THE FIVE-COURSE GUITAR (VIOLA) IN PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL IN THE LATE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

by

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The history of this dissertation begins during my 1995-1996 stay in Portugal, sponsored by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and oriented by Prof. Manuel Carlos de Brito. At that time I was finishing my M.A. thesis and planning my next research project, which would deal with the Portuguese repertory for the five-course guitar. For that purpose, Prof. Rui Vieira Nery allowed me to consult and make copies of the Gulbenkian codex. At the Library of the University of Coimbra, the late Prof. Ney Travassos Cortez facilitated my access to the codex M.M. 97. During those months, in addition to frequent trips to the Music Division of the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon, then under the direction of Prof. João Pedro d'Alvarenga, I also visited libraries in Oporto, Braga, Évora, and Madrid.

Back in Brazil in 1996, the Vitae Foundation sponsored me for twelve months in a preliminary study of the Portuguese sources for *viola*. Since one year was not enough for a more detailed analysis, I concentrated especially on the connection of these sources with Brazilian music and selected around twenty numbers to transcribe.

In 1997, sponsored by CAPES, a foundation of the Ministry of Education of Brazil, I started my doctoral studies at the University of Southern California, where, for four years, I have been taking full advantage of the many resources offered by the University, besides visiting several other libraries in the Los Angeles area.

I am especially indebted to Prof. Bruce Alan Brown for our discussions, his tireless and meticulous revisions of my drafts, and for being my most supportive instructor and friend during the last four years. And I thank Prof. James Tyler--a pioneer on the early guitar who happens to be the most important authority on the instrument. Besides guiding me in the

exploration of the repertory for plucked instruments and allowing me access to his personal library, Prof. Tyler has been my baroque guitar instructor for the past four years, and always an invaluable help in dissipating all my doubts and misconceptions about the instrument and its music.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Libraries

A-GÖ	Göttweig. Benediktinerstift Göttweig. Musikarchiv.
A-Kse	Klagenfurt. Schlossbibliothek Ebental.
A-KR	Kremsmünster. Benediktiner-Stift.
A-Wn	Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.
CH-Bu	Basel. Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel. Musiksammlung.
D-B	Berlin. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
D-Rp	Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. Proske-Musikbibliothek.
D-ROu	Rostock. Universitätsbibliothek. Fachgebiet Musik.
D-SW1	Schwerin. Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern.
	Musiksammlung.
E-Mn	Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional.
F-B	Besançon. Bibliothèque Municipale.
F-Pn	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale.
GB-Ob	Oxford. Bodleian Library.
I-MOe	Modena. Biblioteca Estense.
MEX-Mn	Mexico City. Biblioteca Nacional.
P-EVp	Évora. Biblioteca Pública.
P-BRp	Braga. Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital.
P-Cug	Coimbra. Biblioteca Geral da Universidade.
P-Lcg	Lisbon. Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
P-Ln	Lisbon. Biblioteca Nacional.
P-Pm	Oporto. Biblioteca Pública Municipal.
PL-Wn	Warsaw. Biblioteka Narodowa.
S-L	Lund. Universitetsbiblioteket.
US-R	Rochester (N.Y.). Sibley Music Library. Eastman School of Music.
	University of Rochester.
US-Wc	Washington (D.C.). Library of Congress. Music Division.

Currency

The sign \$ corresponds to the early Brazilian currency *réis* (always in the plural). It is placed before a monetary value, and substitutes for the first comma when the value is larger than one thousand (e.g. \$100; 10\$000).

ABSTRACT

Three early-eighteenth-century codices of music in tablature for the *viola* (five-course guitar) are about all that remains from the Portuguese repertory for that instrument up to the publication of Manuel da Paixão Ribeiro's book in 1789. These extremely varied sources illustrate in a remarkable way the musical interactions between Portugal, other European countries, and Iberian colonies. More than that, part of their content seems to fit into a gray area between so-called art music, of written transmission, and music of the oral tradition.

While this dissertation examines these issues in the context of the history of the instrument and its players in Portugal and Brazil, a more substantial section of the dissertation deals with the origins, development, and transmission of the repertory, isolating some particular Portuguese features from more general characteristics of musical forms and dance-types.

An important part of this repertory relates to the Portuguese colonies in Africa and South America. This dissertation examines this connection in the Iberian-American musical and literary context, giving special attention to the works of Brazilian poet Gregório de Mattos Guerra (1636-1696). It considers the propagation of this repertory in Brazil as seen in his poetry, and how Brazil may have played a role of mediator between Africa and Portugal in the development of part of this repertory.

An anthology with more than one hundred pieces from Portuguese *viola* sources, both in tablature and in conventional notation, with reconstruction of the rhythm, is presented as an appendix to the dissertation.

1 INTRODUCTION

For the last century, musicologists have demonstrated a good deal of interest on the lute, recognizing the pivotal position that this plucked instrument occupied for more than 200 years in Western music. The early guitar, however, has been often relegated to a peripheral place in musicology, regarded as a little more than a curiosity as recently as three decades ago (the rule is confirmed by a small number of notable exceptions). Thanks to the pioneering work of several performers, researchers, and publishers in the last years, the repertory of guitar and guitar-related instruments from the sixteenth to early eighteenth centuries is finally earning a place more compatible with the importance the instrument and its players had in the genesis and development of so many musical forms and styles.

A still obscure area in the history of Western music, related to the early guitar and the development of many dance-types and musical forms, is the Portuguese repertory for *viola* (five-course guitar) from the mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth centuries.

Musicologist Rui Vieira Nery has appropriately described the central part of this period-from 1690 to 1720--as a no-man's land in the history of Portuguese music. The stylistic indetermination, so often regarded as a negative feature, is probably the main factor to explain the oblivion to which much of that repertory has been relegated. As Nery observes, the period is characterized by the coexistence of the last manifestations of an archaic Iberian Baroque and a still incipient importation of more modern Italian models, a play of forces in which none is strong enough to prevail.

¹ Nerv, *History of music* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1991), 79.

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The Portuguese repertory for the five-course guitar, an instrument known in Portugal and Brazil as *viola*, illustrates better than any source the musical interactions of this period.² Besides the play of indigenous and exogenous music, it also reveals the coexistence of the archaic and the modern, and of traditional and freshly-imported forms and dances.

Moreover, the musical content of three remaining codices of tablature for the *viola* sheds some light on a gray area between art-music and popular unwritten practices. The same volumes that present skillfully composed fantasias requiring a sophisticated playing technique also display a notable negligence in the notation of rhythmic values. In addition to that, several "problems" of writing, from the inconsistent notation of ornaments and repetitions to the erroneous placing of numbers, sometimes raise suspicions about the copyists' musical proficiency. Other pieces use a sketchy form of notation, perhaps intended to serve only as an aid to the interpreter's memory. Because of the idiosyncratic writing, the unusual ornamentation, and the large number of errors, attempts at reading the tablature as it is often lead to odd-sounding results.

Two of these codices remain in Lisbon, one in the Count of Redondo collection of the Music Division of the National Library (F.C.R. ms. Ne 1; henceforth Conde de Redondo codex),³ and the other in the Music Division of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation

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² *Viola* is the Portuguese term for both the five-course and the six-string guitars; in Brazilian Portuguese it refers to the five-course guitar, while the six-string instrument is called *violão*, or big *viola*. The terms *guitarra* and *viola* seem to have been interchangeable during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but since the late eighteenth century, *guitarra* refers almost exclusively to the Portuguese guitar, an instrument related to the English guitar, or cittern. The violin family's viola is known in Portugal as *violeta*, or small *viola*, and in Brazil simply as *viola*.

³ Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Seção de Música, F.C.R. ms. Ne 1, [*Livro do Conde de Redondo*]. Early-eighteenth-century codex with music in tablature for the *viola*.

(Serviço de Música, no catalogue number; henceforth Gulbenkian codex).⁴ The third source belongs to the General Library of the Coimbra University Library (MM 97; henceforth Coimbra codex).⁵ They relate to other European and Latin-American sources through a number of concordances and correspondences.⁶ Given that several researchers have had the opportunity to examine these sources, I assume that the absence of studies on the subject, and even of performances of this music, could be attributed mostly to the particularities of notation and style mentioned above.⁷

Besides these three codices, there are few other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources related to the Portuguese *viola* (see chapter 4). Although these are not the primary concern of this project, they are of fundamental importance to the comprehension of the context in which that music flourished. Equally necessary is to place this repertory in the whole picture of the European and Latin-American guitar repertory of the period. That is

⁴ Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Serviço de Música, Lisbon, no catalogue number. Early-eighteenth-century codex with music in tablature for the *viola*, *bandurra*, and *cravo*.

⁵ Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, MM 97. *Cifras de viola por varios autores*. *Recolhidas pelo Ldo Joseph Carneyro Tavares Lamacense*. Early-eighteenth-century codex with music in tablature for the *viola*, *bandurra* and *rebeca*.

⁶ I use the term "concordance" for a version of the same piece, and "correspondence" when referring to a piece based on the same melodic-harmonic scheme.

⁷ Manuel Morais is working on an edition of the Gulbenkian codex. A photocopy of an early account of his findings (1969) is available for consultation at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, filed in the same folder as the manuscript. Judging by information on his book on Corbetta, Richard Pinnell has had at least partial access to the Coimbra codex. Both Rui Vieira Nery and Manuel Carlos de Brito mention all three sources in their books on the history of music in Portugal. A few days before the oral defense of this dissertation, I was informed about a recently-released recording of a selection of pieces of the Conde de Redondo book, by Paulo Galvão, Musicália M.01.03.003 (Monica Hall, "O livro [de] guitarra do Conde de Redondo," *Lute News* 57 [April 2001]: 30-1). Before Galvão, Manuel Morais has performed in concerts some of the pieces of the Gulbenkian and Coimbra codex (personal communication by Rui Vieira Nery, Lisbon, 11 October 2000).

only possible after a careful survey of Iberian, Italian, French, and Mexican primary sources, in order to identify correspondences and to detect processes of change and recomposition.⁸

It is only by fully assessing the penetration of Italian and French models and analyzing how Portuguese musicians composers dealt with these models--accepting, reworking, or rejecting them--that one is able to recognize what was local and what was general in the music of the period, and to understand when, how, and why foreign models were assimilated and merged into local practices.

Except for a thirteen-page introduction by João Manuel Borges de Azevedo in a facsimile edition of the Conde de Redondo codex, so far no research has been published on the Portuguese repertory for guitar and guitar-related instruments. In his edition, Azevedo includes a description of the manuscript's contents and a study of the characteristics of some dances and musical forms. Azevedo also ventures some well-thought hypotheses on the date of writing and the authorship of some pieces. Some of his conclusions on the music itself, however, are less than convincing. For instance, he suggests a relationship between the Portuguese dance *oitavado* and Spanish music based on the indication *b do quadro* in one of these pieces. Without realizing that the term means major tonality, as opposed to *b molle*, Azevedo imagines that this would have something to do with the Spanish term *cuadro*, related to the more recent *flamenco* music. Referring to the *tono* (a type of song) "Al son de la cadena," Azevedo suggests a link with some pieces in the codex P-Ln Col. Pomb. MS

⁸ These include primarily guitar, harp, and keyboard sources, which I do not list in the bibliography.

⁹ Azevedo, *Uma tablatura para guitarra barroca* (Lisbon: Instituto Português do Património Cultural, 1987), xxi-xxii.

82. That is correct, but in a curious lapse, he does not realize that this very source has a complete version of that *tono*, for voice and continuo, to which the guitar version can be added with only few minor problems. Azevedo is once more on the right track when he suggests a possible African-Brazilian influence in some pieces of the book. However, when addressing the *cumbe*, he does not refer to any of the eighteenth-century sources that contain either information or even musical versions of this dance. The resemblance to the name of some geographical locations is, for him, reason enough to postulate a Brazilian origin of the *cumbe*. A mistake in the transcription of the name of one of these African-influenced pieces also shows his unawareness of that specific dance-type: the correct title of the piece on page 69 is *Camzinho de Sofalla*, and not *Camzindo*, as he transcribes it. According to contemporary dictionaries, *cãozinho* (also *camzinho*, *canzinho*, literally little dog) is a common dance in eighteenth-century Portugal (Sofala is an old designation of a region in the former Portuguese colony of Mozambique).

Although the Coimbra codex contains concordances with Francisco Corbetta's works, Richard Pinnell, the author of the most complete study on this composer, did not mention these; he only mentions and gives a transcription of the *Bayletto del Corbeto*, f. 93r, a piece of questionable authorship. Pinnell has additionally published a book on the history of the guitar in Argentina and Uruguay during the colonial period, which also covers other

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¹⁰ Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Colecção Pombalina MS 82, *Livro de rusitados de Alexandre Antonio de Lima*. Late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century codex with cantatas by several authors.

¹¹ See chapter 6 for more details on African and African-Brazilian influences in this repertory.

¹² Pinnell, Richard. *Francesco Corbetta and the baroque guitar*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1980.

Hispanic colonies, reproducing valuable data that illustrate the musical interactions between Spanish and Portuguese colonies.¹³ He makes no mention of the Portuguese guitar repertory.

Juan José Rey's 1993 book is the only study so far published to deal with the eighteenth-century Spanish five-course *bandurria*. ¹⁴ Even though both Coimbra and Gulbenkian codices present a considerable number of pieces for this very instrument, Rey writes a single paragraph about the latter, and does not make any mention of the former. ¹⁵

Maurice Esses is the author of an impressive study on dances and instrumental diferencias in Spain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which, however, does not mention the Portuguese repertory for guitar and bandurria. Since he used some Portuguese keyboard sources, as well as some Spanish guitar tablatures with similar rhythmic indications (or lack thereof), I believe that his disregard for that repertory might be explained by the absence of studies on the subject and his unawareness of the existence of such material. Nevertheless, Esses's three-volume study is probably the most comprehensive anthology of Spanish instrumental dances. It is presented in a practical format and is accompanied with some interesting comments on the history and characteristics of these dances.

Craig Russell's edition of the Codex Saldívar no. 4 also includes an extensive account of dance-types and forms associated with the guitar literature in the early eighteenth

¹³ Richard Pinnell, *The Rioplatense Guitar* (Westport, Conn.: The Bold Strummer, 1993).

¹⁴ A five-course instrument tuned in fourths and usually played with a plectrum. See chapter 2 for more details.

¹⁵ Juan José Rey, and Antonio Navarro, *Los instrumentos de púa en España: Bandurria, cítola y laúdes españoles* (Madrid: Alianza, 1993).

¹⁶ Maurice Esses, *Dance and instrumental differencias in Spain during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1992-94).

century, some of these with correspondences in the Portuguese guitar literature.¹⁷ Russell had a limited access to the Portuguese codices, which is reflected in the almost complete absence of references both in the text and in the section of musical correspondences. The only Portuguese guitar source that he uses, and that only partially, is the Gulbenkian codex. Craig Russell has also published important articles dealing with the process of recomposition in guitar music.¹⁸ Although Russell dealt mostly with the music of Santiago de Murcia, his methods and analyses could be easily applied to similar situations in the Portuguese guitar repertory.

Less research has been done specifically on the musical interactions between Portugal and its colonies. José Ramos Tinhorão has explored urban popular music in Portugal and Brazil during the colonial period, always paying special attention to its racial and social contexts. ¹⁹ Tinhorão's analyses, strongly inclined towards a Marxist ideology, are hampered by his lack of musical and musicological training. Nonetheless, because of his extensive research in theatrical and literary sources, Tinhorão's books always provide clues and sometimes unexpected information on Portuguese and Brazilian dance-types and popular music of the past centuries.

Manuel Carlos de Brito's short 1994 article, "The unassumed legacy: The influence of Brazil on Portuguese eighteenth-century music," one of the few articles to treat directly the topic of Brazilian influence on Portuguese music, only covers the late eighteenth and

¹⁷ Craig Russell, *Santiago de Murcia's Códice Saldívar no 4* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

¹⁸ Craig Russell, "El arte de recomposición en la música española para la guitarra barroca," *Revista de Musicologia* 5, no. 1 (1982), 5-23.

¹⁹ José Ramos Tinhorão, *História social da música popular brasileira* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1990); *Fado: Dança do Brasil. Cantar de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1994).

early nineteenth centuries.²⁰ Robert Stevenson's 1968 article "The Afro-American Legacy," as well as some chapters of *Music in the Aztec and Inca Territory*, deal with African-influenced music only in Spanish America, though including useful information about European musical contacts in Africa.²¹

This dissertation aims at shedding some light at the musical interactions between Portugal, Europe, Africa, and the New World, as illustrated by the *viola* repertory. For that reason, and because it treats a mostly unknown repertory, this research might also prove helpful to the early-guitar researcher and performer, as well as those interested in the development of musical forms and dance-types during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In chapter 5 of this dissertation I provide some notes about most of the musical forms and dance-types found in the Portuguese *viola* codices. Because previous studies by Maurice Esses, Craig Russell, and Warren Kirkendale have already analyzed many of these within the Spanish and Italian context, I rely mostly on Portuguese and Brazilian sources.

The information in chapters 2 and 3 is mostly based on the secondary literature and compilations of early documents about musicians, instrument makers, and musical practices in Portugal and Brazil.²²

²⁰ Manuel Carlos de Brito, "The unassumed legacy: The influence of Brazil on Portuguese eighteenth-century music," *Ars Musica Denver* 7, no. 1 (Fall 1994), 57-64.

²¹ Robert Stevenson, *Music in Aztec & Inca territory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

²² Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo, *Subsídios para a história da música em Portugal* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1932); Paulo Castagna, "Fontes bibliográficas para o estudo da prática musical no Brasil nos séculos XVI e XVII" (M.A. thesis, University of São Paulo, 1991).

The Portuguese *viola* repertory was not preserved in an easily-readable form. With a few exceptions, these tablatures do not bear rhythmic signs, which raises several issues related to the appropriateness of any attempt of reconstruction. I address some of these issues in chapters 5 and 7 of this dissertation, and present in the appendix some results of my method of rhythmic realization of this repertory.

More particular issues emerged during the course of the study of these sources. For instance, there is still no answer for the almost complete absence in the Portuguese sources of mixed tablature notation. Combining numbers and the *alfabeto* chords, this was the most common type of tablature in Spain and Italy during the early eighteenth century. When copied in Portugal, a work originally in mixed notation was simply translated into Italian tablature. Comparison between Portuguese copies and their originals in Italian and French sources also gives us insights in local performance practices, from ornamentation to the reworking, or recomposition of entire pieces (chapter 5).

Another important issue to be addressed in this dissertation (chapters 5 and 6) relates to the interaction between popular and art-music practices, as well as practices of different social and racial groups. Because musical practices in Portugal and Brazil until the late eighteenth century were part of the same continuum, both in art- and folk-music, these sources are extremely important for the understanding of the first developmental stages of Brazilian popular music. The substantial number of dances of probable African origin in these volumes also stresses that point: some of these dances were common in Brazil before the time of the compilation of the codices, which more than suggests a Brazilian stage in their development.

2 THE VIOLA

2.1 Terminology, Delimitation, Features

Twenty men gather together and bring a *viola*. Three or four of them play it and sing, and the other ones climb the walls of the houses and steal the men's belongings. As for some wives, daughters, and maids of ill repute who like to hear the *viola* playing, these men go indoors, sleep with them and take away something when leaving.

Ajuntãse dez e dez homês E leuom hua violla E tres e quatro estam tamgendo E camtando E os outros Entom escallam as cassas E Roubã os homês de suas fazemdas, E outros que tem máas molheres E máas filhas ou criadas como ouuem tanger a violla vamlhes desfechar as portas e dormem com ellas E quando se espedem leuom alguua coussa.

Besides showing an early use of the term *viola* for an instrument employed in the accompaniment of popular songs, this 1459 document from the Lisbon court suggests that the instrument and its players already had a kind of dark fame that would resurface from time to time throughout the centuries. And the answer to the complaint seems to stress it: king dom Afonso V ordered that anyone caught in the streets with a *viola* from 9 p.m. to dawn, provided that there was no feast or wedding, should be arrested and have his *viola*, guns, and clothing confiscated.¹

Was that instrument really a plucked *viola*, the same instrument known in other times and places as guitar? Confusion between the terms seems to have existed already at that early date. A royal letter of 1442 that deals with certain tax exemptions mentions the

¹ Quoted by Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro, in *As "guitarras de Alcácer" e a "guitarra portuguesa"* (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1936), 25-6.

guitarra, along with the alaude (lute) and harpa, but not the viola.² From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, the distinction between plucked and bowed violas is much clearer.

Although not nearly as clear as in Spanish sources, the distinction between the guitarra and the viola is also found in sixteenth-century Portugal.³ The terms seem to be used more or less interchangeably in the following century, though the former is far more frequent.

Although the origin of the term *viola* could be traced back to the late Latin *fidicula*, there is no point in attempting to relate the sixteenth-century *viola* to any specific instrument that might have existed centuries before. What can be ascertained is that by the mid-fifteenth century, the term *viola*, as well as *vihuela* and many variants of the word guitar, were used to designate several stringed instruments--both plucked and bowed. In the next century the meaning would gradually narrow to comprise only instruments with the body roughly in the shape of a figure eight. By this time the terms *viola de mão*, or *da mano*, and *vihuela de mano*--literally "hand-*viola*"--were sometimes used to mean the plucked *viola*, which in Portugal might mean both the four- and the six-course instrument, known in Spain by different designations: *guitarra* and *vihuela*. Likewise, qualifiers such as *da braccio*, *de arco*, *da gamba*, were applied to bowed instruments.

