

CHAPTER FOUR THE FIVE-COURSE GUITAR AND ACCOMPANIMENTAL PRACTICE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The five-course guitar has long been cited as an influence on seventeenth-century harmonic practice, but the specifics of that influence remain vague, especially in terms of continuo practice in early- and mid-century Italy. While many scholars have made general mention of the use of block chords and of unprepared dissonances by guitarists, there has until now been little specific advice as to how such typical “guitaristic” effects might have functioned in continuo realizations. This is partly due to scholarly focus; as discussed in Chapter 2, much of the recent work on early alfabeto sources has been done with an eye towards establishing the impact of strummed guitar on the development of solo song in Italy. For this reason scholars such as John Walter Hill have emphasized the practice of strummed guitar as it existed in its prototypical state around the turn of the seventeenth century; details of the interaction between guitar and continuo in later repertories, after the advent of solo song, are of less interest for these scholars.¹ And studies investigating the relationship between continuo and strummed guitar on a more general level tend to founder on the specifics. Such studies are often hampered by confusion regarding the distinction between what I have termed “non-practical” and “integrated” sources.

This distinction, which has not previously been made, offers a way to separate the wheat from the chaff, as it were. Certain harmonic progressions, that at first glance appear to be at odds with standard continuo practice, occur regularly in the

¹ For a discussion of these studies, see Chapter 2, above, pp. 42-46.

integrated alfabeto repertory, especially as a means of increasing harmonic tension at cadences. Since the integrated alfabeto repertory gives every evidence, as discussed in Chapter 3, of being printed with attention to the alfabeto chords and an understanding of unwritten practices, I suggest that these harmonic progressions constitute an accurate portrayal of contemporary practice. Furthermore, there is reason to believe that these guitaristic harmonies were imitated by other instruments and so became part of the harmonic language of the seventeenth century. If so, then a promising field for future research is available in the search for guitaristic harmonies in continuo realizations from the mid- to late-seventeenth century.

Dissonances used to increase tension at cadences provide the clearest examples of the guitar's influence on seventeenth-century continuo practice. In my analysis of the integrated alfabeto repertory I have discovered that parallel triad motion in the alfabeto, seemingly a relic of the older, non-practical bass-note formula, appears consistently in a specific harmonic context; namely, over cadential movement by step in the bass. At these points the use of two root-position guitar chords (with "root position" being defined in relation to the continuo notes) creates a conflict between the guitar chord and the implied harmony in the continuo on the first of the two harmonies, thus a "cadential clash." These cadential clashes will be described in more detail below. As discussed in Chapter 3, the integrated alfabeto editors largely avoid such conflicts in the absence of cadential motion. Their appearance in the integrated repertory therefore suggests an intentional usage that conforms to contemporary practice.

Scholars have long agreed that the guitar was part of a shift in harmonic thinking and practice that took place over the course of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Craig Russell, for instance, describes a “new school of thought in the seventeenth century” in which “the vertical alignment of sounds, as opposed to the horizontal, became paramount,” and adds that “no instrument better represents this radical transformation than the guitar, which was at the forefront of the revolution from the horizontal to the vertical.”² This is not to say that the guitar was the sole progenitor of chordal thinking in Italy. It is true, as Carl Dahlhaus has pointed out, that the “rule-of-sixths” found in early Italian continuo treatises does show an understanding of vertical harmonies above a bass note.³ Bianciardi, Banchieri, and Sabbatini all suggest a rule-of-thumb approach to adding harmonies above a bass, where a fifth and third is assumed unless the bass note presents the hexachord syllable *mi*, in which case the sixth and third is used.⁴ Likewise, these early guides also prescribe major or minor intervals above the bass according to the intervallic movement in the bass line. But the unique stringing, tuning, and playing technique

² Craig Russell, “Radical Innovations, Social Revolutions, and The Baroque Guitar,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Guitar*, edited by Victor Anand Coelho (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 153.

³ Carl Dahlhaus, *Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality*, translated by Robert O. Gjerdingen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 120.

⁴ Adriano Banchieri, *L’Organo suonarino* (Venice: Amadino, 1605); Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regola per imparare’ a sonare sopra il Basso* (Siena: Zucchi, 1607); Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile, e breve per sonare sopra il basso continuo, nell’organo, manacordo, ò simile stromento* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1628); for an overview of the early Italian treatises see Augusta Campagne, “Die Anfänge des Generalbasses oder: Die Praxis des Begleitens im Italienische Früh-Barock,” *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 19 (1995): 9-31; and Irmtraut Freiberg, *Der frühe italienische Generalbass dargestellt anhand der Quellen von 1595 bis 1655* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2004).

associated with the five-course guitar creates a much more intense focus on the chord itself. In guitar accompaniment, as Thomas Christensen writes, “triads are not seen as intervallic composites but are conceived, notated, and played as self-sufficient entities, irrespective of any voice-leading or inversionsal considerations.”⁵ James Tyler concurs, referring to guitar chords as “units of pure block harmony” which represent a “radically new way of thinking about harmony, so different from traditional counterpoint,” and continues, “By its very nature, the guitar encourages the player to think about harmony in the new way, rather than in terms of traditional counterpoint.”⁶ Likewise, in reference what he terms the “special style of popular social music” associated with the five-course guitar, Richard Hudson writes that “the rasgueado chords of the guitar, which produced neither discant nor bass-line, represented the chordal ideal of this style in its purest form.”⁷ I propose that the search for specifics of this “new” harmonic practice might begin with the examples set out in this chapter.

Previous scholarship has tended to portray “guitaristic” accompaniment in this period as involving a general freedom from conventional standards. Thomas Christensen states that strummed guitar practice “demonstrated that a successful continuo realization did not always require a scrupulous observance of voice leading

⁵ Thomas Christensen, “The Spanish Baroque Guitar and Seventeenth-Century Triadic Theory,” *Journal of Music Theory* 36 (1992), 28.

⁶ James Tyler, “The Role of the Guitar in the Rise of Monody: The Earliest Manuscripts,” *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 9/1 (2003), par. 1.5, <http://www.sscm-jscm.org/jscm/v9/no1/Tyler.html>.

⁷ Richard Hudson, introduction to *The Folia, the Sarabande, the Passacaglia, and the Chaconne: Four Forms that Originated in Music for the Five-Course Spanish Guitar*, (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänslers-Verlag, 1982), xii.

rules.”⁸ Craig Russell notes the unique approach to embellishment in the alfabeto repertory, in which dissonant chords are used “to further spice up the harmonic palette.”⁹ Silke Leopold makes a case for the primacy of practice over theory in solo song accompaniment in general, and especially in view of guitar accompaniment: “it is remarkable that, after the theoretical controversies in Florence, there is no longer any surviving written theoretical discussion of solo song, although in this very century such an extraordinary amount was changing in the nature of musical composition. Theory says nothing about the canzonets – they were sung, and not discussed.”¹⁰ And Paul O’Dette connects guitaristic dissonance to compositional practice in the eighteenth century, suggesting that “this aspect of Baroque guitar practice may have inspired the *acciaccaturi* that add so much spice to the music of Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1757) and Antonio Soler (1729-83).”¹¹

O’Dette is the only one of the above authors to give a specific example of such a dissonance; he transcribes the non-triadic “L” chord, the use of which is supported by numerous alfabeto chord charts. But other attempts to make sense of guitaristic accompaniments have foundered when confronted with the non-practical editorial procedures in the early sources, causing many authors to throw up their hands and abandon the enterprise. Nigel Fortune bemoans “the practice of providing

⁸ Christensen, “Spanish Baroque Guitar,” 31.

⁹ Russell, “Radical Innovations,” 155.

¹⁰ Silke Leopold, “Remigio’s Romano’s Collections of Lyrics for Music,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 110 (1983), 57.

¹¹ Paul O’Dette, “Plucked String Instruments,” in *A Performer’s Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, edited by Stewart Carter (New York: Schirmer, 1997), 234.

every song with letters for the guitar, even when, as in more serious songs, they were wildly inappropriate (in the same way do the publishers of popular sheet music today pepper their pages with tablature for the ukulele).”¹² Robert Strizich, correctly noting the impracticality of the alfabeto in Kapsperger’s songs, condemns alfabeto notation in general as an editorial device rather than viable musical notation.¹³ Thomas Christensen, also working from one of Kapsperger’s pieces, calls the alfabeto “downright clumsy,” concluding somewhat plaintively that “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.”¹⁴ None of these studies were able to draw viable information from the early, “pure” alfabeto sources, pointing instead to later notational developments in which the guitar parts were notated more precisely.

THREE LEVELS OF GUITAR ACCOMPANIMENT

But the purely strummed style has more to offer when analyzed in the context of the integrated alfabeto sources; the practical approach to alfabeto notation in these sources suggests that the ubiquitous cadential clashes are an intentional part of the guitar accompaniment. Furthermore, in the printed alfabeto song repertory these cadential clashes rely on the combination of strummed guitar with continuo, but in later sources they are created by the guitar part itself. These later sources contain a mixture of *battuto* (strummed, either indicated with stroke marks or chord symbols)

¹² Nigel Fortune, “Italian Secular Song from 1600 to 1635: The Origins and Development of Accompanied Monody” (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1953), 136-37.

¹³ Robert Strizich, “L’accompagnamento di basso continuo sulla chitarra barocca, II,” *Il Fronimo* 9/35 (1981), 8-9.

¹⁴ Christensen, “Spanish Baroque Guitar,” 23.

and *punteado* (single plucked notes, usually indicated with lute-style tablature) notation. The persistence in these sources of the guitaristic cadential clashes seems to confirm that they were part of the contemporary harmonic language rather than merely a byproduct of alfabeto notation. Therefore a certain continuity must have existed between the earlier alfabeto strumming and the later, more varied guitar practice that included plucked notes and non-chord tones. Such a continuity would obtain in an environment of varied approaches to guitar performance, in which guitarists sometimes used a completely strummed style, in consort with other instruments and alone, and sometimes modified their strummed style by adding plucked notes and non-triadic harmonies.

I will make the case for such an environment by positing three levels of guitar accompaniment to continuo song, basing my categories on surviving materials.

These three levels, which I will develop over the course of the chapter, are as follows:

1. Simple alfabeto

This level represents a performance created solely on the basis of the vocal line and the notated alfabeto, without reference to the continuo;

2. Informed alfabeto

This level represents the style of a performer who, although reading primarily from the alfabeto, is well enough informed to correct faulty alfabeto notation, as well as to add suspensions where appropriate and perhaps to incorporate some walking bass lines, flourishes, etc.;

3. Complete realization

This level represents a realization of the basso continuo part solely on the basis of the continuo line without reference to alfabeto symbols.

