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THE SPANISH BAROQUE GUITAR AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TRIADIC THEORY

Thomas Christensen

In searching for the origins of harmonic tonality, the historian must be careful not to fall into the trap of fallacious geneticism by anachronistically interpreting some musical event or theoretical formulation in the light of later tonal theory. For example, because a harmonic progression in a 16th-century madrigal might look like a tonal authentic cadence, it does not follow that the progression actually fulfills such a tonal function in context. Likewise, when a theorist from the same time notes that in practice the fourth scale degree of a Lydian mode is often lowered through *musica ficta*, it would be Procrustean for us today to interpret his observation only as an adumbration of the modern major/minor key system. Any sophisticated theory of tonality, as Carl Dahlhaus has shown us, must be a dynamic one comprising a nexus of features that cannot be facily reduced to a composite of individual constituents, however critical any one of these constituents may be to the theory.¹

In this regard, the question of triadic theory in the 17th century stands as a paradigmatic test case. It is easy for us to project back-

wards our notion of tonal coherence upon the chordal progressions composed and taught by early Baroque musicians, and indeed this has often been done with enlightening results.² In doing so, however, we risk misconstruing both the stylistic and the theoretical frameworks in which this chordal vocabulary was articulated, ones that relate back to 16th-century modal and contrapuntal theory as much as they point forward to 18th-century functional harmony.³ Triadic structures, in other words, may be necessary, but by no means sufficient, components to a tonal theory.

With this caveat in mind, I would like to look at a unique and little-studied musical repertoire from the 17th century—the popular dance tunes played upon the Spanish five-course Baroque guitar—wherein we find extraordinary evidence of “triadic thinking” with intriguing theoretical implications. Much music played upon the Baroque guitar was strongly chordal in texture, which should probably not surprise us given the ease with which one can finger and strum a chord on this instrument. It is usual for folk and rock guitarists today to think of the songs they accompany in exclusively chordal terms; the same turns out to have been true for 17th-century guitarists, for whom chords became independent and autonomous compositional constructs that could be inverted and juxtaposed freely. This chordal mentality allowed them to test and exploit harmonic relationships with far greater license than was available to keyboardists, whose practice was heavily constrained by contrapuntal exigencies. Moreover, there was an extensive pedagogical literature written for these guitarists that codified this triadic practice and that differed in remarkable ways from commensurate treatises on compositional practice aimed at keyboardists. The practice and theory of Baroque guitar music was not without ramifications. In the second half of this article I will show how the chordal textures cultivated in solo guitar dances were integrated within thorough-bass ensembles in the 17th century, with profound consequences for the development of harmonic theory in the 18th century.

Rasgueado Guitar Performance and Triadic Textures

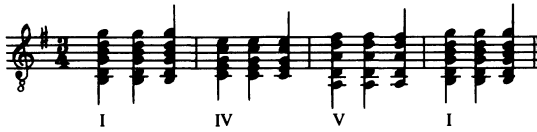
In the first decades of the 17th century, *rasgueado*, a performing technique on the newly-developed five-course guitar, gained rapid popularity in Spain. *Rasgueado* literally means “strummed” and contrasts with the technique of plucking called *punteado*, which was long cultivated on the lute (and its Spanish equivalent, the vihuela). In *rasgueado* playing, the performer fingers a chord with the left hand while the right hand strums the strings with sharp unfurlings of the fingers in alternate directions; the technique is used most commonly today in

Flamenco music.⁴ Of the two styles of playing, *punteado* was considered more refined and aristocratic, while *rasgueado* strumming was often deprecated as coarse, or even vulgar—the music of “stable boys.”⁵ Nonetheless, the energetic rhythms produced by *rasgueado* strumming proved seductive even to connoisseurs of the *punteado* style. *Rasgueado* guitar playing spread quickly from Spain to Italy and then throughout Europe. It was through this repertoire that numerous Spanish dance forms such as the *folia*, *pasacalle*, *chacóna*, and *zarabanda* gained currency and eventually developed into the genres familiar to us today.

Every *rasgueado* dance is characterized by a relatively strict harmonic and metric formula. The harmonic vocabulary is simple, often comprising no more than three or four different triads, from which contemporary listeners can easily infer incipient harmonic functionality.⁶ For example, the earliest guitar *pasacalle* (a precursor of the *pasacaglia*) follows the simple cadential formula of harmonies we would today label as I-IV-V-I. These pieces were usually played as ritornellos in song and dance accompaniments.⁷ A more complex harmonic pattern underlies the mature *folia*, which consists of a minor “tonic-dominant” progression followed by a move to the “mediant” key via the lowered 7th scale degree.⁸ (Of course, such functional terminology was not part of any 17th-century vocabulary; nevertheless, I believe it is reasonable to use functional designations in this case, as there is evidence that guitarists of the time did indeed think of chords in a functional way, i.e., as belonging to diatonic scale steps of major and minor keys. This point will be taken up below.)

Example 1 shows the paradigmatic form of both dances, with Roman numeral analyses given underneath. (The differing stems indicate in which direction the full chord is to be strummed by the guitarist; down stems are strummed from the lowest note to the highest note, up stems are strummed from the highest note to the lowest note.) Not all of these chords are in “root position”; for reasons we will shortly examine, it was not unusual for a solo *rasgueado* guitar piece to both begin and end on a $\frac{3}{2}$ or $\frac{2}{3}$ triad. The harmonic identity of these chords was never obscured by inversion, though. The rich and percussive resonance of the guitar courses allowed a chord’s functional sonority to remain essentially constant no matter which particular note happened to be on the bottom.

The guitarist would repetitively play harmonic formulas (or “chord rows” as Richard Hudson calls them) like those given in example 1, often with rhythmic variations, harmonic substitutions, and transpositions, but with no real change in the basic structure. This is not to say that all these formulas remained fixed over time. On the contrary, each one of these dances evolved in complex ways during the 17th



a. *Pasacalle*.



b. *Folia*.

Example 1. Paradigmatic harmonic structure of the Spanish *Pasacalle* and *Folia*.

century, producing dozens of interrelated hybrids.⁹ Yet for all their variants and derivatives, *rasgueado* dances remained strictly chordal in texture and simple in their harmonic vocabulary.

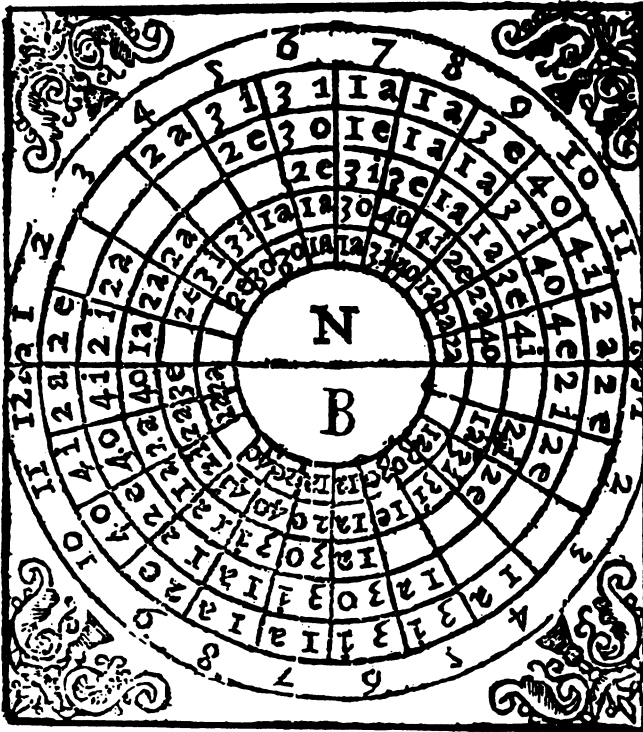
Among the first exponents of the *rasgueado* style was the Catalonian physician and amateur guitarist Joan Carles Amat (1572–1642). Amat wrote a noteworthy little guitar treatise entitled *Guitarra española* that is apparently the first to provide instructions on *rasgueado* performance techniques.¹⁰ Amat's treatise offers a fascinating new perspective for the instruction—and hence conceptualization—of harmony. As befits the *rasgueado* style, Amat tells the student that only two kinds of chords (called *puntos*) need be learned: the major (*naturales*) and minor (*B mollados*) triads. He adds that one must learn these two triads in all twelve transpositions, as the guitarist might need to transpose some song on demand in order to fit a given singer's range.¹¹

To illustrate the relation of these twelve transpositions, Amat concocts a pedagogical device that would become increasingly familiar in

the 18th century: the musical circle (see example 2). The top half of Amat's circle encompasses the twelve major triads (marked "N"), while the bottom half encompasses the twelve minor triads (marked "B"). The tablature notation Amat employs is straightforward. The five sections in which each chord is notated represent the five courses of the guitar. Since the position of the five courses runs inverse to their tuning, the first course (innermost circle) is tuned the highest, while the fifth course (outermost circle) is tuned the lowest. Each course is assigned a specific fret with a specific finger. For example, in the first major chord (at "nine o'clock"), the first two courses have no indication and are thus played as open strings, while the third course is to be stopped at the first fret, and the fourth and fifth courses stopped each at the second fret. (The letters a, e, i and o designate which left-hand fingers to use.) In Amat's tuning, the resulting chord is an E-major triad with B sounding as the lowest note. But this might not be the case with a different tuning. Four of the five courses of a Baroque guitar consist of two strings that may be tuned either at the unison or at the octave (termed a "bourdon"). As there was never a consensus in the 17th century about the tuning of the guitar, it sometimes happens that the "top" course might not in fact be the acoustically lowest sounding note if a "lower" course is tuned as a bourdon. Such overlapping tunings are called "re-entrant" (illustrated in example 3). It seems that the most popular tunings for the five-course guitar in the 17th century were re-entrant.¹² Because the octave register(s) of a given course cannot be determined from tablature notation, contemporary editors are continually bedeviled in transcribing this music into diastematic (staff) notation. Amat, at least, tells his readers at the beginning of the treatise how to tune, so there is no problem in transcribing his circle (done in example 4).

