

EL ESTILO CASTELLANO Y EL ESTILO CATALAN: AN INTRODUCTION TO SPANISH GUITAR CHORD NOTATION

M. JUNE YAKELEY AND MONICA HALL

The Italian guitar alphabet or *alfabeto*, and the sources in which it is used, are familiar to most players and scholars with an interest in music for the five-course baroque guitar. It is not so well known that Spain had its own notations for strummed guitar music and that these are widely used in Spanish sources.

There were two quite separate and distinct systems of notation, which are referred to in some eighteenth century sources as *estilo castellano* and *estilo catalan*. The former is used mainly in Castilian and Latin American sources and the latter in Catalan sources. This reflects the strong regional identities of the two areas during the period, and in particular the difference of language. Catalan was the official language of Catalonia until 1714 and continued to be used in ecclesiastical documents until the close of the century.¹ Although the chords in both systems are more or less the same as those of the Italian *alfabeto*, the notation in each case consists of Arabic numerals and other symbols rather than letters of the alphabet.

For complex reasons very little music was printed in Spain during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Much, however, survives in manuscript² and as more of it becomes accessible, it is important to have an understanding of specifically Spanish notations.

Because the chord symbols superficially resemble those used for figured bass lines, they have not always been correctly identified as guitar notation. The presence of such notation indicates the important position the guitar held as an accompanying instrument in Spain during the period in question.

The notation

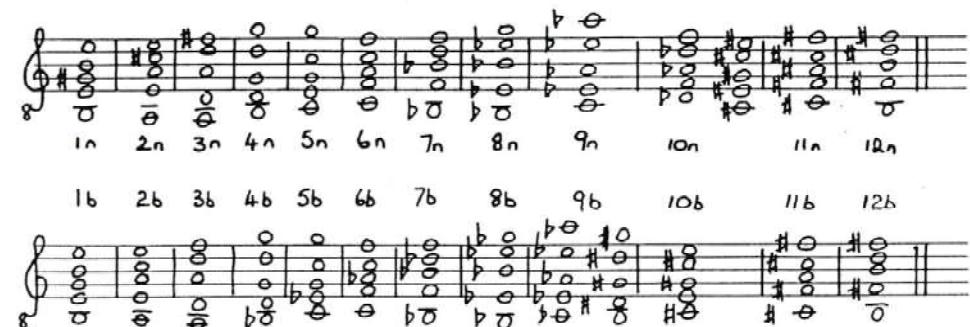
Catalan cifras

Catalan *cifras* were the brainchild of Joan Carles Amat, a Catalan physician and writer (1572–1642). Amat has earned a prominent place in the history of the guitar because his *Guitarra española* is assumed to be the earliest surviving tutor for the five-course guitar, and its eye catching illustrations have caught the popular imagination. The significance of its contents has, however, often been overlooked. The earliest surviving copy, printed in Lérida, is dated 1626, but the introductory material to this indicates that an earlier version

was printed in Barcelona in 1596.³ This confirms that the five-course guitar and the strummed style of playing it were well established by the end of the sixteenth century.

Amat's notation is the most logical of all guitar chord notations. The chords are arranged in a circle of descending fifths and numbered 1–12, n for major chords, b for minor chords.

EXAMPLE 1: Amat's sequence of chords



As well as describing the chords and how they are fingered, Amat includes a chapter in which he explains how to work out which chords to use when accompanying music in several parts with the assistance of an ingenious table of his own invention. Amat is perhaps unusual that he assumes that his readers will be familiar with mensural notation and the practice of solmisation. There is now evidence that Catalan notation was widely used in just the circumstances for which Amat devised his table.

Castilian cifras

The earliest dated and probably best known source of Castilian *cifras* is Brizeño's *Metodo mui facilissimo para aprender a toñer la guitarra a lo español*, printed in Paris by Pedro Ballard in 1626.⁴ Brizeño was a Spaniard resident in Paris. The earliest mention of him is in 1614, when he was apparently already well established as a guitarist.⁵ Louis XIII married the Spanish Infanta Anne of Austria in 1615 and as a result cultural and political ties between France and Spain were close at the time.

The introduction to the *Metodo* includes a table of sixteen chords set out in French tablature with the appropriate Castilian *cifras* above. A fuller series of

chords with Castilian *cifras* is found in Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* (1636).⁶ They are also described by Ruiz de Ribayaz in *Luz y Norte musical* (1677)⁷ and are found in a manuscript copy of the introduction to Santiago de Murcia's *Resumen de acompañar*, E:Mn.M.881.⁸

Mersenne includes an illustration of the guitar with a table setting out the chords in Italian and French tablature together with *alfabeto* above and Castilian *cifras* between the tablature staves. Mersenne mentions Brizeño in the text.⁹ In Ms.M.881 Castilian *cifras* have been added to the chords A–L, O and P of the *Abecedario*.¹⁰ Whilst the chords 1–7, + and P are always the same, the rest of the sequence varies slightly from source to source. A noteworthy feature of both Mersenne and Ms.M.881 is the use of the same *cifra* for some major and minor chords, the minor version being indicated by a dot in Mersenne and a b in Ms.M.881. This idea may have been borrowed from Amat.

EXAMPLE 2: Sequence of chords showing variations in Brizeño,
Mersenne, Ms.M.881 and Ruiz de Ribayaz.

	Brizeño	Mersenne	Ms.M.881	Ribayaz
1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4	4
5	5	5	5	5
6	6	6	6	6
7	7	7	7	7
+	+	+	+	+
P	P	8b	Pa	P

	Brizeño	Mersenne	Ms.M.881	Ribayaz
O	b8	1b	1b	1b
L	b8	2b	3b	4b
P	b8	7b	7b	8
+	+	x		
			1	2
				9

The chord represented by § in Brizeño's sequence of chords is used only in 'Caravando llamado del Oratorio' on f. 13. It is not clear why it should be different from the usual G major chord. Ribayaz also has two discordant variants for chords 1 and 2 for no apparent reason.

The fact that there is considerable variation between the sources suggests that this system was popular in origin and developed over a period of time. Although the *Metodo* is the earliest surviving dated source for Castilian *cifras*, it is important to emphasize that Brizeño makes no claim to have invented this type of notation. On the contrary, it is almost certainly much earlier and may possibly be the earliest form of guitar chord notation, antedating both Italian *alfabeto* and the system of notation devised by Amat. Amat may have been familiar with Castilian notation. In Chapter 2 of *Guitarra española* he refers to some of the names by which the chords were known: *cruzado mayor*, *cruzado menor*, *vacas altas*, *vacas baxas* and *ponte*.¹¹ Some symbols used in Castilian notation are obviously derived from these names. This suggests that the chords were first known by descriptive names and were later assigned numbers or symbols. *Cruzado* for example (the chord of D major) is represented by the symbol + which reflects the shape which the fingers make on the fingerboard when playing the chord.¹² In the 'Segunda regla' of Joseph Guerrero's *Arte de guitarra*¹³ and in a little known manuscript from the New World, *Libro de varias curiosidades*¹⁴ most of the symbols are equated with the various names; see Table 1 overleaf.

The terms *cruzado* and *patilla* were so well known and widely used that definitions of them were included in the contemporary *Diccionario de Autoridades*.¹⁵

Both systems of notation continued to be used until well into the eighteenth century. Castilian and Catalan notation are both found in Minguet y Yrol's *Reglas y advertencias generales que enseñan el modo de tañer todos los instrumentos...* which was printed between 1752 and 1754.¹⁶ Amat's *Guitarra española* was last reprinted between 1780 and 1819.¹⁷

The music

Printed sources

There are no substantial printed sources of music using Catalan notation. The most comprehensive source of music using Castilian notation is Brizeño's *Metodo*. Although described as a tutor on the title page, there is little in the way of instructional material and it is really a collection of music popular at the time. It includes dance music for guitar alone and for guitar and voice, and the texts of several lengthy romances with guitar accompaniment.