Already by the mid-sixteenth century, Juan Bermudo and Miguel de Fuenllana described a type of plucked instrument with five courses of strings. In 1554, Fuenllana

² Ibid., 24. Laurence Wright has demonstrated that in fifteenth-century Europe, the term *guitarra* and its variants meant a type of treble lute, later known as *mandora*. See Laurence Wright, "The Medieval gittern and citole: A case of mistaken identity," *Galpin Society Journal* 30 (May 1977): 8-42.

³ In the *Auto de Filodemo*, first published in 1587, Luís de Camões mentions the *viola* and the *guitarra* in different contexts. The *viola* is used for the accompaniment of *cantigas* (songs) and the pastimes of the nobility, while the *guitarra* is used in a rustic instrumental ensemble, and accompanying "very old" *cantigas*. Luís de Camões, *Obras completas* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1972), vol. 3, 134-7, 216-7.

prescribed some compositions for a *vihuela de cinco ordenes* (five-course *vihuela*), which follows the interval-pattern of a common Spanish *vihuela* without the first course.⁴ Bermudo described in 1555 a *guitarra de cinco ordenes* (five-course guitar), which is different from Fuenllana's instrument because it departs from the four-course guitar, having its second course raised a semitone and an additional course placed a minor third above the first one.⁵

The model of five-course guitar that would prevail, in which a fifth course is placed below the fourth course of the guitar--thus resulting in the same interval-pattern as Fuenllana's five-course *vihuela*--would be established, although not invented, by Juan Carles Amat, in his little treatise of 1596.⁶ The tuning prescribed there (A a / d d¹/g g / b b / e¹) would soon become standard, even though variants of this model are seen throughout the seventeenth century, originating not only in the national styles, but also in individual preferences. Nicolau Doizi de Velasco, for example, says in 1640 that in order to play contrapuntal music, it is better to string the instrument with bourdons in the fourth and fifth courses--as explained by Amat--so it would sound better and closer to contrapuntal voices.⁷ Gaspar Sanz reveals that the use of bourdons was customary in Spain, where some players even doubled the bourdons in the fourth and fifth courses. However, he considered it more

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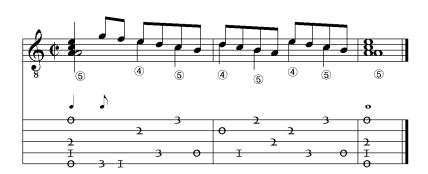
⁴ Miguel de Fuenllana, *Libro de musica para vihuela intitulado Orphenica lyra* (Seville, 1554; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1981), f. 158r-162v.

⁵ Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna, 1555; reprint, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957), f. 97r. The resulting interval-pattern, perfect fifth / perfect fourth / major third / minor third (or, considering G as its lowest course, G G / d d / g g / b b / d¹ d¹), is the same as the tunings called by folk *viola* players in Brazil *guitarrinha* (little guitar) and *rio abaixo* (down the river). See Roberto Nunes Correa, *Viola Caipira* (Brasília: Musimed, n.d.), 19-21.

⁶ The earliest edition that survives was printed in Lérida, 1626.

⁷ Nicolau Doizi de Velasco, *Nuevo modo de cifra para tañer la guitarra* (Naples: Egidio Longo, 1640), 16-17.

appropriate for the playing of the bass, by which he meant the accompaniment of *tonos* (songs) or *sonadas* (instrumental music). In France and England, players used to employ one bourdon in the fourth course only (a a / d¹ d / g g / b b / e¹). This type of tuning, in which the strings or courses do not follow a linear sequence from the lowest to the highest pitch, is known as reentrant. Another type of reentrant tuning is the one that Sanz called the Roman style of stringing the guitar, that is, with no bourdons at all (a a / d¹ d¹ / g g / b b / e¹). This tuning was much more suitable to the modern styles with *campanelas*, as well as several types of ornaments. For *campanelas*, literally "bells," one understands the effect of letting the notes of a scale or melodic line ring by playing them on different strings and using open strings as much as possible, rather than following the usual scale patterns in the fretboard. The tuning without bourdons allows the playing of passages such as those in example 2.1, from Sanz's treatise.



Example 2.1: Campanelas.

⁸ Gaspar Sanz, *Instruccion de musica sobre la guitarra española* (Zaragoza: Diego Dormer, 1674; reprint, Zaragoza: Institución Fernando El Católico, 1979), 1 [fol. 8r].

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⁹ Ibid.



Example 2.2: Scordature.

Besides the basic pattern of intervals established by Amat, the guitar literature of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century is particularly rich in *scordature*, unusual tunings aimed at facilitating the performance in certain keys and emphasizing the instrument's

resonance. Some *scordature* also enhance the capability of using *campanelas* and other effects native to the guitar repertory.

The use of *scordature* probably has its origins in folk practices, in which not only are there regional variants, but sometimes each player is expected to choose or even develop his or her own stringing system. A comparison between *scordature* by several seventeenthand eighteenth-century guitar players and those found in folk *violas* in Portugal and Brazil reveals the recurrence of some patterns. (see example 2.2).

Also the tuning of the third course in an octave, which seems to be implied in some sources, would coincide with several Latin-American modern patterns of stringing.

In the last decade of the eighteenth century, the five-course guitar starts to lose terrain to the six-course guitar, at first with double and later with single strings. But that did not happen in the less sophisticated corners of the Luso-Brazilian world, where the only important modification was a growing preference for wire, rather than gut strings. That change begins to take place still in the late eighteenth century, when the *viola de arame*, or wire-guitar, is mentioned for the first time. Unlike what happened to the eighteenth-century *chitarra battente*, there is no major structural modification from the gut to the wire *viola* in order to support the metallic strings. And judging by Manoel da Paixão Ribeiro's *Nova Arte de Viola*, by the 1780s the repertory of both the gut- and the wire-strung *viola* was essentially the same: *modinhas* (love songs) and minuets, in which the *viola* would harmonize a given bass line. For that role, the wire-strung guitar had some advantages. Although, according to Ribeiro, it required from the player "a great modification in the fingers in order to achieve a good sound," after some practice, there would be "no difference

between the *viola* and the harpsichord."¹⁰ Besides the change in musical taste, maybe this fascination for the more extroverted metallic sound also contributed to the abandoning of the old repertory for solo gut-strung *viola*, and the definitive adoption of metal strings. It should be noted that, by the same time another metal-strung novelty--the English guitar--had gained ground rapidly, to the point of being converted, some decades later, to Portugal's national instrument.

Of course, these observations refer primarily to urban popular music. By then several types of *violas* were being used in folk music in the same way that for centuries they have been, and still are, used. At least in the context of unwritten practices, that is probably the reason there was no substitution of the five-course *viola* by the six-string instrument known in Brazil as *violão* (lit. large *viola*) and in Portugal as *viola francesa* (lit. French *viola*). Both types of instruments coexist still today in Portugal and Brazil, although the five-course *viola* displays a large number of regional variants, in matters such as number of frets, body shape and materials, stringing, and tunings. As for the six-string guitar, it is usually strung with metal strings in both Portuguese and Brazilian folk and popular musical practices.

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¹⁰ Manuel da Paixão Ribeiro, *Nova Arte de Viola* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1789; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1985), 7.

2.2 Makers

Already in the fifteenth century, documents mention a certain Martin Vasques Coelho as a *guitarreiro*, or *guitarra* maker in Lisbon. ¹¹ In the following century, Lisbon official documents mention *viola* makers in 1541 (Álvaro Fernandes), and 1551 (Diogo Dias), and the maker of *viola* strings Roberto Romano in 1562. ¹²

According to João Brandão's descriptive book of 1552, *Tratado da Magestade*, *Grandeza e Abastança da Cidade de Lisboa*, Lisbon had then fifteen *viola* makers and ten makers of *viola* strings. The later *Sumário em que brevemente se contém cousas (assim eclesiásticas como seculares) que há na cidade de Lisboa*, by Cristovão Rodrigues de Oliveira (c. 1554) increases that number to sixteen, besides three "carpenters" of organ and four of clavichord (*manicórdio*). Following the Portuguese professional classification of *artes e oficios*, arts and crafts, the profession of *viola* maker would fall into the mechanical crafts or professions (*oficios mecânicos*). Within this category, the worker started as an apprentice. As he gained knowledge and ability, he rose to the status of a companion, later gaining final independence as a master. The designation *oficial*, craftsman, applied to an accomplished companion, as well as to a master who had not yet received permission to

¹¹ Brito Rebelo, "Curiosidades Musicais, Um guitarreiro do XV século," *A Arte Musical* 16, no. 382 (1914): 166-9. Quoted by Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais populares portugueses* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982), 190.

¹² Michelangelo Lambertini, *Industria instrumental portuguesa* (Lisbon: Typographia do Annuario Commercial, 1914), 6.

¹³ Quoted by José Ramos Tinhorão, *História Social da Música Popular Brasileira* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1990), 27.

¹⁴ Manuel Morais, "Uma viola portuguesa do século XVI," *Colóquio Artes* 17, no. 21 (February 1975): 71.

open a workshop (*tenda*), where he would make, repair and sell instruments. The *Regimento* dos Violeiros, of 1572, shows what kind of examination the craftsman could expect from the guild before being allowed to have some independence and opening his own workshop:¹⁵

4. – And the craftsman of the above craft who wants to open a workshop will have to make a *viola* of six courses, with its sides in black or red wood, and carved [or bent] with fire, and very well molded and carved [or bent], soundboard and back in two halves – ss – joined in the middle, very well done and inlaid with an inlaid of eight and another of four very well done, and up the neck it will receive a kneecap or a *trena* [?] with two fittings and their ends, and it will be glued with fish glue, back and soundboard, and it will be lined [covered?] in the inside with cloth lining:

Likewise, he will make a carved rose, deep or shallow, very well done: Likewise, he will adequately [very well] place the frets in the *viola*, and he will clean it, and that is how he will finish it:

Likewise, he will adequately [very well] string the *viola* according to its size, and he will tune it in order to allow someone to play on it:

Likewise, he will make a chessboard with very straight tables [tauolas], with the boxes of the board very well laid:

Likewise, he will make a harp of the size he wishes, well carved, and well joined, and well glued with fish glue, and with a good distance between the strings, so that some do not go wider than the others:

Likewise, he will make a bowed viol, *tipre* [treble] or *cõtrabaxa* [probably bass], whichever one he wishes, carved [or bent] with fire and with the soundboard carved in a fair thickness, all equal, and fretted according to the bridge, so that it is not too high or too low:

- 12. Likewise, it is required from the *viola* makers who own a workshop that they make the six-course *violas* with two sides, and that they line [cover?] them with *pions* [?] or *lenços* [clothes], and that they have their carved roses made of paper, and if they want to make them in the soundboard, they have to cover [make] them with parchment.
- 4. E o official do ditto officio que tenda houuer de ter faraa hũa viola de seis ordes de costilhas de pao preto ou vermelho laurada de fogo muito bem moldada e laurada, tampão e fundo de duas metades ss junta pelo meo muita bem feita e marchetada cô hũ marchete de oito e outro de quatro muito bem feitos, e pelo pescoço arriba leuara hũ rotolo ou hũa trema cô hũas encaixaduras cô seus remates e seraa grudada cô grude de pexe, fundo e tampão, e seraa forrada por dentro cô forros de panno:

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¹⁵ Vergílio Correia, ed., *Livro dos Regimētos dos Officiaes mecanicos da Mui Nobre e Sēpre Leal Cidade de Lixboa (1572)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1926), 138-9.

Item faraa hũ laço de talha fundo ou raso muito bem feito:

Item regrara muito bem a dita viola e a alimpara e per esta manr.^a seraa acabada:

Item encordoara a dita viola muito bem segundo pertencer ao tamanho della, e apontara e afinara de maneira que possão nella tanger:

Item faraa hũ taboleiro de xadrez e tauolas acostumado muito bē desempenado que seia para passar cõ as casas do taboleiro muito bem assentadas:

Item faraa hũa arpa do tamanho que quiserem bem laurada e bem junta e bem grudada cõ grude de pexe e de bõo compasso das cordas que não vão hũas mais largas que outras:

Item faraa hũa viola de arco tipre ou cõtrabaxa qual quiserem laurada de fogo e do tampão cauado de muito boa grossura toda igoal e da regra que venha conforme ao caualete que não seia muito alto nem muito baixo:

12. – Item mandão que os violeiros que tenda teuerem que fação as violas de seis ordes de duas costilhas, e seião forradas co pions ou lenços. e os laços dellas de talha seião de folha. e se os quiserem fazer no tampão seião forrados de purgaminho:

These regulations show that the maker should be able to build not only plucked, but also bowed viols, as well as harps and chessboards. The most detailed section of the document, and thus the examination, deals with the making of a six-course *viola*, the instrument known in Spain as *vihuela*. At that point, this was the most important plucked instrument also in Portugal. Although it is not stated in the document, one infers that the examination should be convincing enough to give the prospective *viola* maker the privilege to build other plucked instruments such as four and five-course *violas* as well as several sizes of bowed viols.

At least one instrument from a sixteenth-century Lisbon *viola* maker has survived. It was built by Belchior Dias, probably a relative of Diogo Dias, who was admitted to the service of king dom João III in 1551.¹⁶ Belchior Dias's *viola*, which belongs to the museum of the Royal College of Music in London (catalogue no. 171), bears the date December

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¹⁶ Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo, *Subsídios para a história da música em Portugal* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1932), 171.

1581. It has five courses, a vaulted back, a string length of 55 cm and a total length of 77 cm. The way the neck is joined to the body seems to agree with the observations of the 1572 *Regimento dos Violeiros*: the neck ends in a fork and extends into the sound box, where its top is fixed to the soundboard and its bottom to the back of the sound box. ¹⁷ A catalogue from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation describes the instrument: ¹⁸

Five-course guitar, rectangular handwritten label (gothic lettering) with a single lined frame: "Belchior Dias made it in Lisbon in the month of December 1581." In an ivory label with dark background at the top of the head, one reads in red ink "Bchior/Dias Lxa." Vaulted back with 7 ribs, half-cane shaped, separated from one another by ivory fillets and triple ivoryebony-ivory fillets. Back and sides are made of Brazilian rosewood [jacarandá] (dalbergia cearensis). Head and fretboard in ebony are inlaid with the same triple fillets that circle the peg holes, which are dorsal and follow the fingerboard in a winding design. The soundboard is in spruce. In the sound hole, framed by ebony and boxwood inlaid, there are signs that there was a rose. Both the soundboard and the bridge, which retains part of the ornamental moustache, are not original, and probably date from the eighteenth century. The guitar is outlined in all its lateral extension, in the front of the head, and in the back by the ivory-ebony-ivory fillets. The pegs are made of ebony, with an ivory collar.

Guitarra de 5 ordens etiqueta rectangular manuscrita (letra gótica) com moldura de traço simples "Belchior Dias a fez em/Lxa. nomes de dez.º 1581/." Em etiqueta de marfim tinto a vermelho com fundo escurecido e que se encontra embutida no topo superior da cabeça lê-se "Bchior/Dias Lxa." Costas bombeadas com 7 aduelas em forma de meia cana separadas entre si por filetes de marfim e filetes triplos marfim-ébano-marfim. Costas e costilhas de jacarandá (dalbergia cearensis). Cabeça e escala em ébano marcheteados pelos mesmos filetes triplos que envolvem os orifícios das cravelhas, que são dorsais e seguem enlaçados pela escala. O tampo harmônico é em spruce. Na abertura sonora, emoldurada de marchetes em ébano e buxo notam-se sinais de ter existido uma rosácea. Tanto o tampo como o cavalete que conserva parte dos elementos ornamentais "bigodes," não são originais devendo datar do século XVIII. Toda a guitarra é percorrida lateralmente, no lado posterior da cabeça e costas pelos filetes marfim-ébano-marfim. As cravelhas são em ébano com colar de marfim.

¹⁷ Harvey Turnbull, *The Guitar* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1974), 10.

¹⁸ Exposição Internacional de Guitarras (Lisbon: Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, 1983), [f. 5r].

The opinion of the anonymous writer of the catalogue regarding the originality of the instrument differs from that of Morais and Evans, for whom the guitar is practically all original. Even if the soundboard was replaced in the eighteenth century, as the catalogue suggests, the instrument was still in use for some time after that, for, as Morais observes, the soundboard presents signs of wearing down near the bridge, where the player would rest the little finger.¹⁹

James Tyler points to the reduced size of the instrument, suggesting that this would be an equivalent of the type of guitar later known in Italy as *chitarriglia*. In fact, there is evidence from the seventeenth century about an instrument in Portugal similar to the *chitarriglia*, with five courses of double strings: the *machete*, or *machinho*. Besides that, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents such as inventories and customs reports mention *violas* in at least two sizes, *grandes* and *pequenas*, large and small. The qualifier *pequena* could mean a three-quarter or a one-half size, or even a *viola requinto*, as the smallest type of *viola* is called today--tuned a fifth higher than the full-size instrument. Belchior Dias's seems to be a three-quarter *viola*.

Both Evans and Tyler relate Dias's *viola* to a heavily restored guitar in the collection of the late English lute-player Robert Spencer. Spencer's guitar does not bear a label or any

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¹⁹ Tom and Mary Anne Evans, *Guitars: music, history, construction, and players from the Renaissance to rock* (New York: Facts on File, 1977), 27; Morais, "Uma viola portuguesa," 71. If the identification of building materials in the catalogue is correct, this is probably the first example of the use of a Brazilian wood in the fabrication of musical instruments--and in a way it is still used today: the *jacarandá*, or Brazilian rosewood, for the back and sides of acoustic guitars. The same wood is used also in the undated *vihuela de piezas* at the Musée Jacquemart-André, in Paris. See a description in the catalogue *The Spanish Guitar / La Guitarra Española* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Madrid: Museu Municipal, 1991-2).

²⁰ James Tyler, *The Early Guitar* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), 35-6.

identification of maker, but displays identical inlays, besides some other similarities.²¹ With a string length of 68 cm, it is considerably bigger than Dias's *viola*, which has a string length of 55.4 cm.

From the large number of viola makers in Lisbon during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the names that surface are usually those found in official documents: viola makers employed by the royal family, receiving or asking for some royal permit or benefit, or subpoenaed to witness before the Holy Inquisition. Sousa Viterbo and Michelangelo Lambertini list the names of Gaspar d'Almeida, Francisco Gonçalves (who received his permit in 1626), Domingos Fernandes (born before 1570), João Coelho (b. 1575), Thomé Fernandes (b. 1576), Luiz Ribeiro (b. 1589), Domingos da Costa (mentioned in 1643), Jeronimo Gomes (b. 1641, mentioned in 1670 and 1677), Bartolomeu de Lemos (mentioned in 1670 and 1677), Luiz de Lemos (mentioned in 1674), and Mathias de Lemos (b. 1648, mentioned in 1678). The last one was Official Violeiro da Casa Real, literally "craftsman viola maker of the royal house." Since most of these had their workshops in the Rua dos Escudeiros, in Lisbon, both Viterbo and Lambertini suggest that viola makers would be confined by the city's authorities to the street of that particular professional category, as it was the case with other types of craft. Although earlier the Rua dos Escudeiros probably was related to either shield makers or squires, by the sixteenth century it would become the violamakers' street.

Some *viola* makers of the eighteenth century were Manuel Francisco (appointed in 1710 *viola* maker of the house of the "Senhoras Rainhas"), Domingos Alvares (appointed in 1711 *viola* maker of the house of queen dona Maria Anna d'Austria, wife of dom João V),

²¹ Evans, Guitars, 27; Tyler, The Early Guitar, 36.

Domingos Rodrigues Galvão (mentioned in 1727, d. 1731), José Ferreira (mentioned in 1731), João Esvenich (mentioned in 1749),²² Pedro Ferreira Oliveira (b. 1702, mentioned in 1767) and Joaquim José Galvão (mentioned from 1760 to 1787). Lambertini informs us that nine or ten *violas* by Joaquim José Galvão survived to his time, although they were considerably different among themselves in style, shape, size and varnish.²³ However, Lambertini does not comment on the possibility that some of these could have been restored or modernized.

The presence of a workshop of instrument making in the Monastery of Santa Cruz of Coimbra is documented from the early sixteenth century.²⁴ Dom João I, for example, who died in 1590 at 82, was a well-known maker of harpsichords, clavichords, bowed and plucked *violas*.²⁵

22

he was a great musician, with a good contralto voice, and he was good also in making all kinds of instruments, harpsichords, clavichords, bowed and plucked *violas*, and he used to repair the instruments as well . . .

era grande musico assi de uox boa contra alta, como tambem de fazer todos os estromentos, crauos, manicordios, uiolas darco, e de mão e tambem consertaua, os estromentos . . .

²² Viterbo, *Subsídios*, 188, informs that João Esvenich was actually a maker of *rabecas* (violins), *rabecões* (celli), and *cravos* (harpsichords).