We see that Amat orders his chords in a cycle of descending perfect fifths (or as he prefers to express it, ascending fourths) running from E major on the far left (#1) to B major on the far right (#12), while the minor triads run parallel from E minor (#1) to B minor (#12). Note that the chords do not exhibit any uniformity as to "position" or spacing. (And of course another re-entrant tuning could result in an even greater variety of inversions or spacings.) But none of this really matters. As I have already noted, in *rasgueado* style it makes no difference whether or not the bottom note of the chord is the "root" (*baxte*); what is crucial is the chord's overall functional sonority, achieved through the rapid and percussive strumming of the guitar courses.

Amat's circle of fifths is significant as the earliest of its kind. It precedes by some one hundred years the similar circles that were developed in German-speaking countries to aid composers and



Explicacion de la Tabla.

Para explicar bien esta Tabla, tenemos necesidad del methodo de division, comenzando al todo, despues à las partes, y finalmente à las partezillas.

Pri-

Example 2. Amat's musical circle.

keyboardists in mastering the newly established gamut of twenty-four major and minor keys.¹³ It is true that Amat writes—and notates—his circle only as a simple didactic aid in learning to play all possible major and minor triads. The modulatory implications of the circle pointed



Example 3. Re-entrant tuning of the Spanish five-course guitar.



Example 4. Transcription of Amat's musical circle.

out by 18th-century theorists would have been impossible to conceive in Amat's musical/notational framework. Tablature notation, after all, expresses only how a given pitch is to be produced mechanically; there is nothing in the notation that suggests a note's relationship within any kind of acoustical or tonal framework, as there would be in diastematic notation. (German musicologists aptly characterize the difference as one between *Griffschrift* and *Tonschrift*.)¹⁴

Amat does allow that the twelve transpositions can represent distinct "keys" (*modos*), given that any chord progression can be transposed to any pitch-level simply by appropriate substitutions. For instance, he takes a *Paseo* dance (another early form of the Passacaglia) and shows how it can be played in twelve keys. "I have wanted to present here these twelve ways of making a *Paseo* because they are common to an almost infinite number of pieces; . . . using the twelve keys, one will be able to play many pieces that are current such as *vacas*, *gallardas*, *pabanillas*, *sezarillos*, etc."¹⁵ Amat was, incidentally, not the first composer to write music that cycled through all twelve equally-tempered keys. Even earlier instances can be found in the lute literature, for example, a dance collection written in 1567 by Jacomo Gorzanis.¹⁶ And undoubtedly an unwritten tradition among performers of equal-tempered fretted instruments would extend back even further.¹⁷ But Amat does appear to have been the first to describe the result. To convey these twenty-four chords more efficiently than the cumbersome tablature, he uses a shorthand form of notation that came to be called *alfabeto* (or sometimes *abecedario*), whose invention

is usually attributed to the Italian guitarist Girolamo Montesardo.¹⁸ In *alfabeto* notation, every chord is notated with an arbitrary symbol (numbers in the case of Amat, letters in the case of Montesardo and most later composers). Example 5 shows Montesardo's *alfabeto* table and a transcription into modern staff notation. Seventeenth-century guitarists employed many such *alfabeto* and tablature notations, which varied greatly depending upon the country, period, and even publication!¹⁹ After simply learning the chord assigned to each symbol, one could then play *rasgueado* music in about any key by the simple substitution of chords.

Example 6 illustrates some of the ways Spanish guitarists employed the *alfabeto* notation.²⁰ These excerpts come from song and dance collections that are the 17th-century equivalent of contemporary "fake books." The letters and other symbols in each excerpt refer to the various chords that are intabulated at the beginning of their respective publication. The rhythm and direction of strumming is indicated in example 6a by the vertical lines, while in example 6b, the guitarist would follow the rhythm indicated above the text (belonging to a song that was presumably popular enough that it did not need to be notated). Clearly, *alfabeto* notation can only approximate what must have been a flexible improvisational practice. Comparing the notation, sound, and function of this music to popular guitar music today, it is astonishing to see how little has changed over the last 400 years.

As unpretentious as *rasgueado* music was, its theoretical implications were profound: music was now conceived and taught as consisting of *chordal entities* that were self-sufficient and combinable in permutations independent of contrapuntal or modal control. Amat describes chords as "raw material" for the guitarist, comparable to "the colors of the painter, with which one can mix in any way and in whatever key, jumping from one to the other."²¹ This radically new view of the compositional process differs from that articulated by those other pioneers of triadic theory from the early 17th-century: Burmeister, Harnisch, and Lippius. For all their emphasis upon chords as fundamental constituents of music, these German theorists still treat triads as implicitly subordinate to intervallic/contrapuntal features: triads derive from the harmonic or arithmetic division of a perfect fifth and are disposed according to a two-voiced (bassus/discant) contrapuntal framework.²² Most 17th-century guitarists were either ignorant or unconcerned with such theoretical matters. For them, chords were liberated from any voice-leading constraints and became autonomous building blocks.²³ *Rasgueado* playing thus offered the adventuresome guitarist unprecedented freedom to test new harmonic relations.

A	B	C	D	E	F	♣	G	H	I	K	L	M	N
2	2	0	0	0	2	2	2	1	0	1	3	1	3
0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	3	0	3	3	2	1
0	0	3	1	3	0	0	3	3	2	3	4	4	1
3	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	3	3	4

O	P ¹	Q	R ²	S	T	V	X	Y	Z	&	9	R ³
1	3	4	1	2	4	4	2	5	2	3	2	3
0	3	4	1	2	4	4	2	5	2	3	2	3
0	1	2	2	3	4	2	4	4	3	1	4	5
3	1	2	2	3	4	2	3	3	3	2	3	6
3	1	2	2	4	5	2	2	3	3	1	3	4

Example 5. Montesardo's *alfabeto* notation.

The riches offered in this new chordal universe were explored by the generation of guitar pedagogues that followed Amat. Iberian guitarists, it seems, were fascinated by the many abstract cycles and permutations that could be constructed out of the chromatic gamut of twelve equally-tempered major triads. Consider the remarkable guitar tutor written in 1640 by a Portuguese guitarist in the service of Philip IV of Spain named Doizi de Velasco. Velasco published his *Neuvo modo de cifrar para tañer la guitarra* to serve (like Amat's *Guitar española*) as an introduction to *rasgueado* performance on the guitar. And like Amat, Velasco used *alfabeto* notation to represent the major and minor triads in all transpositions using a circle of fifths. Velasco carried the idea of the circle several steps beyond Amat's use, though, and concocted fifteen additional circles that show the relations of triads by cycles of major and minor thirds (both ascending and descending), as well as half and whole steps. Example 7 shows several of Velasco's chord circles, which he gives in tablature notation paired with a staff transcription of their respective chord roots.²⁴ Velasco describes each of these circles as a *vuelta* (return) by which one may pass through various keys and come back home again. From our present viewpoint, it is truly astounding to see what appear to be anticipations of whole-tone and octatonic cycles in a Spanish guitar tutor from 1640. One musicologist has pointed out, however, that these cycles do not represent direct harmonic progressions that a guitarist would play, but rather the succession of key transpositions he might choose for a *ritornello* during the repetition of a strophic dance or song.²⁵

a. Gaspar Sanz (1674).

Saltarías con otros dancas Españoles para Los q; enseñan a Janer Tasgado, y aprenden a dancar
 Villano d; Otro d; Dama de las Cartas; Jacarvas. Jacarva de la Carta. o. Passacalle.

b. Luis de Briçño (1626).

Si queris que os entrame la puerta.
 Vista mia de mi corason.
 Vestros amores mios son.