Level one, “simple alfabeto,” is the one most obviously expressed by alfabeto notation, and there is reason to believe that the guitar was often played in this manner, that is, by relying completely on strummed chords. It is true that trained musicians, especially those familiar with the lute or theorbo, might well have adapted lute technique to the guitar. But little evidence of this survives from before Giovanni Paolo Foscarini’s solo guitar book (c. 1630), which introduced “mixed tablature” notation incorporating alfabeto symbols into lute-style tablature.¹⁵ And for the preceding three decades five-course guitar books used on alfabeto symbols exclusively, which suggests a large pool of guitarists relying on simple alfabeto technique. This observation has been made by Sylvia Murphy, who also cites contemporary assertions that strummed technique was the primary means of playing the guitar in the early part of the century.¹⁶ Furthermore, the right-hand position described in these sources would make punteado performance awkward; in Pietro Millioni’s 1627 alfabeto book, the player is instructed to play “between the rose and the neck.”¹⁷ This position is perfect for strumming, but the right hand would need to

¹⁵ Giovanni Paolo Foscarini, *Il primo, seco[n]do, e terzo libro delle chitarra spagnola* (n.p., publisher unknown [1630?]); see Gary Boye, “The Baroque Guitar: Printed Music from 1606-1737,” <http://www.library.appstate.edu/music/guitar/1630foscarini.html>.

¹⁶ Sylvia Murphy, “Seventeenth-Century Guitar Music: Notes on Rasgueado Performance,” *The Galpin Society Journal* 21 (1968), 25-26.

¹⁷ “Tra la rosa, & il manico.” Pietro Millioni, *Secondo impressione del quarto libro d’intavolatura di chitarra spagnola* (Rome: Guglielmo Facciotti, 1627), quoted in Murphy, “Seventeenth-Century Guitar Music,” 27.

jump downwards towards the bridge to produce a good sound on a single plucked string. A discrete right-hand position therefore seems to have been used for playing in the strummed style.

But the five-course guitar was very much in use as part of the continuo ensemble at this time. Agazzari mentions the “chitarrina” as part of a group of instruments embodying “imperfect harmony” in his 1607 treatise, and descriptions of the continuo groups in *intermezzi* and early operas make reference to guitarists.¹⁸ The care with which the alfabeto is set with regards to the continuo line in the integrated alfabeto songbooks argues for a mixed performance, in chamber settings, of strummed guitar and other continuo instruments, a combination also supported by iconographic evidence.¹⁹ Strummed guitar may even have accompanied music in the absence of alfabeto notation, given that from 1620 onwards alfabeto charts were provided with *scale di musica* that prescribed alfabeto chords for any given continuo note according to key signature. These charts were designed to allow amateurs to accompany music from the continuo line using nothing but strummed chords. Biagio Marini also included alfabeto symbols in a 1655 publication of sonatas for strings and continuo; again, his use of alfabeto symbols assumes a guitarist who cannot predict

¹⁸ Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra'l basso con tutti li stromenti e dell'uso loro nel conserto*, (Siena: Domenico Falcini, 1607; facsimile reprint Bologna: Forni, 2002), 4. For examples of the guitar in *intermezzi* and operas see Tyler, *Guitar and Its Music*, 33-35, 67.

¹⁹ For reproductions of paintings and bibliographies of iconographical sources, see Frederick Grunfeld, *The Art and Times of the Guitar* (London: Macmillan, 1969), 91-122; Robert Strizich, “L’accompagnamento di basso continuo sulla chitarra barocca, I,” *Il Fronimo* 9/34 (January, 1981), 25-26; Mario Dell’Ara, “Iconografia della chitarra, parte terza; secolo XVII,” *Il Fronimo* 9/40 (1982), 12-26; and Peter Paffgen, *Die Gitarre* (Mainz; Schott, 2002), 70-122.

the harmonies by reading the continuo line, and will therefore simply follow the alfabeto chords.²⁰

The second of my three levels, “informed alfabeto,” would have been practiced by guitarists with enough musical training or facility to enhance the simple alfabeto performance with short melodic runs and non-chord tones. This level still basically adheres to the alfabeto tradition, with various small-scale modifications. The evidence for this type of accompaniment comes partly from alfabeto sources that leave certain harmonic choices to the player, therefore assuming a performer capable of making those decisions, and partly from sources that incorporate single notes and additional harmonies into alfabeto notation. The latter sources convey musical information above and beyond the pure alfabeto, demonstrating not only that the professional guitarists writing the books had such knowledge, but also that the amateurs who played from these sources were acquiring such knowledge. All the above evidence pertains to the guitar as accompaniment, either to the voice or to melodic instruments; further evidence for the “informed alfabeto” style can be found in solo guitar dances, which use the same alfabeto notation and are found in the same manuscript sources as the alfabeto songs.

Certain modifications to the alfabeto system have roots as old as the strummed guitar itself. Joan Carles Amat’s 1596 tutor is the earliest surviving print to lay out strummed chord notation. In Amat’s system, which was partly designed to facilitate chordal accompaniment to vocal music, decisions about inversion and chord quality

²⁰ Biagio Marini, *Sonate da chiesa e da camera opera xxii* (Venice: Francesco Magni, 1655).

are left to the judgment of the player; Amat, in other words, assumes an “informed” player who can surmount the deficiencies of the notation.²¹ The instructions in Crescenzo Salzilli’s two alfabeto songbooks from 1616 regarding the “f” chord make the same assumption—that the guitarist can judge whether the major or minor triad should be played.²² And Biagio Marini’s 1622 alfabeto songbook contains a chart with altered alfabeto chords for use at cadences (see Fig. 4.1); Marini calls them “very necessary.”

Marini’s alterations may well exemplify the kinds of liberties that strummed guitarists had already commonly been taking with the alfabeto chords. The idiomatic nature of Marini’s altered chords reinforces this assumption. In each case, Marini’s alterations are suited to the practicalities of the left hand, not prescribed by a consistent theoretical model. The G major cadence, for instance (“.C.C A”), incorporates a 4-3 suspension but excludes the seventh from the dominant chord, because it is easier to play that way: the third finger on the second course, being present in both chords, provides a stable transition to the tonic. Were the seventh used, it would be replace the third finger on the second course and thereby complicate

²¹ Joan Carles Amat, *Guitarra española* (Lerida: Llorens, 1626 [1596]); Amat’s system will be more fully explained in Chapter 5, below.

²² See Chapter 2, above, p.81.

Queste fano aggiunte, & sono molto necessarie, massime nelle cadenze, & se ne trouerà molte nelle compositioni di questo libro.



.A.A B	.B.B G	.C.C A	.F.F I	.G.G H
3 2 3	3 3 3	0 0 2	2 2 0	3 3 1
0 3 2	3 2 3	0 0 0	0 0 2	1 1 3
0 0 0	0 0 2	2 2 0	2 1 2	3 2 3
3 3 1	1 1 1	3 3 3	0 0 2	1 1 3
3 3 0	1 0 1	3 2 3	0 0 0	1 1 1

Cadenza del A. Del B. & segue.



.H.H M	.I.I C	.R.R F	*
1 1 1	0 0 0	2 2 2	3
3 3 1	2 2 0	4 4 2	1
3 3 3	2 2 2	4 4 1	0
4 3 4	3 2 3	5 4 0	1
1 1 3	0 0 2	2 2 0	3

La Stella è lettera noua.

Queste sono dunque tutte le cadenze principali, e però stijno auertire nel trouar che faranno la sudetta sorte di lettere legate, & pontate.




Figure 4.1: Cadential Alfabeto Symbols in Marini, *Scherzi e canzonette a una, e due voci* (Parma: Anteo Viotti, 1622), With Suggested Transcription. *Note:* an instrument with *bourdons* on both the 4th and 5th courses has been assumed in making these transcriptions (see Introduction for information on guitar stringing).

the chord change. The A major cadence (“F.F I”), on the other hand, is actually easier to finger with a dominant seventh chord, since in the altered “.F” chord the seventh is sounded by an open course. Because it is easily accessible, it is included, a practical solution that accords well with amateur practice.

Other guitar sources, beyond the alfabeto song repertory, provide guides for continuo realization using “mixed tablature” (that is, punteado additions to alfabeto symbols), therefore instructing guitarists in an “informed alfabeto” approach. The first surviving mixed tablature book, as mentioned above, is Foscarini’s *Il primero, secondo, e terzo libro* (c. 1630), which contains dance movements for solo guitar. Given the close connections between song and dance in the alfabeto repertory, we may assume that guitarists were using similar techniques in song accompaniment as in strummed dances. This assumption is strengthened by a section in Foscarini’s 1640 reprint that includes guidelines for continuo realization on the guitar, where single notes and cadential progressions in the continuo are given suggested guitar harmonizations using mixed notation.²³ Such a continuo realization would of course be of equal value in vocal or instrumental music.

A mixture of strummed and plucked performance in guitar continuo realizations is also confirmed by Francesco Corbetta’s *Varii capricii* (1643) and Giovanni Battista Granata’s *Soavi concenti* (1659), both of which give similar guides

²³ Giovanni Paolo Foscarini, *Li cinque libri della chitarra alla spagnola* (Rome: publisher unknown, 1640; facsimile reprint Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1979), 133-34.

for guitar accompaniment using a mixture of *battute* and *punteado* notation.²⁴

Granata has left us an additional, more detailed example of how such an accompaniment might have sounded: in his *Novi capricci* various ensemble pieces are notated in score format for treble-clef instrument and continuo.²⁵ According to the title page the intended instruments are “chitarra spagnola, violino, e viola concertati.” Facing each page of music a guitar accompaniment is notated in mixed tablature, which uses alfabeto symbols for the basic harmonies and adds *punteado* notation incorporating material from both the continuo and the melody. The guitar accompaniment sometimes doubles the solo line and sometimes harmonizes in sixths or thirds. These mixed tablature sources are important not only as examples of contemporary practice but also as disseminators of that practice, giving amateur guitarists the means to accompany any piece with continuo notation.

Alfabeto-text manuscripts, which often mirror the repertory found in the alfabeto songbooks, also suggest an informed approach to strummed practice. Most of these manuscripts include both alfabeto songs and solo dances for strummed guitar: the close relationship between these two genres has been discussed previously, and notational devices in the solo dances may well represent performance practices used in the songs. In I-Fn Ricc. 2793, for instance, some seemingly anomalous numerical symbols appear in the solo dance pieces. The scribe, a certain Francesco

²⁴ Francesco Corbetta, *Varii capricci per la ghittara spagnuola* (Milan: publisher unknown, 1643); Giovanni Battista Granata, *Soavi concerti di sonate musicali per la chitarra spagnuola* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1659).