²³ Lambertini, *Industria Instrumental*, 8-9.

²⁴ Ernesto Gonçalves de Pinho, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra: Centro de Actividade Musical nos Séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1981), 153ff.

²⁵ Ibid., 154, quotes the information by dom Gabriel de Santa Maria (d. 1616):

In northern Portugal, the music-instrument industry concentrated especially in the region of Guimarães, where, according to Alfredo Guimarães, a *viola*-maker guild has a documented existence as early as in 1632.²⁶

2.3 Early Violas in Brazil

Information about *viola* makers in Brazil during the colonial period is virtually non-existent. The majority of the instruments, like most manufactured goods, were imported from Portugal. The document *Pauta da Dizima da Alfandega da Villa de Santos pela do Rio de Janeiro anno 1739* reveals that by that year the port of Santos was receiving²⁷

Common *violas*, a dozen 6,000 *réis* Inlaid *violas*, each one 800 *réis* Small *violas*, a dozen 1,800 *réis*

Violas Comuas aduzia 6\$000 Violas marchetadas cada uma \$800 Violas pequenas aduzia 1\$800

The same document informs us that *viola* strings were also imported. Another source reveals that as late as 1796, 1,123 *violas* (at 600 *réis*) and 389 small *violas* (at 300 *réis*) were imported from Portugal through Maranhão, in the northern part of the colony, in

²⁶ Alfredo Guimarães, *Violas de Guimaraes* 36 (1926): 112-5. Quoted by Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais populares portugueses*, 192-3.

²⁷ *Documentos interessantes para a história e costumes de S. Paulo* vol. 45 (1924), 168. Quoted by Paulo Castagna, "Fontes bibliográficas para o estudo da prática musical no Brasil nos séculos XVI e XVII" (M.A. thesis, University of São Paulo, 1991), 671.

that year alone. The same document shows that one *rabecão* (cello) was imported for 32,000 *réis* and six *rabecas* (violins) for 3,200 *réis* each.²⁸

Some details about value and use of *violas* can be gathered from inventories and wills. Paulo Castagna prepared a table about musical instruments mentioned in such documents from 1604 to 1700 (see table 2.1), compiling it from the series *Inventários e Testamentos*, published by the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo (1920-1977).²⁹

Table 2.1: Musical instruments mentioned in Brazilian inventories and wills (Castagna).

Instrument	Owner	Document	Place	Date	Value
					in <i>réis</i>
Pandeiro (type	Manuel Chaves	Inventory	São Paulo	10/04/1604	160
of tambourine)					
Viola	Mécia Roiz	Inventory	São Paulo	Between 08/01/1605	320
				and 02/04/1606	
Viola / guitarra	Paula Fernandes	Inventory	São Paulo	09/19/1614	640
Cítara	Francisco Ribeiro	Inventory	São Paulo	08/22/1615	1,280
Viola	João do Prado	Inventory	São Paulo	09/23/1615	1,280
Viola	Balthazar Nunes	Inventory	São Paulo	06/1623	1,280
Cítara	Francisco Leão	Inventory	Parnaíba	02/19/1632	480
Harp	Simão da Mota	Inventory	São Paulo	03/1650	6,000
	Requeixo				
Viola	Leonardo do Couto	Inventory	Parnaíba	08/03/1650	320
Viola	Sebastião Paes de	Inventory	Parnaíba	12/24/1688	2,000
	Barros				
Harp	Sebastião Paes de	Inventory	Parnaíba	12/24/1688	160
	Barros				
Violas	Afonso Dias de Macedo	Will	Itu	03/20/1700	-

²⁸ José Antonio Soares de Sousa, "Aspectos do comércio do Brasil e de Portugal no fim do século XVIII e começo do século XIX," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 289 (October-December 1970): 58. Quoted by Vicente Salles, *A música e o tempo no Grão-Pará* (Belém: Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1980), 86.

²⁹ Paulo Castagna, "O estilo antigo na prática musical paulista e mineira nos séculos XVIII e XIX" (Ph.D. diss., University of São Paulo, 2000), vol. 1, 215.

The inventory of Paula Fernandes's belongings, of 1614, shows the interchangeability of the terms *viola* and *guitarra* at that time:³⁰

Viola – One guitarra was appraised in two patacas, or six hundred and forty reis.

Viola – Foi avaliada uma guitarra em duas patacas seiscentos e quarenta réis.

In the next year the inventory of João do Prado described one *viola* as having "eight frets of strings," which is the number of frets required for the playing of the most common chords in both *alfabeto* and *cifras* systems of ciphering. However, music in tablature often requires at least ten frets, sometimes going up to the thirteenth or fourteenth fret. Sixty years before João do Prado's inventory, Juan Bermudo suggested ten frets for the guitar, although he noticed that some people who were limited in their playing did not put on more than five or six. ³²

Gut strings and frets imported from Europe are often mentioned in Argentinean inventories during the Viceroyalty period. These contain also some information on *violas*, or guitars (they are always referred as *guitarras*) imported from Brazil and Portugal. In 1676, General Don Gregorio de Luna certified that Lieutenant José Sanches de Loria still owed him a large guitar (*una guitarra grande*) made in Brazil. In 1708 Antonio Amuchástegui, from Punilla, owned a large guitar from Brazil appraised at 16 *pesos*. Among the personal belongings of Juan Farías, of Capiscuchima, there was a Portuguese guitar, "used but well

³⁰ Castagna, "Fontes bibliográficas," 657.

³¹ Ibid., 658.

³² Bermudo, *Declaración de Instrumentos*, f. 96 v.

taken care of," with mother of pearl inlay. Juan José Martínez owned in 1752 a large Portuguese guitar, and the inventory of Don José Bravo, from Santiago del Estero, of 1796, mentioned a broken guitar made of *jacarandá* (Brazilian rosewood).³³

Amuchástegui's Brazilian large guitar had a quite high appraisal, if compared with other types of guitar whose valuation in contemporary inventories oscillates between one and ten pesos. However, in Caracas, in the year 1704, another Portuguese guitar reached a much higher sum in the inventory of Don Juan de Ascanio: 160 reales. That was probably because besides being a guitarra grande, or large guitar, the instrument had ivory and ebony inlays. Almost all these documents refer to the instruments imported from Portugal or, indirectly from Brazil, as being of the type guitarra grande. Evidently, the qualifier does not refer to the later six-course guitar, but it was probably used to differentiate the five-course instrument from smaller types of guitar, with either five or four string courses, such as the meia-viola, the requinto, the guitarrilla, and the machete. In addition to that, a certain preference for guitars made in Portugal is obvious, maybe because of the quality of the Portuguese instruments. One should consider also that the territorial proximity would facilitate the importation or smuggling of Portuguese instruments into Argentina from Brazil.

In any case, these documents corroborate early reports of interaction between the Spanish and Portuguese Americas, which were happening from the late sixteenth century onward. One of the morality plays of the Jesuit José de Anchieta, for example, features a

³³ Pedro Grenón, *Nuestra primera música instrumental, datos históricos* (Buenos Aires: Librería La Cotizadora Económica, 1929). Quoted by Richard Pinnell, The Rioplatense Guitar (Westport: The Bold Strummer, 1993), 202-12.

³⁴ Alberto Calzavara, *História de la música en Venezuela* (Caracas: Fundación Pampero, 1987), 221. Quoted by Pinnell, *The Rioplatense Guitar*, 209.

"Castillan," from the Rio de la Plata region--the mouth of Paraná River, between today's Argentina and Uruguay. On a more historical note, a letter written by Jesuit Antonio Ruiz de Montoya in 1628 described the passage of a clergyman from São Paulo through the Province of Guayrá--today's state of Paraná, Brazil, then a Spanish dominion:³⁵

A clergyman who was to be ordained came to these reductions [Jesuit settlements] from São Paulo in order to be ordained in Paraguay, but he came back because there was no Bishop there, and he was fascinated by the discipline of the Indians, and by hearing the music, and, since he found that it would be good in his country, he carried some music with him

Vino a estas reducciones un clerigo ordenante de la villa de S. Pablo con deseo de acabarse de ordenar en el Paraguay, volviose por no aver obispo, y mui maravillado de ver la policia de los Indios y de oir la musica con averla buena en su tierra y asi llevo alguna musica

Contacts between Brazilian "Portuguese" and Argentine and Uruguayan "Castillans" would intensify in the eighteenth century with the development of a business of animal trading--specially cattle and mules--in southern Brazil and the Rio de la Plata region. The Argentinean author of the small play, or *sainete*, *El amor de la estanciera*, features a "Portuguese," probably from Brazil, because of his frequent use of *você* (lit. "You"), instead of *tu*, and the use of verbs in the gerund. Marcos Figueira is depicted as a street seller who put on airs, and is ridiculed throughout the play. In the final scene, Marcos is invited to play the guitar--which he calls *viola*--to cheer up the wedding ball of his rival:

³⁵ Jaime Cortesão, ed., *Jesuítas e bandeirantes no Guairá: 1594 – 1640* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, 1951), 261.

³⁶ Luis Ordaz, ed., *El teatro argentino* (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1979), 30-1.

CANCHO.-

Bring up your guitar, Marcos, For we are going to have a fandango Chepa and Juancho will dance, And so will Cancho and Pancha, his wife.

He takes the guitar.

MARCOS.Here is it then, the *viola*,
Very well set and strung:
They [the strings] are of nice sound [voices]
And stay well in tune.

CANCHO.-

Traiga su guitarra, Marcos, que un fandango hemos de hacer y ha de bailar Chepa y Juancho, Cancho y Pancha, su mujer.

Saca la guitarra.

MARCOS.Aquí istá pois, a viola,
mui disposta y encurdada:
tein uhas voces galañas
e fica muitu ben temprada.

2.4 Other early plucked instruments³⁷

2.4.1 Machinho and Machete

An instrument called *machinho* is mentioned as early as the late seventeenth century by Gregório de Mattos, who puts it in an unfavorable context:³⁸

In the way they raise their children They resemble simians, That is why they do not respect them When they grow up. They bring them up with freedom In gambling, and in vices, Persuading them to learn How to play guitar and *machinho*.

Pois no modo de criar aos filhos parecem símios, causa por que não os respeitam, depois que se vêem crescidos. Criam-nos com liberdade nos jogos, como nos vícios, persuadindo-lhes, que saibam tanger guitarra e machinho.

³⁷ This section only includes information on plucked instruments provided with a neck. For a summary of the use of the harp as a continuo instrument in colonial Brazil, see Castagna, "O estilo antigo," 212-44. For an account of *salterio*-type instruments in Brazil and Portugal see Rogério Budasz, "Uma tablatura para saltério do século XIX," *Revista eletrônica de musicologia* 1, no. 1 (1996): http://www.cce.ufpr.br/~rem/REMv1.1/vol1.1/saltport.html Because of its late appearance, I do not include here information about the Portuguese guitar, a descendent of the English guitar, or *guittar* [sic], introduced in Portugal by the English colony at Oporto in the late eighteenth century.

³⁸ Gregório de Mattos, *Obra Poética* (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1990), 47.

Mattos refers here to the *mestizo* upper class of Bahia, who was replacing economically and administratively the old Portuguese landowners, including Mattos's family.

The *machinho* is also mentioned in Guimarães, northern Portugal in the *Regimento de Violeiros*, of 1719. Besides *machinhos* of four and five courses (it is not clear whether these were single or double), the document also mentions *meias violas* (half *violas*), and *violas pequenas*, (small *violas*), besides what appear to be larger *violas*: *violas de marca grande* and *de contra bordões*. The four-course *machinho* might have been a descendent of the sixteenth-century four-course guitar, although there is no evidence at that early date of the use of a designation other than *viola* or *guitarra* for a small type of plucked *viola*.

The early eighteenth century codex P-Cug M.M. 97 (the Coimbra codex), f. 103v includes a tuning table for a five-course *machinho* entitled "como se tempera a viola com machinho," or "how to tune a *viola* with the *machinho*," from which one infers that the instrument used to be tuned a tone higher than the *viola* (see figure 2.1).

Even though other tunings may have existed, it seems that, although small, the *machinho* was not as small as other types of small *viola*, such as the *requinto*, tuned a fifth higher. The codex does not specify any composition for the *machinho*, but since the interval-pattern was the same as for the *viola*, one assumes that at least part of the repertory could be interchangeable. For the same reason, the early *machinho*--or perhaps the smaller

³⁹ Alfredo Guimarães, *Violas de Guimarães* 36 (1926): 112-5. Quoted by Oliveira, *Instrumentos musicais populares portugueses*, 191.

⁴⁰ Carlo Calvi (*Intavolatura di chitarra e chitarriglia* [Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1646; reprint, Florence: SPES, 1980], 6), suggests an ensemble with three sizes of guitars using four tunings: one *chitarra grande*, one *mezzana* a third higher, one *mezzana* a fourth higher, and one *picciola* a fifth higher. He does not clarify, however, whether the *chitarriglia* would correspond to the *mezzana*, the *picciola*, or even another type of guitar.

meia viola, or the requinto--could be the Portuguese counterpart to the Italian chitarriglia and the Spanish guitarrilla. Despite the small size of these instruments, the performer is able to play without modification the strummed chords of the alfabeto system, as well as a large portion of the viola repertory in tablature, using the technique por pontos, or fingerstyle.

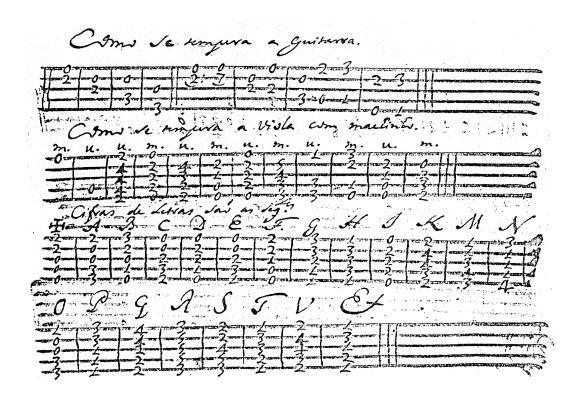


Figure 2.1: Instructions on how to tune the *guitarra*, and on how to tune the *viola* with the *machinho*. *Cifras de letras* (*alfabeto*) chart.

The designation *machete* for a small type of *viola* begins to appear in the late eighteenth century, and as many musical dictionaries suggest, the term most likely refers to the *machinho* itself. Similarly, the *machete* is always mentioned in contexts of popular and

folk music.⁴¹ In 1817, during his six-year excursion through the Brazilian inland, French botanist Auguste de Saint-Hilaire described a *machete* player at a gathering in a small village, today's city of Castro, state of Paraná:⁴²

The sergeant gathered the musicians of the surroundings in his lounge, whose floor was neither tiled nor of wood, like the modest taverns in our villages. Among the musicians I heard there, there was a man who played the *viola* with very good taste, without knowing a note. Another one, master of a little instrument called machete, which is nothing else than a pocket *viola*, played it in all imaginable positions, having the talent of taking advantage of this. This man made so many grimaces, that a famous performer [acrobat], then known in Paris as *le grimacier*, would be envious.

Nowadays, the term *machete* applies to several small-size instruments in Portugal and Brazil.⁴³ With five double courses of steel strings and a total length of approximately 75 cm., it can be found in the states of Bahia and São Paulo, Brazil.⁴⁴ Except for the tuning and the use of metal strings, these characteristics seem to match those associated with the early *machinho*.⁴⁵ On the other hand, in Portugal the denominations *machete*, *machetinho*, and *machete de Braga* were sometimes given to the instrument more commonly known as *braguinha*, which might have its origins in Braga, in the north of the country, but which is

⁴¹ See the section on Joaquim Manuel da Câmara, in chapter 3.

⁴² Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem à Comarca de Curitiba* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1964), 81-2. Portuguese translation by Carlos da Costa Pereira of the original in French *Voyage dans les provinces de Saint-Paul et Sainte Catherine* (Paris: Arthur Bertrand, 1851).

⁴³ For a detailed description of types of Portuguese *violas* and *cavaquinhos*, see Oliveira, *Instrumentos Populares Portugueses*, 182-210.

⁴⁴ Tiago de Oliveira Pinto, "Gitarre," sec. 3b, "Machete," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed. *Enciclopédia da Música Brasileira*, s. v. "Machete."

⁴⁵ Pinto, "Machete," gives the following tuning for a steel-strung *machete* in Bahia: e $e^1/a^1a^1/f\#^1f\#^1/b^1$, which, except for the second course in f#, is a fifth higher than the *viola* tuning called *natural*.

found today on the island of Madeira. Since it has four single strings, the *braguinha* might be a descendent of the early four-course *machinho* mentioned in Guimarães (a city near Braga), in 1719. The same could be said about the Portuguese *cavaquinho*, a four-string instrument that preceded both the Brazilian *cavaquinho* and the Hawaiian ukulele. Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira adds the alternative designations *machinho* (used in the regions of Baixo Minho and Basto), *machim*, *manchete*, and *marchete* for the Portuguese *cavaquinho* and closely related instruments. 47

A probable relative of the early five-course *machete*, or *machinho*, is the instrument known on the island of Madeira as *rajão*. Besides being smaller in size, it has five strings, although single ones. In fact, the *Elucidário Madeirense*, of 1921, attested that by that time the *rajão* was also known in the island as *machete*.⁴⁸

2.4.2 Bandurra

The five-course *bandurra*, or *bandurria* in Spanish, used to be a very common plucked instrument in Portugal and Brazil during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nowadays, although forgotten in these countries, the *bandurria* thrives in the Hispanic-American world with an added sixth course.

⁴⁶ Oliveira, *Instrumentos Musicais Populares Portugueses*, 207-8, contains an account of *viola* makers Manuel Nunes, Augusto Dias and José do Espírito Santo, from the island of Madeira, who started the business of manufacturing *braguinha*-type *cavaquinhos* using local woods in Honolulu after 1879.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 201.

⁴⁸ Fernando Augusto da Silva and Carlos Azevedo de Menezes, *Elucidário Madeirense* (Funchal: Tipografia Esperança, 1921-22), vol. 2, 365-6.

The *bandurra* is usually played with a plectrum, and, even more than the *machete*, is always related to folk and popular practices, which is probably the reason it does not appear in the surviving documentation on *viola* making in Portugal. Juan José Rey, author of the most comprehensive study on the *bandurria*, explains that in past centuries there were no standard models for the instrument, for, among other things, it could also be played fingerstyle and have single strings.⁴⁹

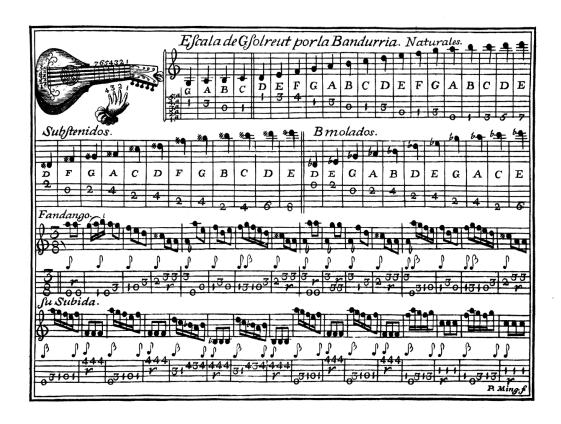


Figure 2.2: Minguet e Yrol's instructions for playing the *bandurra*.

⁴⁹ Juan José Rey, *Los instrumentos de púa en España* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1993), 60.

The codices for *viola* in the Coimbra University Library and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon have sections of music for a five-course *bandurra*, whose characteristics match those described in Pablo Minguet e Yrol's *Reglas y advertencies generales*, of 1754 (see figure 2.2). Yrol's *bandurria*, as well as the Portuguese *bandurra*, uses double courses of gut strings tuned in perfect fourths: c#¹ c#¹ / f#¹ f#¹ / b¹ b¹ / e² e² / a² a². This pattern of fourths was among Juan Bermudo's suggestions for tuning a three-course *bandurria* already in 1555, and is still in use today in the Spanish six-course *bandurria*.

Among seventeenth-century Portuguese reports on the *bandurra*, some significant ones come from the monastery of Santa Cruz of Coimbra. A regulation of 1605 limited the playing of the *bandurra* to some specific places:⁵⁰

Because of the indulgence of playing *violas*, *citaras*, and *bandurras*, which causes too much scandal for secular persons, who complained to us, we mandate that no monk of this order makes use of those instruments in any place, under penalty of serious fine, which the Prelate would execute after being informed. This does not include indoors in farms and estates [outside the monastery].

Por aver deuacidad em tanger uiolas, citharas, bandurrias cõ m.to scandalo dos seculares, de $q\sim$ nos fizeraõ queixas, mãdamos $q\sim$ nhũ Religioso da nossa ordem uze dos tais instrum.tos em nhũ lugar sob pena de culpa graue, aqual o Prelado sabendo executara sob a mesma pena. O $q\sim$ não entendemos nos grãias e quintas da[s] portas adentro.

Although forbidden inside the monastery, the playing of plucked instruments was allowed in other properties of the order. A provision of 1615 stipulated that even in these locations, the monks should avoid having their musical gatherings being seen and heard by

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⁵⁰ Autos do Defintiorio . . . de 605, f. 20v. Quoted by Pinho, Santa Cruz de Coimbra, 78-9 n42, 148-9.

the local population. 51 Evidently, these regulations show more than anything else how customary it was for the monks to entertain themselves by playing bandurras, violas and cítaras.