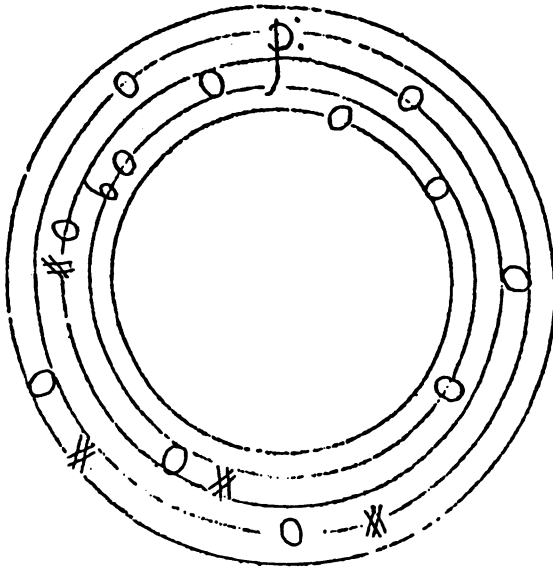
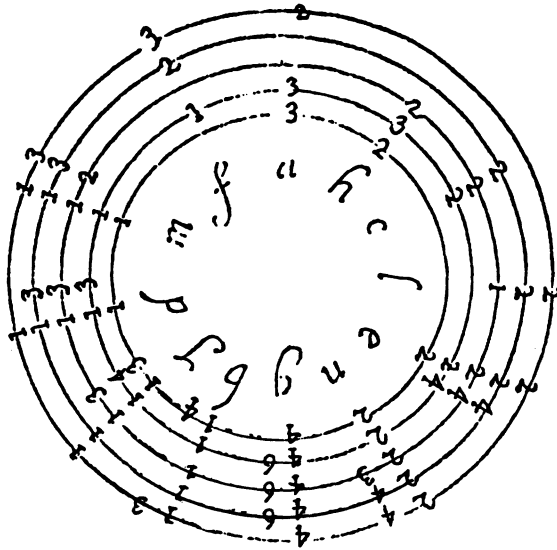
Example 6. Excerpts of Spanish alfabeto notation.

Another Spanish guitar tutor from the 17th century that also employed musical cycles was written by Gaspar Sanz.²⁶ Sanz's cycle of fifths (which he calls a "labyrinth") is noteworthy in that it explicitly maintains inversional equivalence between triads. This can be seen in example 8, reproduced from Sanz's treatise. The top row of twenty-four chords is the familiar cycle of fifths for both major and minor triads, while the three columns below each triad contain alternative inversions and spacings of the chords (derived by shifting the fingerings of other *alfabeto* chords up the indicated number of frets). A transcription of the chord notated as "C" and "A" along with their three variants is given in example 9.²⁷ Note that, as with Amat, the primary *punto* is not in "root" position; in *rasgueado* style, the actual sounding bass note was unimportant. Sanz tells the student that any one of the chords given in any column can be substituted for the other. Thus a single pattern of just four chords as found in the *pasacalle* offers 256 possible permutations. Sanz concludes that the student "can make as many variations as there are leaps among the boxes of the twelve letters, which are so numerous that you will not be able to count them without much arithmetic."²⁸

We can see, then, that the "theory" of *rasgueado* guitar music in the 17th century was surprisingly progressive in light of later developments in tonal theory. We find explicit recognition of chordal identity and root, extravagant invocation of octave/inversional equivalence, and finally a reduction of modes to two transposable major and minor species. Unfortunately, most historians of music theory who have looked into Spanish writings from the Baroque period have ignored these guitar tutors and focused instead upon the more learned treatises on composition and counterpoint by conservative church musicians such as Pedro Cerone, Andrés Lorente, and Cruz Brocarte. Certainly, if one confines oneself to these latter texts, Spanish theory indeed appears conservative in comparison to theory produced elsewhere in Europe. One writer has even gone so far as to characterize the state of 17th-century Spanish theory as one of "atrophy and stagnation."²⁹ In light of the progressive formulations we have seen in these Spanish guitar instructors, however, such a judgment is unwarranted.

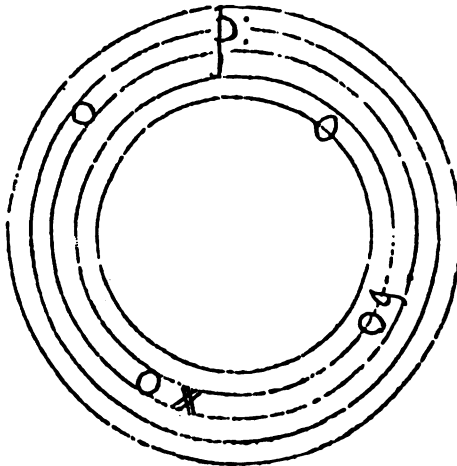
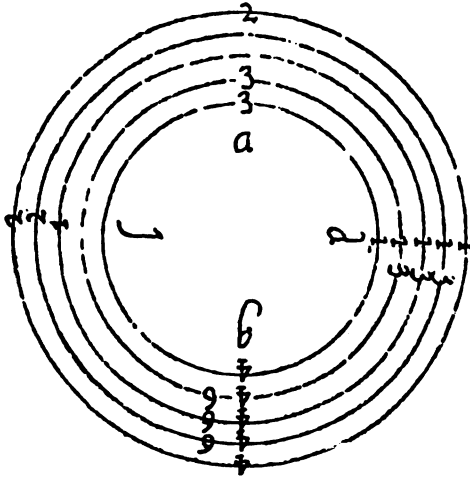
True, these guitar primers do not represent *theoria* in the traditional scholastic sense; they are unpretentiously propaedeutic works of the kind that Carl Dahlhaus has described as "implicit" music theory.³⁰ Nonetheless, it can be argued that these writings do stake out a distinct theoretical perspective, one that was instinctively understood and more widely practiced by musicians of the time than the theory depicted in the learned, weighty tomes of their scholastic counterparts. Paradoxically, one might say that it was precisely the wide gulf

a. Cycles of ascending fifths.



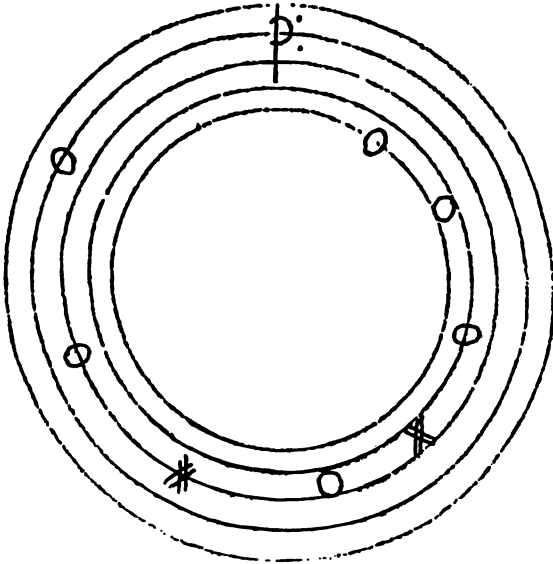
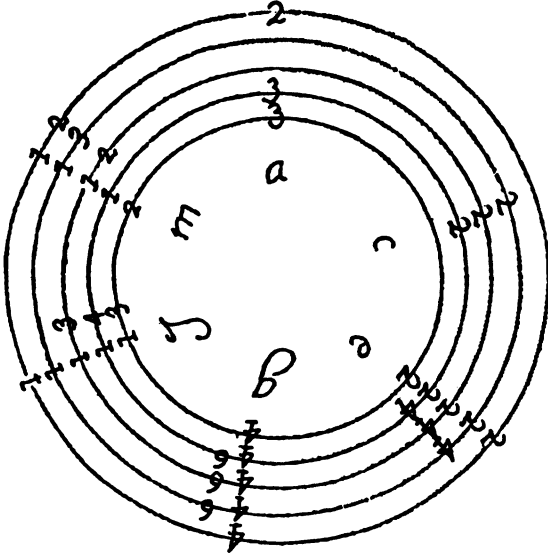
Example 7. Velasco's musical circle.

b. Cycles of ascending minor thirds.



Example 7. (continued)

c. Cycles of ascending major seconds.



Example 7. (continued)



Example 9. Transcription of letters “C” and “A” and their inversionsal substitutes.

separating the conservative Spanish traditions of received music theory from the empirical practice of the guitarists (to say nothing of the social distinctions) that freed the latter to reconceptualize harmony so radically.³¹

Rasgueado guitar music was not confined to the Iberian peninsula; its lively rhythms and lush chordal sonorities proved contagious throughout early 17th-century Europe. Italians were particularly receptive to the exciting *battente* music (as they translated *rasgueado*) of their Mediterranean neighbor. This is not surprising given that Spain was still a dominant—if increasingly weakening—political and cultural force in Italy during the early 17th century, with both Naples and Sicily among its protectorates. Already in 1628 Giustiniani observed (not without dismay) that the Spanish guitar and theorbo “have conspired to banish the lute altogether. In this they have succeeded, just as the Spanish fashion in clothes prevails over all other fashions in Italy.”³² (This lament, incidentally, would be echoed throughout the century by lutenists whose music and jobs were increasingly threatened by the encroaching guitar.) James Tyler has counted at least sixty-nine “song books” published in Italy between 1606 and 1629 calling for guitar accompaniments.³³ In but one of the ironies illustrative of the Baroque tendency towards stylistic cosmopolitanism, it was the Italians who in fact became the preeminent exponents and disseminators of Spanish guitar music in the 17th century. So quickly did Italian musicians dominate the field that some Spanish guitarists eventually felt it necessary to travel to Italy (as did Gaspar Sanz) in order to perfect their art under the tutelage of Italians!³⁴

Not only did Italian musicians learn to play and compose for the imported five-course guitar; they also adopted the *rasgueado* performing technique in their own native family of extended-lute instruments: the theorbo, archlute and chitarra. Many published collections of solo dances and songs accompaniments for these instruments were clearly influenced by the *rasgueado* style and usually written in *alfabeto* notation with subtitles like “con le lettere dell’ Alfabeto” or “con l’alfabeto della chitarra Spanguola.”³⁵

Through the success of traveling Italian guitar *virtuosi* like Francesco Corbetta, *rasgueado* music also penetrated northwards. The French proved particularly susceptible. Already in 1626 a *rasgueado* guitar method and collection was published in Paris.³⁶ The young Louis XIV became an ardent guitar devotee. And dozens of French composers wrote music for or including the guitar in the second half of the century, including Guillaume Nivers, Robert de Visée, Marin Marais, Michel de Lalande, Jean Baptiste de Lully, and Nicolas Derosier.³⁷ The guitar mania inspired many French musicians to adopt its indigenous dance forms (most notably the *Zarabanda*). *Clavecinistes* like d'Anglebert and Couperin sought to imitate its strummed sonorities with a technique called *tirer et rabattre* (achieved through the rapid arpeggiation of a chord in closed position).

