



The three musicians by Diego Velasquez (1599-1660). Archiv für Kunst und Geschichte, Gemäldegalerie Berlin-West

One of the most amusing of Cervantes' Novelas ejemplares<sup>1</sup> tells the story of Filipo de Carrizales, a native of Extremadura, who returns to Spain after making his fortune in the New World, and plans to spend his declining years happily wedded to a pretty but impoverished young noblewoman. Alive to the dangers inherent in his role as the ageing husband of a very young girl, he takes elaborate precautions to ensure that Leonora shall have no opportunity to be unfaithful to him.

His domestic arrangements do not go unnoticed by the rich young layabouts of the town, and one of them, Loaysa, makes up his mind to seduce the young wife. Disguised as a beggar, and equipped with a battered guitar which has several broken strings, he first wins over Luis, the negro slave who guards the only entrance to the house. Luis fancies himself as a singer, and Loaysa has little difficulty in persuading him that he should learn to accompany himself on the guitar. Lessons proceed apace with Luis strumming away blissfully unaware that the guitar is out of tune and lacking several strings.

His antics attract the attention of the other servants of the household, and Loaysa is invited to play for them after Carrizales and Leonora have retired to bed. With his guitar now properly strung and in tune, he enthralls them with his rendering of the *Pésame de ello* and with the demoniacal strains of the *zarabanda*, new in Spain at the time. Soon Leonora herself is drawn into the nocturnal revelries. The young couple are discovered apparently (but not actually—this is after all a moral tale!) in flagrante delicto. Carrizales conveniently dies of his distress, but Loaysa gets his come-uppance in the end. Leonora chooses to enter a covent rather than marry him, and he is obliged to take himself and his guitar off to the New World.

What sort of guitar would Loaysa have played, and what might the music with which he wheedled his way into the carefully guarded seclusion of Carrizales' home have sounded like? A valuable source of information about the guitar in Spain during this period is a little treatise by Joan Carles Amat<sup>2</sup> entitled appropriately enough, *Guitarra española*.

Amat was born about 1572 and died on 10 February

Monica Hall, music librarian at Paddington Library in the City of Westminster, has recently compiled a thematic index and bibliography of early guitar music for a Fellowship of the Library Association.

1642. A doctor of medicine, he spent most of his life as medical officer of his native town of Monistrol, near Barcelona, and as physician to the nearby monastery of Montserrat.<sup>3</sup> He was a gifted amateur, and it was primarily for amateurs, such as Loaysa, that *Guitarra española* was written.

The earliest surviving copy is one now in the Newberry Library, Chicago, printed in Lérida by the widow Anglada and Andreu Llorens in 1626.<sup>4</sup> Its introductory pages reproduce the imprimatur of the Bishop of Barcelona dated 5 July 1596, and a dedicatory letter from Amat dated Monistrol, 10 August 1596, which suggest that the book had been printed for the first time in that year.

In his preface to the reader, Amat explains that it is the Spanish temperament which has prompted him to publish his treatise. Spaniards, so he says, are excitable by nature, and anyone wishing to learn the guitar would exhaust his teacher's patience in three days. He has therefore decided to describe the tuning of the five-course guitar and the method of playing it rasgado style so that the pupil can teach himself. He mentions that to the best of his knowledge no one has previously published a book of this kind, and also explains that the guitar is commonly called Spanish because it is more popular in Spain than elsewhere.

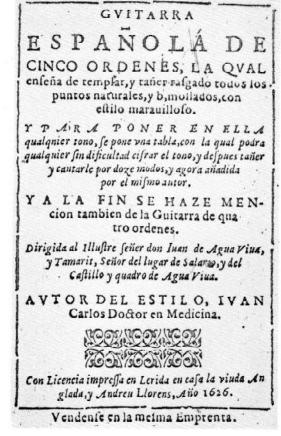
The book is divided into nine chapters.<sup>5</sup> Amat begins by explaining that the guitar has five courses of strings, the first of which (highest in pitch) is single, the second and third doubled in unisons, and the fourth and fifth doubled in octaves. Detailed instructions for tuning are given, but the pitches to which the strings are to be tuned are not specified. A musical example in mensural notation in the text implies a tuning with e' as the first course, which would result in an overall tuning as follows:

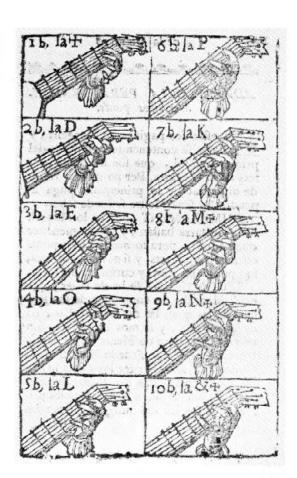
e' bb gg d'd aA

but from what Amat says elsewhere it seems that guitars might be tuned to different pitches.<sup>6</sup> [c'= Middle C]

Amat defines a chord as the pattern made by the fingers on the strings of the guitar as they stop the relevant frets. Each chord is formed differently, but each one has only three voices, the root, third and fifth. Leaving aside diminished or augmented chords and discords ('semitonados y falsos'), there are only twenty-four different chords, twelve of which are major, and twelve minor (N, 'naturales', B, 'mollados'). Minor chords differ from major ones only in that their thirds are minor instead of major. Many of the chords are known by descriptive names, such as cruzado mayor, cruzado menor, vacas altas, vacas baxas,

Left: The title-page of Amat's tutor, in the Lérida edition of 1626 (Newberry Library, Chicago) Right: The positions of the left-hand fingers for ten minor chords as illustrated in the 18th-century reprint of the 1639 edition (British Library, MS 7897 a3 p. 45)

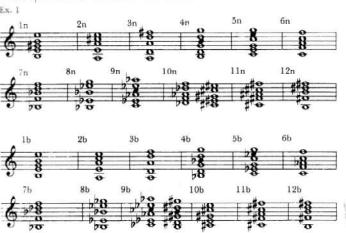




puente, etc, but Amat has decided to refer to them only by the numbers 1 to 12, major chords being distinguished by the letter ['n'] after the figure, minor ones by ['b'].

The twelve major and minor chords are then described one by one; in each case Amat specifies which strings are to be stopped at what frets and which left unstopped. Only four frets are needed to play all the chords. Amat also indicates whether each note in the chord is the root, third or fifth, and emphasizes that it is not necessary for the root to be in the lowest voice with the third in the middle and the fifth on top, but that these may be played on the strings in any order. (The two sequences of chords are written out in five parts, except where a note on the treble string of the fourth or fifth course is not represented by the same note on one of the higher courses, when it is supplied as a black note.)

All examples sound an octave lower than written



All this is summed up by means of an ingenious diagram (Fig. 1). This consists of six concentric rings divided into two halves. Each half is further divided into twelve segments representing the twelve chords. Those in the upper half are major, those in the lower, minor. The outer ring carries the number of the chord; the remaining five represent the five courses of the guitar, that nearest the centre being the first course. For each chord the numbers of the frets to be stopped and the fingers to be used in stopping them are filled in appropriately. The left-hand fingering is designated as follows:

a = index finger;e = second finger;i = third finger;o = fourth finger.

The diagram illustrates very neatly the way in which the roots of the chords proceed from 1 to 12 by steps of ascending perfect fourths. As Amat points out, there can be no more than twelve major and minor chords

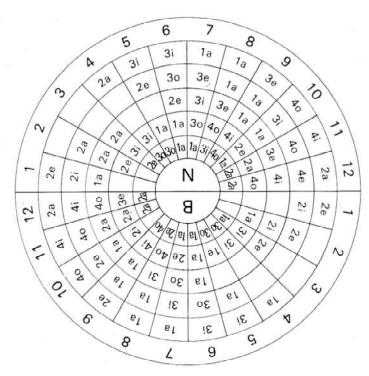


Fig. 1. Amat's circle of 24 chords showing the number of frets to be stopped and which fingers to use

because once 12 is reached in either sequence the next chord, 13, is the same as 1, 14 as 2, and so on. Even if the chords were placed in higher positions on the fingerboard, they are of course still only different combinations of the same notes.

Amat's appreciation of this fact enables him to incorporate two useful features in his notation. Firstly, the ascending notes of the hexachord can be harmonized with root position chords by a rule of thumb. When the distance between one note and the next is a tone, one moves back two chords; when it is a semitone one moves forward five. The procedure works in reverse when the notes descend. Secondly, a sequence of chords may be transposed at will by adding or subtracting the same number throughout. (It will not come as a surprise to readers to learn at this point that Amat also had a reputation as a mathematician!) Amat demonstrates this feature of his notation by writing out the chords of the passeo and vacas in twelve different keys.

These two processes are combined in the table of chords in chapter 8. Amat evidently regarded this as his pièce de résistance, and cannot refrain from boasting about how, when challenged by friends to fit guitar chords to music in five parts by Palestrina, he did so quickly, using his table, and accompanied them as they sang their parts.