Since Brizeño includes a table explaining the chord symbols this aspect of the book presents no problems. The real barriers to transcribing pieces are the

TABLE 1: Chord names equated with Castilian symbols in two sources

Guerrero, Arte de guitarra

1	<i>dedillo</i>	
2	<i>puente</i>	
3	<i>vacas</i>	
4	<i>patilla atra[vesada]</i>	
5	<i>medio cruzado</i>	<i>medio</i>
6	<i>bemol del [patilla]</i>	
7	<i>cruzadillo</i>	
8	<i>dedillo (?)</i>	
9	<i>unnamed</i>	
P	<i>patilla</i>	
+	<i>cruzado</i>	

Libro de varios curiosidades

1	G	<i>prima</i>
1	G	<i>basio alto</i>
2	C	<i>tendido</i>
3	F	<i>bacas</i>
4	Bb	<i>puente</i>
5	d	<i>tisbe</i>
6	a	<i>bemol</i>
7	c	<i>bemolillo</i>
p8	A	<i>patilla</i>
+9		<i>cruzado</i>
‡10		<i>cruzadillo</i>
g11		<i>guzmanillo</i>
X12		<i>cangrejo</i>
R13		<i>rebajas</i>

absence of time signatures, the lack of any explanation of the note symbols printed above the *cifras* and the fact that the melodies to which the vocal pieces are to be sung are not included.

Most of the pieces are clearly popular dance forms, with or without texts. Most of these are found in other sources and the metre, duple or triple can be determined from these. Those in triple time include the *Zarabanda*, *Españoleta*,

Folias, *Seguidillos*, *Chaconas* and *Sarao español* and those in duple time the *Villano*, *Pavanas*, *Gallardas* and *Hachas*. The *Gascona*, *Rastreado*, and *Fanfarrona* have not so far been traced to other sources. The *Passacalle*, which in this context acts as an introduction or interlude to other pieces, will be in duple or triple metre depending on the piece to which it is attached. It will also, of course, need to be in the same key, and for this reason versions of it in twelve different keys are provided.

The note symbols present more of a problem. These consist of semibreves and minims only, with dots occasionally attached to either. The note symbols are grouped together according to the way in which the harmony changes. In the past attempts have been made to transcribe the pieces strictly according to the principles of mensural notation with limited degrees of success.¹⁸ There is however a much simpler explanation, and that is that they represent only the direction of the strokes, the semibreve representing a downstroke and a minim an upstroke. The dots generally indicate the ends of phrases. This is supported by evidence from other sources where the same pieces are notated in a way which is more readily understandable today.

If the book was intended to be a tutor for beginners, author and publisher could not have taken it for granted that readers would understand mensural notation. As a music publisher, Ballard may have chosen to indicate the stroke patterns in this way because this kind of type was readily available to him. The lack of precision in notating guitar music, especially strummed music, is common in both Spanish and Italian sources. It is a debatable point whether contemporary readers of these works would have found them easy to understand. Ballard's practice was to charge authors for printing their books.¹⁹ The number of copies of Brizelio's *Metodo* produced may have been quite small, and it may only have circulated amongst his own circle of patrons and pupils. The finer points of the text could have been explained by word of mouth.

The absence of the melodies for the vocal pieces presents a more insuperable problem. These can only be supplied if they can be traced to other concordant sources, particularly the longer romances at the end. However the sequences of chords are very simple and the many of the melodies for the dance forms can be found in other sources, arranged for guitar, for other instruments or in vocal settings. In some instances it may be possible to extract melodies from the chord sequences. In Spanish sources the dance pieces are usually associated with particular keys—the *villano* for example is usually in D major—and a suitable melody can sometimes be constructed from the highest note of each chord.²⁰

The only other printed source which includes a substantial number of pieces in Castilian notation is Ruiz de Ribayaz's *Luz y norte musical*. This is a

treatise dealing with the guitar, the harp and with mensural notation. It contains both strummed and *punteado* music in Italian tablature for guitar. Ribayaz includes strummed versions of *Xacaras*, *Folias*, *Pabanas*, *Villano*, *Zarabanda*, *Matachin*, *Mariona*, *Rugero*, *Gallarda*, *Canario*, *Dança del Acha*, *Españoleta*, *Gallarda del Gran Duque* and *Baylete*. These are more fully notated with time signatures, barring and stroke symbols, which makes it a useful source to consult when trying to reconstruct pieces by Brizeño. It is significant that although familiar with Sanz's *Instruccion de musica*²¹ to the extent of borrowing some of his pieces for the section of music in Italian tablature, he uses Castilian notation rather than *alfabeto* for the strummed music. This suggests that it was more widely used than has previously been supposed. This assumption is supported by the widespread use of Castilian notation in manuscript sources.

A small but significant selection of dance pieces is also included in Minguet y Yrol's *Reglas y advertencias generales*. This is in several sections, each describing an instrument commonly played by amateurs at the time. Most of the text about the guitar is borrowed from Amat, Sanz and Murcia but a number of apparently original diagrams and illustrations are included, together with a few short pieces for guitar, some in Italian tablature and staff notation to be played *punteado*, and others in *alfabeto*, Catalan or Castilian notation to be strummed. The strummed pieces are *La Jota por el Cruzado* and *Fandango por Patilla* in Castilian notation, *Folias Italianas* in *alfabeto*, *Passacalles* with four variations in both *alfabeto* and Castilian notation and *Folias Españolas* in *alfabeto*, Castilian notation and Catalan notation. Although none of the pieces have time signatures, the rhythm and barring is clearly notated using note values. Versions of the *Folias españolas* and *Passacalles* in staff notation are also included. These have time signatures, allowing for direct comparison.

Three other sources should be mentioned because although they use *alfabeto* rather than Catalan or Castilian notation, they include a substantial number of strummed Spanish dances which can be used as models when trying to construct pieces by Brizeño. These are Sanz's *Instruccion de musica*, already mentioned in connection with Ruiz de Ribayaz, E:Mn.M.811, *Libro de diferentes cifras* (1705),²² and the Saldívar Codex.²³ *Libro de diferentes cifras* includes a large selection of strummed pieces on pp 95–103. The Saldívar Codex includes some thirty sets of variations on dance formulas, most of which begin with the simple strummed version of the theme.

Reconstructing Pieces by Brizeño

Most attempts to interpret Brizeño's notation have been made in isolation, without reference to the rest of the repertoire. Examples 3 and 4 show how two of Brizeño's pieces can be reconstructed by comparing them with versions of the same pieces found in other sources. Where the pieces are originally notated in *cifras* or *alfabeto*, the chord symbols have been represented by letters representing the actual chords, upper case for major chords and lower case for minor, to facilitate comparison. Where the pieces are unbarred, bar lines have been supplied in dotted form.

EXAMPLE 3 (overleaf): Brizeño's *Villano*, from *Metodo*, f. 6v.

The *Villano* is invariably in D major and in duple time.

- A This shows Brizeño's version with the suggested stroke pattern inserted on the assumption that the semibreve represents a downstroke, and the minim an upstroke. This results in an upstroke on a strong beat in one place, here marked with an asterisk. Brizeño's lyrics consist of two line stanzas which can be performed to the same short musical phrase, repeated over and over again.
- B This is Sanz's version which matches Brizeño fairly closely but does not have the upstroke on the strong beat. Sanz indicates not only the stroke pattern but the note values as well (*Instruccion*, Book 1, p. 3).
- C This version is taken from the Murcia/Saldívar Codex. It is interesting in that it is unbarred and has an upstroke on a strong beat in the same place as Brizeño, here marked with an asterisk (Saldívar Codex, f. 7).
- D This is the melody from the Murcia/Saldívar Codex. Brizeño's lyrics fit satisfactorily (Saldívar Codex, f. 7v).
- E This is the opening bars of a three-part version with sacred words taken from E:Mn.Ms.M.1370-72.²⁴ The complete three part version is more elaborate with an *estribillo* and *copla*. The original melody is in the alto part and is harmonised in simple *discant* style. The original is in the key of F major, transposed here to D major for comparison. Key signatures with sharps are never used in Spanish vocal music of this period.