The Spanish guitar met with a similarly enthusiastic reception in England. Almost immediately after the Restoration, the Spanish five-course guitar could be heard at all levels of English society, displacing the lute as the primary plucked instrument of choice. William Turner noted in 1697 that:

The Lute is not wholly laid aside, but within this 20 or 30 Years much neglected, to what it was formerly, notwithstanding the great Improvement of this Instrument among us, within a hundred Years. . . . The Fine easie Ghittar, whose Performance is soon gained, at least after the brushing way, hath at this present over-topt the nobler Lute. Nor is it to be denied, but that after the pinching way, the Ghittar makes some good work.³⁸

Even the diarist Samuel Pepys—an ardent lutenist himself—was eventually moved to soften his initial antagonism to the guitar after hearing Corbetta play; toward the end of his life he began taking lessons on the guitar (under an Italian, of course) and copied out a substantial amount of music for the instrument.³⁹

It remained for the Italians, though, to perfect the practice of the Spanish guitar. One of the most interesting and distinctively Italian contributions to the *rasgueado* repertoire was a genre of chordal variations that paralleled the practice of melodic variation and diminution taught in contemporary singing and viol treatises. Instead of varying the music through techniques of melodic elaboration, however, Italian composers varied *rasgueado* dances through the substitution, addition, and reordering of chords, and designated them with titles such as *passemazzo diminuito* or *passacagli passeggiati*. Example 10 shows the notation and transcription of two such chordal variations for the *pasacaglia* and *folia*, respectively, using Richard Hudson's shorthand bass notation.⁴⁰ The paradigmatic structures given in example 1 are retained in these “*passaggiati*” pieces but embellished through applied

<i>a</i>	A ⁺	B ⁺	C ⁺	D ⁺	E ⁺	F ⁺	G ⁺	H ⁺	I ⁺	K ⁺	L ⁺	M ⁺	N ⁺	P ⁺
5 [·]	2 [·]	3 [·]	2 [·]	2 [·]	2 [·]	2 [·]	3 [·]	1 [·]	2 [·]	1	3	1 [·]	3 [·]	3 [·]
		3 [·]	3 [·]	2 [·]	3 [·]	1 [·]	3 [·]	3 [·]	2 [·]	3	3 [·]	3	1 [·]	3 [·]
7 [·]	3 [·]	1 [·]	3 [·]	1 [·]	3 [·]	3 [·]	3 [·]	4 [·]	3 [·]	1	3	4	1 [·]	3 [·]

Example 12. Transcription of Foscarini's *alfabeto dissonante*.

with voice-leading considerations in mind, the specific function of each dissonant chord is not always immediately apparent at first glance. Spliced together, these *alfabeto* chords produce a nightmare of parallel perfect consonances, and dissonances that are doubled, unprepared, and unresolved. But the point cannot be emphasized enough that it was the harmonic sonorities that were important in this guitar repertoire, not the particular voicings. Thus almost any chord inversion or dissonant harmony could be introduced, irrespective of its context.

The Guitar and Thorough-Bass Practice

Perhaps the most consequential application of *rasgueado* guitar playing is to be found in the Baroque continuo ensemble. Too often, we forget that the realization of the thorough-bass in the 17th century was not the sole province of keyboardists. A colorful assortment of hand-plucked and strummed instruments including the theorbo, arch-lute, chitarrone, and harp, were frequently—and in certain repertoire preferably—called into use.⁴³ The guitar was one of the most popular continuo instruments in the 17th century. For one thing, the guitar was a cheap and portable instrument, far easier to tune and play than a theorbo or chitarrone. More importantly, the chordal texture of *rasgueado* strumming proved ideally suited to the realization of basic continuo harmonies. And because of its robust resonance, the guitar could project itself far more effectively in larger ensembles than could the more intimate lute or even the harpsichord.

For all these reasons, then, we find the guitar frequently employed in the 17th-century continuo body.⁴⁴ (See Plate A) In Italy, it seems, the guitar all but usurped the position of the lute in vocal accompa-



Plate A. From Pablo Minguet Y Irol, *Reglas y advertencias generales* (Madrid, 1754).

Here we see an idealized continuo group comprising, besides the harpsichord, a harp, guitar, and zither. Note also the assortment of guitars scattered underneath the harpsichord (specifically, a tiple, vándola, citara, and bandurria). Above the illustration is written out the complete circle-of-fifths for the guitarist to practice—an exercise prescribed in the very earliest Spanish Baroque guitar texts.

niment.⁴⁵ The French, too, loved the sound of the guitar, and composers including Lully, Marais, Lalande, Couperin, and Lambert specified its use in their continuo groups. For the English, the guitar became a favored member of the “broken consort” ensemble. Roger North favorably contrasted the use of the pandora (which he described as “a sort of double guitarres strung with wires”) in the “throbase” to that of other “instruments of the *arpeggio* kind” such as the harpsichord:

And if memory failes not very much, those pandoras, by way of throbase, had a better and more sonorous effect in the mixture, than now may be ascribed to harpsicords. . . . For the strings are most of twisted

wire, the fretts mettall, the touch with a quill strong and guitarr fashion, full accords at every stroke, and not a litle *arpeggiando*, and all open and above board.⁴⁶

Perhaps the most telling evidence we have of the guitar's widespread and frequent use in the continuo ensemble are the numerous thorough-bass instructors written exclusively for guitarists. Table A lists the most important of these from the 17th century. This is an impressive quantity of pedagogical literature. If some of these instructors are modest in scope (being appendices to collections of solo-guitar music), a number of them are of extraordinary detail, rivaling and in some cases exceeding those better known thorough-bass treatises aimed at keyboardists. Nicola Matteis's treatise, for instance, (originally published in Italian but translated to English shortly thereafter), is the longest and most detailed thorough-bass primer printed in England during the 17th century *for any instrument*, far outpacing the modest account in Matthew Locke's *Melothesia* (London, 1673).⁴⁷ Taken together, these primers point to the widespread use of the guitar in continuo playing throughout the 17th century.

Table 1
Seventeenth-century Thorough-bass Tutors for the Guitar

Italy

Foscarini, Giovanni Paolo. *Li cinque libri della chitarra alla spaguola . . . con il modo per sonare sopra la parte*. Rome, 1640.

Corbetta, Francesco. *Varii capricci per la ghitarra spagnuola*. Milan, 1643.

Granata, Giovanni Battista. *Soavi concenti di sonate musicali per chitarra spagnuola*. Bologna, 1659.

France

Carré, Antoine, sieur de La Grange. *Livre de guitarre . . . avec la manière de toucher sur la partie ou bass continue*. Paris, 1671.

Corbetta, Francesco. *La guitarre royale*. Paris, 1671.

Grénerin, Henry. *Livre de guitare . . . avec une instruction pour jouer la basse continue*. Paris, 1680.

Derosier, Nicolas. *Les principes de la guitare*. Paris, 1690.

England

Matteis, Nicola. *The False consonances of musick*. London, 1682.

Pepys, "Morelli" guitar tutor. Gb: Cfm Ms. 2805 (c. 1680).

Spain

Amat, Joan Carles. *Guitarra Española de cinco ordenes, la qual enseña de templar, y tañer rasgado*. Lérida, 1626.

Velasco, Nicolao. *Neuvo Modo de . . . la Guitarra*. Naples, 1640.
Sanz, Gaspar. *Instrucción de música sobre la Guitarra española*. Zaragoza, 1674.
Ribayaz, Lucas Ruiz de. *Luz y norte musical . . . la guitarra española*. Madrid, 1677.

Unlike the more complicated contrapuntal realizations typically performed by keyboardists, guitar continuo parts tended to be simple, often consisting of little more than *rasgueado* strumming notated in *alfabeto*. Needless to say, they could result in accompaniments that sounded downright clumsy, especially when paired with written-out accompaniments for other continuo instruments. Consider, for instance, the opening of a three-voiced song by the German aristocrat Girolamo Kapsberger, reproduced in example 13a. Kapsberger calls for a double accompaniment of a chitarrone (notated in tablature on the bottom staff) and guitar (notated with *alfabeto* above the soprano voice).⁴⁸ The guitar realization transcribed in example 13b is much thicker than that for the chitarrone. It also fails to follow the bass line or any of the dissonant suspensions found in the voices and chitarrone. In examples like these we can well understand why so many lutenists were scornful of the guitar, whose music and performers they deprecated as “simple-minded” and “barbaric.” But as crude as many of these *alfabeto* accompaniments were, they did have the effect of directing one’s attention to the harmonic skeleton of the music.