The table (Fig. 2) consists of seven lines of ciphers which are arranged in twelve columns. Each line is

preceded by the notes of the hexachord to which it may be applicable. To harmonize a piece of music, its bass line must first be notated in sol-fa. The first chord may then be chosen from any of the twelve columns, from a line corresponding to the appropriate note of the hexachord. Once the first chord has been chosen, all subsequent ones must be taken from the same column, from a line with the same sol-fa name as the bass note. The two overlapping hexachords allow for mutation.

Sometimes the chord which matches the bass note will not in fact fit with the other parts. This usually arises when the chord is inverted and has the third or fifth in the bass, but it can also happen with root position chords in some circumstances. The letters provided on lines 1, 3, 5 and 7 are used to solve this problem. If the chord ciphered against the relevant note of the hexachord does not fit, the same cipher must be looked for on the first line and the letter which accompanies it noted. Lines 3, 5 and 7 are then examined to find out which ciphers accompany the same letter. Among the chords singled out will be one that fits all parts. Chords on line 3 may be major or minor, those on line 5 only major, and those on line 7 only minor.

The table makes no provision for dealing with discords or diminished or augmented chords, and Amat offers no advice as to what to do should these occur. Otherwise it works very well in practice and is as good a way as any of ciphering part-music. It does of course presume a fair degree of musical literacy in the user.

1]	fa, ut	d	f	g	h	1	m	n	p	q	r	x	z
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
2]	sol, re	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
3]	la, mi	р	q	r	x	z	d	f	g	h	1	m	n
		9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
4]	fa	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1
5]	ut, sol	р	q	r	x	z	d	f	g	h	1	m	n
		12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
6]	re, la	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
7]	mi	хb	zb	db	fb	gb	hb	1b	mb	nb	рb	qb	rb
		8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Fig. 2, Amat's table of harmonization and transposition.



Ex. 2, a simple accompaniment realized by Amat

Amat concludes by explaining that one, two or three different chords may be needed in each bar depending on the frequency with which the harmony changes. He also explains that where the parts proceed imitatively the ciphers are calculated from whichever voice happens to be lowest until the bass enters.

The final chapter deals with the four-course guitar, which seems to have continued in popularity along-side the five-course instrument. It is tuned like the five-course guitar, but lacks the fifth course.

An enlarged version of the treatise appeared in 1639.8 In this a further five chapters entitled Tractat brev are added to the nine of 1626.9 The main points of the earlier part of the book are summarized, and another instrument, the vandola, briefly introduced. The guitar chords are again described and illustrated in two pages of sketches showing the left hand in action on the fingerboard. There are only ten sketches to a page, chords 11 and 12 being omitted in each case, as they are formed in the same way as chords 6 and 7, but placed one fret higher. Each chord is accompanied both by its cipher qualified by ['N'] or ['B'] according to Amat's own system and by the corresponding letter of the Italian guitar alphabet. Evidently Amat was familiar with these by this time and takes it for granted that his readers will be too, as he mentions them without comment in the accompanying text.10

The vandola was a six-course instrument, tuned like the lute in fourths, with a major third between the third and fourth courses. The manner in which the strings of each course were doubled is not clear. The sixth course of the vandola was tuned to the same pitch as the fourth course of the guitar, resulting in relative tunings as follows:

Guitar e' bb gg d'd aA Vandola d'' a' e' c' g d

The same twenty-four chords can be played on the vandola, although the left-hand fingering needs to be amended because of the sixth course. The higher tuning also results in the whole series being transposed up a fourth so that chord 1 will be A, chord 2, D and so on.

No further details of the instrument are given and its identity remains conjectural. However, a later treatise by Minguet y Irol<sup>11</sup> which describes the instruments commonly played by amateurs at the time, sheds some light on the mystery. The section on the guitar borrows extensively from Amat and from Sanz,<sup>12</sup> and Amat's chapter on the vandola is printed in full. The instruments discussed in the book are illustrated on the title page<sup>13</sup> (see below); amongst them may be seen three mandolin-like ones, with four, five and six strings. Perhaps the six-stringed instrument is a vandola.