A. *o u o u o u o * u o o u o u o*
 o d | o d o d | o . d o | o d o d | o
 D G D D A D

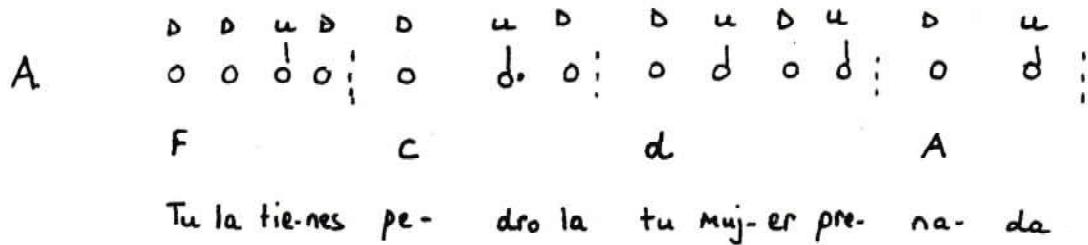
Al vil- la- no que le dan La ce- bol- la con el pan

96

37

Al vilano que le dan la cebolla con el pan

Handwritten musical score for a two-part setting. The top part (treble clef) has a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of common time (C). The lyrics are: "Al vilano que le dan la ventura con el pan". The bottom part (bass clef) has a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of common time (C). The lyrics are: "Al vilano que le dan la ventura con el pan". The score consists of two staves with corresponding lyrics below them.

A. 

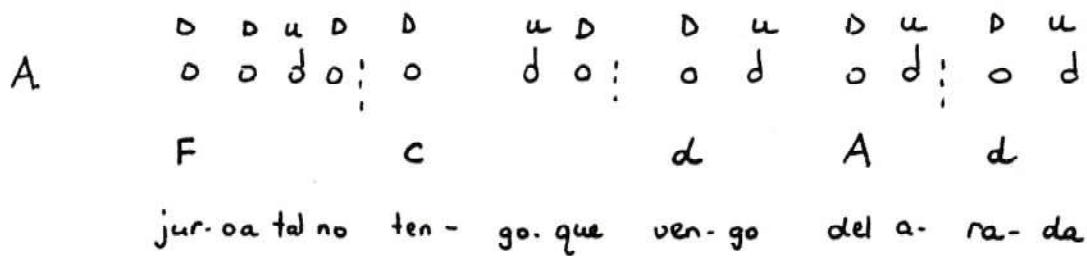
83

B. 

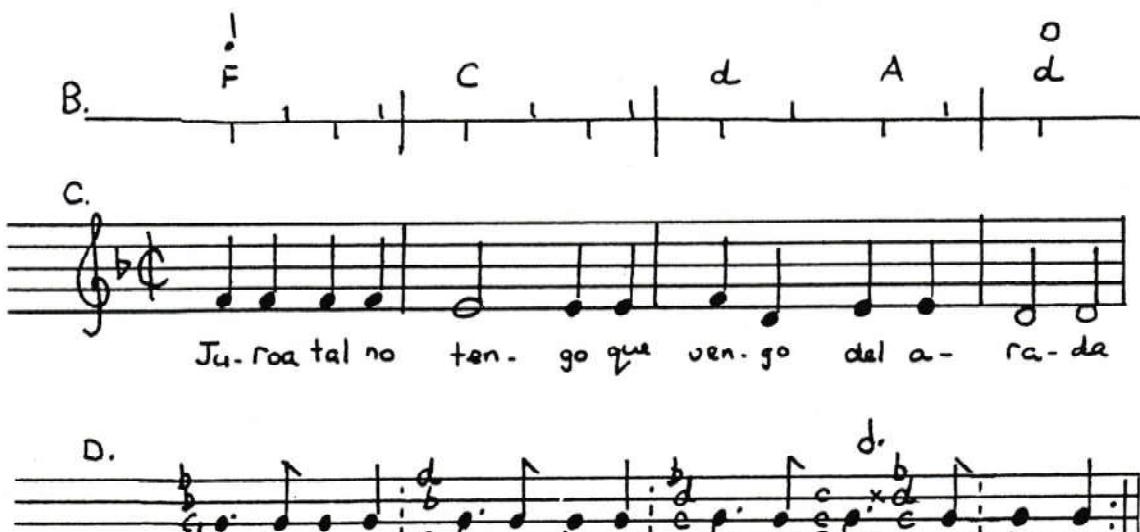
C. 

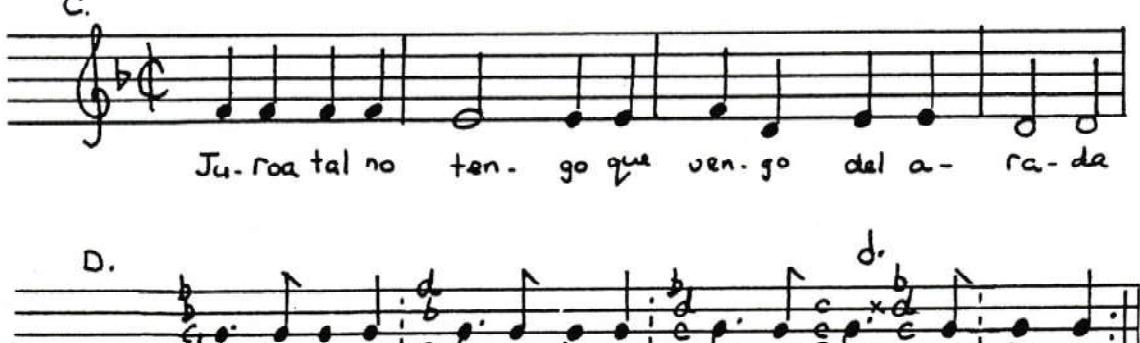
Tu la tie-nes Pe- dro la tu mu-jer pre- na- da

D. 

A. 

84

B. 

C. 

D. 

EXAMPLE 4: Brizeño's *La Dança de la Hacha*, from *Metodo*, f.13r.

EXAMPLE 4 (overleaf): Brizeño's *La Dança de la Hacha*, from *Metodo*, f. 13r.

The *Hachas* is usually in D minor, and is based on the chord progression of the *romanesca*: III, VII, I, V. It is in duple time.

- A This shows Brizeño's version with the stroke pattern interpreted in the same way as the previous example.
- B This is Sanz's version (*Instruccion*, Book 1, p. 3).
- C This is Sanz's melody, which fits Brizeño's words (*Instruccion*, Book 1, p. 5).
- D This is a strummed version from F.Pn.Ms.Res.1402, p. 102, entitled 'Tu la tienes Pedro. Espagnole.' There is no text. Although the piece is unbarred, it is clear from the stroke patterns that the piece is in duple metre.

Manuscripts

Catalan and Castilian *cifras* are found in at least thirty manuscript sources dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These are almost invariably manuscripts of vocal music to which the guitar provides an accompaniment. The majority of these are items in major collections. In most cases the guitar notation is not noted in the entries in the relevant library catalogues.²⁵ The presence of *cifras* has occasionally been mentioned in earlier articles dealing with the same sources, but they have not always been correctly identified.²⁶

The distinct geographic division in much of the material between Catalunya and Castilla has already been mentioned, with Catalan *cifras* being used in Catalan sources, and Castilian *cifras* in Castilian ones. There is however no significant difference in the type of music in which *cifras* are used or the physical formats of the sources. What is surprising is that none of the surviving sources have Catalan texts. Catalan as a literary language appears to have declined from the sixteenth century onwards, following the union of the crowns of Aragon and Castille. Catalan spelling variants are however common in sources of Catalan origin.

The manuscripts fall into two main categories: pieces in mensural notation with *cifras* added above or below one part, and poetry anthologies with chord symbols but no melodies, similar to Italian sources with *alfabeto*.²⁷ They may be single volumes conceived and copied as a whole, sets of part books, or

separate sheets, bound into miscellanies or stored loose in a *carpeta* or folder.