Among the musical manuscripts of the University Library in Coimbra there are some vilancicos of the negro, or guineo type. In one of these, written in 1643, one of the voices, impersonating an African youngster, sings "let us play it on the little bandurra, on the floor, on the little bagpipe, let us play it with the foot in the hand, from guguluga, from tão balalão" after which follow some lines of music with no underlaid lyrics. 52 Manuel Carlos de Brito had speculated that this *vilancico* could have been sung with the accompaniment of the instruments mentioned in its lyrics, maybe in a semi-dramatic performance.⁵³

A sign of the high esteem in which the Coimbra monks regarded the bandurra, is the fact that the codex P-Cug M.M. 97, which has a section of music in tablature for the instrument, seems to have been acquired from the monastery of Santa Cruz.⁵⁴ Many of the pieces there notated are popular dance types, including some of African influence, which

⁵¹ Ibid., 149.

⁵² Manuel Carlos de Brito, ed., Vilancicos do século XVI do mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1983), 21-2: "toquemo no bandurinha, nos soalho, nos gaitinha, toquemo co pé na mão."

⁵³ Manuel Carlos de Brito, "Partes instrumentais obrigadas na polifonia vocal de Santa Cruz de Coimbra," in Estudos de História da Música em Portugal (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1989), 61. Brito also points that sometimes there is a semi-dramatic indication of instrumental intervention, for example in the phrase "os neglos de Sto. Thomé tocam os instrumentos," or "the blacks of São Tomé play the instruments."

⁵⁴ Nei Travassos Cortez, personal communication, February 1996. The ultimate origin of the codex. however, does not seem to be the monastery. Its compiler, José Carneiro Tavares Lamacense, calls himself a licenciado, or a graduate with a permit to teach; Lamacense is the resident of Lamego, a city north of Coimbra, near Oporto.

might explain in part why a monk playing *bandurra* in public was seen by some as so scandalous. The *cumbe* on f. 105v is one of these pieces of African or African-Brazilian influence. It also illustrates a typical style of plectrum playing, with a predominance of melodic lines interspersed with a few chords, but with very little or no polyphony at all (see example 2.3).

The same style is found in more complex pieces, such as the fantasias from another Portuguese source for *bandurra*, now at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, in Lisbon. Besides the usual Iberian dance-types and supposedly African-influenced dances, the section for *bandurra* in this volume has a number of more serious pieces, such as fantasias and *partidas*, showing how versatile the instrument could be.



Example 2.3: A *bandurra* setting of the *cumbe* in the Coimbra codex.

The *bandurra* is also found in colonial Brazil. In one of his poems, Gregório de Mattos mentioned the *bandurrilha*, which was probably a smaller type of *bandurra*.⁵⁵ In 1759, Domingos do Loreto Couto stated that Father João de Lima--earlier a chapel master in Bahia and an acquaintance of Mattos--played among other instruments, *viola*, *citara*, and *bandurrilha*.⁵⁶

The only extant Portuguese sources for *bandurra* are for solo instrument, and evidence suggest that also in Spain it was used mainly in instrumental music. However, even considering its high pitch, the instrument could have been used for accompaniment, as Góngora's lines seem to suggest:⁵⁷

Now that I am quiet I want to sing to my *bandurria* What in a more serious instrument I would sing with nobody to hear me.

Ahora que estoy de espacio Cantar quiero en mi bandurria Lo que en más grave instrumento Cantara, mas no me escuchan.

There were *bandurra* players also well regarded as song composers. A *bandurra* player from Bahia, for example, a certain Ignacio mentioned by José Mazza in the late eighteenth century, is said to have been a good player of the instrument--hence his nickname

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⁵⁵ Mattos, *Obra Poética*, 172.

⁵⁶ Domingos do Loreto Couto, *Desagravos do Brasil e Glórias de Pernambuco* (Recife: Prefeitura da Cidade do Recife, 1981), 385-6.

⁵⁷ Miguel Querol, *Cancionero Musical de Góngora* (Barcelona, 1975). Quoted by Rey, *Los instrumentos de púa en España*, 62.

"the *bandurra*"--and a composer of *modas* (songs) for two and more voices. ⁵⁸ And the Portuguese poet Bocage mentioned the composer of *modinhas* (a type of love song) Joaquim Manuel da Câmara as someone who, besides *machete* and *viola*, used to play the "vile *bandurra*." ⁵⁹

2.4.3 *Cítara*

Much of what is known about the context in which the *bandurra* flourished applies also to the *citara*. The *citara* is mentioned along with the *bandurra* in the regulations of the monastery of Santa Cruz of Coimbra, and it is cited by Loreto Couto as being played by important musicians in northern Brazil--some of them *bandurra* players as well--by the late seventeenth century. But there were notable differences among these instruments.

The Diccionário de Autoridades (1737), defines cithara as a: 60

Musical instrument, somewhat similar to the guitar, but a little smaller and round. It has wire strings and it is played with a trimmed quilt, like the ones that are used for writing in boldface.

Instrumento músico, semejante algo a la guitarra; pero más pequeño y redondo. Tiene las cuerdas de alambre, y se tocan con uma pluma cortada, como para escribir de gordo.

⁵⁸ José Mazza, *Dicionário Biográfico de Músicos Portugueses* (Lisbon: Occidente, 1944-5), 27.

⁵⁹ Manuel Maria Barbosa du Bocage, *Opera Omnia* vol. 1, "Sonetos," ed. Hernâni Cidade (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1969), 93.

⁶⁰ Diccionario de autoridades (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1737; facsimile edition, Madrid: Gredos, 1963), vol. 1, 363.

The same dictionary regards it as its synonym the term *citola*, which appears already in twelfth-century Gallician-Portuguese poetry, probably referring at that time to a type of the so-called *guitarra latina*, which is depicted in many Peninsular illuminations of the period. The instrument that the *citoleiro* Estevão Domingues used to play around 1444, according to a document of dom Afonso V, was probably closer to that *citara* described in the early seventeenth century. ⁶¹

In any case, the instrument mentioned by this name in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Portuguese and Brazilian documents surely was the *citara* described in the *Diccionário de Autoridades*. Eighteenth-century Portuguese dictionaries defined the *citara* in similar terms. In 1712, Raphael Bluteau says that the *citara* has little distinction from the lute, and has brass strings that are played with a feather. A later dictionary by Antônio de Morais Silva (1789) speaks of the neck of the *citara*--longer than the *viola*'s--its wire strings, and its brass frets, some full, others covering half of the fretboard.

These features match Minguet e Yrol's description in his 1754 compilation of little treatises, as well as two early-eighteenth-century manuscript volumes with music in tablature for the *citara*. The first one, compiled by Sebastián Aguirre, is in the private collection of the

⁶¹ Viterbo, Subsidios, 181.

⁶² In another meaning or the term, Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1984 [1611], 427), says that the *citara* was "a bowed *vihuela* with many strings," and "also known as *lira*." Covarrubias was evidently thinking of the *lira da braccio*. In Brazil there has been some confusion between the *citara* and some types of plucked instruments without neck, such as the *salterio* and the dulcimer.

⁶³ Raphael Bluteau, *Vocabulario portuguez e latino* (Coimbra: Collegio das Artes da Companhia de Jesus, 1712), vol. 2, 331.

⁶⁴ Antônio de Morais Silva, *Dicionário da língua portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1789), vol. 1, 279.

late Mexican musicologist Gabriel Saldívar (codex Saldívar no. 2). Another instruction manual for the cítara is the *Ramillete florido*, by a certain fray Benito, a volume of 458 pages written around 1735. Aguirre's codex prescribes three strings for each one of the four courses (see figure 2.3), and all three manuals agree with the following reentrant interval pattern for the open strings: $b^1 b^1 b^1 / a^1 a^1 a^1 / d^2 d^2 d^2 / e^2 e^2$ (see figure 2.4).

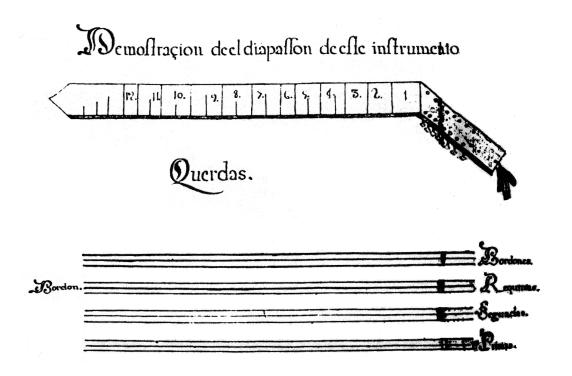


Figure 2.3: Fretboard of a *citara*, from Aguirre's treatise.

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⁶⁵ Craig Russell, "New Jewels in Old Boxes: Retrieving the Lost Musical Heritage of Colonial Mexico," *Ars Musica Denver* 7, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 13-38.

⁶⁶ Lothar Siemens Hernández, "Fuentes bibliográficas para el estudio de la cítara y su repertorio en España (siglos XVIII-XIX)," in *De musica hispana et aliis* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1990), vol. 1, 259-75.



Figure 2.4: *Cifras*, tuning chart and tablature key for the *citara*, from Minguet e Yrol's treatise.

Although forgotten today, the *citara* had a long life in Brazil, being mentioned from the early seventeenth to the late nineteenth century. In São Paulo, the inventory of Francisco Ribeiro (22 August 1615), mentioned a *cithara com uma roda de rendas e outra meia*, or a "*citara* with one wheel of laces [i.e., a rosette] and another half one," appraised in 1,280 *réis*. Another *citara* (in the original *cithara* and *sitra*) was sold in 1632 for 480 *réis*. 68

In the following century, it appears in the hands of Father Antonio da Silva Alcântara (b. 1712) from Olinda (Pernambuco), who, according to Loreto Couto, composed "sonatas for violins (*rebecas*), for harpsichord and for *citara*." In the nineteenth century, the *citara* was one of the main instruments for the accompaniment of popular songs--the *modinhas*--as reported by several chroniclers. Lopes Gama, also from Pernambuco, stated in 1843 that in the days of his youth it was customary for people to play and sing "not arias by

⁶⁷ Castagna, "Fontes bibliográficas," 658.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 661.

⁶⁹ Couto, Desagravos do Brasil e Glórias de Pernambuco, 374-5.

Rossini and Bellini at the piano, but *modinhas* in duet [*modinhas a duo*], accompanied by the *cítara* or the *viola*,"and that "each educated maiden used to play the *saltério* or the *cítara*, which had more than one cubit [55 cm] of neck."⁷⁰

Lopes Gama's report brings the key to understanding the fading of the *citara* in Brazil. Unlike the *viola*, the *citara* did not have a parallel life as a folk instrument. The urban middle class used to employ it in connection with a repertory that was becoming old-fashioned. Besides that, in urban centers, the *citara*, along with other plucked instruments, was being eclipsed by the piano, which in the bigger southern cities had already taken the center stage of the musical life.

2.4.4 Lute

Documented information about the lute (*alaúde*, *laúde*) in Portugal begins to appear in the first half of the fifteenth century, which is somewhat late if compared to northern countries. In a royal document of January 15 1442, king dom Afonso V provided a tax exemption for harps, lutes (*alaudes*) and guitars that some people used to bring to Santarém, near Lisbon, provided that the instruments were for their own use and not for sale. ⁷¹ Dom

One used to play and sing, not arias by Rossini and Bellini on the piano, but rather *modinhas* a duo, accompanied on the citara or the viola . . . Every well-educated lady could play the saltério and the citara, which had a neck of more than one cubit.

Também se tocava e cantava, não árias de Rossini ou Bellini ao piano, porém modinhas a duo, acompanhadas na cítara ou na viola . . . Toda a moça de maior porte tocava saltério ou a tal cítara, que tinha mais de um côvado de braço.

⁷⁰ José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello, *O carapuceiro*: O Padre Lopes Gama e o Diário de Pernambuco 1840-1845 (Recife: FUNDAJ, 1996), 52, quotes:

⁷¹ Quoted by Ribeiro, As guitarras de Alcácer, 24.

Afonso V also had at his service a lutenist (*tamjedor dalaude*), Lopo de Condeixa, to whom he donated a considerable piece of land in 1459.⁷² One cannot be certain whether these instruments were of the Arabic type, the *al'ud*, although that was surely the case with the ones mentioned by Damião de Góis in the early sixteenth century, when he reported that king dom Manuel had "Moorish musicians who used to sing and play with their lutes and tambourines [*pandeiros*]."⁷³

Although not frequently, lutenists continue to appear in official documents during the following centuries. In 1547 dom João III freed a black man from Benin called Pero, who had been a slave of Diogo de Madril, a lutenist (*tangedor dallaude*). And in 1619 a Flemish lutenist named Mathias (*Matia*) from Antwerp experienced some trouble with the Holy Inquisition while in Lisbon.

The scarcity of information about the lute in Portugal corresponds in essence to the same phenomenon observed in other parts of the Iberian peninsula. In Spain and Portugal the preferred plucked instrument was the six-course *vihuela*, or *viola de mão*, which shared with the lute a notation system and much of the repertory. Even after the vanishing of the six-course *viola de mão* the lute repertory continued to find its way into Portugal: as late as the early eighteenth century, pieces originally composed for the lute, such as Gaultier's courante *L'Immortelle*, and the anonymous *Tombeau de Mazarin*, appear transcribed for the five-course *viola* in the codex P-Cug M.M. 97.

⁷³ Quoted by Luís de Freitas Branco, *História da Música Portuguesa* (Mem Martins: Publicações Europa-América, 1995), 95.

⁷² Viterbo, *Subsídios*, 134-6.

⁷⁴ Viterbo, Subsídios, 355.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 370-1.

2.4.5 Theorbo

Besides late-seventeenth-century reports by the Jesuit Anton Sepp in the Spanish ruled region of Tapes--today the state of Rio Grande do Sul, southern Brazil--the only information about the theorbo in colonial Brazil comes from Loreto Couto in his list of the instruments that João de Lima played. However, because of its singularity, this note has to be examined with caution. It could simply refer to a larger type of guitar. If it was really a theorbo, it might have been introduced during the twenty-four years of Dutch rule in Pernambuco, Lima's homeland. Regardless of how the instrument might have been introduced in Brazil--if it was--it had a very short life in the colony, for it was completely erased from the memory of chroniclers and never appeared in official documents.

Just as elusive is the theorbo in Portugal. The codex P-Cug M.M. 97 is bound along with a printed edition of Giovanni Pittoni's *Intavolatura di Tiorba, opera prima* (Bologna, 1669) but it is not known when the book might have entered the country and, more importantly, whether its music was ever played in Portugal. The theorbo is mentioned in the early-eighteenth century *cantata humana* "Tiorba Cristalina" by the Catalan Jayme de la Té y Sagáu (c1680-1736), who lived in Lisbon after 1708. As with many cantatas of the period, the bass line, with some occasional figuring, is suitable for a melodic bass and a continuo instrument such as the theorbo. One of the sources of this cantata is the codex *Livro de Rusitados*, in the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon (Colecção Pombalina, MS 82, ff. 75r-78v).

⁷⁶ Couto, Desagravos do Brasil e Glórias de Pernambuco, 386.

⁷⁷ As recently illustrated in a recording by Manuel Morais and the Segréis de Lisboa, *Música na Corte de dom João V*, Movieplay MOV 3-11052, 1997, compact disc.

However, an attempt at a drawing of the instrument on f. 75r resembles more a type of theorbo-guitar.

The presence of the theorbo in continuo ensembles, along with guitars and harps, is documented in the Spanish theatre throughout the seventeenth century. However, there is no mention of the theorbo in the secondary literature about the much more limited theatrical activity in Portugal during the same period. In both secular and sacred music the harp was the continuo instrument *par excellence* in Portugal and Brazil until the early eighteenth century.

⁷⁸ See Louise K. Stein, "Accompaniment and Continuo in Spanish Baroque Music," in *España en la musica de occidente* (Madrid : Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música, Ministerio de Cultura, 1987), vol. 1, 357-70.

3 EARLY VIOLAS AND ITS PLAYERS

3.1 Portugal

In a few words, the twenty-one years that Portuguese adventurer Fernão Mendes Pinto spent in Asia could be described as a succession of misfortunes. There were some turnabouts, though. If in one year he was shipwrecked, taken prisoner, even sold as a slave, in another year he had enough resources to help St. Francis Xavier to build a church. One of the worst years was 1544, when he found himself as a beggar in Beijing, along with Gaspar Meireles, an unfortunate fellow countryman who happened to be a *viola* player:

Since Gaspar Meireles was a musician, who played the *viola* and sang quite reasonably, which are very pleasant things to these people because they spend their time in banquets and pleasures of the flesh, they appreciated him very much, and he was called upon several times to these events, from which he always brought back some alms, with which we fended for ourselves.

E como este Gaspar Meirelez era musico, & tangia hua viola, & cantava muyto arrezoadamente, que saõ partes muyto agradaveis a esta gente, porque o mais do tempo gastão em banquetes & delicias da carne, gostavão aly muyto delle, & era muytas vezes chamado para estas cousas, das quais sempre trazia hua esmola com que o mais do tempo nos remediavamos.

What was that *viola* like? It was most likely a six-course instrument related, if not identical, to the Spanish *vihuela*. It was the most appreciated plucked instrument in Portugal during the sixteenth century by both the nobility and the lower classes. And Portuguese

¹ Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação* (Lisbon: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1614; reprint, Lisbon: Castoliva Editora, 1995), 137.

sailors and travelers usually carried *violas* on their trips to Africa, America and Asia, which helped to introduce the instrument throughout the globe already in the sixteenth century. This chapter will trace several mentions of the *viola* in Portuguese and Brazilian sources from the sixteenth to late eighteenth centuries, attempting to relate the instrument and its players with its socio-cultural context and musical developments.

Viola was the Portuguese term to designate both the six-course Spanish vihuela (similar to the Italian viola da mano), and, from the late sixteenth century onwards, the five-course guitar. While some distinction between the viola and the guitarra is implied in some sixteenth-century sources (see chapter 2), the terms are mostly interchangeable during the seventeenth century.

The *viola* was the most frequently mentioned musical instrument in sixteenth-century Portuguese sources. Gil Vicente (c1465-c1537) depicts in his plays several characters singing and accompanying themselves on the *viola*. Sometimes there is a hint that knowing how to play the *viola* was a desirable quality for an educated person, or someone wanting to be seen that way. The squire, for example, who appears in several of his plays, is usually a *viola* player, as seen here in the *Auto de Inês Pereira* (1523):²

I know well how to read And very well how to write And I'm a good ball player, As for playing the *viola*, Soon you will hear me playing.

Sey bem ler e muyto bem escreuer, e bom jugador de bola, e quanto a tanger viola, logo me ouuireis tanger.

² Gil Vicente, *Auto de Ines Pereira*, (Lisbon: Editorial Comunicação, 1991), 88.

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Luys Milán included several intabulations of Portuguese songs for voice and *vihuela* in his 1536 book *El Maestro*. The often-quoted preface praises the musical taste of the Portuguese people,³ and the book itself was dedicated to the Portuguese king, dom João III, who then gave Milán the title of *gentil homem* and a reasonable stipendium.⁴ However, there is no evidence that Milán had ever visited Portugal.⁵

Almost as many times mentioned as Milán's preface has been the supposed stay in the Portuguese court of dom Sebastião of another Spanish *vihuela* player, Miguel de Fuenllana. Like his grandfather dom João III, dom Sebastião became known outside Portugal as a patron of music, for Francisco Guerrero, too, dedicated his first book of Masses (1566) to him. Some decades ago, Macario Santiago Kastner stated that after the death of Isabela of Valois, wife of Felipe II, Fuenllana moved to Portugal, where, in 1574, he was hired as chamber musician to dom Sebastião. These statements, which already have

The sea into which I have thrown this book is fittingly the kingdom of Portugal, which is the sea of music--since [there] they esteem and also understand it so much.

La mar donde he echado este libro es piamente el reyno de Portugal, que es el mar dela musica: pues enel tanto la estiman: y tambien la entienden.

³ Luys Milán, *El maestro*, ed. Charles Jacobs (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University, 1971), 12. Translation by Charles Jacobs:

⁴ Juan Bermudo, too, dedicated to dom João III the first book of his *Declaracción de Instrumentos Musicales* (Osuna, 1549).

⁵ Luís de Freitas Branco, *História da música portuguesa* (Mem Martins: Publicações Europa-América, 1995), 116, and Milán, *El maestro*, 11. According to Macario Santiago Kastner, *Tres compositores lusitanos para instrumentos de tecla: Antonio Carreira, Manuel Rodrigues Coelho, Pedro de Araujo* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian), 154, 204, still another Spanish *vihuela* player, Hernando de Jaén, would have been at the service of the Portuguese king.