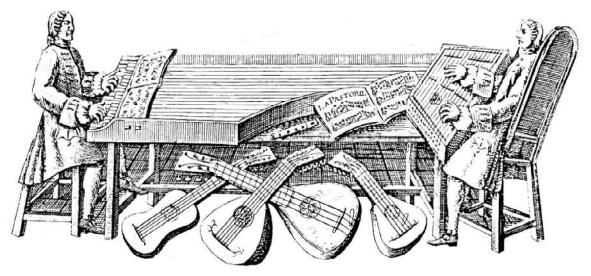
The frequency with which Amat's Guitarra española was reprinted testifies to the continuing popularity in Spain of the style of playing which it describes. It would still have been in circulation at a time when Sor was beginning to make a career for himself as a composer and guitarist. Curiously little of the actual music has survived in Spanish printed sources. In 1626 the expatriate Brizeño published a collection of pieces in Paris, 14 some fifty years later Sanz and Ribayaz 15 included rasgado pieces in their tablatures, and a few pieces are to be found still later in the treatise of Minguet y Irol. Otherwise the music comes from Italy, where perhaps due to the long-standing political ties

between the two countries, playing the guitar seems to have been as, if not more, popular. Existing collections of music by Italian composers printed in Italy, both of the popular *rasgado* kind, and later in the more sophisticated *punteado* style, far outnumber those of Spanish provenance.

Rasgado guitar music is purely chordal in style, lacking a discernible melody and a proper bass line. Amat likens his chords to the colours of a painter's palette, and compares their use in the composition of dance themes ('tonadillas') with the way in which an artist blends his colours to paint a lion or a bull. He mentions passeos, vacas, gallardas, villanos, Italianas, pavanillas and sezarillos (seguidillas), and uses the chords of the passeo and vacas to demonstrate transposition.

Although he does not indicate whether the chords of the vacas are major or minor, suitably amended they are identifiable as those of the discant bass theme Guárdame las vacas, also known as the romanesca. This and three other similar chord rows form the basis of most rasgado guitar dance music. 16 The chord rows are as follows:

Several dances are related to each chord row, and are differentiated from one another by phrase structure, by the way in which the chords are distributed within the phrases, by metre and to a lesser extent by characteristic rhythmic patterns. Although created from the simplest of resources and relying for their overall effect mainly on repetition, there is something about them which is very compelling. The passeo, or pasacalle, 18 for which Amat also gives the chords, is not



Music makers and their instruments; the title-page of Pablo Minguet y Irol's Reglas y advertencias . . . (1752-4). Is the six-stringed instrument a vandola?

itself a dance, but is used with other dances as a ritornello or interlude between statements of the dance proper. Its function is to allow the dancers time to assume their positions for each round of the dance.

Amat does not give any indication of metre or stroke-patterns in his examples, and does not in fact discuss this aspect of performance at all. 'Rasgado' means, of course, striking the five strings of the guitar simultaneously with some or all of the fingers of the right hand, in a downward (from bass to treble) or upward (treble to bass) direction. The strokes are executed in down/up patterns to match the metre of the music, the simplest being down/down/up in triple time, down/up/down/up in duple or common time, as exemplified by the pieces of Ribayaz. But more complicated strumming patterns were often used. In Italian sources the pieces often have a rhythmic motif which is repeated either whenever the harmony changes, or in such a way that the two overlap without coinciding, creating a syncopated kind of effect. Occasionally the player may be instructed to play 'con trilli', trillo being a rasgado-style ornament.19

Amongst the dances most popular in Spain around the turn of the century were the zarabanda,20 chacona,21 folia,22 canario and villano. All are in triple time, and with the exception of the folia, seem to favour the chord row of the passamezzo moderno. The folia, whilst adhering to its characteristic I-V-I-VII progression is usually in the major mode. All were sung dances, the words often taking the form of a four-line strophe with a two- or four-line refrain. The chords were used as a single-phrase ostinato repeated for each line of the text or fashioned into a two-phrase structure used twice for the strophe and once or twice for the refrain. A selection of such poems is printed by Brizeño and they make entertaining if not always edifying reading. They are ciphered23 and several of them have the rhythm somewhat ambiguously notated as well,24 but melodies are not included. Various attempts have been made to reconstruct these25 either from the chords themselves or from punteado versions with the same titles. They were probably, like the chord sequences themselves, simple and repetitive. As well as the guitar, and perhaps the vandola, castanets or sonajas-wooden rings with metal discs attached to them which made a great deal of noise when struck or shaken-were used to accompany the dancing.26

The origins of these dances are obscure, not to say controversial. It has been suggested on the one hand that the *zarabanda* may have come to Europe from the New World,<sup>27</sup> on the other that it is of Arab-