Thankfully, not all guitar accompaniments from the 17th century were as simplistic as Kapsberger’s. The vocabulary of chordal dissonances (*alfabeto dissonante*) described above augmented the harmonic palate of guitarists. Further, as the century progressed, many guitarists attempted to animate the unrelenting chordal textures of *rasgueado* playing by introducing more delicate contrapuntal elaborations using *punteado* techniques rescued from the waning lute tradition. (One consequence of this was that in almost inverse proportion to the complexity of the music, *alfabeto* notation declined steadily in favor of tablature, disappearing outside of Spain altogether by the early 18th century.) The fusion of *rasgueado* and *punteado* stylistic elements was most successfully carried out, perhaps, in the mature solo compositions of Foscarini and Corbetta. Even so, the texture of most guitar accompaniments remained largely chordal, particularly in France—a clear indication of their *rasgueado* roots.⁴⁹

Consider the accompaniment Corbetta specifies for a *Brunette* for two voices (the opening of which is reproduced and transcribed in example 14.)⁵⁰ Although Corbetta notates his accompaniment in precise tablature, the resulting realization is still heavily chordal, showing the same disregard for the bass line we observed in Kapsberger’s

10

HK

A C A B D A E G E B C X I C A B A I C

Example 13a. “Negate mi pur cruda” by Girolamo Kapsberger.

accompaniment and displaying many of the same “problems” of parallel perfect consonances and doubled or unresolved dissonances. The chordal texture and clumsy voicings of Corbetta’s accompaniment are all the more striking when compared to the sophisticated contrapuntal solo pieces intabulated in the rest of the collection from which the example is drawn.

One of the reasons that thorough-bass realizations for guitar were often so awkward may be the unique way the skill was taught in most guitar tutors. We must keep in mind that keyboardists who played the thorough bass in the 17th century were more often than not church musicians and professional composers trained in contrapuntal theory. They could be expected to realize a fairly elaborate accompaniment (whether above a figured or unfigured bass) that corresponded to the voicings of the *partitura*. Not surprisingly, thorough bass was taught to these keyboardists as an essentially compositional skill.⁵¹

Few guitarists possessed any knowledge of contrapuntal theory, though. Indeed, many of them probably had a difficult enough time simply reading staff notation. How, then, were they to learn to play in the continuo ensemble? In the earliest accompaniments this posed little problem, as most of the guitar parts were already “realized” by the composer in *alfabeto* or tablature notation. Unlike the earliest monody accompaniments that truly needed to be realized at sight by the performer, the guitarist could play an accompaniment independent of the sounding bass line. But what was the guitarist to do when no *alfabeto* chords or tablature was provided, and there was only a bass line (whether figured or not) from which to deduce the proper accompaniment? Clearly, some uncomplicated but reliable guidelines were needed for these accompanists.

Choir

Ne - ga - te-mi pur cru - da

Chitarrone

Guitar

de bei vo str 'oc - ch'il so - le

Example 13b. Transcription of Example 13a.

Falloit il o Dieux qui la fit es si bel le = la faire mor:

Falloit il o Dieux qui la fit es si bel le la faire mor:

Example 14a. “Falloit-il ô dieux qui la fites si belle” by Francesco Corbetta.

A solution was to teach a familiar triad above each scale degree so as to offer a primitive rule-of-thumb for accompaniment. We find such a rule-of-thumb in Amat’s *Guitarra española*.⁵² Amat provides a table (reproduced in example 15) in which each degree of the seven-note diatonic scale (derived through hexachordal mutation) is assigned a specific consonant triad. In order to accompany any music, Amat explains, all the guitarist need do is correctly identify the hexachordal placement of the bass note and play the chord assigned to it by the table. In most cases this will be a “root-position” major or minor triad determined by the numbers found intabulated in the circle printed earlier in his treatise. If, however, the chord does not seem to fit well with any of the upper parts, one can find a chord that does fit by means of the letters ciphered above mi, ut-sol, and la-mi, and match these with other chords through an algorithm that Amat describes.⁵³

The net result of Amat’s table is that the third, fifth and seventh scale degrees of the major and minor diatonic scales can support one of four different triads: the root-position consonant triad, first inversion ($\frac{6}{4}$) major and minor triads, and a second inversion ($\frac{4}{2}$) major triad. Evidently Amat did not find it necessary to offer inversional substitutes on the remaining scale degrees (which consequently permit only root-position triads). Needless to say, this is all very mechanical and capable of accommodating only the most primitive music. But Amat insisted it still offered the easiest way for a beginning student to learn accompaniment, and one he had employed successfully in accompanying five-part music by Palestrina!⁵⁴

Voice

Fal - loit - il, ô dieux qui la fi - tes si

Voice

Guitar

B.C.

8

bel - le. la faire mor - tel - le? Prin - ces - se, Prin -

12

ces - se, la Par - que vous ra - vit à nos yeux. Ô

Example 14b. Transcription of Example 14a.

fa, ut,	d	f	g	t.	l	n	n	p	q	r	x	z
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
fol, 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, fol,	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	b	d	b	f	g	b	h	b	l
	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

DE-

Example 15. Amat's chord table.

As crude as Amat's table may seem to us, there was a general consensus among music pedagogues from the 17th century that each scale degree supported a natural harmony that could offer a rule-of-thumb for harmonizing a bass line. The most basic rule (called by Carl Dahlhaus the "sixth-chord rule") states that a perfect chord was assumed above any bass note unless it was *supra mi* or some sharpened bass note, in which case a $\frac{6}{4}$ chord was to be played.⁵⁵ Such rules are expressed in the earliest Italian keyboard thorough-bass primers by Francesco Banciardi (1607), Adriano Banchieri (1611), and Galeazzo Sabbatini (1620).⁵⁶ But here these harmonies are prescribed less as bona fide chords than as composite intervals ("Take a fifth above the bass to which is added a sharpened third . . ."). Thorough-bass guitar primers, however, offer a different perspective; triads are not seen as intervallic composites but are conceived, notated, and played as self-sufficient entities, irrespective of any voice-leading or inversional considerations. For this reason, I find it more appropriate to call these diatonic

guitar chords “scale triads.” Virtually every thorough-bass instructor for the guitar during the 17th century would begin (after the obligatory *alfabeto* table) with a listing of such diatonic scale triads.⁵⁷ Example 16, from Francesco Corbetta’s thorough-bass instructions, offers a typical example under the heading “Regola per sonar sopra la parte.”⁵⁸

We see that there are two scales (*B quadro* and *B molle*—representing the major and minor modes, respectively) supporting parallel diatonic triads. As we should expect by now, the bottom note of the chord does not necessarily correspond to the “root” of the triad. In fact, it is the exception when it does. Each scale degree is nonetheless implicitly understood as the root of the prescribed chord. Corbetta substitutes a 6th for a 5th only *supra mi* (over B in the “B quadro” mode and E in the “B molle” mode) to avoid the forbidden mi-fa tritone.

These scale triads are clearly not meant to represent any kind of meaningful harmonic progression. They had only a practical aim: to offer an efficient tabulation of the most important triads the guitarist needed to know. One would practice these chords in an ordered progression moving the left hand successively up the neck of the guitar. Once these scale triads were memorized, the guitarist had a ready vocabulary of chords to play over a diatonic bass. For this reason, they were called by Matteis “the first lesson which Schollars ought to learn by heart.”⁵⁹

As elementary and unpretentious as these scale triads appear, their theoretical implications are profound: they reflect the beginnings of a subtle, but ultimately decisive, shift in music theory away from a melodic conception of mode based upon the ordering and articulation of particular intervals and toward a tonal conception of key based upon the context and function of its indigenous harmonies. As we follow the evolution over the course of the 17th century of these scale triads as prescribed in guitar tutors, we are in essence observing the emergence of a scale-degree–based conceptualization of tonality—a kind of primitive *Stufentheorie*, if you will. And while many of the same formulations may be found in coterminous theorbo and keyboard tutors, it is in the literature for guitar that we find their most explicit and unnumbered depiction.

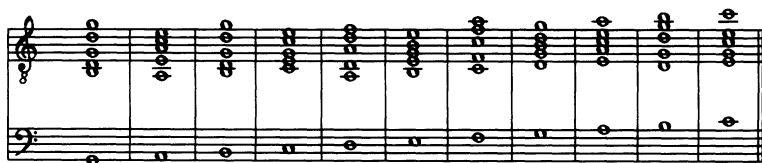
Of course scale triads were never meant to be applied slavishly to an unfigured bass. They were intended as a starting point, not an end.⁶⁰ This is why in most thorough-bass primers the paradigmatic scale triads were followed by alternative scale harmonizations, sequential and chromatic bass patterns, dissonant signatures, and various cadential formulas. In order to master these advanced figures, guitarists were taught to memorize stock formulas and finger patterns.

Regola per sonar sopra la parte.

Scalati misto
Per b quadro e
Per b molle

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a vocal part. Each system consists of a vocal line with lyrics and a basso continuo line. The first system has the lyrics 'A D A B E F M G M N' and the second system has 'G O B H L E M P N'. The notes are marked with '3' above them, indicating triplets. The basso continuo line includes a 'C' time signature and a 'b' key signature. The notation includes various musical symbols such as stems, beams, and ornaments.