⁶ Macario Santiago Kastner, "Relations entre la musique instrumentale française et espagnole au XVIe siècle," *Anuário Musical* 10 (1955), 107.

bewildered Higinio Anglés,⁷ have been recently contested by Charles Jacobs.⁸ However, both Anglés and Jacobs seem to have overlooked Kastner's sources: the documentation that Sousa Viterbo transcribed in 1932 in his *Subsídios para a História da Música em Portugal*, which include payment records from 1574 to 1578, mentioning a certain Miguel de *Folhana* as a chamber musician of dom Sebastião.⁹

Besides the Spaniards, also some Portuguese *viola* players were highly regarded by the nobility of both Iberian countries. Peixoto da Pena, for example, is said to have impressed the court of Carlos V by playing consonantly on an out-of-tune instrument:¹⁰

in Castile, before the Emperor Carlos V, [Pena] was surprised to see that [the king's] musicians used to spend too much time tuning their instruments before playing. So, as mockery, they gave him an out-of-tune *viola*, on which he regulated the fingers in such a way that he was able to play successive consonances for a long time, sweetly lifting his listeners in amazement.

Manuel Joaquim (*O Cancioneiro Musical e Poético da Biblioteca Públia Hortensia*, Coimbra, 1940, pág. 118, nota) affirms that F. was "chamber musician" of the king of Portugal, dom Sebastião. I ignore the basis for that statement. Sebastian of Avis ruled Portugal during the years 1557-1578; if F. actually served in Portugal, that should have happened after the death of queen Isabel of Valois, which seems to me rather doubtful.

Manuel Joaquim (O Cancioneiro Musical e Poético da Biblioteca Públia Hortensia, Coimbra, 1940, pág. 118, nota) afirma que F. fué "músico da camara" del rey de Portugal D. Sebastião. Ignoramos el fundamento de esta afirmación. Sebastián d'Avis reinó en Portugal durante los años 1557-1578; caso, pues, de haber servido F. en Portugal, deberia ser después de la muerte de la reina Isabel de Valois, lo que nos parece muy dudoso.

⁷ Higinio Anglés, *Diccionario de la Musica Labor*, 978 comments:

⁸ Miguel de Fuenllana, *Orphénica lyra*, ed. Charles Jacobs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), xx.

⁹ Torre do Tombo, *Chancelaria de d. Sebastião e d. Henrique*, *Doações*, book 40, fol. 158; book 44, fol. 115; book 36, fol. 12v. Transcribed in Sousa Viterbo, *Subsídios para a História da Música em Portugal* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1932), 226-7.

¹⁰ Mazza, *Dicionário de músicos portugueses*, 18th-century codex at the Évora Public Library, ed. José Augusto Alegria (Lisbon: Occidente, 1945), 39.

em Castela na prezença do Emparador Carlos 5º se admirou de que os seus Muzicos para tocar gastassem m.to tempo em temperar os instrum.tos e por zombaria lhe derão huma viola destemperada na qual regulou por tal forma os dedos que sobe produzir comsunancias susesivas por largo espaço, suspendendo docem.te e ademirando os ouvintes.

Years later, in 1578, another player, Domingos Madeira, participated in the ill-fated expedition of dom Sebastião to Morocco. During the trip, Madeira is said to have caused apprehension among the superstitious crew by playing the romance *Ayer fuiste Rey de España, hoy no tienes un castillo*, "Yesterday you were king of Spain, today you don't have a castle." He was captured after the battle of Ksar el Kebir. Fortunately, his family was able to pay the ransom and he returned to Portugal. Dom Sebastião, however, was killed in that battle, leaving no heir and thus ending the Avis dynasty. The Spanish king, Felipe II, claimed the Portuguese crown, and Portugal would regain her independence only in 1640.

Although there is no surviving work of the sixteenth-century Portuguese *viola* players, it is still possible to approach indirectly some of that repertory. Many of the *vilancetes* and *cantigas* found in Portuguese *cancioneiros* were also intended to be performed by voice and *viola*, sometimes the singer and the player being the same musician. This is confirmed not only by contemporary literature, but also by the fact that many of these *vilancetes* and *cantigas* are found intabulated in Spanish *vihuela* sources. The instrumental performance of motets and Mass sections was fairly common among Spanish *vihuela* players, as one might infer from the large number of intabulations of works by Josquin, Morales, and Guerrero, among others. Some polyphonic works by Portuguese composers have received similar treatment, a practice that could be recreated by today's players. A good example is Alonso de Mudarra's intabulation of *Clamabat autem mulier cananea*, a

¹¹ Viterbo, Subsídios, 346.

five-voice motet by Pedro de Escobar, a Portuguese composer also known as Pedro do Porto (c1465-after 1535). Mudarra's version for voice and *vihuela* appeared in his 1546 book, six years after being intabulated for keyboard by Gonzalo de Baena.¹²

Nicolau Doizi de Velasco was one of those Portuguese musicians who decided to move to Spain during the sixty years of Spanish rule. In 1640, when he published the *Nuevo Modo de Cifra*, he was in Naples, in the service of the Duke of Medina de las Torres.

Velasco's instrument was the five-course guitar, known in Portugal by the same term, *viola*, although the term *guitarra* was sometimes used. In Portugal, as in the rest of Europe and the Iberian colonies, the six-course instrument was totally eclipsed in the seventeenth century by the five-course guitar, much more suitable to the new musical taste and the new harmonic style then in development.

In 1613, when Miguel de Cervantes assured that the guitar was "the easier and less expensive of the instruments," he was evidently thinking of the large number of less-trained players who accompanied romances and dances using only a limited number of chords, and not always the correct ones. The diffusion of the *alfabeto* system of chord notation also contributed to this state of things, and that was still the case around 1640, when

¹² Regarding Luís de Victoria, chamber musician of dom Luís, brother of dom João III, Sousa Viterbo, *Subsídios*, 576 transcribes the following information from a document at the Torre do Tombo:

The *Infante* had a musician called Luis de Victoria, an excellent *viola* payer, who composed a *Credo* and played and sang it to the *Infante*, to whom it appeared so good that he made him *merce* [an honorific title].

O infante tinha hum musico chamado Luis de Victoria, excelente tangedor de viola, o qual compoz hum credo e tangeho e cantouho ao Infante, a quem pareceo tam bem que lhe fez por isso merce.

¹³ Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Obras Completas*, vol. 2, "Novelas Ejemplares" (Madrid: Aguilar, 1975), 161.

Velasco regretted that, because of their limited repertory, some players often used wrong chords when playing *passacalles* and *tonos*. Because of that, Velasco proposed himself the task of proving that the guitar was not an imperfect instrument, as some people used to think due to the abundance of mediocre players:¹⁴

for *passacalles* and playing *tonos* by ciphers, some by numbers, others by letters, so limited that they lack many consonances, [those players] put in their place other inappropriate and imperfect ones . . . Because of that I spent some hours investigating whether the imperfection of the guitar comes from the guitar itself, or rather from those who do not know the perfection it has. I also wanted to create a new way of ciphering, including all variety of consonances that music usually has, with which one can play any music in twelve different keys.

que para passacalles, y tañer, tonos por cifras, vnas de numeros, y otras deletras, tan limitadas, que les faltan muchas consonancias; poniendo en su lugar, otras inproprias, y inperfectas . . . Esto fue caussa, paraque me enplease algunas oras en aueriguar, que la imprefeccion de la Guitarra no naçe della, mas de aquellos, que no conocen la perfeccion, que tiene y tanbien, en hazer vn nueuo modo de Cifra, que juntamente, con incluir ensi toda la variedad de consonancias, que jeneralmente ay en la musica, sirua de poder sacar por ella el tañer qualquier musica por doce partes diferentes.

Velasco's book is exclusively theoretical. It features a few examples of cadences and intervals in staff notation, besides two musical fragments--a *chacona* and a *passacaglia*. These were notated according to his own system of ciphering, by far the most complex in all the guitar literature until the twentieth century. His system comprises 228 chords, nineteen for each of the twelve tones, including major and minor chords, in root position and first inversion, as well as some dissonant chords. Although comprehensive--or maybe because of that--the system was not adopted by the following generations of guitar players. Gaspar Sanz considered Doizi de Velasco's system ingenious, but too complicated, precisely because of

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¹⁴ Nicolau Doizi de Velasco, *Nuevo modo de cifra* (Naples: Egidio Longo, 1640), 2-3.

the great number of chords to memorize: it was much more practical to keep using the *alfabeto* notation for the simple chords, combining it with Italian tablature in more complex passages.

Velasco's is, above all, a system of transpositions. That is made quite clear in the most important section of the book, the musical circles, which allow a musician to play the same music in each one of the twelve "letters." The idea was not new. In the late sixteenth century, Amat had already presented a circle of transpositions. However, Velasco's system is more ample, comprising sixteen circles, which explain how to pass through several keys and come back to the starting point. According to Velasco, these *vueltas*, or laps, might be done by twelve ascending fifths, twelve descending fifths, major and minor thirds, or six major seconds. For each circle with the chords notated in French tablature, there is a circle corresponding to the bass line (not the lowest note, but the root of each chord) in staff notation. Neil Pennington has suggested that the system was helpful in the performance of short songs and dances. Having these circles in mind, the accompanying guitar player could pass easily through two or three of them, before returning to the original key. Because of its fretted neck, the guitar was one of the few instruments suitable for this type of transpositions, as theorist Francisco Valls observed in 1742:¹⁷

One would notice also the musical circulation, as in most of the organ keyboards, and more closely the Spanish guitar, in which all the semitones are equal.

¹⁵ Each letter of the *alfabeto* system corresponds to a different chord. In a broader sense, the term "letter" may also mean "key," or "mode."

¹⁶ Neil D. Pennington, *The Spanish Baroque Guitar* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 125-6.

¹⁷ Francisco Valls, Mapa armónico, 252. Quoted in Pennington, The Spanish Baroque Guitar, 131.

Hallaráse también la circulación Musical segun los mas de los teclados de los Organos y mas proximamente de la Guitarra Española, donde todos los semitonos son iquales.

Attesting to the long-lived popularity of such methods of transposition, circles and musical labyrinths would continue to appear in Spanish musical treatises throughout the seventeenth century, and as late as in Ferandiere's 1799 guitar book.

Antonio Marques Lésbio (ca. 1639-1709), Master of the Portuguese Royal Chapel after 1698, assigned the *viola* as the accompanying instrument for two of his extant *tonos* (see figure 3.1). The harp took the job in the majority of his other *tonos* and *vilancicos*. A certain Marques is mentioned as the author of several *fantasias*, *rojões*, and *chácaras* in the early-eighteenth-century *viola* codex from Coimbra (P-Cug M.M. 97). The later volume now at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon (P-Lcg, Serviço de música, no catalogue number), ascribes one fantasia for *viola* to "Antonio Marques, player of the Royal Chapel." And there was another Antonio Marques, a youngster who played the trumpet in the same Royal Chapel some years before, and was praised by the king dom João IV in a document of 1656.¹⁸

¹⁸ Sousa Viterbo, *Subsídios*, 362-3. See also Rui Vieira Nery, *A Música no Ciclo da "Bibliotheca Lusitana"* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian, 1984), 150-3. Marques was also a poet, and added "Lésbio" to his last name, after the island of Lesbos, famed for its school of poets.

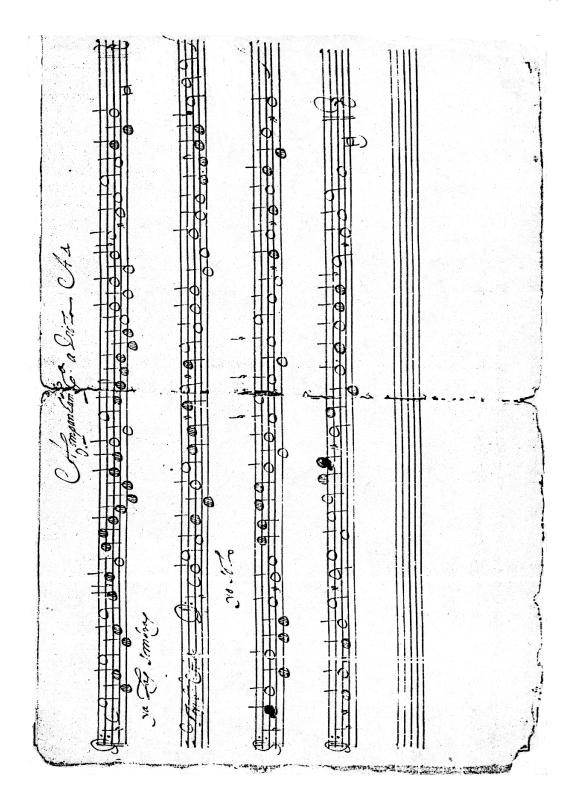


Figure 3.1: Viola accompaniment of a tono by Antonio Marques Lésbio.

Even considering how common the name Antonio is in Portuguese, these records most likely refer to the same person. It does not seem very probable that Antonio Marques was a namesake working in the same field, at the same place, during the same time.

The late-eighteenth-century manuscript *Diccionario Biographico de Musicos*Portugueses by José Mazza contains additional information on Portuguese and Brazilian

viola players. Many of the musicians mentioned there were monks of various religious

orders, and composers of sacred music as well. Mazza stated that the finest viola player in

Lisbon during his time was a certain Rodrigo Antonio, composer of minuets and toccatas,

who had enjoyed some success also in "foreign lands." Like his sixteenth-century

counterparts Domingos Madeira and Alexandre Aguiar, Antonio was a chamber musician of
the king, who, in 1722, made him cavaleiro fidalgo, literally knight nobleman. Since the
reign of dom Sebastião, this title represented the lowest level of nobility.

According to Mazza, João Vaz Barradas Morato, Choir Master at the Basilica of Santa Maria, in Lisbon, wrote several didactic works, mostly dealing with mensural music and plainsong singing. Mazza does not mention Morato's 1762 *Regras de música*, a codex now at the National Library, in Lisbon. The volume has a disappointingly short and superficial section on *viola* making and tuning.

Thanks to Charles Burney's journals, some information about the Abate Antonio da Costa (1714-after 1780) has survived. Burney met Costa in Vienna, in 1772, and described him as an accomplished player of a "large Spanish guittar," whose music had a "very

¹⁹ Mazza, *Dicionário*, 39.

²⁰ Ibid., 31.

peculiar style: with little melody, but, with respect to harmony and modulation, in the most pleasing and original manner."²¹

The term "guittar," as used by Burney, may suggest that Costa would actually have played the so-called English guitar, then a fairly popular instrument in England and Portugal. This instrument, the actual forerunner of the Portuguese guitar, was first introduced in Portugal by the English community at Oporto. In the late eighteenth century, Antonio da Silva Leite and Manuel José Vidigal published several solo and chamber works, and Leite even published a treatise for it. Similarly, Antonio Pereira da Costa, Chapel Master of the See of Funchal, on the Island of Madeira, had his *Twelve Serenatas for the Guittar* printed in London around 1755. The possibility that Antonio da Costa and Antonio Pereira da Costa were the same person was first proposed in 1971 by Filipe de Sousa, but later rejected by Manuel Carlos de Brito.²²

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²¹ Charles Burney, *An eighteenth-century musical tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands*, ed. Percy A. Scholes (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 89. Original title: *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces* (London: Printed for T. Becket and others, 1775).

²² In support of his theory, Filipe de Sousa ("Quem foi Antonio Pereira da Costa," *Coloquio Artes* 13, no. 2 [1975]: 51-2) points to the "ecclesiastical status and the similarity of their names," their "contemporarity, and the fact that the Abate's life is mostly unknown—which allows one to speculate that he might have lived in Funchal." Because the editor of the *Serenatas* is the same as that of some of Burney's works, Sousa also suggests that Burney might have been responsible for their publication. The reasoning does not seem entirely convincing for Manuel Carlos de Brito ("'A kind of Rousseau, but still more original': Novos dados sobre o Abade António da Costa," *Estudos de História da Música em Portugal* [Lisbon: Estampa, 1989], 140), who rejects the hypothesis on the grounds that at the beginning of 1750 the Abate fled from Portugal to Rome for unknown reasons, while in the middle of the same year, Antonio Pereira da Costa was still Chapel Master of Funchal, on the island of Madeira.

In spite of the use of the term "guittar," Burney's reference to Costa's instrument as Spanish, as well as the observations that he gives on its stringing, seem to point to the *viola*, rather than the English guitar:²³

He wanted very much to correct the imperfections of the finger-board of his guittar, which being strung with catgut and having three strings to each tone, he found it frequently happen, that these strings, though perfectly in unison, when open, were out of tune when stopped [...]

The description agrees in part with the instrument portrayed in Manuel da Paixão Ribeiro's *Nova Arte de Viola* of 1789. That *viola* still bears five courses--the fourth and fifth courses had three strings each, instead of two. The string material could be silver and catgut, or silver and steel (each one of the triple courses receives a silver-wound string--a bourdon). Ribeiro's musical examples, mostly minuets and *modinhas* (diminutive of *modas*, or songs), arranged in staff notation, illustrate the process of change in the musical taste, which began already some decades before.

The transition from the standard seventeenth-century guitar repertory seen in the Coimbra and Gulbenkian tablatures to this repertory of Portuguese love songs and French dances is exemplarily illustrated in the so-called Count of Redondo's book, a third volume of intabulated music for the *viola*, possibly from the second or third decade of the eighteenth century (P-Ln F.C.R. ms. Ne 1). Rather than fantasias and *rojões* (*passacalles*), the main musical forms and dance types here are minuets and marches.

The new musical style, simpler, more linear and regular, requires the reentrant tuning to be discarded in favor of bourdons. In the reentrant tuning--still employed in the

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²³ Burney, An eighteenth-century musical tour, 98.

Coimbra and Gulbenkian books--the fourth and fifth courses sound higher than the third one, thus allowing a complex play of nuances of articulation and timbre color. But by the mideighteenth century what is important is the clarity and linearity of the discourse, and for that end bourdons are quite effective.

It is in this context that the six-course *viola*, *violão* in Brazil, began to spread. And it was for this instrument, still with double courses, that another Portuguese, Antonio Abreu, closed the century with the publication, in 1799, of the *Escuela para tocar con perfecion la Guitarra de cinco y seis ordenes*.

3.2 Brazil

Already in their first contact with the Portuguese, the Brazilian natives were curious about European music and musical instruments, as noted in 1500 by Pero Vaz de Caminha in his report of the discovery of Brazil. Notwithstanding the absence of any mention about the *viola* in Caminha's letter, some decades later Catholic missionaries would use the instrument extensively in their efforts to teach and convert the natives. In the Jesuit schools and settlements, the *reduções*, the *viola* was used primarily as an accompanying instrument for religious hymns and songs--mostly religious versions of popular songs, or *contrafacta*--as well as in the feasts, processions, moral theater, and for their personal edification. In addition to that, one should consider the possibility that the skilled players could have used the six-course *viola* in the instrumental performance of short polyphonic excerpts, a practice common on the Iberian peninsula, and reported in the Paraguayan *reducciones* during the seventeenth century. Additionally, besides adapting religious lyrics to Iberian melodies, the

missionaries also taught Catholic prayers in the native language, sometimes using native melodies and even native musical instruments.

The first Bishop of Brazil, Pero Fernandes Sardinha, did not welcome these early examples of musical interaction between Europe and Brazil. Already in 1552 he reprimanded the Jesuits in Brazil for the practice of what he called "gentilities," particularly the singing and dancing with the natives, and the learning and mimicking of some of their ways of speaking and story-telling. Evidently, the participation in many of such activities was carefully plotted by the missionaries themselves, for respect of the natives' habits and the assimilation of many of these by the Jesuits were part of a strategy of apparent acceptance of their values, after which would follow a gradual substitution of the European ones.

Portuguese colonists, who had been arriving in Brazil since the 1530's, kept using the *viola* as the main accompanying instrument for their *cantigas* and *romances*, as well as the *folias*, one of the few dance-types mentioned by name in sixteenth-century Brazil. The Iberian popular dances, however, were always targets of reproach from both religious and secular authorities. Notwithstanding the frequent condemnations of these abuses--rarely taken seriously, for they were constantly reissued--the Church admitted some types of dances in processions and feasts. More than that, Church and secular authorities soon realized that they had something to profit by them. By not only allowing, but also by promoting them, they could channel the persuasive power of those activities to their own purposes.

Interactions would continue to happen in the seventeenth century, with the intensification of the slave trade from several parts of Africa to Brazil. And the warnings

against excesses in feasts and processions now reveal a particular concern with activities that promoted the blending of Portuguese colonists with their slaves.

By the mid-seventeenth century, African and Iberian cultures had been interacting in Brazil already for some decades, particularly in Bahia. Nobody portrayed these interactions in a more colorful--some would say vulgar--way than Bahian poet Gregório de Mattos e Guerra (1636-1696). Mattos, who belonged to a wealthy family of landowners, went in 1652 to Portugal, where he earned a law degree from the University of Coimbra, and worked as an attorney and judge. He composed most of his poetry, particularly the satirical lines, after returning to Bahia in 1683.

According to the eighteenth-century writer Manuel Pereira Rebelo, Mattos used to sing his stanzas to a *viola* that he made himself out of a gourd.²⁴ The *viola de cabaço*, a Brazilian folk instrument still in use, fits that description.