Andalucian descent.28 Popular texts for the chacona allude to the New World. The canario is often linked with the Canary Isles; the folia may be Portuguese. Their proper milieu was that of the masquerade, street carnival and theatre, usually an open-air form of entertainment at the time.29 The dance steps were exotic and energetic in character, involving the arms as well as the feet and including such movements as stamping, swaying the hips, tossing the hair and rolling the eyes. By the standards of the day they were regarded as scandalously uninhibited, and were occasionally the subject of prohibitive legislation. A decree of 1583 banned the singing or reciting of the zarabanda on pain of two hundred lashes followed by six years in the galleys for men or banishment for women, and other dances were specifically proscribed from time to time.30

Much of this seems far removed from Amat's often rather cerebral approach to the instrument and its repertoire, and it is as well to remember that the guitar also played an important part in more restrained domestic music-making. With the growing popularity of the song with continuo accompaniment, the guitar began to be used as an accompanying instrument, either alone or with other continuo instruments. Numerous volumes of secular vocal music in one, two, three or four parts, with guitar chords, and often a separately notated bass line, were published in Italy during the early 17th century, among them one by the Spanish composer Juan Arañés.<sup>31</sup> Sometimes these songs take the same forms, and use the same chord sequences as actual dance music, although treated in a

The title-page of the British Library copy of the Guitarra Española (MS 7897a3)



more sophisticated way—one of Arañés's pieces, for examples, is a *chacona*.

This part of the early guitar's repertoire seems to have gone almost unnoticed by publishers and performers alike, which is a pity since many of the songs are charming and make comparatively modest demands on guitarist or singer.<sup>32</sup> In addition, there is a great deal of music from Palestrina downwards which, although not specifically intended to be performed in this way, would with the help of Amat's little table of chords, lend itself to this style of performance. In more ways than one, Amat gives us a fascinating insight into the amateur music-making of his day.

<sup>4</sup> 'The jealous Extremaduran', Exemplary Stories, trans. C. A. Jones (Harmondsworth, 1972).

<sup>2</sup> This is the Catalán spelling. The Castillian (Spanish) is Juan Carlos Amat. Carles was the author's father's surname, Amat that of his mother and Carles should therefore be his principle surname. I have called him Amat throughout as this seems to be how he is best known today.

<sup>3</sup> For further biographical details see Emilio Pujol, 'Significación de Joan Carlos Amat en la historia de la guitarra', Anuario musical, v

(1950), p. 125.

\* The Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, possesses a copy with the same imprint, but dated 1627. The 1626 version was reprinted in 1640 and 1674; for details see Antonio Palau y Dulcet, Manual del librero hispano-americano (Barcelona, 1948).

5 In Castillian.

\* Several different methods of tuning the two strings of the fourth and fifth courses are encountered in 17th- and 18th-century sources. That described by Amat is the one most often recommended for popular rasgado style music. For detailed discussion of the tuning of the baroque guitar see Sylvia Murphy, 'The tuning of the 5-course guitar', Galpin Society Journal, xxiii (1970), p. 49, and Donald Gill, 'The stringing of the 5-course baroque guitar', Early Music, 3/4 (Oct 1975), p. 370.

Baxete', 'alto', and 'tiple'—literally, bass, alto and treble.

8 Pujol states that this version was first printed in Gerona by Francisco Oliva in 1639. It was reprinted several times during the 18th century. For a full list of imprints see Palau y Dulcet, op cit.

The Tractat brev is in Catalán or Valencian according to the place of printing. It is described on the title page as being for those who do

not understand the Castillian text.

<sup>10</sup> The Italian guitar alphabet may have antedated Amat's system of notation. It is used in a manuscript of Francisco Palumbi's *Libro de villanelle Spagnuol et Italiane et sonate spagnuole*, which is undated, but for which the date 1595 has been suggested by Daniel Devoto, '¿Qué es la zarabanda? Part 2', *Boletin Interamericano de música*, 51 (January 1966), p. 3. I am indebted to James Tyler for pointing this out to me and for his helpful comments on the present article.

11 Reglas y advertencias generales que enseñan el modo de tañer todos los

instrumentos mejores (Madrid, 1752-4).

- <sup>12</sup> Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española (Zaragoça, 1674). Facsimile ed. (Zaragoça, 1966).
- Also reproduced on the cover of Early Music, 4/1 (January 1976).
  Metodo mui facilissimo para aprender a tañer la guitarra (Paris, 1626).
  Facsimile ed. (Geneva, 1972).
- 15 Luz, y norte musical (Madrid, 1677). Facsimile ed. (Geneva, 1976).
- <sup>16</sup> For a detailed discussion of these chord rows and their use in early guitar music see Richard Hudson, 'The concept of mode in Italian guitar music during the first half of the seventeenth century', *Acta musicologica*, xlii, 3-4 (1970), p. 163; and 'Chordal aspects of the

Italian dance style 1500-1650', Journal of the Lute Society of America, iii (1970), p. 35.