Example 16a. Corbetta's scale triads.



Example 16b. Transcription of Example 16a.

In most of the thorough-bass tutors listed in Table A, such figures were presented as isolated units to be practiced in ascending or descending diatonic chains.

Example 17 by Henry Grénerin is typical in its presentation of the classic *clausula formalis* (called by him the “sixiesme majeure montant a l’octave”). The student begins by learning to play the cadence resolving in C major and then moves successively upwards, learning the same cadence in D minor, E major, F major, etc. By the time the student reaches the higher registers, the extreme octave overlappings intabulated by Grénerin produce some extraordinary voice leadings, with blatant parallel perfect consonances and improperly resolved dissonances.⁶¹ Such voice leading would never be countenanced in a keyboard thorough-bass treatise modeled upon contrapuntal rules. At its worst extremes, then, accompaniment as taught by 17th-century guitarists was little more than a rote task of inserting a small number of these memorized formulas into pre-assigned slots, resulting in a patchwork quilt of chords, progressions, suspensions and cadences that did not connect linearly with one another with any consistency (undoubtedly resembling the accompaniments seen in examples 13 and 14).

Still, there is a more positive side to this pedagogy and practice: it demonstrated that a successful continuo realization did not always require a scrupulous observance of voice-leading rules. (It should be noted that in practice these voice-leading indiscretions were not actually so egregious since there was normally a second continuo instrument like the viol or gamba doubling the notated bass line.) Transgressions of parallel consonances, unprepared and unresolved

6x 3# 6x 3b 6 3# 6+ 3# 6x 3# 6x 3b

Original

Transcription of tablature

6x 3# 6x 3# 6x 3b 7 6x 3# 7 6x 3b 7 6x 3#

7 6x 3# 7 6x 3# 7 6x 3b 7 6x 3# 7 6x 3# 7 6x 3b

The image displays three systems of musical notation for guitar. Each system consists of a bass staff and a grand staff (treble and bass). The first system is labeled 'Original' and 'Transcription of tablature'. Above the first system are six chord labels: 6x 3#, 6x 3b, 6 3#, 6+ 3#, 6x 3#, and 6x 3b. The second system has six chord labels: 6x 3#, 6x 3#, 6x 3b, 7 6x 3#, 7 6x 3b, and 7 6x 3#. The third system has six chord labels: 7 6x 3#, 7 6x 3#, 7 6x 3b, 7 6x 3#, 7 6x 3#, and 7 6x 3b. The notation includes notes, rests, and tablature numbers (0-9) on the strings.

Example 17. Grénerin's examples of the major sixth resolving to an octave.

dissonances, and widely varying inversions, spacings and doublings were evidently tolerated by guitarists in favor of the harmonic result, contrary to the often-accepted view that figured-bass practice was fundamentally a contrapuntal art.⁶² This is not to say that, given a choice, a guitarist might not accept—and probably even prefer—a realization that was contrapuntally “correct.” But given the specific musical context and constraints of the instrument, it was not a compelling choice. The issue here is not really whether a guitar realization is better or worse than one prescribed by keyboard pedagogues. Clearly no musician could fail to recognize that the guitar accompaniments in examples 13 and 14 lack refinement.⁶³ Rather, the issue is that a growing chordal sensibility was encroaching upon a received contrapuntal practice, and this was being reflected in the simple empirical formulations of guitar accompaniments.

A final point to be made concerns implications for 18th-century harmonic theory and thorough-bass pedagogy. I believe it can be legitimately argued that much of the implicit theory we have observed in 17th-century guitar practice points the way to theoretical formulations that would become explicitly articulated in the 18th century, most obviously in the harmonic theory of Rameau. This is not to claim, of course, that Rameau’s fundamental bass was simply the progeny of 17th-century guitar pedagogy. It is to suggest, though, that much tradition in thorough-bass practice and pedagogy actually stands behind Rameau’s theory, which is at bottom, after all, really a theory of thorough-bass signatures. And lest I be accused of succumbing to anachronistic historicism, let me point out that there indeed exists a direct connection that can be drawn between Rameau’s theory and this guitar literature in a work we can be certain Rameau knew well: François Champion’s *Traité d’accompagnement et de composition selon la règle des octaves de musique* (Paris, 1716).⁶⁴ Champion’s thorough-bass treatise is the last and most important published for the guitar in France; it marks at once the culmination of the pedagogical tradition of guitar continuo practice and its demise through absorption by keyboard thorough-bass pedagogy.⁶⁵

Campion and the “Règle de l’octave”

François Champion (1686–1748) was one of the last French champions of the five-course guitar. Although he was employed officially as a theorbo player in the Paris Opera (between 1703 and 1719), Champion’s small compositional output was devoted almost exclusively to the guitar (including the *Nouvelles découvertes sur la guitarrre* of 1705 and a Manuscript from 1731 entitled “Premiers Principes en tabla-

ture”).⁶⁶ In all his publications he referred to himself as “Professeur-Maître de Théorbe & de Guitare.” Certainly the official title of opera theorbist would not have precluded Campion’s use of the guitar for accompanying, even in the opera. He was sensitive to the criticism that the guitar was an inferior continuo instrument, explaining,

I would agree that [the guitar] lacks the strength of harmony of the harpsichord or theorbo. But I believe it still suffices to accompany the voice. This is at least what I am told when I perform. As far as its ability to sound chords, I know of no limitations. And above all, it is far easier to transport and play, and unlike the theorbo, need not invert the accompaniment, and it is thus more melodious (*chantantes*).⁶⁷

Even when Campion was teaching theorbo, he found the guitar indispensable for developing the student’s technique of accompaniment. The *rasgueado* style of chordal strumming (which he calls *batterie*) offers a “marvelous” means of learning to realize figures. “It is for this reason,” he adds, “that I ordinarily start those students wishing to learn theorbo accompaniment with a dozen lessons on the guitar.”⁶⁸

In 1716, Campion published a small thorough-bass tutor in which he promised to explain a secret device that would radically simplify its mastery for the theorbist and guitarist. He called this device the “*règle de l’octave*”—the “rule of the octave”—and credited its discovery to his predecessor at the opera, a certain Monsieur de Maltot. “I received this from him as the most profound testimony to his friendship. In the shortest amount of time, he made [thorough-bass accompaniment] practical to those for whom it was previously accessible only after many long years.”⁶⁹

The *règle de l’octave* described by Campion turns out to be no great secret but is instead a tonal refinement of the scale triads presented in 17th-century guitar primers. Campion even introduces the same term—*règle*—that Corbetta (*regola*) and Mace (*general rule*) had used to label their scale triads. Campion offers harmonizations of the A-Harmonic-minor and C-major scales and transposes them to the remaining 22 keys (see example 18). In order to accompany perfectly, Campion tells us, one must memorize these chords in all transpositions and then apply them at the appropriate point. This latter skill requires knowing what key one is in, or as Campion puts it, “in which octave one is in” (p. 6). Once the key is determined, the performer plays the assigned chord on the respective scale degree, just as with Amat’s table or Corbetta’s *regola*. Campion describes his *règle* as “the most certain and easy means of providing the correct chord, and I don’t believe there has been anything until now more general or simple.” And while Campion’s *règle* is initially intabulated without any bass overlappings, later on he assures the student that any of these

Ton Mineur

Ton Majeur

Example 18. Campion's *Règle de l'octave*.

chords can in practice be inverted without harm.⁷⁰ The point for Campion, as it was for his guitar predecessors, is that accompaniment is a harmonic—not a contrapuntal—skill in which one learns mechanically to place the right chord above the right bass note. The pedigree of Campion's *règle* thus stems from a venerable *rasgueado* tradition dating back to Amat's treatise.⁷¹

* * *

Chordal textures were obviously not the exclusive domain of guitarists in the 17th century, nor were triadic formulations unique to their pedagogical literature. Besides the German theorists cited earlier in this article, we need only recall the Italian monodists who explicitly prescribed a simplified, chordal accompaniment underneath their recitations instead of the thick, contrapuntal textures of polyphonic practice. And there were other musical styles in folk and church traditions that were also largely chordal in construction, ranging from 16th-century Italian dance music to German chorales.⁷² One could argue that the widespread popularity of *rasgueado* music during the 17th century was but one manifestation of a broader trend in European musical taste that favored a simplification of texture and the clarification of chordal function governed by an emerging common language of tonality. But I think it is fair to say that in no other repertoire was the texture quite so consistently—might we say

exuberantly?—chordal as in the *rasgueado* guitar pieces, nor the syntax of the harmonies so clearly functional. Certainly in no other pedagogical literature are these features so lucidly depicted. If the theory and practice of the Spanish guitar is neither the earliest nor the most important source for the development of chordal thought in the Baroque, it is nonetheless one tributary, and it deserves and rewards greater exploration by music theorists today.