Musical terms appear often in Mattos's lines, some of them referring explicitly to the *viola*, though almost always hiding some other meaning:

A man asks Annie for one *cruzado* [monetary unit], For the shoes, And I set it to the *viola*, In the position of the *cruzado* [viola position]. He says they are of seven pontos [shoe laces, viola frets], But, since I play rasgado [strumming; ripping], I do not engage in these pontos [viola frets; issues], Nor do I leave this agreement. Even if I had not noticed How much you have been buzzing In the banza [banjo; African instrument] of my senses [,] Leaving my viola in pieces: One *cruzado* would pay,

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²⁴ Manuel Pereira Rabelo, "Vida do excelente poeta lírico, o doutor Gregório de Matos Guerra" (first section of the codex 3576, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, early 18th century), in Gregório de Matos, *Obra Poética*, ed. James Amado (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1990), 1264.

Since it was so unfortunate
That I played [messed with] the *escaravelha* [*viola* pegs, female genitalia]
And played on the sound hole [I entered into the hole, puddle].
But, since I already know
That your instrument is low [bass, down there]
And your strings are so bad,
That they break at each *passo* [musical form; step],
I don't strum [rip] you, and I don't play you finger-style [lace],
I don't tie and I don't untie you,
Because by the key you play [touch] me,
By the same key I dance [with] you.
Go seek other tunings [seasonings],
Because I'm already out of tune [unseasoned].

Um cruzado pede o homem, Anica, pelos sapatos, mas eu ponho isso à viola na postura do cruzado: Diz, que são de sete pontos, mas como eu tanjo rasgado, nem nesses pontos me meto, nem me tiro desses tratos. Inda assim se eu não soubera o como tens trastejado na banza dos meus sentidos pondo-me a viola em cacos: O cruzado pagaria, já que foi tão desgraçado, que buli com a escaravelha, e toquei sobre o buraco. Porém como já conheço, que o teu instrumento é baixo, e são tão falsas as cordas, que quebram a cada passo, Não te rasgo, nem ponteio nem te ato, nem desato, que pelo tom que me tanges, pelo mesmo tom te danço Busca a outro temperilhos, que eu já estou destemperado.

Here the erotic meaning is hidden behind a skillful play of *double-entendres*, which reveals familiarity with the guitar jargon, its positions and playing techniques.

In several other poems, Mattos named many of the dances then in vogue in Bahia, sometimes giving details about their choreography. He also reveals a great deal about the situations in which the contacts between blacks and whites happened. For Mattos himself, the usual gathering place was the brothel, but he also mentions other situations, such as the African ceremony of the *calundus* (see chapter 6), which even wealthy white people used to attend. José Ramos Tinhorão pointed to the double danger of such gatherings, for, on the one hand, the Church was concerned with the competition to the official religion, and, on the other hand, the secular power saw in the ethnic and social mixture a menace to the civil order.²⁵

The moralist writer Nuno Marques Pereira wrote an often-quoted condemnation of the *calundus*, but he also warned against the supposed danger of singing profane songs (*modas profanas*) to the accompaniment of the guitar. In his 1728 *Compêndio Narrativo do Peregrino da América*, he tells the story of a certain black man, João Furtado, a "famous musician and great *viola* player," who had supposedly died after singing the then already old song *Para que nascestes, Rosa, se tão depressa acabastes*, "Why were you born, Rose, if so soon you were finished." The song was so popular, having been so even in the previous century, that even Mattos composed a set of *glosas* over it. Pereira's observation on the origin of the repertory of those players is amusing:²⁶

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²⁵ The sixth chapter will deal more extensively with these interactions. More detailed information about Brazilian *viola* players during the early eighteenth century will be given in that section as well.

²⁶ Nuno Marques Pereira, *Compêndio Narrativo do Peregrino da América* (Rio de Janeiro: Academia Brasileira de Letras, 1988), vol. 2, 138.

But I am persuaded that it is the Demon who teaches them most of these songs [modas], because he is a great poet, a musician skilled in counterpoint, and a guitar player, who knows how to invent profane songs [modas] to teach those who do not have a fear of God. Father Bento Remigio tells us in his book Moral Practice of Healing and Confession (page 9, and in another book entitled God Momo) that the Demon having entered into a rustic woman, a priest went to conduct the exorcism of the Church, and, curious, he asked the Demon what did he know. He answered that he was a musician. Soon he asked for a guitar, and he played it in such a manner, and with such dexterity, that it seemed as if a famous player was playing it.

Porém, eu me persuado, que a maior parte destas modas lhas ensina o Demónio; porque é ele grande Poeta, contrapontista, músico e tocador de viola e sabe inventar modas profanas, para as ensinar àqueles que não temem a Deus. Conta o Padre Bento Remígio no seu livro Pratica Moral de Curas e Confissões (página 9 e no outro livro intitulado Deus Momo), que entrando o Demónio em uma mulher rústica, foi um Sacerdote a fazer-lhe os exorcismos de uma igreja, e entrando-lhe a curiosidade perguntou ao Demónio o que sabia? Respondeu-lhe, que era músico. E logo lhe mandou vir uma viola, e de tal maneira a tocou, e com tanta destreza, que parecia ser tocada por um famoso tocador.

For the musically uninitiated, the incomprehensible instrumental dexterity--as any other unknown phenomenon--had to be related to some supernatural power, hence the ages-old association of the devil and the skillful musician, be it the Middle-Eastern lutenist, the Italian violinist, or the blues player of the Mississippi Delta.

However, Pereira was a guitar player himself, and he seemed to be more concerned with a certain repertory of secular songs then in fashion than the musical instrument or the mastery on it. In fact, for southern-Brazilian families of landowners during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a certain skill at playing musical instruments--although not professionally--especially the *viola* and the harp, was equivalent to gifts such as writing poetry and being instructed in the so-called liberal arts. In *Nobiliarchia Paulistana*, a late-eighteenth-century genealogy book of the families of the Captaincy of São Paulo, Pedro

Taques de Almeida Paes Leme mentions two Brazilian viola players who lived in Portugal.

The first one was a certain Frei Plácido, grandson of Manuel Álvares de Sousa.²⁷

Being a Benedictine monk in Brazil, he went to the kingdom of Portugal, where he became a monk of St. Bernard, receiving orders at the monastery of Alcobaça; and he came back to visit his relatives around the year 1681. He was distinguished in the art of playing the *viola*, and he was so dextrous that he earned the honor of playing it before the king dom Pedro II.

sendo monge benedictino no Brasil, passou ao reino de Portugal, e ficou monge de S. Bernardo, tomando o habito no real monasterio de Alcobaça; e voltou a visitar os parentes pelos annos de 1681; e foi eminente na prenda de tanger viola, e tão destro, que mereceu tanger na presença do Sr. Rei D. Pedro II.

Another player, Francisco Rodrigues Penteado, originally from Pernambuco, had a somewhat less pious story, which still reveals the interest of the wealthy families of the colony in some kind of *viola*-based musical instruction:²⁸

And this son Francisco Rodrigues Penteado having been already well instructed in the liberal arts, and being an excellent and charming *viola* player, and dextrous in the art of music, his father sent him to Lisbon where he would receive an inheritance. The son, however, finding himself in one of the noblest courts in Europe and with the gift of making himself esteemed, he took care only in the devastation of the patrimony he received, consuming it in the good life and with his friends. Reflecting upon his new situation, and realizing that he would not be able to account for the commission with which he left Pernambuco for Lisbon, he embarked in 1648 in a fleet to Rio de Janeiro, with Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides who, having to leave for Angola in order to reconquer it from the Dutch, left him [Penteado] in the city of Rio with the recommendation to instruct on the musical instruments his daughters and his oldest son, Martim Correia, who was of his same age.

²⁷ Pedro Taques de Almeida Paes Leme, *Nobiliarchia Paulistana Historica e Genealogica*, ed. Afonso de E. Taunay (São Paulo: Comissão do IV Centenário, 1953), vol. 2, 38.

²⁸ Ibid., vol. 3, 239-40.

E tendo este filho Francisco Rodrigues Penteado, e já bem instruído em partes liberais; sendo excelente e com muito mimo na de tanger viola, e destro na arte de música; seu pai o mandou a Lisboa sobre dependência de uma herança que ali tinha: o filho porem, vendo-se em uma corte das mais nobres da Europa e com prendas para conciliar estimações, cuidou só no estrago, que fez do cabedal, que recebeu, consumindo em bom tratamento e amizades. Refletindo depois, que não estava nos termos de dar satisfação da comissão com que passara de Pernambuco a Lisboa, embarcou na frota do Rio-de-Janeiro com Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides em 1648, o qual tendo de passar a Angola, como passou para a restaurar dos holandeses, o deixou na cidade do Rio muito recomendado pelo interesse de lhe instruir nos instrumentos músicos a suas filhas, a ao filho mais velho Martim Correia com quem estava unido pela igualdade dos anos.

As Leme continues, Penteado moved to São Paulo in order to marry the daughter of one of its wealthiest citizens, and became himself a landowner. Penteado died in 1673.

In a manuscript dated 1757, Domingos Loreto Couto compiled some information about composers and *viola* players who lived in the Northeastern regions of Bahia and Pernambuco in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among these he listed black musicians, such as Felipe Nery da Trindade and his brother Manuel de Almeida Botelho. The latter was born in 1721 and moved to Lisbon in 1749, probably never returning to his homeland, for no additional records survive in Brazil. According to Couto, he gained the good graces of both the Patriarch of Lisbon, dom Tomás de Almeida, and the Marquis of Marialva. Couto lists some of Botelho's compositions, whose titles give us a glimpse into the musical forces and forms then in fashion in both the colony and the kingdom:²⁹

His works and musical compositions received singular acceptance among the best teachers of Portugal. The most important of these are a Mass for four voices and two violins; the psalm *Lauda Jerusalem* for four voices, two violins, and horns; three *Tantum Ergo*, a quatro with violins [rabecas]; and one for two choirs; several sonatas and toccatas for both viola and

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²⁹ Dom Domingos Loreto Couto, *Desagravos do Brasil e Glórias de Pernambuco* (Recife: Prefeitura da Cidade do Recife, 1981), 376, manuscript at the Lisbon's Biblioteca Nacional, MS F.G. 873.

harpsichord; five motets and one four-voice *Miserere* for the Holy Week, which the *mestre de solfa* Joaquim Borges used to use in his functions, after performing it at his house. Besides these works, he composed in Lisbon several other *cantilenas*, such as duos, minuets, *tonos*, and so forth, which earned the approval and affidavit of Caetano Monsi, from Italy, and a distinguished singer and composer of the Patriarchal See of Lisbon.

As suas obras, e composiçoens musicas tiverão singular aceitação entre os melhores professores de Portugal, sendo as principaes hua missa a quatro vozes, e dous violinos. O psalmo lauda Jerusalem a quatro vozes, dous violinos, oboe e trompas. Tres, Tantum ergo, a quatro com rabecas, e hum a dous choros. Varias sonatas, e tocatas tanto para viola, como para cravo. Cinco mottetes, e hum miserere a quatro vozes de composição modulada para a semana santa, que provando-se em caza do mestre da solfa Joaquim Borges usava d'elles nas suas funçoens. Alem das referidas obras compos em Lisboa outras muitas cantilenas, como duos, minuetes, tonos, etc. acreditadas com a aprovação, e testemunho de Caetano Monsi, italiano de nação, e insigne cantor, e compositor da S. Igreja Patriarchal de Lisboa.

No work ascribed to him has so far been recovered, but the Conde de Redondo codex, with its minuets and songs, might give us an approximate idea of the type of repertory that Botelho composed and played. Likewise, some parallels could be traced with Lésbio's above-mentioned *tonos*.

Mazza reports that another black composer from Pernambuco, Luiz Álvares Pinto (1719-1789), was a good accompanist on the *viola*. Pinto spent some years in Lisbon as well, studying with Henrique da Silva Negrão. Unlike many other eighteenth-century composers of Northeastern Brazil, some his compositions actually survived (though not for the *viola*), such as the *Te Deum*, and the singing treatises *A Arte de Solfejar* (1761), and *Muzico e Moderno Systema para Solfejar sem Confuzão* (1776).

Domingos Caldas Barbosa and Joaquim Manuel da Câmara belong to another branch of black Brazilian musicians, composers of secular songs--modinhas and lundus--and

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³⁰ Mazza, Dicionário, 33.

not sacred music. ³¹ Both were active in Lisbon during the last years of the eighteenth century, and their success angered, to say the least, members of the cultural establishment of that city, such as the poets Nicolau Tolentino de Almeida and Manuel Maria Barbosa du Bocage. However, recent researches on Barbosa's life point to the fact that, although he was acknowledged as a skillful poet-improviser, there is hardly any contemporary testimony about his *viola* playing. Though Joaquim Manuel's life is still more elusive, some information about his *viola* playing has survived. In one of his typically biting sonnets, du Bocage addresses Manuel with a series of racial slurs, though acknowledging his musical skills: ³²

To a famous mulatto Joaquim Manuel, A great *viola* player and improviser of *modinha*.

This man [lit. big goat] who lives his life shrieking, Who was breastfed and got thrashed in Brazil, The vile player [lit. the one who tires out] of the vile *bandurra*, The dog that never gets stuck in the strings:

The vile monster that you produced, o Land Wherein Nature punches noses, That brings harmonic voids With black voice, a war against patience:

The one whose snout comes from his mother dog, The one whom foolish ladies applaud more than *Mirra* [Myrrh?], The one who did not come from a free black woman:

³¹ There is an extensive bibliography about the *modinha* and the *lundu*, of which Manuel Veiga published the review "O estudo da modinha brasileira," *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latino Americana* 19, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1998): 47-91. Two important anthologies were recently published: Manuel Morais and Rui Vieira Nery ed., *Modinhas, Lundus and Cançonetas: 18th and 19th centuries* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional -- Casa da Moeda, 2000); Maria João Durães Albuquerque ed., *Jornal de Modinhas: Ano I* (Lisbon: Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro, 1996).

³² Manuel Maria Barbosa du Bocage, *Opera Omnia* vol. 1, "Sonetos," ed. Hernâni Cidade (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1969), 93.

The one who tunes even more when one coughs, He deserves, instead of philosophical phlegm, A butt, a "scram," an *arre*, an *irra* [nonsensical interjections].

A um célebre mulato Joaquim Manuel, grande tocador de viola e improvisador de modinha.

Esse cabra ou cabrão, que anda na berra, Que mamou no Brasil surra e mais surra, o vil estafador da vil bandurra, O perro, que nas cordas nunca emperra:

O monstro vil que produziste, ó Terra Onde narizes Natureza esmurra, Que os seus nadas harmônicos empurra, Com parda voz, das paciências guerra,

O que sai no focinho à mãe cachorra, O que néscias aplaudem mais que a "Mirra," O que nem veio de própria forra;

O que afina ainda mais quando se espirra, Merece à filosófica pachorra Um corno, um passa-fora, um arre, um irra.

In another sonnet, du Bocage mentions Manuel as someone who "gives opium to his *machete*"--or *machinho*, a type of small five-course guitar.³³ Du Bocage's allusion to Manuel having been breastfed in Brazil could be taken only as an allusion to the type of repertory he used to sing, the so-called "Brazilian *modinhas*"--less an indication of origin than a genre of songs. However, there are strong reasons to believe not only that he was Brazilian, but also that he was the same Joaquim Manuel da Câmara who Louis Claude de Freycinet and Adriano Balbi knew in Rio de Janeiro in the early nineteenth century.

³³ Ibid.

Balbi mentions that, besides the *viola*, Manuel played a small type of guitar-probably the *machete* that Bocage mentions. Freycinet, who knew Manuel, also talks about his compositions:³⁴

As for the performance, nothing appeared more astonishing to me than the rare talent on the guitar [guitare] of [another] mulatto Joaquim Manuel. Under his fingers the instrument had an indescribable charm, which I never found again in our most notable European guitarists. This musician is also author of several modinhas, a very pleasant genre of romances, of which Mr. Neukomm has published a collection in Paris.

Mais pour l'exécution, rien ne m'a paru plus étonnant que le rare talent, sur la guitare, d'un autre mulâtre de Rio de Janeiro, nommé Joachim Manoel. Sous ses doigts, cet instrument avoit un charme inexprimable, que je n'ai jamais retrouvé chez nos guitaristes européens les plus distingués. Le même musicien est aussi auteur de plusieurs modinhas, espèces de romances fort agréables, dont M. Neucum a publiée un recueil à Paris.

A little note in the diary of Freycinet's wife, Rose, also confirms Bocage's sonnet and Balbi's report on the dimensions of Manuel's guitar:³⁵

1 July 1820. Although we were tired, we were obliged to go and take tea at the house of Mme. Lizaur and, worst of all, to go on foot. We were amply compensated for our pains, as we heard a musician play the guitar exceptionally well with an instrument no bigger than his hand. This man managed to produce some extraordinary and amazing sounds from it.

Besides the published collection of his *modinhas* with piano accompaniment by Neukomm in Paris in 1824, two other *modinhas* by Manuel survived in a manuscript at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (E-Mn M2261), in which he is identified as "Joaq." Manuel Brazileiro."

³⁴ Louis Claude Desaulses de Freycinet, *Voyage autour du monde* (Paris: Pillet, 1827-39), vol. 1, 216.

³⁵ Marc Serge Rivière, transl. and ed., *A Woman of Courage: The Journal of Rose de Freycinet on her Voyage around the World 1817-1820* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1996), 168.

The library of the Ajuda Palace in Lisbon has a late-eighteenth-century collection entitled *Modinhas do Brazil* (P-La 54/X/37 26-55), which contains some poems by Caldas Barbosa set to music by unidentified composers.³⁶ These *modinhas* and *lundus* are scored in a way similar to those in Manuel da Paixão Ribeiro's *Nova Arte de Viola* (1789): the *viola* accompaniment is in F clef, and displays only a bass line that the player is expected to harmonize in performance. Ribeiro's instructions on playing the accompaniment on the *viola* may prove helpful in a performance of these settings (see figure 3.2). Another important collection containing forty of Barbosa's poems set to music was recently found at the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon.³⁷

Seen in the context of the early-eighteenth-century Portuguese repertory for the *viola*, the presence in Lisbon of Joaquim Manuel and Domingos Caldas Barbosa late in that century is the culmination of a trend that started many decades before, with the arrival in Portugal of anonymous slaves and free black men from Brazil bringing with them their sounds and, sometimes, their guitar-playing skills.

³⁶ See Gerard Béhague, "Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon) MSS 1595-1596: Two Eighteenth-Century Anonymous Collections of Modinhas," *Yearbook of the Inter-American Institute for Musical Research* 6 (1968): 44-81.

³⁷ P-Ln MM4801. Muzica escolhida da Viola de Lereno. Para uzo da Ill.ma e Ex.ma Snra D. Marianna de Souza Coitinho Offerece Seu afilhado, e Umilde Servo D.[omingos] C.[aldas] B.[arbosa] Na Arcadia de Roma Lereno Selinuntino. 1799.



Figure 3.2: Ribeiro's instructions on playing a viola accompaniment.

4 SOURCES

Although the earliest known Portuguese source for the five-course guitar dates from 1640, most of the Portuguese repertory for this instrument that predates the publication of Manoel da Paixão Ribeiro's *Nova Arte de Viola* (1789) is contained in three manuscript codices: one of them held at Coimbra and two in Lisbon (see table 1). Ribeiro's book marks the beginning of another phase in Portuguese guitar music--beyond the limits of this study-as explained in the previous chapter.¹

The codex MM 97 of the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal (P-Cug M.M. 97) is a 310 x 210 mm parchment-bound volume containing 137 folios of music in tablature notation. A printed edition of Giovanni Pittoni's *Intavolatura di Tiorba, opera prima* (Bologna, 1669) occupies the first 22 folios. The remainder of the volume is handwritten. Folios 1r to 103v contain music in tablature for the *viola* (five-course guitar); folios 104r to 107v music for *bandurra de cinco* (five-course *bandurra*); folios 109r to 115v music for *rebeca de quatro* (most likely violin). Folios 80v to 90v, as well as 116r to 136r are blank.

The type of tablature used in the Coimbra book is the most commonly found in the Iberian peninsula during sixteenth to eighteenth centuries--the Italian system. For the most

¹ Rather than solo music for *viola* notated in tablature, one begins to see in the late eighteenth century the appearance of music in staff notation--usually one or two vocal lines accompanied by a bass line to be harmonized by a plucked instrument, usually the five-course *viola*. This pattern is followed in the little treatise *Nova arte de viola*, published in Coimbra by Manuel da Paixão Ribeiro in 1789, in two codices of *modinhas* at the Palácio da Ajuda library, and in a recently found volume with poetry by Domingos Caldas Barbosa set to music, as well as some numbers of the *Jornal de Modinhas*.

part, the tablature does not present rhythmic signs, and when they do appear, they are scarce and contradictory. On the other hand, ornament signs are numerous.

There is a tuning chart for the guitar--actually spelled *guitarra*--and the *machinho* on folio 103v (see figure 2.1). The same folio has an *alfabeto* chart, or *cifras de letras*, but there is no practical application anywhere in the book. In this system, letters and other signs represent *posturas*, or positions in the guitar's neck in order to produce chords. It was very popular in Italy from the late sixteenth century onward, and later in a mixed form, incorporated into the Italian tablature. In Spain another system was in use until the mideighteenth century, the *cifras*, with numbers instead of letters, but the practical use was the same. After the mid-seventeenth century the mixed form--*alfabeto* and Italian tablature--was the main system in use also in Spain.