Some of the pieces are secular, either for domestic performance or for use in the theatre, with a certain amount of interchange between the two repertoires. There is also a large repertoire of sacred music with words in either Castilian or Catalan. These pieces were performed during the festivities associated with Christmas or Epiphany (called *Reyes*—after the three kings—in Spain), Corpus Christi, and some saints' days. Although there is no evidence that the guitar was ever used during the Latin liturgy, it came into its own when accompanying extra liturgical ceremonies. Some sacred music was also intended for domestic performance.

Manuscripts with mensural notation and *cifras*

Most of the surviving repertoire of secular vocal music in the vernacular from the first half of the seventeenth century survives in large *cancioneros* or songbooks.²⁸

The *cancioneros* usually take the form of single volumes, and the fact that they are more substantial than single sheets or sets of part books may have guaranteed their survival. Some *cancioneros* were specifically conceived as selections of the finest pieces. All contain music in several parts; there are no significant collections for solo voice from the early part of the century.

The earliest surviving *cancioneros* with guitar *cifras* date from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. These are the *Cancionero de Olot*²⁹ and the *Cancionero de romances y letras a tres*.³⁰

The *Cancionero de Olot* is in choirbook format. It comprises seventy-three secular pieces in two to four parts. Six have Catalan *cifras* added to the lowest part. These are in the same hand and the same ink as rest of the manuscript and are evidently an integral part of it, not added at a later date. The following songs have *cifras* (emphases added):

No me ni faras, Janota	f. 1
Divina Cinthia bella	f. 38
Zagaleja de Castilla	f. 43
Celia, si de tu belleza	f. 63
Sin color anda la <i>ninya</i>	f. 113
Una bella <i>ninya</i>	f. 134

The first piece is incomplete; the remaining five are in three parts. The *cifras* are in the lowest part in each case. The lowest part also carries the words indicating that the lowest line was sung, not purely instrumental. Most of the

composers named in the manuscript are Catalan, and the Catalan spellings of the Castilian text—*ninya* instead of *niña* for example in two of the songs with *cifras*—indicate that the copyist was Catalan.

The *Cancionero de romances y letras a tres* is a set of part books. It includes three-part sacred songs with Castilian texts which were probably intended for domestic performance. Several of these are *contrafacta*: secular pieces which have been supplied with sacred texts. Amongst these is the setting of the *villano* (see Example 3) the words of which parody of those in Brizeño. Castilian *cifras* are found intermittently in some of the pieces.

There are several sets of part sheets of individual pieces, both sacred and secular dating from the second half of the the seventeenth century and the beginning of the following century.³¹ Of particular interest is the 'Tono al santissimo sacramento, Vinciendo sino amante' by Honofre Puig.³² Puig was *Maestro de Capilla* at the Church of St. Just y Pastor in Barcelona from 1726. The piece is unusual in that it is scored for four treble voices, with Catalan *cifras* over the lowest part. There is no bass part or other instrumental accompaniment. There may have been some ceremonial reason for this combination of voices.

One vocal piece with Castilian *cifras*, a Christmas *villancico*, survives in a Mexican source.³³ This is in the metre of a *chamberga* and is for five voices. The *chamberga* was a fast triple metre dance popular in eighteenth century Spain. Christmas pieces cast in dance form with words in the vernacular are very numerous in Mexican sources. Only three parts, two treble and alto survive, in the form of separate part sheets. All are texted and the *cifras* are added to the alto part. The manuscript originally belonged to the Convent of the Holy Trinity in Puebla and was obviously used in performance. The names of singers appear on each part, Ysabel and Miguel on the treble parts and Ynes on the alto part. This is particularly interesting because it shows that women took part in professional performances of sacred music in Mexico, both as singers and as instrumentalists: the guitar in this instance was played by a woman. This was not customary in Spain.

One fascinating set of secular pieces is preserved in the Biblioteca de Catalunya, Mus. 759/2-15.³⁴ These are in the form of loose sheets. On side A is the music, with Catalan *cifras*, for from one to three separate pieces, together with one set of texts. On side B are the remaining texts. Although the text is in Castilian, there are many Catalan spelling variants, suggesting that the copyist was Catalan. The sheets were originally folded three times to make a small rectangle, with side A on the inside. They are the most portable, and the most fragile form of manuscript, and may have been used by a travelling theatre or strolling or itinerant musicians. This format was probably

one of the most common although because of its ephemeral nature few examples have been preserved. The circumstances surrounding the history of such sheets is unknown. It is also not clear whether there was originally any relationship between them. Their present state of preservation may be an archival accident.³⁵

Illustrations 1 and 2 are of pieces in mensural notation with *cifras*. Illustration 1 with Castilian *cifras*, 'Surcaba en braso de Paris', is a loose sheet found in E:Bc. Mús 691/2.³⁶ This is for solo voice with an instrumental bass line, written out in score with the *cifras* placed above the solo voice part. It is possible that these were added later by someone other than the original copyist. The mythological references to the *Iliad* suggest that the piece may be theatrical in origin.

This example also illustrates another common aspect of notation in Spanish sources: transposing clefs. The combination of treble clef with C clef on the fourth line indicates transposition down a fourth. Whilst the mensural notation is in the key of G major, the guitar chords are in D major. The guitar notation is always at the correct pitch at which the pieces are to be sung, and the parts in mensural notation must be transposed to match.³⁷

Illustration 2 is taken from Chapter 8 of Amat's *Guitarra española*. It illustrates the use of his table to add Catalan *cifras* to to a short piece in three parts.

Poetry manuscripts with cifras

As early as 1580 Sanchez de Lima refers to the widespread practice in Spain of accompanying lyric poetry *a lo rasgado*.³⁸

Poetry manuscripts with either Castilian or Catalan *cifras*, but without mensural notation are by far and a way the most common source of guitar music in Spain. They present the same problem as similar collections, either printed or manuscript with *alfabeto*—unless the melody can be traced to another source they cannot be reconstructed.³⁹ Some do survive in other sources with mensural notation.

If this repertoire is examined as a whole the following pattern begins to emerge.

(1) The poetry is invariably secular. No manuscripts of sacred songs with text and *cifras* only have so far come to light. This suggests that sacred songs were not set to pre-existing melodies.

(2) There is a significant body of Spanish poetry with or without *cifras* which



ILLUSTRATION 1: 'Surcaba en brasos de Paris' from E: Bc. Mús 691/2
(reproduced by kind permission of the Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona)

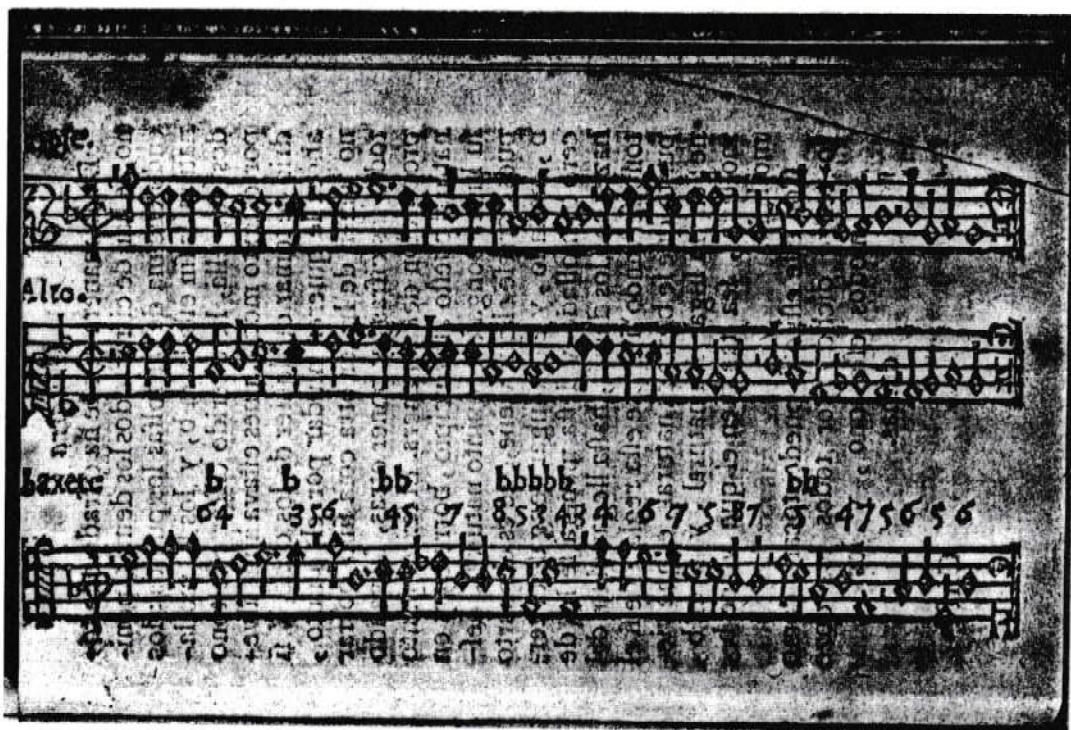


ILLUSTRATION 2: A page from Chapter 8 of Amat's *Guitarra española*
(reproduced by kind permission of Monica Hall)

is found only in non-Spanish sources. In the first part of the seventeenth century, such pieces are found mainly in manuscripts compiled and copied by Italians. There are few Spanish sources.