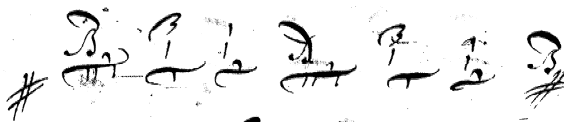
²⁵ Giovanni Battista Granata, *Novi capricci armonici musicali* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1674; facsimile edition in *Biblioteca musica bononiensis* vol. 183 [Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, 1971]).

Palumbi, seems to have been responsible for a number of similar manuscripts, and may have developed his own notational devices.²⁶ The figures consist of two numbers stacked vertically, looking much like a modern time signature. Palumbi uses the numbers 1 to 5. According to my analysis, the top number indicates a fret and the bottom number a course, so that individual notes are incorporated into the strumming patterns. This notation is ambiguous in some respects; it is unclear whether these notes are to be played as individual, plucked courses, or to be assimilated into a strum, either with the adjacent open courses or with the preceding chord symbol.

A closer investigation suggests that these decisions were to be made by the player and based on the musical context. The notation seems to dictate a strum, since each numerical figure is accompanied by a line representing a stroke of the right hand. In some cases a full strum is also indicated by the context. For instance, in the *ciaconna* given in Figure 4.2A, the use of open courses along with the single note indicated by the numbers is the only way to create the necessary dominant harmony. But given the indeterminacy of this notation it is dangerous to assume that the “strum” lines always indicate a full strum. As discussed in Chapter 3, *alfabeto* notation uses strum lines as a way to designate meter and rhythm. For this reason the strum patterns are constant over the course of each piece even though some rhythmic variation and embellishment might have been present in performance. Were the strum marks to change during the piece to reflect these variations the overall metrical scheme would be obscured. In other words, the up- and down-strokes are not only

²⁶ See Tyler, “Role of the Guitar,” par. 2.10, <http://www.sscm/jscm.org/jscm/v9/no1/Tyler.html>.

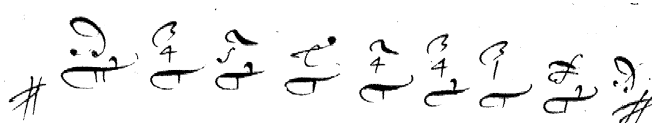
A) Chacona, I-Fn Ricc. 2793 f. 14r
facsimile



suggested transcription



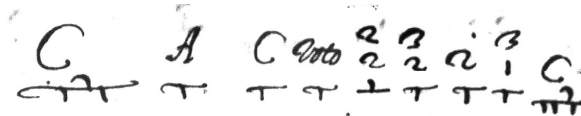
B) Passacaglia, I-Fn Ricc. 2793 f. 16v
facsimile



suggested transcription



C) Gagliarda, I-Fn Landau-Finally 175 f. 12r, excerpt
facsimile



suggested transcription



Figure 4.2: Single-Note Additions to Alfabeto in Alfabeto Solo Manuscript Sources. Note: the rhythm of the gagliarda, figure C), is ambiguous; I have referred to an unornamented version on f. 11v in assigning note values.

indications of right hand motion but also do the job of the time signature: they fix the progression of alfabeto characters into a recurring metrical scheme. Any deviation

from that strum pattern can then be essayed by the performer without losing track of the harmonic progression. Single punteado notes, therefore, might have been given strum lines that fit the overall pattern in order to ensure that the rhythm proceeds undisturbed even though the notes themselves are to be played punteado; the single notes in Figure 4.2*B* are transcribed according to this hypothesis. Another possibility is that these single notes represent non-chord tones added to and strummed with the alfabeto symbols they follow. In the penultimate measure of Figure 4.2*C*, for instance, the note *g'* creates a dominant seventh when combined with the preceding A major chord.

The ambiguity of these numerical symbols reflects a performance practice that does not follow the restrictions of the notation. Remembering that practice came first and the notation followed, one can imagine a strummed performance that at times makes use of single notes, at times makes use of full chords with added non-chord tones, and at times makes use of partial strums. The use of incomplete strums for expressive effect is a timeless guitar technique, especially in popular and orally transmitted styles. Many modern folk/rock songs start with a triadic harmony and embellish it with a bass line or melodic line created by using whichever fingers are left over from the original chord. When the line needs to be extended using a finger from the original chord shape, that finger is “borrowed,” leaving the rest of them down in what becomes a more complex harmony, although this harmony is determined more by ear and by happenstance than by reference to harmonic theory. A more recent example can be seen in Figure 4.3, which transcribes the opening to

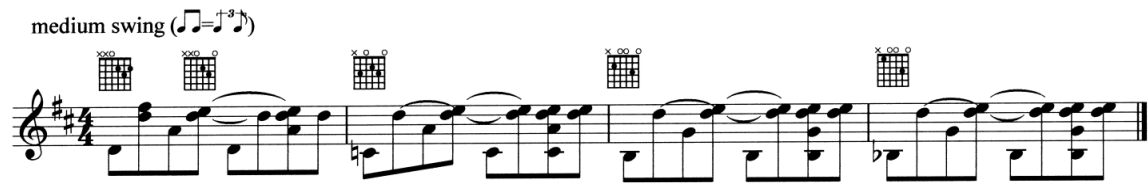


Figure 4.3: Idiomatic Left Hand Shapes in Neil Young, “The Needle and the Damage Done,” *Harvest* (Reprise, 1972).

Neil Young’s “The Needle and the Damage Done.” The first chord, D major, is embellished primarily by the addition of a descending bass line on the fifth string (a chromatic descending tetrachord, suiting the mood of lamentation). Each bass note “borrows” a finger from the opening chord shape, which at length is reduced to the third finger alone, as seen in the fretboard diagrams above the score. Young uses a pick while holding left-hand shapes down and allows the pick to hit more than one string at a time, increasing the overall resonance. This timbral effect is clearly evident from the recording; the pick strokes outlining the bass progression focus on the fifth string, and the pick strokes on the chord focus on the top few strings. The essential simplicity of this song stands in sharp contrast to the difficulty in transcribing it, since with each pick stroke the transcriber must decide how many of the resonating strings to include in the notation. Indeed, this song has been transcribed countless times in countless guitar magazines, websites, etc., and rarely do these transcriptions agree on the particulars.

A similar practice, where single notes are accompanied by all or part of the preceding chords, is described in a guitar tutor from 1643. Antonio Carbonchi’s *Le dodici chitarre spostate* uses alfabeto chords, but at times adds single pitches to be played on the first or second course. His introduction states: “Be advised, that when

numbers are found below or next to the strum marks [*battute*] in this manner, it is intended that they be made on the high string [*cantino*], and the numbers that are above are made on the string that is next to the high string, holding the chord [*lettera*] that is made and fingering the numbers with the little finger, or the most agile [leading] up to the next chord [and] strumming them delicately.”²⁷ Carbonchi’s pieces themselves suggest that the extra pitches are sometimes to be played as single notes and sometimes incorporated into the strums. While his instructions refer to holding the chord down while the extra pitch is added, there are points in his pieces where this is not possible. For example, in the first boxed area of Figure 4.4, measure six, Carbonchi represents the notes g' and a' with the numbers 3 and 5; the a' on the fifth fret is not accessible if the left hand holds down the preceding “G” chord shape (F major), although shifting the left hand up in order to play the a' facilitates the move to the “N³” chord (B-flat major, third position) that begins the next measure. Also, in the second boxed area, at the beginning of the B section, numbers are given without any accompanying chord designation, leaving no doubt that they are intended to be played as single notes. But in other places Carbonchi’s notation makes it equally clear that the full chord should be strummed along with the extra note, in keeping with his written instructions. For example, in the third boxed area in the facsimile, which corresponds to measure 16 in the transcription, the number appears under both

²⁷ “Avvertasi, che quando troveranno numeri sotto, o a canto alle battute, cioe in questa maniera, s’intendono che vanno fatte sopra il cantino, e i numeri che sono di sopra si fanno alla corda che è accanto al cantino, tenendo fermo la lettera che si farà, e facendo detti numeri con il dito piccolo, o dito più agile sino a l’altra lettera battendole delicatamente . . .” (Antonio Carbonchi, *Le dodichi chitarre spostate* [Florence: Francesco Sabatini, 1643]).

alfabeto style relying on the performer's experience and ear to add harmonic and melodic nuance to strummed chords.

Trained musicians would have been able to realize a continuo line on the guitar just as on any other instrument; this "complete realization" is the third level listed above. The most complete source of information on this practice is Nicola Matteis's *Le false consonanze della musica*, reprinted in 1682 as *The False Consonances of Musick*. Examples from this book, which will be detailed below, suggest that typical guitaristic harmonies were used even in the absence of alfabeto notation. Matteis's tutor uses French lute tablature to provide realized continuo parts for the five-course guitar and includes a comprehensive set of examples to cover almost any harmonic contingency. Matteis's book uses no alfabeto at all, and his realizations are not restricted to full strums or triadic harmonies. His book therefore shows that professional guitarists did not restrict themselves to strumming chords; in fact, given that the inner five courses (that is, courses 2-6) of the theorbo match the pitches and interval pattern of the guitar (although with some octave displacement), competent theorbo players would have had little trouble adapting familiar left-hand positions to the guitar. Kapsperger, the virtuoso theorbist, seems to have been proficient on both instruments and to have written a book for the guitar, now lost.²⁸ The publication of Matteis's tutor gave amateur guitarists access to this knowledge,

²⁸ Two guitar books by Kapsperger are listed in a seventeenth-century index of the Franzini library in Rome; see Othmar Wessely, "Der Indice der Firma Franzini in Rom: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion," in *Beiträge zur Musikdokumentation: Franz Grasberger zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Günter Brosche (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1975), 471.

and with it the ability to accompany music that was not originally conceived as guitaristic. Likewise, although Matteis used guitar tablature for his realizations, he intended his book to be used by any continuo instrument. The title page of the 1682 edition describes it as “A great help likewise to those who would play exactly upon the Harpsichord, Lute, or Base-Violl, shewing the delicacy of all Accords and how to apply them to their proper places.” Matteis’s “guitaristic” continuo realizations were therefore disseminated beyond the boundaries of guitar-based music into continuo practice in general.