The title page of the codex identifies Joseph Carneyro Tavares Lamacense as the compiler of the codex (see chapter 3, n54). Even though he is the most probable responsible for copying much of the codex, a different calligraphy appears between folios 74v and 80r-which is also the section of the book with the largest number of rhythmic signs in the tablature. Of course, the whole book may have been copied by the same person in very different periods.

The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon owns a codex of music in tablature, without a catalogue number, held at the archives of the Music Division. It is a 310 x 220 mm parchment-bound volume, of which the first twelve unnumbered folios, without staff lines, present music for *viola*, *bandurra*, and *cravo* (harpsichord) intabulated in *cifras aritméticas* (see below). Folios 1r to 44r contain music in Italian tablature for the *viola*, and folios 49r to 79r music in Italian tablature for the *bandurra*. Folios 44v to 48v, as well as 79v to 82r are blank. The third section of the book, folios 83r to 97r, comprises a treatise of ciphering for

the *viola* and *bandurra*, which the author calls *cifras aritméticas*, or arithmetic ciphers. In this system, each one of the twelve tones is represented by a different number--a logic that seems to derive from the Iberian keyboard tablatures. In addition to that, the treatise also explains how to compose Latin verses and accompany them on the *viola*.

The first unnumbered folio contains six paragraphs of what seem to be aphorisms, and notes related to lending and spending of money. One of these is dated, but a scribble makes the year illegible. A single, careful copyist seems to have copied the music from folios 1r to 15v, and 29r to 33v. The remainder of the book might have been copied by the same person, at a different time and with less care (there are many more mistakes), or by a different (or more than one) copyist. Since the first and last sections, which deal with *cifras aritméticas*, are written on a different paper without staff lines, it is also possible that they were bound together at a later time, perhaps not even by its original owner.

The so-called "Conde de Redondo book," a codex in the music section of the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon, is a 270 x 160 mm oblong volume containing 57 folios. It has a very neat, gold-decorated binding, and all its contents were copied by a single, meticulous hand, probably not one learned at *viola*-playing, because of the large number of mistakes. Except for two blank folios, its contents are filled with music for *viola* in Italian and mixed tablature. Folios 44v to 49r present an *alfabeto* chart, one piece in mixed tablature with rhythm signs, and three other pieces in Italian tablature also with rhythm signs.

None of these volumes is dated. As for the watermarks, in the first two volumes the abundance of concordances makes it difficult to establish a possible date of compilation.

There are Italian and Spanish papers with identical or very similar watermarks in documents

dated from the late sixteenth century to the penultimate decade of the eighteenth century. A greater concentration seems to occur between 1670 and 1730.²

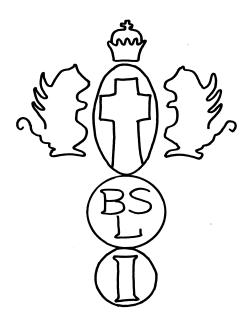


Figure 4.1: Most common watermark in P-Cug M.M. 97 (arms of Genoa).

² Variants of this mark can be found in the following works: Paul R. Laird and Greta J. Olson, "Watermarks in selected seventeenth-century Spanish religious music manuscripts," *Musicology Australia* 19 (1996), 49-59: watermark 'A', pp. 52-53, the last paragraph of this section brings several other concordances; Maria Cristina Sánchez Bueno de Bonfil, *El papel del papel en la Nueva España* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e História, 1993): watermarks on pages 141-145, particularly C 2219 32; Thomas L. Gravell, *A catalogue of foreign watermarks found in paper used in America, 1700-1835* (New York: Garland, 1983): no. 271, p. 90 (GAM/I under the arms of Genoa). See also the watermarks 249 and 250, "scudo di Genova," in Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Le filigrani degli archivi genovesi* (an Italian translation of "Les filigranes des archives de Genes," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 19 [1888]), available on the internet: http://linux.lettere.unige.it/briquet

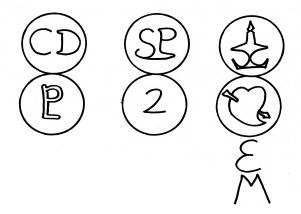


Figure 4.2: Watermarks in P-Lcg Serviço de música [n.n.] (always under the arms of Genoa, see figure 4.1).

Other evidence, such as the calligraphy, repertory, and musical concordances, also points to a compilation period between these years. The Coimbra volume, which includes a large number of fantasias, besides works by Ennemond Gaultier (c1575-1651), Domenico Pellegrini (publ. 1650), and Francesco Corbetta (publ. 1643), seems to predate the Gulbenkian codex by several years. The latter contains some pieces by Robert de Visée (publ. 1686), Gaspar Sanz (publ. 1674-5), and possibly Antônio Marques Lésbio (1639-1709), among others.

Though a watermark examination proved fruitless so far, the contents of the Conde de Redondo codex strongly suggest that it is a more recent volume: all concordances found until now are from the eighteenth century, and the type of repertory, comprising mostly minuets and *contredanses*, is clearly more modern (see chapter 5).

Table 4.1: Portuguese sources for the *viola*: 1640-1762.

LIBRARY	AUTHOR AND/OR TITLE	REMARKS I = Italian tablature M = Mixed tablature
E-Mn	Nicolau Doizi de Velasco. Nuevo modo de cifra para tañer la gvitarra con variedad, perfección, y se muestra ser instrumento perfecto, y abundntíssimo. [Naples: Egidio Longo, 1640].	Print. Treatise.
P-EVp	Cód. CLI/1-1 d nº 13. Antonio Marques Lésbio. <i>Tono a 4 Los males y los remedios</i> . [Late seventeenth century].	MS. <i>Tiple</i> 1, <i>tiple</i> 2, <i>tenor</i> , <i>altus</i> , <i>viola</i> accompaniment (only the bass line, C clef).
P-EVp	Cód. CLI/1-1 d nº 14. Antonio Marques Lésbio. <i>Tono a</i> 4 Ya las sombras de la muerte. [Late seventeenth century].	MS. <i>Tiple</i> , <i>tenor</i> , <i>altus</i> , <i>viola</i> accompaniment (only the bass line, F clef).
P-Cug	M.M. 97. Joseph Carneyro Tavares Lamacense, ed. <i>Cifras de viola por varios autores</i> . [Early eighteenth century].	MS. Tablature (I) for viola, bandurra, and rebeca. Alfabeto chart for viola and machinho.
P-Lcg Serviço de música	[No catalogue number]. [Códice de música em tablatura para viola, bandurra e cravo]. [Early eighteenth century].	MS. Tablature (I, Arithmetic ciphers) for viola, bandurra, and cravo (harpsichord).
P-Ln Seção de música	F.C.R. ms Ne 1. [Livro do Conde de Redondo]. [Mideighteenth century].	MS. Tablature (I, M) for viola. Alfabeto chart.
E-Mn	Dona Policarpia, mestra de viola. <i>Liçam instrumental da viola portugueza, ou de ninfas de cinco ordens</i> . Lisbon: Francisco da Silva, 1752.	Print. Treatise. Portuguese translation of Joan Carles Amat, Guitarra española y vandola (several editions).
P-Ln Seção de Reservados	COD 2163. João Vaz Morato [João Vaz Barradas Muito Pão e Morato Gonçalves da Silveira Homem]. <i>Regras de música</i> 87-100, "Factura de violas e sua afinação." 1762.	MS. Treatise. Tuning instructions (I).

Table 4.2: Contents of the Coimbra codex, P-Cug M.M. 97.

Folio	n°	contents
	I	Music for viola
1r	1	Fantesia 1° tom de Monteyro
		Entra a musica solta / torna a seguir o mesmo passo / Glossa
2r	2	Fantesia 1° tom de Montr.o
2v	3	Fantesia 1° tom de Marques
3v	4	Fantesia 1° tom de Barros Sesquialtera
4r	5	Fantesia de falsas 1º tom de Barros
4r	6	Fantesia 1° tom Italiana com sua fuga corrente Corrente da fuga
5r	7	Fantesia 1° tom Italiana
5r	8	Fantesia 1° tom
5v	9	Fantesia 1° tom
6r	10	Fantesia 2º tom de Montr.o
6v	11	Fantesia 2° tom de Marques
8r	12	Fantesia 2º tom de Barros Sesquialtera
8v	13	Fantesia 2º tom de Sylva
9r	14	Fantesia 2º tom de Gomes
9v	15	Fantesia 3° tom de Monteyro
10r	16	Fantesia de 3° tom de Marques
11r	17	Fantesia 3° tom de Sylva
11 v	18	Fantesia 3° tom de Sylva
12r	19	Fantesia 3° tom de Gomes
12v	20	Fantesia 4° tom de Marques
13v	21	Fantesia 4º tom de Fr. João
14r	22	Fantesia 4º tom de Fr. João
14r	23	Fantesia 4° tom Italiana
14v	24	Fantesia Italiana de 4º tom com sua fuga Fuga
15r	25	Fantesia 4° tom de Barros
15v	26	Fantesia de 4º tom de Fr. João
16r	27	Fantesia de 4º tom
16v	28	Fantesia de 4º tom de Monteyro
17r	29	Fantesia 5° tom de Marques
18r	30	Fantesia 5° tom de Sylva
18r	31	Fantesia de 7º tom Italiana
18v	32	Fantesia 8° tom de Marques
20v	33	Fantesia 8° tom de Marques
21v	34	Batalha 2º tom de Fr. João

Table 4.2 (continued)

	(,
22v	35	Batalha de 7º tom
24v	36	Trombetta del cavagliero Mascarelli
24v	37	Cansonetta
25r	38	Cansonetta
25r	39	Cansonetta
25r	40	Venettiana
25r	41	Cansonetta
25r	42	Cansonetta
25v	43	Cansonetta
25v	44	Moschettera
25v	45	[?]
25v	46	Cansonetta
25v	47	Trombeta 7º tom de Marques
26r	48	Batalha alias Trombeta 7° tom
26r	49	Gaita de folle 7° tom
26v	50	Rojão 1º tom de Marques
26v	51	Rojão 1º tom de Barros
28r	52	Rojão 1º tom Italiano
28r	53	Rojão 1º tom Italiano
28v	54	Rojão 1º tom Italiano
29r	55	Rojão 1º tom de Sylva
29v	56	Rojão 2º tom Italiano
29v	57	Rojão 2º tom de Sylva
30r	58	Rojão 3º tom de Barros
30v	59	Rojão 3º tom Italiano
30v	60	Rojão 3º tom Italiano
31r	61	Rojão 3º tom de Sylva
31r	62	Rojão 4º tom Italiano
31v	63	Rojão 4º tom Italiano
31v	64	Rojão 4º tom de Sylva
32r	65	Rojão 4º tom de Sylva
32r	66	Rojão 5º tom Italiano
32v	67	Entrada de 5º tom Italiana
32v	68	Rojão 5º tom
33v	69	Rojão 5º tom de Sylva
33v	70	Rojão 5º tom de Sylva
34r	71	Rojão 5º tom
34v	72	Rojão 5º tom
35r	73	Rojão 6º tom
35r	74 7.5	Rojão 6º tom
35v	75 76	Rojão 6º tom
36r	76	Rojão 7º tom de Abreu
36v	77	Rojão 7º tom de Abreu

Table 4.2 (continued)

36v	78	Rojão Italiano
37v	79	Rojão Italiano
37v	80	Marisapoles 1° tom Italiana Glosa
38r	81	Marisapoles 1° tom de Sylva
38v	82	Marisapoles 2° tom de Sylva
39r	83	Marisapoles 3° tom Italiana
39r	84	Marisapoles 3° tom de Barros
39r	85	Marisapoles 3° tom de Gomes
39v	86	Marisapoles 4° tom
40r	87	Marisapoles 4° tom de Barros
40r	88	Marisapoles 4º tom de Barros
40v	89	Marisapoles 4º tom de Sylva
40v	90	Marisapoles 4º tom de Barros
41r	91	Espanholeta 1º tom de Barros
		Glosa / Volta
42r	92	Espanholeta 2º tom de Sylva
42r	93	Espanholeta 3° tom de Sylva
43r	94	Espanholeta 4º tom de Gomes
43r	95	Sarào 1º tom de Barros
44r	96	Sarào 2º tom de Sylva
44v	97	Sarào 3º tom de Sylva
44v	98	Sarào 4º tom de Sylva
45r	99	Sarào 5° tom de Sylva
45r	100	Sarào 6º tom de Sylva
45r	101	Pavana 1º tom de Barros
45v	102	Pavana 1° tom Italiana
		Glosa
46r	103	Pavana 2º tom de Sylva
46r	104	Pavana 3° tom de Sylva
46v	105	Pavana 4º tom de Barros
46v	106	Alanella 1° tom
47r	107	Alanella 1° tom de Sylva
48r	108	Alanella 2° tom de Sylva
48r	109	Magana ou Chacoina 1º tom de Barros
48v	110	Magana 1° tom
48v	111	Magana ou Chacoina 2º tom de Sylva
	111	
49r	112	Magana 2° tom
49r 49r		Magana 2º tom Magana ou Chacoina 3º tom de Sylva
49r	112	
49r 49v	112 113	Magana ou Chacoina 3º tom de Sylva
	112 113 114	Magana ou Chacoina 3° tom de Sylva Magana 3° tom
49r 49v 49v	112 113 114 115	Magana ou Chacoina 3° tom de Sylva Magana 3° tom Magana ou Chacoina 4° tom

Table 4.2 (continued)

1 4010 4.	2 (contin	ucu)
51v	119	Capona 2º tom de Sylva
51v	120	Capona 5° tom de Sylva
		Volta
52r	121	Capona 5° tom
52r	122	Capona 5° tom italiana
52v	123	Capona 7º tom
53r	124	Sarabanda 4° tom Italiana
53v	125	Sarabanda 6° tom Italiana
53v	126	Sarabanda 7° tom Italiana
53v	127	Vacas 1º tom de Barros
54r	128	Vacas 2º tom de Sylva
54v	129	Meninas de Montemor 1º tom de Sylva
54v	130	Maricota do Brejo 1º tom
55r	131	Maricota do Brejo 2º tom de Sylva
55r	132	Canario 1º tom
55v	133	Canario
56r	134	Canario italiano
56r	135	Cubanco 4º tom de Barros
56r	136	Cubanco 7º tom
56v	137	Cubanco 7º tom
57r	138	Villão 7º tom
57r	139	Meya dança 7° tom de Abreu
57v	140	Sarambeque 1º tom de Barros
= 0		Disculpas
58r	141	Sarambeque 1º tom de Sylva
58r	142	Sarambeque 1º tom de Fr. João
58v	143	Sarambeque 2º tom de Sylva
59r	144	Sarambeque 2º tom
59r	145	Sarambeque 4º tom de Abreu
59v	146	Sarambeque 4º tom de Sylva
59v 60r	147 148	Sarambeque 7° tom Chacara 1° tom de Barros
001	140	Glosa
60v	149	Chacara 1° tom
60v	150	Chacara 1° tom de Marques
62r	151	Chacara 1° tom de Marques
62r	152	Chacara 1° tom de Abreu
62v	153	Chacara 1° tom de Abreu
62v	154	Chacara 1° tom do mesmo
63r	155	Chacara 1° tom Italiana
63v	156	Chacara 2° tom de Marques
63v	157	Chacara 4° tom de Barros
64r	158	Chacara 4° tom de Monteyro
64v	159	Chacara 4° tom

Table 4.2 (continued)

	(*****	
64v	160	Chacara 1° tom
65r	161	Amorosa 1° tom de Sylva
65v	162	Amorosa 1º tom de Abreu
66r	163	Amorosa 1º tom de Abreu
66v	164	Amorosa 2° tom de Abreu
66v	165	Amorosa 3° tom de Abreu
67r	166	Amorosa 3° tom de Gomes
67r	167	Amorosa 4° tom de Gomes
67v	168	Amorosa 4° tom
67v	169	Amorosa 4° tom de Marques
68r	170	Marinheira 2º tom de Sylva
68v	171	Marinheira 4° tom
69r	172	Marinheira 4° tom
69v	173	Cumbè 4° tom de Gomes
69v	174	Cumbè 8° tom
70r	175	Cumbè 8° tom
70r	176	Gandum 8° tom
71r	177	Gandum 3° tom
71r	178	Picaró 2º tom
71 v	179	Quererá 7º tom
71 v	180	Cãosinho 2º tom
72r	181	Cãosinho de Çofala
72v	182	Arromba 4 ° tom
73v	183	Sexto
74v	184	Italiana 2° tom de D. or Joseph Ferr. Cordovil
74v	185	Outra do mesmo tom
75r	186	Outra continuada
76r	187	Rojão do mesmo tom
76v	188	Fantasia do 2º tom
77r	189	Fantasia do mesmo tom
78r	190	Estrangeira
78r	191	Fantasia
79r	192	Fantasia de 2º tom por b.mol
79v	193	Rojão por 1º tom
80r	194	Avulso por 6° tom
91r	195	Giga
91r	196	Giga de Pepo Licete
91r	197	Outra Giga
91v	198	Bayleto da Giga
91v	199	Alemanda
91v	200	Alemanda de Pepo Licete
92r	201	Alemanda
92r	202	Alemanda do Laúde posta na Guitarra
92r	203	Alemanda

Table 4.2 (continued)

Peças de Viola Italianas e Francesas			
92v	204	Tricotte da Alemanda	
92v	205	Outra Alemanda	
93r	206	Alemanda	
93r	207	Bayletto	
93r	208	Bayletto del Corbetto	
93r	209	Bayletto	
93v	210	Ballo dela Regina del Cavagliero Mascarelli 7º tom	
93v	211	Bayletto	
94r	212	Sarabanda del detto bayletto	
94r	213	Ballo del Gran Duca 7º tom	
94r	214	Bayletto	
94v	215	Capricio	
94v	216	Corrente do Capricio q se segue	
94v	217	Capricio	
95r	218	Capricetto del Cavagliero Antequera [?]	
95r	219	Corrente	
95r	220	Corrente	
95r	221	Corrente	
95v	222	Corrente	
95v	223	Corrente	
95v	224	Corrente	
95v	225	Corrente	
96r	226	Corrente de Pepo Licete	
96r	227	Corrente	
96r	228	Corrente de Pepo Licete	
96v	229	Corrente de Pepo Licete	
97r	230	Corrente del Cavagliero Mascarelli	
97r	231	Corrente	
97r	232	Corrente de D. Diogo Doria	
97v	233	Correntina	
97v	234	Correntina	
97v	235	Fuga da Correntina	
98r	236	Mantuana	
98r	237	Mantuana del Cavagliero Mascarelli	
98r	238	Gagliarda	
98v	239	Gavotta	
98v	240	Menuet	
98v	241	Tricotte	
98v	242	Borea	
98v	243	Terantela	
99r	244	Tombo de Mazzarin	
99r	245	Marionas	

Table 4.2 (continued)

	Varios temples de Viola				
99v	246	Acordio de guitarra a 1 ^a com a 4 ^a			
99v	247	Sarabanda no mesmo			
99v	248	Corrente no mesmo			
99v	249	Alemanda no mesmo			
100r	250	Sarabanda no mesmo			
100v	251	Outro temple			
100v	252	Alemanda			
100v	253	Sarabanda			
100v	254	Giga			
100v	255	La Immortale			
101v	256	Outro temple / Sarabanda			
101v	257	Alemanda			
101v	258	Rojão no principio da Alemanda acima			
101v	259	Giga			
102r	260	Bayletto			
102r	261	Corrente			
102r	262	Gandum			
103r	263	Outro temple / Corrente			
103v	264	Sarabanda			
103r	265	Alemanda			
103v	266	Corrente			
103v	267	Gavotta			
103v		Como se tempera a guitarra			
103v		Como se tempera a viola com machinho			
103v		Cifras de Letras são as seg. tes			
	II	Music for bandurra			
		Cifras de Bandurra de cinquo			
104r	1	Chacara 1° tom			
104v	2	Chacara 1° tom			
104v	3	Chacara			
104v	4	Amorosa			
104v	5	Amorosa 3° tom			
105r	6	Amorosa			
105v	7	Rojão 4º tom			
105v	8	Cumbè			
	9	Pavana 1° tom			
105v		Pavana			
106r	10				
106r 106v	11	Arromba			
106r					

Table 4.2 (continued)

		III	Music for <i>rebeca</i>
			Cifras de Rebeca de quatro Italianas e Francesas
_			
	109r	1	La Zvizzera
	109r	2	La Contra zvizzera
	109v	3	Menuet
	109v	4	Giga
	109v	5	Alemanda
	109v	6	Gavota
	110r	7	Giga
	110r	8	Coranta
	110v	9	Gavotta
	110v	10	Gavotta
	110v	11	Ballo del Re
	110v	12	Passagio
	110v	13	Brando de la Pierra [?]
	111r	14	Sinfonia a Tripola
	111r	15	Passagio de la Trombetta
	111v	16	Trombetta
	111v	17	Trombetta
	111v	18	Trombetta
	111v	19	Trombetta marina
	111v	20	Trombetta
	112r	21	Venettiana
	112r	22	Aria
	112r	23	Aria
	112r	24	Eccho
	112r	25	Coranta Longa
	112v	26	Sarabanda
	112v	27	Menue
	112v	28	Giga
	112v	29	Sarabanda
	112v	30	Gavotta
	112v	31	Passagio
	113r	32	Alemanda
	113v	33	Ciaccona
	113v	34	Ciaccona
	113v	35	Ciaccona
	114r	36	Coranta
	114r	37	Coranta Italiana
	114v	38	Balleto
	114v	39	2°
	114v	40	Corrente
	114v	41	Tricote
	115r	42	Ciaccona
	115r	43	Caminar de terse