(3) There is a marked interest in Spanish poetry outside Spain. This is apparent from the number of Spanish pieces found in Italian and French sources, both printed and manuscript.

(4) Few Italian sources of Spanish music are found in the second half of the seventeenth century and first quarter of the eighteenth century and there is a significant increase in the number of Spanish sources of both secular and sacred poems from this period. This may be due to accidents of preservation rather than the existence of a larger repertoire.

(5) There is a large repertoire of material where the melodies were sufficiently well known to make their inclusion unnecessary. It is obviously cheaper when producing a printed source, and less laborious when creating a manuscript not to have to include mensural notation. Not all of the readers for whom such volumes were copied would have been able to read music. Most of the poems with *cifras* are strophic and the same music would be repeated for each verse.

(6) More than one musical setting of a particular poem is not unknown. With the exception of the sung dance repertoire, the same melody is rarely used for more than one poem.

(7) The poems and the musical settings may be considerably earlier than the manuscripts in which they survive.

(8) The authors of the poems are seldom identified.

The *Libro de diversas letras* of Francesc Forcadel y Martel⁴⁰ is an example of a volume compiled and copied to commission. It contains the texts of 214 songs, 56 of which have Catalan *cifras*.⁴¹ The manuscript is dated 1689. It is in a single hand and is indexed. All the poems, whether supplied with *cifras* or not, have the sections of the text which would be repeated in a musical performance written out in full.

The *Cancionero de Joseph Corral* is a commonplace book which contains 58 poems and other miscellaneous material.⁴² It has a vellum binding, on the spine of which is the word *Poesias* in a recent hand. On the front cover is written: 'I began to write in this book on the 1st November, 1625'.⁴³

Joseph del Corral was born in 1596 and was still alive in 1651. Several of the poems in the collection are assumed to be by him. The following poems have Castilian *cifras* above the first verse:

Si mal entregada al sueño	f. 18r
Que villano es el amor	f. 18v
Los campos de manzanares	f. 19r
Pastores que me abrasso	f. 19r
Sus dorados hebras feuo	f. 21v
Aqui donde mis suspiros	f. 23r
Ya no les pienso pedir	f. 23r

Several manuscripts now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid are miscellanies of single sheets with Castilian *cifras*, bound together. Little is known about how these were copied or compiled.

One major source now in the Hispanic Society of America, US:NYhsa XVIII⁴⁴ is a composite manuscript with several large sections grouped and later bound together. Little is known about how the manuscript was commissioned, compiled, copied or bound. It includes the only known example of an *ensalada* with Castilian *cifras*. It is unusual in that it is part of a larger through copied manuscript of poetry. Quasi-dramatic pieces and poetry were usually collected in separate manuscripts. It is also unusual to have a variable form such as an *ensalada* in a manuscript without mensural notation, as the music is usually different in each section.

Bailes

Bailes were two distinct but overlapping forms in Spain during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. On the most basic level, a *baile* was a popular dance often with amoral connotations (as opposed to the more dignified *danza*). Partly derived from the popular *baile* was a short dramatic interlude in popular style which was performed by the actors between the main acts of a *comedia* or play. The *baile* was usually sung throughout, but during the seventeenth century hybrid forms which include short spoken interludes begin to emerge. Unlike *entremeses* and other such interludes (known collectively as *teatro menor*), *bailes* were seldom printed, either separately or in collections. They survive most commonly in four types of manuscript all of which are usually connected in some way with the theatre company which performed them, namely:

(1) Single loose sheets (*suelta*) like those now in the Instituto del Teatro in

Barcelona and in the Hispanic Society of America.

(2) Collections of manuscript copies bound together at the time. These were used in performance and are annotated with stage directions for the music and dancing.

(3) Manuscripts copied throughout in a single hand and bound, such as the later volumes copied or collected by Maria Hidalgo, the head of an important theatre company in the early eighteenth century.

(4) Combinations of the above.

These manuscripts include only the words, not the music. In them *cifras* are found in three forms. They are found at the beginning giving the key of the piece which starts the *baile*, for example *Tocase por el 6* indicates that the piece is to be played in A minor. They may be found over the first piece in the *baile* and occasionally they appear over the complete text. In some cases the *cifras* appear to be in the same hand as the original text, whilst in others they are in different hands and ink, which indicates that they were added later.

There appears to be a preponderance of Castilian *cifras* in surviving material. However the following factors must be taken into account. Unless the *cifras* include one of the Castilian ones which is not a number, such as + or P it is not always clear whether the notation is Castilian or Catalan. The extent to which Castilian language theatre was performed in Catalunya and Valencia is unknown. What is preserved or stored in any particular archive is often a matter of chance. None of the *baile* manuscripts so far examined in detail displays the orthographic variations so common in this period when Catalans copied Castilian texts.

Other uses of *cifras*

Castilian and Catalan *cifras* are encountered in a number of other contexts.

Both systems of notation were used for instruments other than the guitar. Minguet y Yrol gives a table of chords for the four course, wire strung *citara* or cittern in Castilian *cifras* and *alfabeto*. Eighteenth century editions of Amat include a supplement entitled *Tractat Breu*, the last chapter of which describes the *vandola*. This was a five or six course member of the lute family and was tuned a fourth higher than the guitar. The higher tuning results in the whole series of chords being transposed up a fourth so that chord 1 will be A, chord 2, D, and so on. The notes and fingering of the chords are not described in detail.

Castilian *cifras* used in *Saldivar Codex* no. 2. See Stevenson, IANR, Vol. 13, no. 2, p. 152

Castilian *cifras* are occasionally used in titles to indicate the key of a piece. Instances of this are found in Sanz, Guerau and Santa Cruz.⁴⁵ Examples (emphases added) are:

‘Passacalles por la G y B—*por el tres, y dos* —y por el sexto y quinto tono’ = D major (Sanz, Book 3, Pl. 7)

‘Passacalles de Patilla 80 punto alto’ = A major (Guerau, p. 25)

‘Passacalles sobre la B que es 2’ = C major (Santa Cruz, f. 19r)

Sanz and Guerau give the proper name of the mode according to contemporary Spanish theory as well, and Sanz and Santa Cruz the corresponding *alfabeto* letter.

Sanz also makes use of Catalan *cifras* in the *Laberinto* in Book 1 of his *Instruccion*. This is a table of chords arranged in twelve columns, numbered one to twelve according to Amat’s system. In each column are set out eight different versions, four major and four minor, of the corresponding chords represented by *alfabeto* symbols.

Both Sanz and the *Tractat breu* include illustrations showing the left hand playing the chords on the guitar fingerboard. In Sanz these are arranged in the order in which they appear in Italian *alfabeto* and in the *Tractat breu* according to Amat’s system of numbering the chords. Curiously, similar sketches are found amongst illustrations in Jose Garcia Hidalgo’s *Principios para estudiar el nobilissimo y real arte de la pintura*.⁴⁶ There they are arranged in the order which they occur in Amat’s notation. Because neither the *Tractat breu* nor Garcia Hidalgo’s drawings are dated it is impossible to tell which source of the sketches is the earliest.