CHARACTERISTIC CADENTIAL CLASHES IN GUITAR ACCOMPANIMENT

The three basic examples of guitaristic harmonies I have isolated for study involve increased dissonance at cadences. One, the “L” chord, has been discussed already; I will focus mainly on the other two, both of which result from parallel root-position triads in the guitar over conjunct motion in the bass at cadences. Figure 4.5 gives an example of each. For the purposes of this investigation I am using Roman Numeral analysis to describe the relationship between the harmonies in the guitar and continuo. As discussed in earlier chapters, Roman Numerals can be useful in analyzing strummed guitar harmonies within certain limits. In this case I have chosen to designate the descending whole-step cadence as a “full” cadence (that is, a cadence on the tonic) and the Phrygian cadence as a “half” cadence. This distinction between half and full cadences is not always sustainable in the context of the pieces themselves, since a “half cadence” does not necessarily set up a larger-scale harmonic area on the tonic. Early seventeenth-century continuo tutors differentiate cadence

A) The “vii^{o6}+ii” clash B) The Phrygian clash C) The “L” chord

Figure 4.5 shows three musical examples of guitaristic cadential clashes. Each example consists of a guitar (Gtr) part and a basso continuo (BC) part.
 A) The “vii^{o6}+ii” clash: The Gtr part shows a sequence of chords ii and I. The BC part shows vii^{o6} and I.
 B) The Phrygian clash: The Gtr part shows bVI and V. The BC part shows iv and V.
 C) The “L” chord: The Gtr part shows iv^{add2}, V, and I. The BC part shows iv⁶, V, and I.

Figure 4.5: Typical Guitaristic Cadential Clashes

types on the basis of melodic motion in the continuo rather than large-scale tonal area. My use of Roman Numerals, then, is necessarily anachronistic.

But there is an element of truth in this anachronism, in that cadences were becoming more indicative of larger-scale tonal function as the century progressed, with guitaristic dissonances being part of that trend. In a book that applies Dahlhaus’s work on the development of functional harmonic tonality to Monteverdi’s music, Eric Chafe refers to dissonance treatment as the primary difference between Renaissance and Baroque harmony.²⁹ According to Chafe, the Baroque style admits various types of dissonances as long as those dissonances serve to express a relationship to a tonal center; in the seventeenth century, as he puts it, “dissonance is largely a means to the end of a strong sense of tonal motion, arguably the primary quality in the shift of style from Renaissance to Baroque.”³⁰ A tendency to increase dissonance on pre-cadential harmonies fits well into this view, since more dissonance on dominant harmonies creates more of an emphasis on those harmonies and their role in defining the surrounding tonal area. Indeed, a general increase in the use of

²⁹ Dahlhaus, *Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality*; Eric Chafe, *Monteverdi’s Tonal Language* (New York: Schirmer, 1992).

³⁰ Chafe, *Monteverdi’s Tonal Language*, 3-4.

dissonance in accompanimental practice is suggested by Italian continuo tutors, along with a growing acceptance of functional harmony, especially after the turn of the eighteenth century. As Luigi Tagliavani points out, the modern idea of modulation from one key to another is rarely found in Italian treatises prior to Gasparini's 1722 *L'armonico pratico al cimbalo*.³¹ Chapters 4 and 5 of Gasparini's book follow the traditional method, common to earlier tutors, of presenting cadences in the context of general rules for harmonic motion over various ascending and descending intervals in the bass. Only later in the book, particularly in Chapter 8, does Gasparini discuss cadences in terms of harmonic function, including a set of scale harmonizations fixing specific harmonies within a hierarchy according to tonic.³² Gasparini's discussion of *acciaccaturi* continues a tendency in late seventeenth-century Italian treatises to incorporate dissonances at cadences. Lorenzo Penna's 1672 treatise, for example, displays a freer use of dissonance, especially on the dominant, including a few examples of a flat ninth on the dominant harmony.³³

Thomas Christensen's work makes the most explicit case for the role of the guitar in this trend: he addresses the scale harmonizations in Francois Campion's earlier "Rule of the octave," which designate harmonies specific to each scale degree of each key, thereby fixing cadential progressions into a functional scheme and prefiguring Rameau's theoretical formulations. Christensen suggests Campion's role

³¹ Luigi Tagliavani, introduction to Francesco Gasparini, *L'armonico pratico al cimbalo* (Bologna: Forni, 2002), 53.

³² Gasparini, *l'armonico pratico*, 58-61.

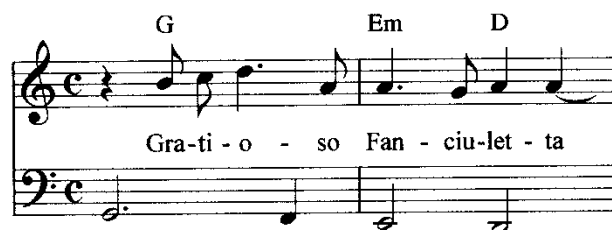
³³ Lorenzo Penna, *Li primi albori mvsicali per il principianti della musica figurata* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1679; originally published 1672), 165-66.

as a guitarist as an influence on his Rule, and points out precursors to Campion's Rule in Italian guitar tutors.³⁴ But Christensen, whose work will be revisited in Chapter 5, splits his focus between the roots of triadic guitar practice in the late sixteenth century and the influence of this practice on functional harmonic tonality in the early eighteenth century. The intermediate area, Italian continuo practice on guitar in the mid-seventeenth century, is only described in a general manner.

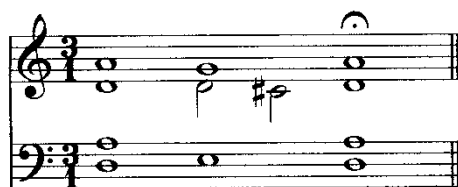
My proposed guitaristic cadential clashes serve to fill this gap, and suggest the specific impact these broader developments had on continuo accompaniment in the seventeenth century. I return, then, to the cadential clash most common in the alfabeto song repertory, which occurs when the bass voice descends by whole step: the “ii+vii⁰⁶” clash reproduced above as Figure 4.5A. In the overwhelming majority of these progressions the alfabeto symbols provide root-position chords for both harmonies, as in the E minor-D major progression in Montesardo's “Ben'è ver ch'ei pargoleggia” (shown in Fig. 4.6A). But this is probably not what a contemporary continuo player would have done. Continuo tutors from the seventeenth-century generally suggest the use of a major sixth (often prepared by a suspended seventh) for descending stepwise cadential patterns; this rule goes back at least to Bianciardi's 1607 *Breve regola per imparare' a sonare sopra il basso continuo*, which provides instructions for accompaniment of an unfigured bass, including the following: “It is permitted, when the bass descends by step or by fourth, to use the seventh, resolved to

³⁴ Thomas Christensen, “The ‘Regle de l’Octave’ in Thorough-Bass Theory and Practice,” *Acta musicologica* 64/2 (1992), 91-117; Christensen, “Spanish Baroque Guitar,” 33-35; Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 31.

A) Descending cadential progression from Montesardo, “Ben’è ver ch’ei pargoleggia”



B) Descending cadential progression from Valentini (1636)



C) Suggested realization of Montesardo’s continuo line



D) Resulting cadential clash



Figure 4.6: The “vii⁰⁶+ii” Cadential Clash in Montesardo, *I lieti giorni di Napoli* (1612).

the major sixth.”³⁵ A Roman manuscript from c. 1638 by Pier Francesco Valentini, which provides lute intabulations for various cadential patterns, includes a descending stepwise cadence in a melodic context similar to Montesardo’s.³⁶ Figure 4.6B reproduces Valentini’s cadence as transcribed by Irmtraut Freiberg.³⁷ Figure 4.6C suggests a realization of Montesardo’s bassline according to Valentini and Bianciardi’s instructions. If analyzed according to the local tonal area as a cadence in the key of D, the harmony on E becomes a first-inversion leading tone triad, prepared by a suspended seventh (and, in this case, a suspended fourth in the voice). The *alfabeto*, however, gives a root-position E minor chord over the bass note E. If the accompaniments sound simultaneously a minor supertonic triad will be superimposed on the diminished leading tone triad. In this case, the suspended A in the voice adds another note to the clash, so the resulting harmony stacked as a series of thirds is either A-C#-E-G-B (if the A is assumed to function as the root of a dominant ninth) or C#-E-G-B (a first-inversion half-diminished seventh chord). Both analyses produce one of the harmonies that would become a driving force in functional harmonic tonality, a dominant harmony with triadic extensions.

Such piled-on cadential harmonies are the rule, rather than the exception, if *alfabeto* chords and continuo lines in the early repertory are taken at face value. The

³⁵ “Si può ancora, quando il Basso scende per grado, o per quarta usar la settima, risolta dalla sesta maggiore” (reproduced in Robert Haas, “Das Generalbassflugblatt Francesco Bianciardis,” in Walter Lott, Helmuth Osthoff, and Werner Wolffheim, eds., *Musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge: Festschrift für Johannes Wolf* [Berlin: Breslauer, 1929], 49).

³⁶ Pier Francesco Valentini, *Ordine. . . il quale serve a sonare et intavolare nel lauto* (Rome, n.d.; facsimile reprint Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1989).

³⁷ Freiberg, *Frühe italienische Generalbass*, 129.

same harmonic clashes can be found in three-voice canzonettas without continuo. In these songs the harmonies are often made explicit in the part-writing. For example, in the opening of “Torna la fiamma antica” from Salzilli’s *La sirena libro terzo* (Naples: Gargano and Nucci, 1616), the 7-6 suspension is given in the alto and the minor supertonic occurs in the alfabeto (Fig. 4.7A, m. 3). In many of the guitar villanellas, which tend to have numerous short homorhythmic cadential passages, the major sixth leading tone is not prepared by a suspension, so that the entire extended leading tone triad sounds simultaneously, as in the third verse of “Fiorite valli” from Kapsperger’s *Libro primo di villanelle* (Rome, 1612) (Fig. 4.7B; also transcribed in its entirety as Ex. 1). Here Kapsperger’s intabulated theorbo accompaniment follows the vocal harmonies. In his “Che farò donna ingrata” (Fig. 4.7C; also fully transcribed as Ex. 11) a descending stepwise cadential progression occurs in the seventh verse. In this case, the theorbo does not prepare the leading tone with a suspension, instead sounding a supertonic minor triad on beat three, just as the guitar does, and adding the leading tone on beat four. In this solo piece the theorbo reinforces the clash between the pitches A and B rather than playing the suspension, and this is the same clash created by the alfabeto.

