F–A-flat–C, Sanz finds a way to work many A-naturals into the fold. One draws an important conclusion. *Pasacalles por la L* adheres to the mode-*alfabeto* system presented by the composer.

Though it is not possible given the scope of this thesis, a more detailed study of the relationship between the mode-*alfabeto* pairs of table 1 and the compositions of Sanz

and his contemporaries would elucidate the historic transition from modal to tonal theory. Regardless of the presence of modal terminology in a given piece's title, one is able to begin to build a nexus between the triadic harmonies of nascent tonality and the practice of chromatically altering the modes.

Chapters 8 and 9 have explained the fundamental mechanics of early music for the Spanish guitar. Through an exploration of the compositions, I have provided the least debatable proof of connections between the early Spanish guitar and Spanish Renaissance humanism. From the most basic *rasgueado* cycles to the most detailed *punteado* works, the guitar assumes the role of go-between in the process of intercultural evolution.

The authors of the Spanish guitar methods initiated the acceptance of the guitar and its music into print. The corpus of didactic guitar literature, like the vihuela books before it, exhibits a morally outspoken nature. Touching frequently upon the power of the vihuela and the guitar to reach into the human soul, all of these writers invoke the universal. Aspiring guitarists of Spain were presented with a widely accessible instrument through which both worldly and spiritual virtue could grow.

The raw material for theoretically and technically advanced guitar pieces is predominately comprised of music that was not only central to the life of the common classes of early-modern Spain, but also the object of ridicule and suspicion. Graced with the blessing of tablature notation, polyphonic infusions, and formal artifice, the musically base and banal became high-art commonplaces.

Conclusion

In my view, the information and ideas conveyed in this thesis are not conducive to a succinct and absolute summation upon which one sighs with resigned satisfaction and states, “Case closed.” Quite to the contrary, both the pervading themes and the more specialized divisions of the research approximate infinity. Moral human action upon eloquence has been deemed worthy of study alongside developments in guitar music from Renaissance and Baroque Spain. History has shown that linguistic excellence, both spoken and written, has embraced the coarse, rowdy instrument of the people and set it on a plane level with the most weighty of humanity’s thoughts and emotions. While the topic at hand calls perpetually for further exploration, a review of the trajectory of this study will contribute much to a necessary sense of closure.

The introduction states the goals of the study; namely, to familiarize the reader with the guitar music of Renaissance and Baroque Spain, to apply concepts from this period in the history of the guitar to the present day, and, most crucially, to defend the thesis—that any study of the early Spanish guitar would be in complete without significant inquiry into the world of Renaissance humanism. Next, the reader encounters a historiography of the early-modern guitar and some of its close relatives belonging also to the greater plucked-string chordophone family. This historical background illustrates cultural interplay between East and West and addresses other topics relevant to the study of humanism. Etymologically oriented approaches to historical investigation of the guitar,

auro-oral versus written musical traditions, and a comparison between instruments of the noblemen and those of the commoners all prepare for the intricate study of *Instrvccion*. Before opening the study in earnest with chapter 1, I defined Spanish Renaissance humanism with support from the work of Niethammer, Gray, and DiCamillo. The introduction closes with a brief history of the politics of the Iberian Peninsula, which provides much needed context for the state in which the region was to be found at the dawn of the sixteenth century.

Chapters 1 through 3 analyze and interpret humanistic aspects of the front matter of *Instrvccion*. Chapter 1 closes with the proposition that the virtues of self-expression form the basis for a union between the aesthetics of the work of the seven Spanish vihuelist-authors and the ensuing efforts of the Spanish guitar stylists. Even at this early stage of the study, the reader is met with a strong emphasis on how popularly inspired music interacted with the academically refined. Chapter 2 is a testament to the guitar's capacity to represent the intersection of the societal concerns of Spanish commoners with those of Spanish nobility. Artistic self-representation bears heavily on this chapter as well. Chapter 3 is heterogeneous, to say the least. Ultimately, however, one will find that pragmatic applications of knowledge and skill depict the guitar to be a dynamic force through which the base evolves into a motor of eloquence.

One of the principal statements of DiCamillo conveyed in this thesis relies on invoking Classical learning as a touchstone of contemporary civilization. Manifestations of this statement continue from chapter 3 to chapter 4. With chapter 4 comes an appraisal

of Sanz's guidelines on the strummed style that brings the humanistic traits of the teachings into relief. One foundational component of the argument is seen in the juxtaposition of the theoretical assessments of early-modern Spanish guitarists with earlier as well as more mainstream contemporaneous Spanish theoreticians. Technical aspects of the Spanish guitar school give rise to an exposition of humanist currents of the period.

Chapter 5 continues in the vein of chapter 4, culminating in the culturally transformative potentiality of written language. Built upon Sanz's instructions on the plucked style, chapter 5 highlights progressions in the history of the Spanish guitar from this instrument's entrapment in vice to its liberation as a symbol of progressive thought. As always, discussions on interactions among Spaniards of various social classes portray themes central to the guitar's growing erudite legitimacy.