Performance practice

Once the symbols have been deciphered, the concordances found for pieces without mensural notation and transpositions, text and pronunciation sorted out, there remains the problem of how to play the chords. Spanish sources offer little information which is really helpful.

All Spanish language sources favour octave stringing on the fourth and fifth courses for strummed music. Brizeño is an exception. His tuning instructions clearly indicate a re-entrant tuning without octave strings on either course. This may be because his book was published in France, and reflects French practice.

Brief descriptions of how to strum are included in Ruiz de Ribayaz and Minguet y Yrol. Ruiz de Ribayaz describes strumming in two places, as follows.

...there is no difference except that one strikes all the strings with the right hand when playing *rasgado*, as if dragging it [the hand] along by the tips of the fingers over them [the strings] with a stroke, either downwards, or upwards, at the same time as the chords are stopped with the left hand.⁴⁷

...the method of striking the strings when playing *rasgado* is to pass the four fingers of the right hand over all the strings in a stroke, and at the same time, in such a way that they sound.⁴⁸

Minguet y Yrol is more explicit. The pieces illustrating chord notations are written out using a single line with conventional note values above or below to indicate rhythm. Dots are placed above or beside many of the note values. These indicate the stroke patterns, rather than variations in the rhythm. They are explained as follows.

Observe that the notes which have a tail below [the line] indicate that the strokes are played downwards with the index finger; and those which have a little dot above them are played with all four fingers. Those which have [the tails] above [the line] indicate that the strokes should be played upwards with the thumb. Those [notes] which have a hook [i.e. quavers] are played more quickly, and those which have a dot beside them may be rolled (ornamented) if one wishes. This is done with the thumb, raising it upwards, striking the strings, and then, without pausing, striking downwards. Also it should be said that when the said strokes are played, the fingers of the hand are a little contracted so as to strike the strings with the flat surface of the nails.⁴⁹

The notation can be seen in Illustration 3. This method of indicating the way in which the strummed chords should be executed is not found in any other Spanish sources.⁵⁰

Conclusion

It will be apparent by now that most of the recently identified sources which include *cifras* are vocal pieces to which the guitar provides an accompaniment. No new manuscripts of solo music for guitar in either Castilian or Catalan notation have as yet come to light. Nor are there any sources, either printed or manuscript, in which *cifras* are combined with tablature in the way that *alfabeto* is combined with Italian tablature in some late collections of solo music for guitar, notably Sanz and Murcia.

La Tota por el Cruzado.

Folias Italianas por el Abecedario.

Passacalles con los Puntos Castellanos, y Italianos, y con la 1a 2a 3a y 4a diferencia.

Folias Espanolas con los Puntos Castellanos, Italianos, y Catalanes.

ILLUSTRATION 3: Strummed dances from Minguet y Yrol's *Reglas y advertencias generales* showing the three types of notation with dots to indicate strumming patterns.
(Reproduced by kind permission of the Robert Spencer estate)

When guitar *cifras* are added to music in mensural notation, they are always added to a part which is also intended to be sung, not purely instrumental. There is a distinct difference in practice between playing from *cifras* and playing from a bass line. The guitarist almost certainly sung as well as accompanied.

How much music with guitar was originally produced in Spain during the period in question? How representative of the range of musical forms and styles are the surviving sources? To what extent are the surviving pieces biased towards certain repertoires, in particular towards sacred music and professionally commissioned music which is more likely to be preserved? These are all questions which it is not easy to answer. We hope however that we have put forward sufficient evidence to show that the importance of role which the guitar played at every level of music making should never be underestimated.

We would like to thank Dr. Brian Jeffery and the late Professor Robert Spencer for reading through this article and making several helpful suggestions.

Notes

- 1 Throughout this article the Spanish language is referred to as Castilian in order to maintain a clear distinction between the two languages.
- 2 For a detailed list of recently identified sources see M. June Yakeley, 'New sources of Spanish music for the five-course guitar', in *Revista de Musicología* vol. 19, nos. 1–2 (1996), pp. 267–286. The list also includes items in *alfabeto* and Italian tablature not discussed in this article.
- 3 See Item 1 in list of sources. The 1626 edition was reprinted in 1627, 1640 and 1674. In 1639 a slightly different version of the book was printed in Barcelona by Lorenzo Dèu. This includes a letter which says that the book appeared for the first time in 1586. This is probably a misprint for 1596. During the eighteenth century the book was reprinted at least five times. Eighteenth century editions include a supplement entitled *Tractat breu* which is in Catalan or Valencian, a variation of Catalan, according to the place of printing. This supplement is not included in any of the seventeenth century editions. It may therefore not be by Amat.
- 4 See Item 5 in list of sources.
- 5 See Daniel Devoto, 'Sur le séjour de Brizeño à Paris' in *Révue de Musicologie*, vol. 51, no. 2 (1965), pp. 145–48.

- 6 See Item 6 in list of sources. 'Second book of string instruments: Proposition XIV: To explain the shape, tuning, tablature and playing of the guitar'.
- 7 See Item 6 in list of sources.
- 8 See Item 41 in list of sources. *Resumen de acompañar* was printed in Antwerp in 1714. Ms.M.881 presumably post-dates it.
- 9 There is no evidence that Castilian *cifras* were used in French sources. An untitled, undated manuscript in the Bibliothèque National, Paris, Ms.Rés.1402, includes a substantial number of strummed pieces written out in full in French tablature. Amongst these is a version of the *Dança de la Hacha* 'Tu la tienes Pedro' found in Brizeño.
- 10 P5 in *Resumen*, f. 1v in Ms.M.881.
- 11 'Llamarse estos puntos de muchas maneras como es cruzado mayor, cruzado menor, vacas altas, vacas bajas, puente, y de otras infinitas suertes... pero yo aquí no los llamaré sino primero, segundo, tercero, y quarto, etc. y estos o naturales, o bollados'.
- 12 + represents a different chord, that of E minor in *alfabeto*. Similarly P is different in *alfabeto*, where it represents F minor as opposed to A major in Castilian notation.
- 13 See Item 39 in list of sources.
- 14 See Item 40 in list of sources.
- 15 (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1726–1737). Facsimile edition (Madrid: Gredos, 1984).
- 16 See Item 10 in list of sources.
- 17 Undated editions of Amat were printed in Valencia by the widow of Agustín Laborda, active between 1780 and 1813 and by Francisco Burguete, active between 1768 and 1813.
- 18 Attempts to interpret the rhythm strictly according to the rules of mensural notation have been made by Thomas Walker ('Ciaccona and passacaglia: remarks on their origin and early history' in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 21, no. 3 (1968), p. 300) and Richard Hudson ('The zarabanda and zarabanda francese in Italian guitar music of the early seventeenth century' in *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 24 (1970), pp. 125–149). Maurice Esse (Dance and instrumental diferencias in Spain during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Stuyvesant, N.Y: Pendragon Press, 1990), vol. 1, pp. 167–68) recognises that the dot marks the end of phrases, and suggests that the symbols represent long and

short note values, but without a fixed value. The solution offered here was first outlined in Yakeley, op. cit.

19 See José Castro-Escudero: 'La méthode pour la guitare de Luis de Briceño' in *Révue de Musicologie*, vol. 51, no. 2, (1965), pp. 131–144.

20 Italian collections of strummed pieces often have the pieces in several different keys. The highest note of the chord will not necessarily be the same if the chord sequence is transposed.

21 See Item 9 in list of sources.

22 See Item 42 in list of sources.

23 See Item 43 in list of sources.

24 See Item 18 in list of sources.

25 The catalogue of the library of the Hispanic Society of America is an exception.

26 See notes 29 and 42 below.

27 An interesting example is Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ms. Chigi L. VI 200, *Libro de cartas y romances españoles del illustrissima Senora Duchessa di Traetta*. This is a collection of Spanish poetry with *alfabeto* supplied for some of the poems. The manuscript is dated 1599—some seven years before Montesardo claims to have invented *alfabeto* in his *Nuove inventione d'intavolatura per sonare li balletti sopra la chitarra spagnuola...* (Florence, 1606).