And in the Venetian integrated alfabeto songbooks, where alfabeto is chosen with more concern for inversion, the stepwise descending cadence continues to appear as two root-position chords. For instance, in Falconieri’s *Libro primo* (1616), which served in Chapter 3 as an exemplar of practical alfabeto usage, the supertonic cadential chord appears in close proximity to alfabeto symbols that correctly observe

A) Salzilli, “Torna la fiamma antica,” excerpt

Alfabeto (modern notation): F Dm B \flat Gm F

Canto I
Tor - na la fiam - ma an - ti - ca

Canto II
Tor - na la fiam - ma an - ti - ca

Basso
Tor - na la fiam - ma an - ti - ca

(vocal harmonies) I vii^{°6}/V V IV I vii^{°7} 6 I
(alfabeto harmonies) I iii IV IV ii I

B) Kapsperger, “Fiorite valli,” excerpt

Alfabeto (modern notation): Gm F Dm Cm

Canto I
Vi - vi cri - stal - li

Canto II
Vi - vi cri - stal - li

Basso
Vi - vi cri - stal - li

Theorbo
Vi - vi cri - stal - li

(theorbo harmonies) v IV vii^{°6} i
(alfabeto harmonies) v IV ii i

C) Kapsperger, “Che faro donna ingrata,” excerpt

Alfabeto (modern notation): F G D Em D

Io mio sta - to con - si - glia ec - cho gra - di - ta

(theorbo) III IV I ii vii[°] I
(alfabeto) III IV I ii vii[°] I

Figure 4.7: The “vii^{°6}+ii” Clash in the Guitar Villanella Repertory.

chordal inversion.³⁸ An excerpt from “Quando il labro ti bacio” (Fig. 4.8A) shows a precadential supertonic (the A minor in the alfabeto, m. 4) used directly after a first-inversion tonic chord (the G major, m. 3).³⁹ In “O mia vita, o mio core,” from Falconieri’s *Libro sexto* (1619), the descending stepwise progression is followed by a first-inversion C major chord (see, in Fig. 4.8B, the root-position G minor in m. 3 and the first-inversion C major in m. 5). A later volume, Giovanni Ghizzolo’s *Frutti d’Amore* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1623), provides another clear example (Fig. 4.8C). In “Fiori stelle d’Aprile” (credited to Girolamo Ferrari) a supertonic cadence on C major (the D minor to C major, mm. 1-2) is set immediately before a progression in which the alfabeto follows chordal inversion. The C major chord in measure 1, beat two, is set over an E in the bass, while the F major chord in measure 2, beat two is set over an A in the bass. Here, as usual in the integrated repertory, the editor seems to have relied on the “G H B G” (F-B \flat -C-F) passacaglia pattern in setting the cadence on “cangiaste co’l bel seno,” thereby recognizing not only the first-inversion F major chord but also the bass note D (m. 2, beat 4) as a member of the subdominant triad (in second inversion). It is clear that a simple bass-note formula was not used for this volume and that root-position chords were used for descending stepwise cadences by choice, not by accident.

³⁸ Andrea Falconieri, *Libro primo di villanelle* (Rome: Robletti, 1619).

³⁹ As always, the “inversion” of alfabeto chords is considered in relation to the continuo note.

A) Falconieri, “Quando il labro ti bacio,” excerpt

Alfabeto (modern notation): C

8 Che per vir - tù d'A - mo - re

6 7 #6

B) Falconieri, “O mia vita, o mio core,” excerpt

Alfabeto (modern notation): F

O mia vi - ta ò mio co - re O mio spir - to d'a - mo - re

O mia vi - ta ò mio co - re O mio spir - to d'a - mo - re

BC

C) Ghizzolo, “Fiori stelle d’Aprile,” excerpt

Alfabeto (modern notation): F

[Can]-gia-ste col bel se - no Can-gia-ste col bel se - no

Che'l vo-stro ciel se - re - no Can-gia-ste co'l bel se - no

BC

Figure 4.8: The “vii⁰⁶+ii” Cadential Clash in the Integrated Alfabeto Repertory.

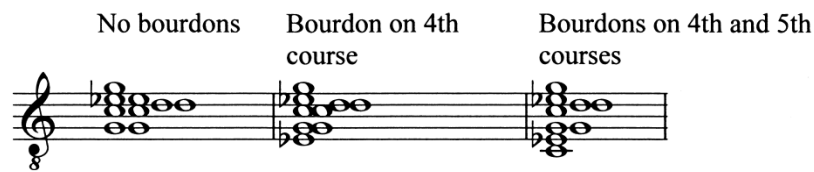
Although the cadential clash created by the juxtaposition of the leading tone and supertonic triad could be described as a leading tone seventh chord or a dominant ninth, its appearance in seventeenth-century song accompaniment has more to do with the practicalities of guitar accompaniment than with contemporary theory, which had

yet to describe those harmonies in those terms. Because the first surviving examples of the ii+vii⁶ harmony are the result of a guitar and another continuo instrument playing simultaneously, the origins of this harmony remain obscure. The evidence for its use by guitarists as a non-triadic harmony, which will be given below, comes from a later source (Matteis's *False Consonances* from 1682). Did this particular harmony originate with untrained guitarists reading the non-practical alfabeto set by the Roman and Neapolitan songbook editors and later become part of the harmonic landscape, to be imitated by Matteis? Or was this cadential clash originally a guitaristic effect that was only given precise notation later in the century? The question cannot be answered as of now, but one example of a non-triadic harmony does exist from in "pure" alfabeto, the "L" chord. The existence of this strummed, non-triadic harmony in the basic alfabeto chart suggests that other non-triadic harmonies may have also been part of the strummed tradition.

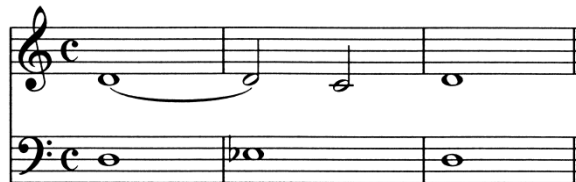
The dissonant "L" chord, as discussed in Chapter 3, is a specifically guitaristic harmony that became part of the general harmonic language in the seventeenth century. In Roman charts the "L" symbol represents a consonant C minor triad.⁴⁰ But the "L" shape in the Venetian charts contains a non-chord tone, a D on the second course, which sounds simultaneously with the C minor triad. Figure 4.9A shows the pitch content of the "L" chord in the three most common five-course guitar tunings. I suggested in Chapter 3 that this particular chord shape owes its existence to convenience of fingering in cadences on G major or G minor, where the "L" chord

⁴⁰ See Giovanni Girolamo Kapsperger, *Libro terzo di villanelle* (Rome: Robletti, 1619), last page.

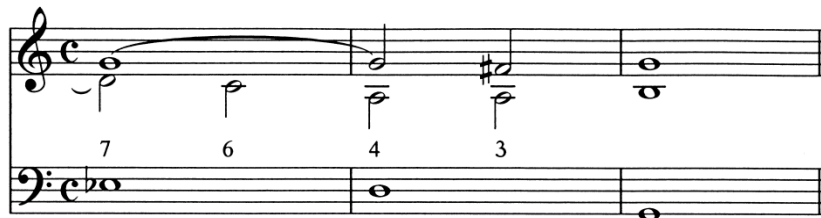
A) The “L” chord in three common tunings



B) 7-6 suspension from Valentini (c.1638)



C) 7-6 suspension from Penna (1679)



D) “L .C.C A” cadence from Marini (1622)



Figure 4.9: The “L” Chord as a Cadential Dissonance.

functions as a precadential harmony in the alfabeto progression “L C O” or “L C A.”

In the Roman alfabeto system, where the “L” chord is a straight C minor triad, these progressions are simply iv-V-i(I) in G. In the Venetian alfabeto system, which is followed in many of the alfabeto-text and alfabeto solo manuscripts, the dissonant “L” chord is the standard configuration for passacaglias on G minor (“O L C O”).

The addition of the note D to the “L” chord also hints at a connection to a slightly different harmonic figuration, one also found in contemporary continuo treatises; namely, the use of a 7-6 suspension over the flattened sixth scale degree in the bass. Figures 4.9*B* and *C* show such a suspension as advised by Valentini’s lute treatise along with the full cadential figure as spelled out later by Lorenza Penna.⁴¹ Penna’s cadence, in which the 7-6 suspension is followed by a 4-3 suspension over the dominant, was prefigured in Biagio Marini’s alfabeto chart (see above, Fig. 4.1), where the dissonant fingering for the “L” chord as well as other modified alfabeto symbols appear for use in cadential progressions. The cadential progression on G that would result from following Marini’s chart is reproduced in Fig. 4.9*D*, and matches Penna’s progression, except that in Marini both notes of the 7-6 suspension sound simultaneously. In fact, in most cases in the alfabeto repertory the use of the “L” chord results in simultaneous unprepared precadential dissonances, much the same effect provided by the supertonic/leading tone clash described above.

An example of melodic ornamentation from Montesardo’s 1612 collection implies the same basic harmonic effect in the same context. Figure 4.10 reproduces the final phrase of “S’è ver la tua partita,” which includes an “L” chord over a C in the continuo. It is not clear which form of the “L” chord Montesardo intended, since this particular collection provides no introductory chord chart, although Montesardo’s

⁴¹ Valentini, *Ordine*; Penna, *Li primi albori*; both examples transcribed in Freiberg, *Frühe italienische Generalbass*, 78, 133.