NOTES

1. A theme brilliantly explored in his monumental study of 1966, recently translated by Robert Gjerdingen as *Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality* (Princeton, 1990).
2. Examples being Edward E. Lowinsky, *Tonality and Atonality in Sixteenth-Century Music* (Berkeley, 1961); Joel Lester, "Major-Minor Concepts and Modal Theory in Germany, 1592–1680," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30/2 (1977): 208–53; and Benito V. Rivera, "The Seventeenth-Century Theory of Triadic Generation and Invertibility and Its Application in Contemporaneous Rules of Composition," *Music Theory Spectrum* 6 (1984): 63–78. This last author has traced adumbrations of triadic theory back as far as the late 15th century in his article, "Harmonic Theory in Musical Treatises of the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," *Music Theory Spectrum* 1 (1979): 80–95.
3. Dahlhaus, *Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality*, 111ff.
4. There are numerous variants to this performing technique. For descriptions of these, see Sylvia Murphy, "Seventeenth-Century Guitar Music: Notes on *Rasgueado* Performance," *The Galpin Society Journal* 21 (1968): 24–32.
5. From Sebastián de Covarrubias, who in 1611 lamented that "now the guitar is no more than a cowbell, so easy to play, especially in the strummed style, that there is no stable boy who is not a musician on the guitar." *Tesoro de la lengua cartellana o española* (Madrid, 1611). Quoted in Neil D. Pennington, *The Spanish Baroque Guitar with a Transcription of De Murcia's "Passacalles y obras"*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, 1981), 1:171.
6. The progressive tonality of this repertoire is analyzed by Richard Hudson in "The Concept of Mode in Italian Guitar Music during the First Half of the 17th Century," *Acta Musicologica* 42 (1970): 163–83.
7. Richard Hudson, *Passacaglio and Ciaccona: From Guitar Music to Italian Keyboard Variations in the 17th Century* (Ann Arbor, 1981), 11.
8. Richard Hudson, "The *Folia* Dance and the *Folia* Formula in 17th Century Guitar Music," *Musica Disciplina* 25 (1971): 199–221.
9. The genealogies and progenies of the most important Spanish *rasgueado* dance forms have been traced by Richard Hudson in a series of important studies produced over the last twenty years. Besides the citations already given in notes 6, 7 and 8, see his four-volume anthology, *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaconne: The Historical Evolution of Four Forms that Originated in Music for the Five-Course Spanish Guitar* (Stuttgart, 1982).
10. *Guitarra española de cinco ordenes, la qual enseña de templar, y tañer rasgado todos los puntos naturales, y b, mollados, con estilo marauilloso, y para poner en ella qualquier tono* (Lérida, 1626). The date of the earliest surviving copy of Amat's treatise is 1626. But from remarks in Amat's dedication and introduction, it is clear that there was an earlier edition of the treatise that can be dated 1596. See Mónica Hall, "The *Guitarra española* of Joan Carles Amat," *Early Music* 6/3 (1978): 362–73.
11. Because the guitar, like most fretted instruments, was tuned to a rough equal temperament, it possessed the full gamut of twelve equal semitones.
12. Sylvia Murphy, "The Tuning of the Five-Course Guitar," *Galpin Society Journal* 23 (1970): 49–63.

13. Thus Joel Lester's claim that the first recognition of twenty-four major and minor keys occurred only in the early 18th century (most explicitly by Heinrich and Mattheson, but with slightly earlier adumbrations by Janowka and Ozanam) needs to be qualified: Joel Lester, "The Recognition of Major and Minor Keys in German Theory: 1680–1730," *Journal of Music Theory* 22/1 (1978): 65–103.
14. Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music* (Cambridge, 1961), 54–55.
15. *Guitarra española*, 26. "He querido traer estos doze modos de hazer un passeio, por ser comunes à tantos tonos casi infinitos; y tambien, porque sabiendo mudar de uno en otro, se sabrá tañer por las doze partes muchas tonadillas que andan por aqui; como son vacas, gallardas, pabanillas, sezarillos, &c."
16. Issam El-Mallah, *Ein Tanzzyklus des 16. Jahrhunderts für Laute von Jacomo Gorzanis* (Tutzing, 1979).
17. Mark Lindley, *Lutes, Viols and Temperaments* (Cambridge, 1984).
18. Girolamo Montesardo, *Nuova Inventione d'intavolatura per sonare li balleti sopra la Chitarra Spagnola senza numeri e note* (Bologna, 1606). Montesardo was probably not the inventor of this notation, though. Assuming that Amat's 1596 edition of his treatise was similar to the later editions, his was evidently the first publication using *alfabeto* symbols. There also exists a manuscript of guitar music written in *alfabeto* notation stemming from some time in the late 16th century that even pre-dates Amat's use. See James Tyler, *The Early Guitar* (Oxford, 1980), 38.
19. Still the most comprehensive inventory (and transcription) of these many tablature notations can be found in Johannes Wolf's monumental *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (Leipzig, 1919), 2:157–218. Another useful study is Bruno Tonazzi, *Liuto, Vihuela, Chitarra e Strumenti similari nelle loro Intavolature, con Cenni sulle loro Litterature* (Ancona, 1970).
20. From Gaspar Sanz, *Instrucción de música sobre la Guitarra española* (Zaragoza, 1674), 18r; and Luis de Briçeno, *Método mui facilissimo para aprender a tañer la guitarra a lo español* (Paris, 1626), 8r.
21. *Guitarra española*, 23. ". . . como los colores del Pintor, de los quales se pueden formar toda manera, y suerte de tonos saltando del uno al otro."
22. See Dahlhaus's discussion in *Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality*, 135–41.
23. This difference in perspective, incidentally, helps explain how certain ground-bass patterns of the 16th century came to be defined by guitarists as harmonic formulas. It may well be, as Dahlhaus has argued, that harmonic formulas such as the *Folia* and *Passamezzo antico* originated not as chordal compositions, rather, as discant-bass counterpoints to simple diatonic melodic formulas (such as the descending tetrachord). (*Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality*, 102). This does not preclude the fact that at some point guitarists began to extract from this melodic scaffolding chord progressions that rapidly assumed a large degree of functional autonomy.
24. Complete reproductions of Velasco's cycles are found in Pennington, *The Spanish Baroque Guitar*, 1:263–78.
25. *Ibid.*, 1:126.
26. Q.v. n. 20.
27. From Pennington, *The Spanish Baroque Guitar*, 1:127. Sanz apparently got the idea of his labyrinth and chord inversions from a similar table published in 1643

- by Antonio Carbonchi: *Le Dodici chitarre spostate* (Florence, 1643). See Richard T. Pinnell, *Francesco Corbetta and the Baroque Guitar*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, 1980), 1:70.
28. *Instrucción de música*, 5. “. . . y de esta suerte puedes hazer en un son tantas diferencias, como saltos por las casillas de doze letras, que son tantos, que no los podràs contar sin much Arifmetica.”
 29. Almonte Howell, “Symposium on 17th-Century Music Theory: Spain,” *Journal of Music Theory* 16/1 (1972): 68.
 30. *Die Musiktheorie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: Grundzüge Einer Systematik* (Darmstadt, 1984), 131ff.
 31. It should be noted, however, that Spanish theory predating these guitar tutors was by no means uniformly conservative. The Spanish mathematician, Ramos de Pareja, for example, was the first Western theorist to recommend a just tuning for all imperfect consonances (thirds and sixths) that was to prove essential to the development of triadic composition: *Musica Practica* (Bologna, 1482). As another example, in a little known treatise published in 1495, Guilleremus de Podio noted the functional distinction in instrumental practice between major and minor triads, as well as the invertibility of intervals. (See Rivera, “Harmonic Theory in Musical Treatises of the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries,” 94).

To all this theory should be added consideration of the remarkable genre of homophonic *villancico* songs cultivated in Spain during the 15th and early 16th centuries; these songs display strikingly tonal characteristics. Edward E. Lowinsky has singled out the *villancico* (along with its Italian cousin, the *Frottola*) as one of the earliest repertoires displaying clear functional tonality (*Tonality and Atonality in Sixteenth-Century Music*, 3–14).

Although it is not possible here to explore further the issue of tonal/triadic origins in Spanish musical practice and theory, the above examples do suggest that *rasgueado* guitar music in 17th-century Spain flowered in well-tilled soil.

32. Quoted in Nigel Fortune, “Giustiniani on Instruments,” *Galpin Society Journal* 5 (1952): 50.
33. Tyler, *The Early Guitar*, 40. A full bibliography of early published guitar music can be found in Meredith Alice McCutcheon, *Guitar and Vihuela: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1985). The numerous surviving manuscripts of early guitar music are inventoried in *RISM*, vol. B/VII (*Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten und Gitarrentabulaturen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Wolfgang Boettichen [Munich, 1978]).
34. Tyler, *The Early Guitar*, 51.
35. It would be beyond the scope of this paper to examine the performance practice and pedagogy of extended-lutes. Suffice it to say that while performers upon these instruments historically tended to be more virtuosic in their playing (producing elaborate contrapuntal textures by the use of *punteado* techniques), a “chordal sensibility” analogous to what we have observed among guitarists can be detected both in their practice and pedagogical formulations. For evidence, see Stanley Bueton, “Theorbo Accompaniments of early Seventeenth Century Italian Monody,” *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 6 (1973): 37–45; and John Walter Hill, “Realized Continuo Accompaniments from Florence c. 1600,” *Early Music* 11 (1983): 194–228.
36. See n. 20.