<sup>17</sup> The chord-row names are those in current use today. They were not always so called in contemporary sources, and in the context of early guitar music they refer in each case to only one of the several different dances related to the same chord row.

<sup>18</sup>For the pasacalles see Thomas Walker, 'Ciacona and passacaglia: remarks on their origin and early history', Journal of the American Musicological Society, xxi, 3 (1968), p. 300; Richard Hudson, 'Further remarks on the passacaglia and ciaccona', JAMS, xxii, 7 (1970) p. 302; 'The ripresa, the ritornello and the passacaglia, JAMS, xxiv, 3 (1971), p. 364; The development of Italian keyboard variations on the passacaglia and ciaccona from guitar music in the seventeenth century (University Microfilms 68-219). The last item is a valuable source of information on early guitar music in general.

<sup>19</sup> As for example in Pietro Millioni's Quarto libro d'intavolatura di chitarra spagnuola (Rome, 1627). For more detailed discussion of rasgado technique see Sylvia Murphy, 'Seventeenth-century guitar music: notes on rasgueado performance', Galpin Society Journal, xxi

(1968), p. 24.

<sup>20</sup> For the zarabanda see Richard Hudson, 'The zarabanda and zarabanda francese in Italian guitar music of the early 17th century', Musica disciplina, xxiv (1970), p. 125; Daniel Devoto, '¿ Qué es la zarabanda? Part 1', Boletin Interamericano de musica, xlv (January 1965), p. 8; Part 2, op cit.

21 For the chacona see items on the pasacalles by Hudson and Walker,

op cit.

<sup>22</sup> For the *folia* see Richard Hudson, 'Folia dance and the folia formula in seventeenth century guitar music', *Musica disciplina*, xxv (1971), p. 199; 'The folia, fedele and falsobordone', *Musical Quarterly*, Iviii, 3 (July 1972), p. 298; 'The folia melodies', *Acta musicologica*, xlv, 1 (1973), p. 98.

<sup>23</sup> With Castillian ciphers, also used by Ribayaz. These differ considerably from those of Amat. Amat's ciphers are usually referred to

by his contemporaries as the estilo catalán.

<sup>24</sup> On the interpretation of Brizeño's rhythmic notation see Hudson, 'The development of Italian keyboard variations', op cit, pp. 112-123.

- <sup>25</sup> See especially José Castro Escudero, 'La méthode pour la guitare de Luis Brizeño', *Revue de Musicologie*, li, 2 (1965), p. 131; 'Addition à l'article de D. Devoto sur la sarabande', *RM*, xlvii (1961), p. 122.
- <sup>26</sup> Definition of 'sonajas' in Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1611).
- <sup>27</sup> See Robert Stevenson, 'The first dated mention of the sarabande', Journal of the American Musicological Society, v, 1 (1952), p. 29.

28 See Daniel Devoto, '¿ Qué es la zarabanda?', op cit.

- <sup>29</sup> On the Spanish theatre of the period see introduction to Pedro Calderon de la Barca, *Four Plays*, trans. E. Honig (New York, 1961).
- <sup>30</sup> For a detailed and well-documented description of the dancing see Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de entremeses . . . desde fines del siglo XVI a medíados del XVIII* (Madrid, 1911); also items by Hudson and Walker mentioned above.
- <sup>31</sup> Libro segundo de tonos y villancicos a una, dos, tres y quatro voces con la zifra de la guitarra espannola a la usanza Romana (Rome, 1624). Two of the songs, a facsimile of one of them and of the title page, and a list of contents are included in Monumentos de la música española, xxxi: "Cancioneros españoles del siglo XVII".
- <sup>32</sup> The few songs of this kind which have been published in various anthologies usually have written-out keyboard or guitar accompaniments which combine the bass line and harmony in a way that does not convey any real idea of how they would sound if performed in the manner indicated in the originals.

I am very grateful to Brian Jeffrey for letting me see a photocopy of the Newberry Library copy of *Guitarra española*. A facsimile of the 1627 copy in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, with an introduction and English translation by Brian Jeffrey is to be published by Tecla Editions with Albatros Ediciones.