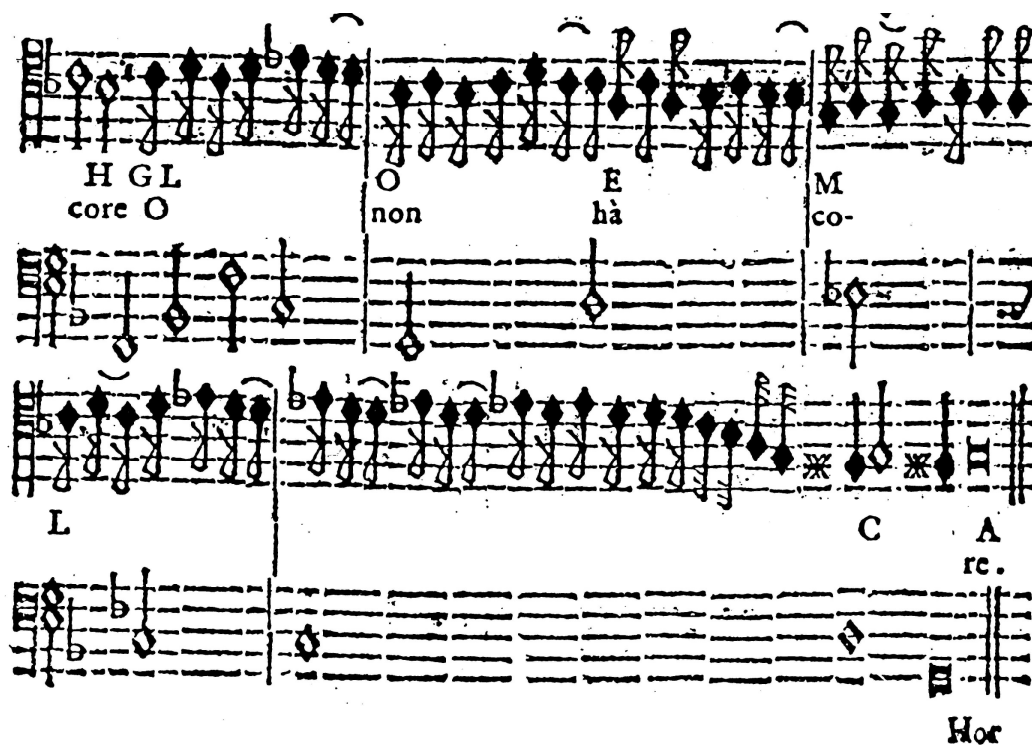


Figure 4.10: The “L” Chord in Montesardo’s “S’è ver la tua partita” (excerpt), from *I lieti giorni di Napoli* (1612).

1606 alfabeto solo book gives the consonant version.⁴² What “S’è ver la tua partita” does make clear is a precadential effect for the continuo harmony over the C. The melisma in the vocal line wavers between E-flat and D, with the E-flats in the metrically accented position, an odd arrangement if the E-flats are heard simply as the third of the subdominant harmony. But if the continuo harmony is assumed to include both notes as an acciaccatura, retaining the basic function of a 7-6 suspension over E-flat, the vocal line suddenly makes sense. It becomes a delicate manipulation of two unresolved pitches, emphasizing the instability of the chord and driving all the

⁴² Girolamo Montesardo, *Nouva inventione d’intavolatura* (Florence: Marescotti, 1606).

more strongly to the dominant. This flexible approach to the disposition of the notes involved in the precadential harmony is perfectly expressed by the dissonant “L” shape, which is specifically called for in the charts of many other alfabeto publications, and in which the seventh and the sixth appear simultaneously, giving the effect of a sustained, unprepared acciaccatura.

Another harmonic peculiarity of Roman/Neapolitan impractical alfabeto usage also consistently appears in the integrated repertory: the use of parallel root-position guitar chords for Phrygian cadences in the continuo, which I have called a \flat VI-V cadence. Unlike the Roman and Neapolitan sources, the integrated repertory usually confines this progression to cadences. When semitone motion occurs in the bass outside the context of a cadence the alfabeto generally gives one of the chords in inversion or omits the progression altogether; this often happens in the same pieces, sometimes in the same phrase. For example, the first piece in Milanuzzi’s *Secondo scherzo* (1622), “O com’e vaga,” (Ex. 36), provides two instances of the descending semitone treated “properly” in the alfabeto in the absence of cadential motion. The E-flat–D progression in measure 5 gives the second harmony as a first-inversion B-flat major chord, following the overall IV^6 -I-V-I cadential progression on B-flat, and the B-flat–A progression in measure 10 does likewise, treating the second harmony as a first-inversion F major in accordance with the I^6 -IV-V-I F major cadential progression. Likewise, in “Passo l’ardore” from Stefani’s *Affetti amorosi* (Venice: Alessandro Vicenti, 1622), the final phrase of the piece is repeated, first to a Phrygian half-cadence on E and then to a full cadence on A (Example 37, measures 17-20).

This quinario line, “Passo l’ardore,” is metrically detached from its original appearance, where it forms part of an endecasillabo. Being detached and repeated as a quinario at the end, it mirrors the first five syllables of the second line of text, “Che spent’el foco,” which is also repeated (mm. 5-9). The independence of “Passo l’ardore” from the rest of the opening endecasillabo is presaged at the beginning of the piece, where these five syllables are set to the same Phrygian cadence that marks their reappearance at the end, even though they are not yet separated from the endecasillabo. What matters for the purposes of this discussion is the different treatment that the F-E semitone receives in measures 1-2 as compared to measure 3. In its first appearance, the alfabeto provides the Phrygian \flat VI-V cadential figure, marking the independence of this text segment, while the passing F-E semitone in measure 3 is ignored completely.

Therefore the \flat VI-V cadential progression cannot be attributed to editorial carelessness, nor to a failure to acknowledge cadential progressions in assigning alfabeto. It seems instead to have been used intentionally for the sake of the harmonic effect. In this it is related to the supertonic/leading tone dissonance. Both heighten the sense of resolution on the following chords, which usually mark line endings in the text. Both progressions also involve the superimposition of two triads. In the case of the \flat VI-V progression the continuo parts can be assumed to represent 7-6 suspensions, as was explained in the previous discussion of the “L” chord; the Valentini example given in Figure 4.9*B*, above, shows a typical harmonization for the

Phrygian cadence. In some cases, the 7-6 suspension is also made explicit by figures.

If the continuo is taken to represent a iv^6-V progression, then the alfabeto $bVI-V$ superimposes a major submediant on the minor subdominant.

The examples of the $bVI-V$ progression in Figures 4.11A-J are taken from integrated alfabeto sources, including the Stefani and Milanuzzi volumes just cited, in which chordal inversion is generally observed. I have arranged these excerpts according to local tonality: in Figures 4.11A-B the $bVI-V$ progression occurs on D; in Figures 4.11C-F on A, and in Figures 4.11G-J on E. Parallel root-position chord changes on these particular tonalities seem to be typical in complete realizations as well, as the examples from Matteis will show. Figures 4.11C and D, both from Milanuzzi, show the $bVI-V$ progression in the same melodic context, providing an example of the “modular” compositional style associated with this repertory and with Milanuzzi in particular. “Non piu pena non piu dolor,” Figure 4.11D, is especially revealing in that the B-flat–A semitone in the bass returns in measures 20-21 in the context of a cadential progression on D major; here the B-flat is treated in the alfabeto as part of the preceding G minor harmony rather than the root-position B-flat major harmony it represented in the preceding $bVI-V$ cadence. The final iteration of the verse repeats the melodic and harmonic pattern on G, and here as well the descending semitone is absorbed into the “L C” ($Cm^{add2}-D$) progression (see boxed area in Fig. 4.11D). Figure 4.11F, from Tarditi’s 1646 book, contains B-flats in the continuo which set the basis for the flat submediant even though contraindicated by the key

A) Stefani "O leggiadri occhi belli," *Affetti amorosi* (1618)

Alfabeto (modern notation): Gm

O leg - gia - dri oc-chi bel - li, oc-chi miei ca - ri

V bVI V

B) Milanuzzi "Io vo morire," *Primo scherzo* (1622)

Non pos - so ghi - me Non pos - so ghi - me

V bVI V

C) Milanuzzi "E pur partir," *Secondo scherzo* (1622)

Sen - za mo - rir Ahi do - lor

iv bVI V

D) Milanuzzi "Non più non più dolor," *Secondo scherzo*

Non t'af - flig - ge - r'al mal d'A - mor peg - gior del mo - ri - re

iv bVI V ii ii⁶ V ii V I

D: iv iv⁶

Figure 4.11: The Flat Submediant in the Integrated Alfabeto Repertory (cont. on next page).

E) Obizzi "E pur di novo ahi lasso," *Madrigali et arie libro primo* (1627)

Chemo-ri - rò che mo-ri - rò se te mia vi - ta io las - so... che mo-ri - rò se te mia vi ta io las - so

Chords: G, Dm, Am, F, Gm, Am, Bb, A, Am, G, A, Dm, Gm, A, D

Figures: bVI, V

F) Tarditi "Vaghi rai pupille ardenti," *Arie a voce sola* (1646)

Son ca - gion de miei tor - men - ti Son ca - gion del - la mie - pe - ne

Chords: A, Dm, C, Bb, A, F, G, Bb, A, Dm

Figures: bVI, V, IV, bVI, V

G) Milanuzzi "Voglio il mio duol scoprire," *Secondo scherzo* (1622)

Chords: A, D, G, Em, Am, F, E, E, A, D, G, Am, Dm, E, A

Figures: i, bVI, V, i⁶, iv, V, I

H) Berti "Chi di dentro m'accende," *Milanuzzi Quarto scherzo* (1624)

Chi di den - tro m'ac - cen - de e m'ar - de e pie - no

Chords: Am, F, E

Figures: bVI, V

I) Berti "Fuggitivo io t'ho pur colto," *Cantade et arie* (1624)

(last stanza) Se'n dan - za - va un di spro-vi-sto

(first stanza) Ec-co i lac-ci d'un bel cri - ne le di - vi-ne

Chords: Am, F, E, Am, D, G, Dm, A, D

Figures: i, bVI, V, i⁶, V, I

J) Milanuzzi "Queste doglie, e martiri," *Nono libro* (1643)

Que-ste do-glie e mar - ti - ri

Que-sti pianti e so - spi - ri

Chords: Am, G, C, F, E, E, G, C, B

Figures: bVI, V, bVI, V

Figure 4.11: The Flat Submediant in the Integrated Alfabeto Repertory (cont.)

signature, thereby creating cross-relations at measure six (assuming, as the alfabeto editor did, a G major harmony on “[ca-]gion” in keeping with the key signature).

Again, these examples often juxtapose cadential and non-cadential treatment of semitone motion in the bass. In “Voglio il mio duol scoprir” from Milanuzzi’s second book (Fig. 4.11*G*) the root-position alfabeto setting for the \flat VI-V progression stand in contrast to the subsequent i-IV-V-I progression, in which the bass note C is treated as a first-inversion tonic. This final cadence, (“D E F I” in the original) matches the i-IV-V-I passacaglia progression in A, which is common in the dance-song repertory. In this case, as well as the Tarditi in 4.11*F*, alfabeto chords were chosen by reference to common alfabeto patterns; in the Tarditi the continuo line also seems to have been affected.