Chapters 6 and 7 contain vital musical examples from the early-modern Spanish repertory, challenging the notion that the *punteado* style is equivalent to high art. Outlined by the twelve rules on figured bass of *Instrvccion*, chapters 6 and 7 prove there is no substitute for acting upon ideas. The texted lessons on, and notated musical examples of, figured-bass accompaniment are functional only within the context of practical application.

The final two chapters confirm the positions of this thesis with a relatively linear examination of musical compositions. Through primary musical sources, I worked toward portraying the primary objective of this thesis to be a self-evident statement. As

the argument draws to a close, the artistic viability of common-class culture becomes increasingly important. Folk and popular guitar music was codified and all but swallowed up by a print culture that gave little credit to the humble, even politically despised origins of stylized *punteado* and mixed-tablature compositions.

From Mudarra to Sanz, the erudite music world's acceptance of popular song for solo voice and guitar self-accompaniment steadily increased. This genre was largely improvisatory, and, though the constraints of polyphonic theory did not always align with the tendencies of the popular style, the two disparate traditions fused in various ways. The most intensely permeating shift in style, a shift that affected all sectors of musical society on the Iberian Peninsula, turned away from Flemish imitative polyphony and toward cyclical progressions of triadic block harmonies set to dance rhythms.

Today, one is accustomed to the unrelenting categorization of music into genres, subgenres, and their innumerable combinations. Relatedly, that the vihuelist and guitarist authors of Spain shied away from the limitations of genre in the titles of their publications is a telling piece of information. These writers often settle instead for simply designating the music of their books to the instrument for which it was intended. Indications of nationality and poetic or musical form are sometimes included.

The claim to Classical status was not stated outright, but, as I have shown in this thesis, much internal evidence relates to ancient Greece and Rome, civilizations the term Classical calls to mind. Classical also signifies a benchmark of artistic achievement, an established and enduring system of customs. Music that is deemed classical in an

authoritative sense of the word, not necessarily through its representation of antiquity, is not always detachable from a process by which a so-called non-classical music is placed within the classical canon. For example, this text has examined the transformation of folk and popular styles into the foundation for what has become known as classical guitar.

One glaring difference between the classical guitar today and its popular as well as ancient inspirations is seen in the absence of the voice from much of the standard repertory. Informed by my research on the early guitar, and feeling obligated to propose meaningful and pragmatic change in the mode of the most definitive humanist and Classical minds, I have decided to write my own didactic work for the guitar. The text is comprised of instruction on technique, self-accompanied singing, and composition for the seven-string guitar. I am particularly excited and inspired by a possible resurgence of self-accompanied singing in the world of academic music.

In closing, I propose that Classical learning and social morality are not mutually exclusive disciplines. The music and cultural context of the early-modern Spanish guitar owed as much to Greco-Roman intellectual achievements and spirituality as to peasants and the morally suspect, indeed the whole of marginalized society in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain.

Simon Hornblower writes of ancient Greece, “It was a period of political, philosophical, artistic, and scientific achievements that formed a legacy with unparalleled

influence on Western civilization.”⁶⁰³ This is by now relatively common knowledge. Perhaps less well known is the centrality of the farmer-poet Hesiod (fl. ca. 700 BCE) to Greek inquiry into the nature of the world. Hesiod is remembered as a modest man who rarely traveled from his rural home. According to Hesiod himself, he was featured in “a contest of songs at the funeral games of Amphidamas at Chalcis on the island of Euboea.”⁶⁰⁴

In contrast to the courtly and matter-of-fact Homer (fl. ca. 800 BCE), the only other Greek poet known to have written prior to Hesiod, the *Theogony* of the latter attempts to make sense of the mystery that is the universe. The words of Hamilton stimulate endless reflection: “A humble peasant, living on a lonely farm far from cities was the first man in Greece to wonder how everything had happened, the world, the sky, the gods, mankind, and to think out an explanation.”⁶⁰⁵ The musical arts of antiquity were

603. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. “ancient Greek civilization,” <http://www.britannica.com/place/ancient-Greece>.

604. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Hesiod,” <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Hesiod#ref261851>.

605. Hamilton, *Mythology*, 21–22, NB: Consulting this source, one will be rightly shocked at the initial appearance of a severe omission on my part. This sentence of Hamilton’s begins with the conditional phrase, “If Hesiod did write it [the *Theogony*].” More recent scholarship on the question of who composed the *Theogony* has ceased to doubt Hesiod’s authorship, but does admit that some sections of the work were inserted later by other poets. The core content of the ancient text is unaffected. Oxford Classics professor Simon Hornblower has confirmed these propositions. Additionally, numerous universities and publishers now accept Hesiod as the author of *Theogony*. I have not come across an authoritative modern source that puts the attribution to Hesiod in question, brackets in note mine.

reborn in the guitar traditions of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, and today, continue to evolve under the auspices of the humanities.

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