37. Françoise Denis, "La Guitare en France au XVIIe Siècle: Son importance, son répertoire," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 32/33 (1978–79): 143–50.
38. Quoted in Pinnell, *Francesco Corbetta*, 1:138.
39. *Ibid.*, 1:167.
40. From Giovanni Ambrosio Colonna, *Intavolatura di chitarra alla spagnuola* (Milan, 1620); Antonio Carbonchi, *Le dodici chitarre spostate Libro 2* (Florence, 1643). The excerpted transcriptions are from Richard Hudson, *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaconne*, vol. 3 (Passacaglia), 19; vol. 1 (Folia), 18. In Hudson's short-hand notation of *alfabeto* dance pieces, the indicated bass note represents the "root" of the triad, while the stem the direction of strumming.
41. Giovanni Paolo Foscarini, *Li 5 libri della chitarra alla spagnuola* (Rome, 1640), 1.
42. The literal transcription given here might not sound in practice so harsh as they may first seem, since a guitarist easily could (and often would) dampen the lowest courses with the thumb when these courses were left open. (See Pinnell, *Francesco Corbetta*, 1:55.)
43. Unfortunately, the two classic histories of thorough-bass focus almost exclusively upon keyboard practice: Max Schneider, *Die Anfänge des basso continuo und seiner Bezifferung* (Leipzig, 1918); and Franck T. Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment From a Thorough-Bass* (London, 1931). In the more recent tutor by Peter Williams, the role of hand-plucked instruments in the continuo body is recognized: see *Figured Bass Accompaniment* (Edinburgh, 1970). But Williams inadvertently reinforces the received bias by directing his instructions exclusively to keyboardists and relegating a discussion of hand-plucked instruments to the last subsection of his text.
 One of the few studies to focus upon hand-plucked instruments in the continuo (and include an extensive bibliography of both primary and secondary sources) is Nigel North's eye-opening book, *Continuo Playing on the Lute, Archlute and Theorbo* (London, 1987). Josef Mertin's *Early Music Approaches to Performance Practice*, trans. Siegmund Levarie (New York, 1986) also contains a lively discussion of the "lute continuo" (pp. 67–76).
44. In an important study, Robert Strizich has compiled extensive musical, literary and iconographic evidence documenting the widespread use of the guitar as a continuo instrument in the 17th century: see "L'Accompagnamento di Basso Continuo Sulla Chitarra Barocca," *Il Fronimo*, vol. 34 (1981): 15–26; and vol. 35 (1981): 8–27.
45. See Tyler, *The Early Guitar*, appendix 2, for an extensive listing of 17th-century Italian vocal music with *rasgueado* accompaniments.
46. John Wilson, *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), 271–72.
47. Matteis was another of the many Italian emigres who helped introduce the Spanish guitar to a European-wide audience. See Sylvia Garnsey, "The Use of Hand Plucked Instruments in the Continuo Body: Nicola Matteis," *Music and Letters* 47 (1966): 135–40.
48. Girolamo Kapsberger, *Libro primo di Villanelle* (Rome, 1610), 16. The transcription is from Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (Leipzig, 1919), 194.
49. Robert Strizich has pointed out that toward the end of the 17th century, French guitar accompaniments remained far more chordal in texture than those performed by Italian guitarists, which were becoming increasingly more poly-

- phonic. "L'Accompagnamento di Basso Continuo sulla Chitarra Barocca," part 2, 24.
50. Francesco Corbetta, *La Guitarre Royale* (Paris, 1671), 93. Transcribed in Pinnell, *Francesco Corbetta and the Baroque Guitar*, 2:322.
 51. E. g., Lorenzo Penna, *Li Primi Albori Musicali* (Bologna, 1670); and Friedrich Erhardt Niedt, *Musikalische Handleitung*, 3 vols. (Hamburg, 1700–21). But this teaching method was by no means universal. By the 18th century, a number of theorists (particularly Mattheson) vigorously rejected the coupling of thorough-bass and compositional skills, arguing that the former was merely a kind of mechanical *Handsachen*. For an excellent discussion of this little-recognized but critically important division within thorough-bass pedagogy, see Walter Heimann, *Der Generalbass-Satz und seine Rolle in Bachs Choral-Satz* (Munich, 1973), especially pp. 21–49.
 52. Although the first edition of Amat's treatise stems from 1596, the 8th chapter on thorough bass—"De una Tabla con la qual puede qualquier cifrar el tono, y cantar por doze modos"—was apparently added only to the 1626 edition, after the guitar had become a more familiar continuo instrument. See Pennington, *The Spanish Baroque Guitar*, 1:88–89.
 53. A full explanation and illustration of Amat's somewhat cumbersome algorithm is given by Monica Hall in her article, "The *Guitarra española* of Joan Carles Amat," 367.
 54. Amat, *Guitarra española*, 30.
 55. Dahlhaus, *Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality*, 120. Also see Wendy Hancock, "General Rules for Realising an Unfigured Bass in Seventeenth Century England," *Chelys* 7 (1977): 69–72.
 56. For the respective citations and translations, see Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment*, 75; 83–85; and 112–21. Similar prescriptions for the realization of a diatonic scale can be found in many 17th-century German composition treatises: Wolfgang Schonsleder, *Archectionice Musices Universalis* (Ingolstadt, 1631), 10; and Johannes Crüger, *Synopsis Musica* (Berlin, 1654), 230.
 57. Assuming that Pennington is correct in dating Amat's table to the 1626 edition, the earliest table of scale triads I have been able to identify in the guitar literature stems from 1622: Carlo Milanuzzi, *Primo Scherzo delle ariose vaghezze commode da cantarsi a voce sola nel Clavicembalo, Chitarrone, Arpa, Doppia et altro simile strumenti con le lettere del Alfabetto con l'intavolatura e con la Scala di Musica per la Chitarra alla Spagnola* (Venice, 1622). Milanuzzi's scale triads are cited in Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, 2:176.
 58. Appended to his *Varii Capriccii per la ghitarra spagnuola* (Milan, 1643), and transcribed in Pinnell, *Francesco Corbetta*, 2:142.
 59. *The False consonances*, 8. See Tyler, *The Early Guitar*, 105–6 for a reproduction of the relevant pages from Matteis's treatise.
 60. Hence Thomas Mace's apposite admonition that this rule-of-thumb (called by him a "General Rule for Uniting of Parts") "is an Easier, Certain, and Safe Way to walk by; but He that shall not Play beyond the Rule, had sometimes better be Silent; that is, He must be able (together with the Rule) to Lend His Ear, to the Ayre and Matter of the Composition so, as (upon very many Occasions) He must forsake His rule; and instead of Conchords, pass through all manner of Discords, according to the Humour of the Compositions He shall meet with." Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676), 217.

61. Henry Grénerin, *Livre de Théorbe* (Paris, c. 1670), 37. The transcription is found in North, *Continuo Playing on the Lute, Archlute and Theorbo*, 162. Although this excerpt is from Grénerin's theorbo tutor, a virtually identical pattern is intabulated in his *Livre de guitare*, 91.
62. For that matter, keyboardists often made the same point. Viadana insisted that the organist "is never under any obligation to avoid two Fifths or two Octaves" when playing the *basso continuo*. (See the translation in Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment from a Thorough-Bass*, 18–19.) And Mattheson's voice-leading instructions were continually censored by Arnold as being scandalously lax. (Ibid., 270–83, *passim*.)
63. Many contemporary writers seem conspicuously uncomfortable with some of the realizations prescribed in 17th-century theorbo and guitar tutors, advising students against following any of them too closely (e.g., North, *Continuo Playing on the Lute, Archlute and Theorbo*, 161–2). Not surprisingly, many of them rely heavily upon keyboard treatises for illustrative material. However, North also admits that in a realization such as example 17, "the ear is not greatly offended by, or even aware of the occasional 'imperfect' chord" (p. 163).
64. Rameau makes several references to Champion's work in his own treatise on accompaniment, the *Dissertation sur les différentes méthodes d'accompagnement pour le clavecin, ou pour l'orgue* (Paris, 1732). See especially pp. 7–8.
65. At least in Spain, though, the guitar continued to be widely employed in continuo ensembles, as attested to by several thorough-bass treatises published during the 18th century, including Santiago de Murcia, *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra* (Madrid, 1714); Pablo Minguet Y Yrol, *Reglas, y advertencias generales* (Madrid, 1752); and several reprintings of Amat's *Guitarra española* (the last stemming from sometime in the 1760s). Note may also be made of an Italian manuscript treatise dated 1750, "Uso della chitarra in ogni accompagnamento di ripieno" (D:B Mus. Ms. Theor. 1630).
66. F:Bn Rés VM7 6221.
67. François Champion, *Addition au Traité d'accompagnement et de composition par la règle de l'octave* (Paris, 1730), 19.
68. Ibid.
69. *Traité d'accompagnement et de composition selon la règle des octaves de musique*, 7.
70. *Addition au Traité d'accompagnement*, 38.
71. I have explored in much greater detail the origins, applications, and theoretical ramifications of the *règle de l'octave* in a forthcoming article: "The *règle de l'octave* in Thorough-Bass Theory and Practice," to appear in *Acta Musicologica* (Fall, 1992).
72. See Richard Hudson, "Chordal Aspects of the Italian Dance Style 1500–1650," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 3 (1970): 35–52; and Erich Wolf, *Der vierstimmige homophone Satz: Die stilistischen Merkmale des Kationalsatzes zwischen 1590 und 1630* (Wiesbaden, 1965). See also the sources cited in footnote 2.