28 For further details see Judith Etzion, 'The Spanish polyphonic *cancioneros*, c.1580–c.1650: a survey of literary concordances' in *Revista de Musicología*, vol. 11, no. 1 (1988), pp. 65–107.

29 See Item 16 in list of sources. Several scholars have failed to recognise the Catalan *cifras* in this source. Miguel Querol ('El *cancionero musical de Olot*' in *Anuario musical*, vol. 26 (1971), pp. 57–65) consulted Emilio Pujol who thought that the *cifras* referred to the frets of an instrument of the guitar family. Louisa Stein, 'Accompaniment and continuo in Spanish music' in *Actas de Congreso Internacional 'España en la música de occidente'* (Madrid: 1987), vol. 2, p. 358 suggests that the figures above the lowest voice indicate the intervals formed between this part and the melody and adds in a note that the figures can refer to either of the upper voices.

30 See Item 18 in list of sources.

31 See Items 11, 12, 14 and 19 (sacred) and 15 (secular) in list of sources.

32 See Item 11 in list of sources.

33 See Item 19 in list of sources.

34 See Item 13 in list of sources.

35 Complete list of titles in Yakeley, op. cit.

36 See Item 17 in list of sources.

37 Transposing clefs are explained in the chapters dealing with music theory in Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz y norte*.

38 Sanchez de Lima quoted in Esses, op. cit.

39 It has been suggested that the poetry was recited to a strummed accompaniment in Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (Leipzig, 1919), vol. 2, p. 191. The fact that the poems are often found in other sources with their appropriate melodies disproves this.

40 See Item 20 in list of sources. Complete list of titles in Yakeley, op. cit.

41 Complete list of titles in Yakeley, op. cit.

42 See Item 26 in list of sources. Details from Edward Wilson, 'The *Cancionero de Don Joseph del Corral*' in *Hispanic Review*, vol. 35 (1967), pp. 141–60. Wilson suggests that the *cifras* are the writer's own private guitar notation. Jack Sage ('Self-education: song collections in the seventeenth century' in *Journal of Romance Studies*, vol. 4 (1996), pp. 93–105) correctly identifies the Castilian *cifras*, but is mistaken in assuming that they were invented by Brizeño or adapted from Amat.

43 'Empeçose a escribir en este libro el primero de Noviembre de el Año de 1625.'

44 See Item 27 in list of sources.

45 See Items 8 and 36 in list of sources.

46 See Item 2 in list of sources.

47 'No ay mas diferencia que herir todas las cuerdas con la mano derecha, para tañer de rasgado, como arrastrandola por las puntas de los dedos sobre ellas, con golpe,

sea àzia abaxo, o sea àzia arriba, al mismo tiempo que se forman los puntos con la izquierda...' *Luz y Norte*, Chapter 2, p. 3.

48 'Que el modo de herir las cuerdas para tañer de rasgado, es passar los quatro dedos de la mano derecha sobre todas las cuerdas de golpe, y a un tiempo, de manera que suenen...' *Luz y Norte*, Chapter 3, p. 10.

49 'Advirtiendo, que las notas, ó señales, que tienen la cola, ó rabo ácia abaxo, significan, que se han de dar golpes ácia abaxo con el dedo indice; y las que tienen un puntito encima se dan con los quatro largos; las que la tienen ácia arriba señalan los golpes que se deben dar ácia arriba con el dedo pulgar: las que tienen á modo de un gancho, ó garavato se dán mas aprisa; y las que tienen unos puntitos, que van á parar á la que se sigue, significan redoble, si se quiere dar; y este se hace con el dicho dedo pulgar, subiendolo ácia arriba, hiriendo las cuerdas, y seguido, sin parar, dar un golpe ácia abaxo. Tambien se debe advertir, que quando se dán los dichos golpes, los dedos de la mano se encogen un poco, para dar con el llano de las unas á las cuerdas. *Reglas y advertencias*. Part 2. 'Explicacion de los puntos de la guitarra al estilo castellano, italiano, y Catalan' (no page number).

50 More detailed instructions on strumming are found in Italian *battuto* books published in the first half of the seventeenth century. See Joseph Weidlich: 'Battuto performance practice in early Italian guitar music (1606-1637)' in *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, vol. 11 (1978), pp. 63-86.

List of sources

The Y numbers in brackets are the numbers of the same items in Yakeley, op. cit. See below, p. 61 for key to source abbreviations.

Printed sources

Catalan cifras

- 1 Joan Carles Amat, *Guitarra española* (Lérida: La Viyuda Anglada y Andreu Llorens, 1626). Facsimile of eighteenth century edition, printed by Joseph Bró [c1760], with an introduction by Monica Hall (Monaco: Chanterelle, 1980).
- 2 Jose Garcia Hidalgo, *Principios para estudiar el nobilissimo y real arte de la pintura*. No imprint. Some of the drawings are dated between 1681-1691. Facsimile edition (Madrid: Instituto de España, 1965).

- 3 *Liçam instrumental da viola portugueza* (Lisbon: Da Silva, 1752). Portuguese version of Amat.
- 4 Andrès Sotos, *Arte para aprender...la guitarra* (Madrid: Imprenta de Cruzada, 1764). Plagiarized version of Amat.
- 5 Luis Brizeño, *Metodo mui facilissimo...* (Paris: Ballard, 1626). Facsimile edition, (Geneva: Minkoff, 1972).
- 6 Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1636). Facsimile edition (Paris: Editions du C.N.R.S, 1963).
- 7 Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz y norte musical...* (Madrid: Alvarez, 1677). Facsimile edition (Geneva: Minkoff, 1976).
- 8 Francisco Guerau, *Poema harmonico* (Madrid: Manuel Ruiz de Murga, 1694). Facsimile edition with an introduction by Brian Jeffery (London: Tecla, 1977).

Catalan and Castilian cifras

- 9 Gaspar Sanz, *Instrucción de musica* (Zaragoza: Herederos de Diego Dormer, 1674/1697). Facsimile edition (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1979).
- 10 Pablo Minguet y Yrol, *Reglas y advertencias generales...* (Madrid: Ibarra, 1752-54). Facsimile edition (Geneva: Minkoff, 1981).

Manuscript sources

Mensural notation/Catalan Cifras

- 11 E:Be.Mus.737/69 Music MS. Honofre Puig, 'Tono al Santissimo sacramento', dated 1724. Four trebles with Catalan *cifras* to lowest part. (Y5) *1723 Burrell 789*
- 12 E:Be.744/33. Music MS. 'Duo al nacimiento, a zaglejas dejad'. For two trebles with Catalan *cifras*. Second half of seventeenth century. (Y7)
- 13 E:Be.759/2-15. Music MS. Miscellaneous loose individual sheets with mensural notation and Catalan *cifras*. Late seventeenth century. (Y8)
- 14 E:Be.Mus.774/29. Music MS. 'Tono a quattro con guitarra'. Second half of seventeenth century, incomplete. Probably missing two voice parts. Catalan *cifras*. (Y9)

15 E:Be.Mus.1637/II/21. 'Corazon amor'. End of seventeenth century. Loose sheets. Catalan *cifras*. (Y14)

16 E:Olot.bm.Ms.I-VIII. Cancionero de Olot. Early seventeenth century. Six songs with Catalan *cifras*. (Y32)

Mensural notation/Castilian cifras

17 E:Be.Mus.691/2. 'Surcaba en brasos de Paris'. Solo voice and bassline with Castilian *cifras*. Late seventeenth century. (Y11)

18 E:Mn.M.1370-2. Romances y letras a 3. Early seventeenth century. Occasional Castilian *cifras*. Contains mensural notation version of *Villano*. (Y31)

19 Mex:MC.National Institute of Fine Art Estri.vo a 5. 'Chamberga-Lleguen todos a oir'. Castilian *cifras* to alto part. Formerly in the collection of Jesus Sánchez Herrera. Reproduced (Pl. VII) in Robert Stevenson, *Christmas music in baroque Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974). In the photograph the three sheets have been placed one on top of the other so that only a section of each part can be seen. (Y46)