The half-cadence in recitational passages in A minor is a frequent device in the alfabeto song repertory, and is exemplified by Figures 4.11*H* and *I*, both from pieces by Berti. Figure 4.11*I*, “Fuggitivo io t’ho pur colto,” provides a recitational setting for the last stanza in contrast to the triple meter dance-song style of music for the previous strophes. The \flat VI-V cadence in this last stanza can be compared to the descending F-E in the bass in the first stanza (see boxed area), which is not given root-position alfabeto (this cadence is unusual in that the supertonic/leading tone clash doesn’t appear either; in any case, it is evidence of the care with which alfabeto symbols were chosen by the editor of this volume).

CADENTIAL CLASHES IN MATTEIS'S *FALSE CONSONANCES*

With the publication of Nicola Matteis's continuo treatise, amateur guitarists were presented with full instructions for continuo realization. Matteis's book gives detailed examples of how a musically literate Italian guitarist might have realized continuo lines in the absence of alfabeto. These examples constitute a "complete realization," the third of my three proposed levels of guitar accompaniment.

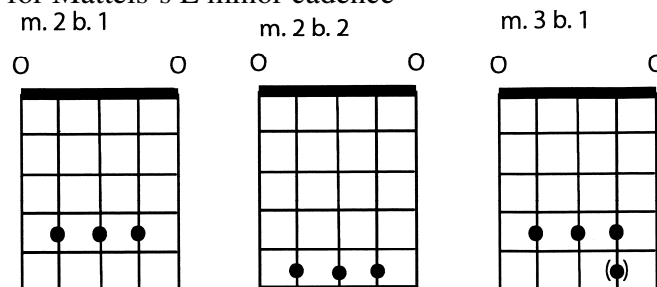
Although Matteis is not restricted by alfabeto notation he still includes the characteristic cadential dissonances used in the "pure" and "informed" alfabeto practice, usually by adding dissonant pitches to strummed chords. In this way Matteis shows us the kind of liberties skilled guitarists may have been taking with strummed accompaniment in the past.

Matteis's treatise begins with a set of dance movements for solo guitar, the last two of which are given continuo accompaniment. The second dance, an elegant G major piece in triple time, employs a uniquely guitaristic approach to the E minor cadence (see Fig. 4.12A). In Matteis's tablature, as in lute tablature, note symbols above the staff indicate duration, and Matteis indicates full strums by placing these note symbols inside the staff. The chords in the second and third measures of the excerpt function as dominants to E minor. Since they are given strum marks, the open first and fifth courses are incorporated into the chords, adding the notes A and E. (Matteis is careful, in those cases where the lowest courses are to be omitted in a strum, to mark those courses with small dots, as in m.1, beat 1 of Fig. 4.12A). The harmonic tension is heightened by moving the entire left hand shape one fret up the

A) E minor cadence from Matteis, facsimile and transcription



B) Fingerings for Matteis's E minor cadence



C) Fingerings for standard alfabeto E minor passacaglia (“+ D R +”)

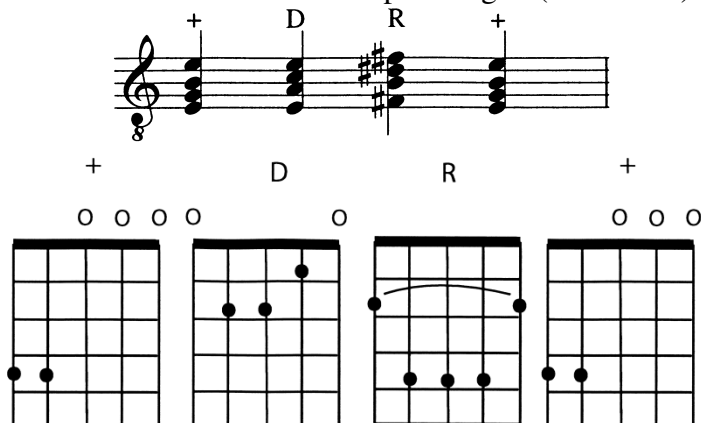
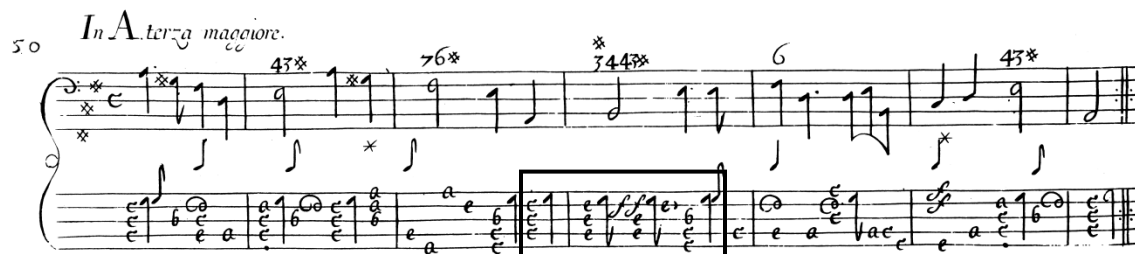
D) E major cadence from Matteis (in boxed area) with \flat VI-V fingering

Figure 4.12: Cadential Clashes on E Minor in Matteis, *The False Consonances of Musick* (1682). Note: As in the following Matteis transcriptions, I have assumed a guitar strung with a *bourdon* on the fourth course only.

neck and thereby introducing the flat submediant (Fig. 4.12*B* gives the left-hand shapes). The two open courses continue to sound all the while, creating continuity between the two chord shapes and thus contributing to an overall effect of heightened harmonic tension on the dominant. When, on the downbeat of measure three, the left hand slides back down to the B major chord shape, Matteis adds a finger on the fifth fret of the second course (given in parenthesis in Fig. 4.12*B*) doubling the note E on the first course. At this point, therefore, where metrical emphasis meets harmonic emphasis, there are four individual strings sounding the suspended fourth. Using a finger for this note makes a trill possible on beat two when the fourth finally resolves to the leading tone D#. The anticipation of the tonic on the eighth-note upbeat is then played the open first course, which allows for a clash with the leading tone sounded on the second course. By contrast, the standard alfabeto pattern for this cadence would be “+ D R +”, which not only less harmonically interesting than Matteis’s version but also more difficult to play (Fig. 4.12*C* gives the left hand shapes for comparison). While in Matteis’s version the left hand only needs to move up and down the neck while holding a steady finger position, the alfabeto pattern involves a second-fret bar chord and complete changes of left hand position for each chord (that is, there are no fingers that remain on the same course between chords). Matteis, therefore, has exploited the idiosyncrasies of the instrument to create a more musically compelling harmonic progression and has also provided insight into how earlier alfabeto guitarists may have embellished cadences on E minor. The use of a

flat submediant in this progression is also a link to strummed practice, as discussed above concerning the \flat VI-V progression.

Matteis suggests similar guitaristic fingerings for the continuo realizations that make up the bulk of his treatise. Most of these realizations are short sections of continuo, notated with time signature as though they are small, self-contained pieces, but intended as models for how one might deal with similar progressions in any piece. These short continuo lines are given in various keys. The one in A major, or, as Matteis puts it, “A terza maggiore,” contains a cadence on E major using the same B major fingering just described (boxed area in Fig. 4.12D). In this case, the cadence is preceded by an A major chord, and that chord shape is moved up by two frets to create the B dominant. The open first and fifth frets then provide the E and A, thus the seventh of the chord and the suspended fourth. Again Matteis takes advantage of the open courses in this particular harmonic context to create an idiomatic harmonic embellishment to this progression. Similar fingerings are designated for this cadence on pages 50 and 55 of *The False Consonances*.

Matteis also uses the guitaristic \flat VI-V progression for “Phrygian” half-cadences on E major. As has been shown already, parallel motion by half-step in the alfabeto at such points is common to both the guitar villanella and integrated alfabeto repertoires. At two points in his tutor Matteis intabulates the F-E cadence with a full F major triad and incorporates the seventh of the 7-6 suspension by indicating a strum and leaving the first course (the pitch E) open (see Fig. 4.13A). The first beat of the suspension is given what amounts to an F major seventh chord, while the strum on

this beat ensures that the note E on the first course can over ring the note D, which is plucked on the second course. This half-cadence “in action,” that is, as part of a musical line, can be contrasted to Matteis’s more conservative illustration of the same progression on page 64, which is a series of 7-6 cadential figures listed in the abstract, rather than as part of a larger progression (see Fig 4.13B). In this abstracted table of suspension figures, Matteis restricts himself to a careful intabulation of the bass note, the third, and the 7-6 suspension. In practice, however, as shown in the intabulated continuo lines, Matteis takes advantage of the ease with which the F major chord

64 *Le Settime, e seste che ordinariamente si usano*

Per b. quatro.

Per b. molle

Le Straordinarie uoi le trouarete nella scala Vniuersale

Figure 4.13B: Phrygian Half-Cadence on E from Matteis’s Table, *The False Consonances of Musick* p. 64. The cadence is shown in the boxed area and transcribed.

shape can be fingered while still allowing the open first course to ring. The resulting harmony incorporates both the specific \flat IV-V progression common to alfabeto songbooks and the general tendency to “pile-up” dissonances at cadences, such as displayed by the “L” chord in the dance-song repertory. Indeed, the F-E Phrygian cadence with the open first string ringing is, on the guitar, such an intuitive fingering that it has become a cliché for a “Spanish” sound that persists to this day.

GUITARISTIC HARMONY AND GENERAL CONTINUO PRACTICE

The continued popularity of alfabeto guitar tutors, which were reprinted into the eighteenth century, suggests that the guitar dance-song tradition continued to inform guitar technique in amateur circles and that the sound of strummed harmonies on the instrument was part of the generally understood character of the guitar in the seventeenth century. The *rasgueado* sound, being associated with the guitar, could be hinted at in plucked guitar accompaniments for effect. Paul O’Dette has suggested that guitaristic dissonance contributed to the harmonic language of keyboard pieces in the eighteenth century.⁴³ And there is reason to believe that this process may have been taking place already in the seventeenth century, perhaps aided by the advent of books like Matteis’s.