Words only/Catalan cifras

20 E:Be.Ms.888. Poetry MS. Libro de diversas letras. Dated 1689. Copied by or for Francesc Fontaner y Martel. 214 poems with Catalan *cifras* added to 56. Some of the other poems are found in other sources with guitar accompaniment. (Y2)

21 E:Be.Mus.896. Second half of seventeenth century. Single manuscript divided into two sections: poetry with Catalan *cifras* and harp tablature. (Y10)

Words only/Castilian cifras

22 E:Mn. Ms.3700. Poetry MS. Second half seventeenth century. Castilian *cifras* pp. 131-131v. (Y25)

23 E:Mn.Ms.3747. Poetry MS. Seventeenth century (?). Castilian *cifras* on ff. 134, 146-47, 154, 154v. (Y27)

24 E:Mn.Ms.3985. Poetry MS. Seventeenth century (?). Castilian *cifras* on ff. 144-144v, 225, 228, 229, 230. (Y28)

25 E:Scat. Solo vocal music with Castilian *cifras*. No further information available at present. (Y33)

26 GB:Cu.Add.8156 (formerly Phillips 22216). Cancionero del Corral. Poetry MS with Castilian *cifras*. (Y35)

27 US:NYhsa XVIII. Poetry MS. First half seventeenth century. Castilian *cifras* over several poems. (Y44)

Theatre manuscripts/Castilian cifras

28 E:Bit 82690-82967. *Bailes*. Late seventeenth/early eighteenth century performance editions used by theatrical company over several years. Compiled by Maria Hidalgo (?). Castilian *cifras* over early ones in collection. (Y18)

29 E:Mn.Ms.14851. *Bailes*. Second half of seventeenth century. Performance copies with Castilian *cifras*. (Y21)

30 E:Mn.Ms.14856. *Bailes and entremes*. Second half seventeenth century (?). Performance copies with Castilian *cifras*. (Y22)

31 E:Mn.Ms. 15088. *Bailes*. Second half seventeenth century (?). Performance copies with Castilian *cifras*. (Y23)

32 E:Mn.Ms.4123. *Bailes*. Second half of seventeenth century. Performance copies with Castilian *cifras*. (Y24)

33 E:Vu.Ms.119. Libro de bailes. Late seventeenth century. (We are indebted to Andrea Bombi for drawing out attention to this new source).

34 US:NYhsa. CXCIV *Bailes*. Attributed to Quevado. *Baile* MS with Castilian *cifras*. Seventeenth century (?). From Barbieri collection. (Y45)

Other/Catalan

35 E:Be.Ms.165. Miscellaneous MS, guitar tutor. Booklet bound in a miscellany. Catalan *cifras*. Second half of seventeenth century. (Y1)

Other/Castilian

36 E:Mn.Ms.M.2209. Anttonio [sic] Santa Cruz, *Livro donde se veran pazacalles*. Castilian *cifras* used to indicate keys of pieces.

Words only/ineterminate

37 US:NYhsa. XIII. Poetry MS. Seventeenth century. *Cifras* to some of the texts. (Y43)

Other/indeterminate

38 E:M.Luis Estepa. Libro de Bailes... D.Diego de Sequeira. Possible guitar *cifras*. (Y20).

Tables of chords/Castilian

39 E:Mn.Ms.5917. Joseph Guerrero, *Arte de la guitarra*. Copied into a commonplace book belonging to D. Macario Fariñas del Corral. It is undated. Suggestions by Neil Pennington in *The Spanish Baroque Guitar* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1981), vol. 1, p. 114, that it may be as early as 1600 are not supported by any evidence. It includes table of Castilian names and numbers on the first two folios. These are damaged so that only part of the table remains.

40 RA:BA Ricardo Rojas Museum. *Libro de varias curiosidades*. MS copied between 1670–1709 by a Franciscan monk, Gregorio de Zuola. Table of Castilian names and numbers on p. 265 reproduced in Carlos Vega, *La música de un código colonial del siglo XVII* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de Universidad, 1931).

41 E:Mn.M.881. MS copy of introduction of Santiago de Murcia's *Resumen de acompañar*. After 1714. Castilian *cifras* added to *Abecedario*.

Other useful sources

42 E:Mn.811. *Libro de diferentes cifras* (1705). A large collection of variations on dance themes in Italian tablature. Includes strummed versions in *alfabeto* of *Jacaras de el cinco, Espanoletas, Villano, Cavallero, Pabana, Gallarda, Folias, Marionas, Gayta, Zarambeque, Canario, Paradetas, Jacara de la Costa, Dança de acha, Sombras, Chacona, Fandango and Encaramado*.

43 Saldivar Codex no. 4. Untitled, undated manuscript in the possession of the family of the late Gabriel Saldivar. Considered to be a companion volume to GB:Lbl Add. MS 31640, Santiago de Murcia, *Passacalles y obras* (1732). Facsimile edition with introduction by Michael Lorimer (Santa Barbara: Lorimer, 1987). Includes strummed versions in *alfabeto* and Italian tablature of *Jacaras por la E, Marionas por la B, Gallardas, Espanolas, Villanos, Caballero, Canarios, Baylad caracoles, Los Ympossibles, La Iotta, Fandango, Las Bacas, El amor, Jacaras francesas, Marizapalos, Sombras, Jacaras de la Costa, Gaitas, Cumbees and Zarambeques*.

44 F:Pn.Ms.Rés.1402. Untitled, undated manuscript of mainly strummed pieces in French tablature including 'Tu la tienes Pedro'.

Addenda

- E:Mlg. *Varios*. Several *teatro menor* MSS with occasional *cifras*. Catalogue of complete European MSS currently in library to be published November 1997.

- E:Mn.Ms.14516/3, 21, 45 *Entremeses*. In addition to the major bound MSS mentioned above, there are several hundred *teatro menor* pieces in *sueltas* (loose copies) which are currently stored in boxes at E:Mn. Many have rubrics for performance including guitar *cifras* and choreography. The ones noted here are probably only a small selection of such copies. Most are included in the catalogue: Paz, Julian, *Catálogo de las Piezas de teatro*, 2 vols, (Madrid, 1934–5), but no indication in the entries of the rubrics.
- E:Mrae, Library of the late Rodríguez Moniño. MS of *entremeses* from the early eigtheenth century. See Madroñal Durán, Abraham, 'Catálogo de entremeses de la Biblioteca de la Real Academia Española', *Bolotín de la Real Academia Española*, Tomo 75, Quad. 266 (September–December 1995). The manuscript is composed of *entremeses* from the company of Juan de Castro Salazar from the early eighteenth century which were originally copied then bound together. This complete MS was seen by Barbieri in the nineteenth century. He made a copy which is now in E:Mn. At some time it was damaged and the parts were separated. Sections of this MS are now in E:Mlg and in E:Mn. Several contain rubrics for performance including possible guitar *cifras*.
- Mex:MCUndisclosed. MS of *tonos humanos* from the second half of the seventeenth century, probably copied in the early eighteenth century. Guitar *cifras* over several pieces. This MS was partially described by John Koegel in the International Musicological Society Conference in London, August 1987. He overlooked the *cifras* and the probable date of copy. He would not disclose the present location. See *International Musicological Society Abstracts 16th International Congress* (London: International Musicological Society, 1997), p. 58.

For major sources of vocal music with concordances for poetry with *cifras* see Etzion, op. cit. and Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), Appendix 1.

Key to abbreviations

E:Be	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya
E:Bit	Barcelona, Instituto del Teatro
E:Mlg	Madrid, Lazaro Galdiano
E:Mn	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional
E:Mral	Madrid, Real Academia Española
E:Olot	Olot, Biblioteca Municipal
E:Scat	Salamanca Cathedral
E:Vu	Valencia University
F:Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
GB:Cu	Cambridge University
GB:Lbl	London, British Library
Mex:MC	Mexico, Mexico City
RA:BA	Argentina, Buenos Aires
US:NYhsa	New York, Hispanic Society of America