Many scholars of seventeenth-century continuo practice agree that keyboard accompaniments used more variation of texture and dissonance treatment than is prescribed by continuo treatises. Paul O’Dette and Jack Ashworth warn against

⁴³ O’Dette, “Plucked String Instruments,” 234.

following the advice of continuo treatises too rigidly.⁴⁴ Peter Williams finds evidence, especially in Italian sources, of harmonic embellishment relying on sustained, simultaneous non-chord tones, including the practice of allowing a dissonance and its resolution to sound together.⁴⁵ Like Williams, Lars Ulrik Mortensen posits an Italian style of “thick” accompaniment, in which more notes were added to the continuo line in practice than might be inferred from continuo tutors, which are restricted by their pedagogical function.⁴⁶ Luigi Tagliavini suggests that simultaneously struck dissonances was a vital part of the Italian keyboard style in the seventeenth century.⁴⁷

These scholars have gone beyond the evidence found in continuo treatises, examining a vast repertory of keyboard works, especially written-out accompaniments found in manuscripts. Further investigation of these sources is thus outside the bounds of this dissertation. But there is some evidence to be found in continuo treatises which corroborates the use of guitaristic dissonance. Gasparini’s discussion of *acciaccaturi* is often taken to refer to the occasional use of sustained, simultaneous dissonance, although the guitaristic harmonies I have isolated are not explicit in his treatise. But one does appear in a German treatise, Georg Muffat’s

⁴⁴ Jack Ashworth and Paul O’Dette, “Basso Continuo,” in *A Performer’s Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, edited by Stewart Carter (New York: Schirmer, 1997), 288-89.

⁴⁵ Peter Williams, “The Harpsichord Acciaccatura: Theory and Harmonic Practice in Harmony, 1650-1750,” *The Musical Quarterly* 54/4 (1968): 503-23.

⁴⁶ Lars Ulrik Mortensen, “‘Unerringly Tasteful’?: Harpsichord Continuo in Corelli’s Op.5 Sonatas,” *Early Music* 24 (1996): 665-79.

⁴⁷ Luigi Tagliavini, “The Art of ‘Not Leaving the Instrument Empty’: Comments on Early Italian Harpsichord Playing,” *Early Music* 11/3 (July 1983): 299-308.

Regulae Concentuum Partiturae (1699). Muffat, who spent the years 1680-1682 in Rome studying with Bernardo Pasquini, prescribed in his 1699 treatise some harmonies that mirror the $ii^6 + vii^0$ precadential clash described above, wherein the fifth is sounded simultaneously with the seventh of the 7-6 suspension: Muffatt's examples are reproduced in Figure 4.14. The fact that this "Italian" harmony appears in a German treatise but not in contemporary Italian books may seem counterintuitive. But, as Mortensen suggests, Muffatt's treatise might be taken to represent a foreigner's attempt to make sense of the Italian style, which was so well understood in Italy as to make notated examples irrelevant.⁴⁸

INDEPENDENCE IN REALIZED GUITAR ACCOMPANIMENTS

So far I have dealt primarily with the guitar in combination with other continuo instruments. But my investigation of the integrated alfabeto repertory in Chapter 3 revealed a certain independence between alfabeto and continuo in many of the sources, suggesting that in some cases the voice and guitar "version" of the piece may have been conceived as separate from a voice and continuo version.⁴⁹ Silke Leopold has made a similar observation regarding Giovanni Stefani's adaptation of some Kapsperger villanellas. Pointing out Stefani's dependence on the melody rather than the bass of the original versions, Leopold writes: "What is here quietly taking place is perhaps as revolutionary as the discovery of monody itself: for the first time in the short history of solo song with chordal accompaniment we are dealing with a composition written expressly for the upper voice, with a composition which

⁴⁸ Mortensen, "'Unerringly Tasteful'," 666-67.

⁴⁹ See Chapter 3, above, pp. 181-83, 205-11.

The figure displays four systems of musical notation, each consisting of a treble and bass staff. The first system is labeled 'GGG' and 'HHH' above the staves. The second system is labeled 'a 4'. The third system is labeled 'pieno' and 'a 5'. The fourth system is labeled 'ancora più pieno'. In each system, specific measures are enclosed in rectangular boxes, indicating areas of interest or 'precadential clashes'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, with some measures featuring fingerings like '7 6'.

Figure 4.14: Precadential Clashes in a Treatise by Georg Muffat (Shown in Boxed Areas). Source: Hoffmann, Bettina, and Stefano Lorenzetti, eds., *Georg Muffat: Regulae Concentuum Partiturae 1699* (Bologna: Associazione Clavicembalistica Bolognese, 1991), 29, 116.

established first the melody and then, somehow, the harmony.”⁵⁰ The “independent alfabeto” I have observed in the integrated repertory may be part of the “revolution” described by Leopold. With such an approach the bass line is up for grabs: given that each possible harmony could appear in inversion, a multitude of bass lines becomes possible for any melody. This approach to harmonization is at odds with most seventeenth-century theoretical sources, which focus on the basso continuo line as an inviolable part of the harmonic structure. It was only with Rameau’s 1722 treatise that an accompanimental conception based on chords, rather than continuo lines, would be given a full theoretical vocabulary. But earlier alfabeto and guitar tablature sources in which the guitar part displays independence from the continuo give examples of the same, chord-based harmonic conception in practice.

A manuscript held at the Williams Andrew Clark Memorial Library library in Los Angeles contains twelve settings of Italian songs with guitar tablature provided by the Italian guitarist Pietro Reggio, who was by that time working in England.⁵¹ Reggio was part of a wave of Italian musicians who entered England during the Restoration. Like Matteis, Reggio brought Italian musical practices that had been unavailable during the relative isolation of the Commonwealth.⁵² Another well-known Italian guitarist, Francesco Corbetta, contributed to the publication of Italianate guitar books and the promulgation of Italian guitar technique through

⁵⁰ Leopold, “Remigio’s Romano’s Collection,” 55.

⁵¹ US-LAuc, MS fC697.M4; see also Tyler, *Guitar and Its Music*, 122-23.

⁵² Gloria Rose, “Pietro Reggio: A Wandering Musician,” *Music & Letters* 46 (1965): 207-216; Margaret Mabbett, “Italian Musicians in Restoration England,” *Music & Letters* 67 (1986): 237-47; Peter Walls, “Matteis, Nicola,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (accessed 2/04/09).

pedagogy and performance in Restoration England.⁵³ Like Matteis and Corbetta, Reggio used French lute-style tablature with no alfabeto symbols and was therefore not restricted to chordal strumming in his accompaniment.

In his arrangement of “Occhi miei belli,” Reggio reverts to idiomatic guitar fingerings precisely at those points where he departs from the continuo harmonies most blatantly.⁵⁴ The boxed areas on Figure 4.15 indicate places where the discrepancies between guitar and continuo are the most obvious, suggesting that the guitar accompaniment was not designed to be played with the written continuo line. But in each case the guitar does match the vocal line.⁵⁵ In other words, a choice can be made between the voice and continuo version and the voice and guitar version. At measure 2 of the excerpt Reggio ignores the A minor continuo harmony in favor of an A major, which produces a deceptive cadence to B minor on the downbeat of measure 3. This deceptive cadence disrupts the pattern of suspensions between voice and continuo in Melani’s original, perhaps in recognition of the inferior sustaining power of the guitar and a corresponding loss of efficacy in such chain suspensions.⁵⁶ At measures 8-9 the continuo note G prepares another suspension with the voice, which is also ignored by the guitar. Here Reggio’s harmonies outline a basic E major-F

⁵³ Richard Pinnell, *Francesco Corbetta and the Baroque Guitar* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), 147-50.

⁵⁴ Although this manuscript credits Luigi Rossi, Atto Melani is the more likely composer. See Roger Freitas, ed., *Complete Cantatas: Atto Melani* (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2006), 100-1.

⁵⁵ In measure 11 the voice would need to sing an F-natural to suit the guitar harmony; this note would also fit the local tonality of A minor.

⁵⁶ Nicola Matteis suggests that sustained harmonies be restruck by the guitar, giving numerous examples of the technique; see *False Consonances*, 20, 36.

Figure 4.15 shows a musical score for a Seventeenth-Century Intabulated Guitar Accompaniment to Atto Melani's "Occhi miei belli" (excerpt). The score consists of two systems, each with three staves: Voice, Guitar, and Continuo. The key signature is G major (one sharp) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: [-ta] Che è fe - li - ce mo - rir Che è fe - li - ce mo - rir Per se - mia. The second system starts at measure 7 with lyrics: vi - ta Che è fe - li - ce mo - rir Per se - mia vi - ta. Two boxes highlight areas of divergence between the guitar and continuo parts: one in the first system (measures 3-4) and one in the second system (measures 8-9).

Figure 4.15: A Seventeenth-Century Intabulated Guitar Accompaniment to Atto Melani's "Occhi miei belli" (excerpt). The boxes show areas of divergence between guitar and continuo. My transcription of the guitar tablature assumes an instrument in completely re-entrant tuning.

major-E major progression (mm. 8-10), with the addition of one note to create a ii^6 (m. 8, beat 2).

Reggio's progression, which cannot be reconciled with the continuo, recalls the $V-\flat VI-V$ progression common to the integrated alfabeto repertory and imitated in Matteis's continuo realizations. Reggio's manuscript was compiled during his stay in England, between 1664 and his death in 1685.⁵⁷ The independent guitar accompaniment given by Reggio is a reminder that the guitar retained its idiosyncratic status throughout the seventeenth century, even though it was often combined with other continuo instruments.

⁵⁷ Tyler, *Guitar and Its Music*, 122-23.

It is my hope that the limited examples of guitaristic harmonies presented here will open a new window of research on seventeenth-century performance practice. The search for idiomatic guitar practices will necessarily point in two directions. One path leads back into the ambiguous terrain of oral performance traditions in the sixteenth century. The various idiosyncratic notational systems in early books and manuscripts can only hint at the actual practice. Since many of these sources were intended for pedagogical purposes, the notation must be taken as a simplified version of what the teacher was able to accomplish in performance. Like their contemporary students, the present-day researcher must digest these basic musical sketches, taking faltering steps towards a fuller understanding. And yet another direction of research looks forward into the development of the durable elements of eighteenth-century music, capable of sustaining the extended instrumental masterpieces of the Classical era. Along with the clarity and symmetry of the Viennese Classical style, the rational approach to musical theory presented in the Enlightenment can be seductive, leading us to overlook the variety and inconsistency of the musical practices that preceded it. In attempting to analyze and categorize this unruly repertory a keen attention to recurring harmonic structures must be combined with a healthy skepticism about correlation based on resemblance. But with close examination, the very inconsistencies in the tapestry of seventeenth-century guitar notation can be used to reveal connecting threads that run through it. My three levels of accompaniment are based on existing sources, and represent only one foray into a still widely unknown tradition. Likewise, the three characteristic harmonies I have suggested will, I hope,

be augmented by more investigation. This discussion of the practicalities of guitar accompaniment will be followed, in the next chapter, by an investigation of the relationship between practice and theory.