Table 4.3: Contents of the Gulbenkian codex, P-Lcg Serviço de música [n.n.].

folio	n°	contents
	I	Music for viola, bandurra, and harpsichord in cifras aritméticas
[2r]	1	Espanholeta 7 tom tirada de cravo p viola por Cifras Aritmeticas
[2r]	2	Estrangeira 2º tom Principio de todas as difrenças
[2v]	3	Augusto Principe viola
[4r]	4	Vários Minuetes de Bandorra em Cifras Aritméticas
[4r]	5	1 ^a Partida 8 ^o tom
[4r]	6	2ª Minuete 7º tom
[4r]	7	3 Minuete 5° tom Divina Filis
[4r]	8	4 Minuete
[4v]	9	5° Minuete e 5° tom
[4v]	10	6 Minuete
[5r]	11	Minuete do Cravo por Ciferas Aritmeticas
[5r]	12	Entrada
[5r]	13	Minuete
[5v]	14	Minuete Entrada Cravo
[6r]	15	Ananita galega cravo
[6v]	16	Passo 5° tom cravo
[7r]	17	Minuete
[7v]	18	Minuete Cravo
[7v]	19	Entrada
[8r]	20	Cotra dança Cravo
[8r]	21	Minuete d Cravo
[8v]	22	Minuete d Cravo
[8v]	23	Giga alegro
[9v]	24	Minuete Cravo
r, ,]		final diverso
[10r]	25	Minuete
[11r]	26	Consonancias do P. M ^{el} de Mattos Cravo
[11v]	27	Minuete
[12r]	28	Minuete de Cravo
	II	Music for viola
1r	1	Fantasia de Ant.º Marques tocador da capella real
		Passo
3r	2	Passo de Viola 4º tom
3r	3	Passo de Viola 4º tom
		Gloza
3v	4	Obra de David
4v	5	Passo de Fantesia 4 tom
4v	6	Obra de dedo repetindo todas as posturas
5r	7	Rojão 7º tom

Table 4.3 (continued)

5r	8	Rojão 3º tom
6r	9	Rojão 6º tom
6r	10	Fantezea
6v	11	Deduzido do mesmo Rojão
7r	12	Rojão 2º tom
9r	13	Batalha Italiana 7° tom
		clarim / clarim / Bulha
		Lantaraza
11r	14	Fantezia 2º tom de Denis de Barros
11 v	15	Fantezia 5° tom
12v	16	Outra Fantazia 5° tom
13v	17	Fantezia 2º tom Abreu
14r	18	Obra de segundilho
14v	19	Obra de segundilho 1º tom
15r	20	Fantezia 1º tom
15v	21	Fantezia 1º tom Abreu
16r	22	Batalha 1° tom
		Entrada / bota sella / pointe a cavallo / clarim / trompeteyro /
		retirate capitão / degola / falssas / falssas
19r	23	Marinheira 3° tom, com 3ª mayor q serve de 7° tom
19v	24	Marinheira 4 tom
20r	25	Chacara 1° tom
20r	26	Augusto Principe
21r	27	Chacara 4 tom
22r	28	Chacara 2 tom
22v	29	Chacara 3 tom
22v	30	Sarambeque 7° tom
23r	31	Cubanco 7º tom
23v	32	Glosa do Paracumbe 7 tom
23v	33	Paracumbe 7 tom
23v	34	Paracumbe 8 tom
24v	35	Mea dança 7º tom
24v	36	Vilão 7º tom
25r	37	Estrangeira 4 tom
25v	38	Matachim de la Reyna
25v	39	Pessa Franceza Franceza 7º tom
26r	40	
26r	41	Outra do mesmo tom chamado Minuete
26v	42	Minuete p. a duas violas
27r	43	primeira linha he a pr. ^a vox q dis com a seg. ^{da} e asim as mais Estrangeira 8 tom
27r 27v	43	Genoveza 3° tom
27v 27v	44	Minuete
27V 28r	45 46	Burê
28r 28v	46 47	Gavote 1° tom
20 V	+/	GAYOR I WIII

Table 4.3 (continued)

59r

62r

11

12

Fantesia 1° tom Abreu Fantazia 5° tom

pasaje

28v	48	Sarabanda 3° tom
28v	49	Estrangeira 1º tom
29r	50	Marizapula 4° tom
29v	51	Espanholeta 4° tom
29v	52	Estrangeira tirada de Cravo p.ª viola
30r	53	Pavana 4° tom
30v	54	Pay Ambrozio
30v	55	Gandu 5° tom
31r	56	Cubanco 7º tom
32v	57	Amoroza 2º tom
33r	58	Amoroza 3° tom
33v	59	Amoroza 4° tom
34r	60	Aromba 4 tom com rocadilho aonde estiver os erres difrença por ciferas aritmeticas
36r	61	Fantezia 5° tom
39r	62	Acompanham.to de hum solo q dis justicia q manda hazer el amor gloza
39v	63	Acompanham.to de hum solo q dis fuentesilha q alegre rizueña Cop. Una fuentezilha alegre
40r	64	Arromba oitavado chamado çhula 4 tom
41v	65	Aromba Balthezaraico [?]
42r	66	Continua o oytavado
43v	67	Suposte principis [?]
	III	Music for bandurra
49r	1	Batalha de Bandurra
		Entrada / bota sella / pointe a cavalo / passo / clarim / trombeteiro / bulha
51r	2	Batalha 7° tom Trombeteiro / gloza
52v	3	Fantesia 7° tom /pasaje
53r	4	Partida
53v	5	Partida terc.a
53v	6	Partida seg.da
54r	7	Passo solto Seisquialtera
54v	8	Deduzido
55r	9	Partida
55v	10	Fantazia 2° tom
	- 0	

Table 4.3 (continued)

		`	<i>'</i>
	62v	13	Estrangeira 8 tom
	63v	14	Estrangeira 4º tom
			final / final variado
	67r	15	Paracumbe 5° tom
	68r	16	Chacara 4° tom
			Entre.
	69r	17	Chacara 1° tom
	70v	18	Amoroza 1° tom
	71v	19	Amoroza accidental
	72r	20	Amoroza 4 tom
			Entrada
	73r	21	Arromba 5° tom
	73v	22	Arromba 8 tom
	74r	23	Sarambeq 7° tom
	74v	24	Gandu 8° tom
	75r	25	Cubanco 7º tom
	75v	26	Marinheira 4 tom
	75v	27	Augusto Principe
	76r	28	Marinheira 7° tom
	76v	29	Pavana 1º [tom]
	77r	30	Arromba 4 tom
	77v	31	Continua o Arrombo 4 tom chamado Paizinho
	79r	32	Arromba do Inferno
	82v	33	[No title] voz / acompanhamento [melody and figured bass]
_	83	IV	[Treatise on viola and bandurra cyphering, and composition of Latin
			heroic verses]
			Arte de Aritmetica q ensina a tanger todo instrum. to com regras certas, e
			fundam. tos necessarios p. a Composição de Obras, e todo o genero de pessas
			asim de viola como de Bandurra, e p. a saber mudar de hua p. a outra: e p. a
			fazer versos latinos heroicos, a todo o intento q quizerem, sabendo som. te
			ler e escrever. Composta por hum g. de contrapontista deste Reino, cujo
			engenho dominou a Univerçid. ^e de Coimbra.

Table 4.4: Contents of the Conde de Redondo codex, P-Ln F.C.R. ms. Ne 1.

folio	page	n°	contents
1r [1] 1 Sam Jozeph de Riba Mar		Sam Jozeph de Riba Mar	
1r	[1]	2	Não venda apretas
1r	[1]	3	O Patarata
1r	[1]	4	Passa Palaura
1v	[2]	5	Diuina Filis
1v	[2]	6	Serito
2r	[3]	7	Cupidilho
2v	[4]	8	Outauado a Sigana
3v	[6]	9	Amable Mariguas meu bem
4v	[8]	10	Minuete da Marcha
5r	[9]	11	Oitavado
			Continua o mesmo oitavado
5v	[10]	12	Minuete
6r	[11]	13	Minuete
6v	[12]	14	Minuete
7r	[13]	15	Minuete
7v	[14]	16	Minuete
			Y nel verdor de tus prados
7v	[14]	17	Minuete de Escarlate
8r	[15]	18	Minuete Nouo
8r	[15]	19	[No title]
8v	[16]	20	Minuete
9r	[17]	21	Minuete 7° Tom
9v	[18]	22	Minuete 7° tom
9v	[18]	23	Minuete de Cain 7º tom
10r	[19]	24	Minuete de Varan
10v	[20]	25	Minuete de Jorze 2º tom
11r	[21]	26	Minuete 2° tom
11v	[22]	27	Minuete Rey 2° tom b
12r	[23]	28	Minuete 2° tom
12v	[24]	29	Minuete 2° tom b
13r	[25]	30	Minuete 2° tom
13r	[25]	31	Minuete 1° tom
13v	[26]	32	Minuete 2° tom maior
14r	[27]	33	Minuete 2° tom maior
14r	[27]	34	Minuete 2° tom maior
14v	[28]	35	Minuete 3° tom
15r	[29]	36	Minuete 5° tom ponto baixo
15v	[30]	37	Minuete de 7° tom
16r	[31]	38	Minuete 7° tom
16r	[31]	39	Minuete 7° tom
17r	[33]	40	Contra Dança 1º tom Gelozia

Table 4.4 (continued)

		•		
1	17r	[33]	41	Contra Dansa
1	17v	[34]	42	Contradança
1	18r	[35]	43	Contradança
1	18r	[35]	44	Contradança
1	18v	[36]	45	Giga de 4º tom
1	19r	[37]	46	Giga de 5° tom
1	19v	[38]	47	Outauado do Inferno de 1º tom
2	21v	[42]	48	Sonata 1° tom opera 5a de Corely
2	22v	[44]	49	Augusto Principe 2° tom b
2	23r	[45]	50	Amable 6° tom
2	23v	[46]	51	Folias de Espanha 1º tom
2	24v	[48]	52	Obra de 3º tom Jozeph Ferr ^a
				Aria
				Minuete 3° tom desta obra
2	26r	[51]	53	Minuet da Prinçeza
				Belha inimiga dulsisima fiera
2	27r	[53]	54	Batalha de 7º tom
				Gloza / cala corda / prepara / gloza / clarim / gaitas /
				retirate capitam / avanssa
	31r	[59]	55	Rojão de 1º tom
3	31r	[59]	56	Rojão 2º tom b mol
				Devagar / seguido / paço / outro / paço / outro
	32v	[62]	57	Rojão de 3º tom
	32v	[62]	58	Rojão de 4º tom
	33r	[63]	59	Rojão de 5º tom
	33v	[64]	60	Rojão de 6º tom
	34r	[65]	61	Rojão de 7º tom
	34r	[65]	62	Rojão de 8º tom
	34v	[66]	63	Minuet Diuina Filis 6° tom
	35r	[67]	64	Marcha 5° tom
	35r	[67]	65	Minuet
3	35v	[68]	66	Sarabanda 3° tom Aria
3	36r	[69]	67	Camzinho de Sofalla 1º tom
	36v	[70]	68	Dança 1° tom
	36v	[70]	69	Estrangeira 5° tom
	37r	[71]	70	Estrangeira 7° tom
	38r	[73]	71	Estrangeira 1° tom
	38r	[73]	72	Consonancias 2° tom duro ⊙
	38v	[74]	73	Outauado 2º tom b do Coadro ⊙ Falça / falça
,	12r	[81]	74	Baile Castelhano 2° tom pues del hancha estoi malo
	+21 12v	[82]	7 4 75	[No title] Al son de la cadena
	τ∠ V	[62]	13	[130 title] At soil de la cadella

Table 4.4 (continued)

44v	[86]		[alfabeto chart]
44v	[86]	76	Giga por ⊙
45v	[88]	77	Italiana 4° tom ⊙
47r	[91]	78	Sarabanda 6° tom ⊙
48r	[93]	78	Trombetinhas
49r	[95]	79	Mable de 7º tom
50r	[97]	80	Fantezia de 8º tom
50v	[98]	81	Fantezia de 7º tom L.P.
			Gloza
53v	[104]	82	Batalha de 7º tom
56r	[109]	83	Solo de 2º tom
			Ay dulçe dueño q queres de mim
56v	[110]	84	Cumbe

Table 4.5: Concordances for the Coimbra codex, P-Cug M.M. 97.

5r	Fantasia 1º tom Italiana	P-Lcg [n.n.], 3v-4r: Obra de David [first two lines].
18v-20v	Fantasia 8° tom de Marques	P-Ln F.C.R. ms Ne 1, 50r: Fantezia de 8º tom, [97] [short version].
36v-37r	Rojão Italiano	Corbetta 1643, 32-3: [Passachaglia] Sop. X, [first part]; GB-Ob Music School MS C 94, 132v.
43r	Espanholeta 4° tom de Gomes	P-Lcg [n.n.], 29v: Espanholeta 4° tom.
46v	Pavana 4º tom de Barros	P-Lcg [n.n.], 30r: Pavana 4° tom [first three lines].
56v	Cubanco 7º tom	P-Lcg [n.n.], 23r-v: Cubanco 7° tom.
91v	Alemanda	Corbetta 1643, 44: Alm. del 5 ^{to} un tuon più Alto; I-MOe ms. E 323, 1v: Alm ^a ;
92r	Alemanda	GB-Ob Music School MS C 94, 22r, 48v, 71r. Corbetta 1643, 47: Alm. del 2° tuono. GB-Ob Music School MS C 94, 64r.
92r-v	Alemanda	Pellegrini 1650, 50: Corrente detta la Savellina.
92v	Tricotte da Alemanda [3ª parte]	Sanz 1674, plate 12 [27r]: Coriente.
92v-93r	Outra Alemanda	Pellegrini 1650, 49: Alemanda Quarta; E-Mn M. 811, 42: Alemanda del Corbeta.
93r	Bayleto	Fernandez de Huete 1702, pl. 36-8: Canzion Franzesa [harp]; E-Mn M.1357: Canción Real Francesa.
94r	Ballo del Gran Duca 3º tom	Cavalieri 1589: O che nuovo miracolo [5 voices]; several concordances in Kirkendale, <i>L'Aria di Fiorenza</i> ; correspondences: Sanz 1675, pl. 9 [46r]: Granduque; P-Pm M.1577 107r-108r: Canção q chamão gran duque 8º tom [keyboard].
97r	Corrente del Cavagliero Mascarelli [1ª parte]	Pellegrini 1650, 39: Alemanda seconda.
97r	Corrente del Cavagliero Mascarelli [2ª parte]	Pellegrini 1650, 40: Corrente nona.
99r	Tombo de Mazzarin	A-Kse MS II [Ms. Goëss II], 85v-86r: T. M. [lute]; A-KR MS L79, 89v: Le Tombeau de Mazarin Allemande [lute]; A-Wn Musikabteilung Ms. 17706, 17v: Tombeau de Mazarin [lute]; D-ROu ms. XVIII 18, 53A, 38r: Tombeau de Mazarin [lute]; F-B Ms. 279.152 [Ms. Saizenay I], 167: Tombeau Mazarin Allemande [lute]; F-Pn Rés F. 844, 143r: Allemande Mazarin; F-Pn Vm ⁷ 6212 [Ms. Monin], 35v-36r: [Allemande, Tombeau de Mazarin] [lute]; GB-Ob Ms. Mus. Sch. G.616, 120: Le Tombeau de Mazarin, Allemande [lute]; PL-Wn BN Muz. Rekopis 396, 44v-45r: Tombeau de Mazarin [lute];
100v-101r	La Immortale	US-R MS Vault M2.1.D172, 125-6: Tombeau Mazarini [lute]. A-GÖ Musikarchiv I, 84v-85r: Courante L'Immortelle [lute]; A-KR MS L77, 14v-15r: Courrante [lute]; A-Wn Musikabteilung Ms. 17706 II, 18v-19r: Courente du vieux Gautier L'immortelle [lute];

Table 4.5 (continued)

	CH-Bu Ms. F.IX.53, 30v: [Courante L'Immortelle] [lute];		
	D-B Mus. Ms. 40068, 24r: [Courante L'Immortelle] [lute];		
	D-Rp Ms. AN 62, 26v-27r: Courante du uieux gautier [lute];		
	D-ROu Ms. Mus. Saec. XVII-54, 26r-27r: Courante de Gautier		
	[lute]; D-SWl Mus. Ms. 641, 140r-141r: Courante de gautt L'immortelle [lute];		
	F-Pn Rés. 89 ^{ter} , 64v-65r: Courante du Vieux Gautier L'Immortelle		
	[harpsichord];		
	F-Pn Rés. 1106, 80v-81: L'immortelle [lute];		
	F-Pn Rés. 1110 [Ms. Ruthwen], 26v-27r: Courante Vieux Gautier		
	[lute];		
	F-Pn Rés. Vm ^b ms. 7 [Ms. Barbe], 2: L'Immortelle du V. Gautier		
	[lute];		
	F-Pn Rés. Vm ^c ms. 89, 23r-24r: Courente du vieux gotier l		
	inmortele [lute];		
	F-Pn Rés. Vm ^d ms. 15 [Ms. De Lyon], 44v-45r: l'immortelle		
	courante de gautier le vieux [lute];		
	F-Pn Rés. Vm ^f ms. 51 [Ms. J. Viée], 15v-16r: [Courante		
	L'Immortelle] [lute];		
	F-Pn Vm ⁷ 6211 [Ms. Lamare le Gras], 2r: L'immortelle du vieux		
	gautier [lute];		
	F-Pn Vm ⁷ 6212 [Ms. Monin], 41v-42r: Courante de Gautier [lute];		
	F-Pn Vm ⁷ 6212 [Ms. Monin], 61v-62r: [Double de l'Immortelle]		
	[lute];		
	F-Pn Vm ⁷ 6214 [Ms. Bocquet], 45v-46r: L'Ymmortelle du		
	V[ieux] G[autier] [lute];		
	F-Pn Vm ⁷ 6214 [Ms. Bocquet], 79v-80r: Courante de M Gautier		
	[lute];		
	GB-Ob Ms. Mus. Sch. f.576, 12v-13r: L'immortelle Courante de		
	gautier [lute];		
	GB-Ob Ms. Mus. Sch. G.618, 10-1: L'Immortelle Courante de		
	Gautier Le V. [lute];		
	Perrine [1680], 1-2: L'Immortelle du vieux Gaultier Courante;		
	S-L Ms Wenster Lit. G 37, no. 25: L immortelle Courante de Mr		
	Goutier [lute].		
1			

Table 4.6: Concordances for the Gulbenkian codex, P-Lcg Serviço de Música [n.n.].

[2v]	Augusto Príncipe Viola	P-Ln F.C.R. ms. Ne 1, 22v [44]: Augusto Príncipe 2° tom b;		
20r	Augusto Príncipe	P-BRp MS 964, 216v: Augusto Príncipe [harp].		
75v	Augusto Príncipe			
[4r]	Minuete 5° Tom Divina Filis	P-Ln F.C.R. ms. Ne 1, 1v [2]: Divina Filis;		
		P-Ln F.C.R. ms. Ne 1, 34v [66]: Minuet Divina Filis 6° tom;		
		E-Mn M. 816, 2r: Tonada: Filis divina [harp].		
3v-4r	Obra de David	P-Cug M.M. 97, 5r: Fantasia 1° tom Italiana [short version].		
9r-10v	Batalha Italiana 7° tom	Sanz 1675, pl. 12 [49r]: Clarines y Trompetas con Canciones		
		muy curiosas Españolas, y de Estranjeras Naciones.		
23r-v	Cubanco 7º tom	P-Cug M.M. 97. 56v: Cubanco 7° tom.		
25v	Matachim de la Reyna	Sanz 1675, pl. 4 [41r]: Matachín.		
26r	Franceza 7° tom	Corbetta 1671, 69: Chaconne;		
		US-Wc M 126 / C 32, 2-4.		
26r	Outra do mesmo tom chamado	Visée 1686, 16: Menüet;		
	Minuete	Le Cocq 1729, 63: Menuet.		
28r	Burê	Visée 1686, 12: Bourée.		
28v	Gavote 1° tom	Visée 1686, 11: Gavotte.		
29v	Espanholeta 4° tom	P-Cug M.M. 97, 43r: Espanholeta 4° tom de Gomes.		
30r	Pavana 4° tom	P-Cug M.M. 97, 46v: Pavana 4° tom de Barros [first three		
		lines].		
40r-43v	Arromba oitavado chamado	P-Ln F.C.R. ms. Ne 1, 5r-v [9-10]: Oitavado [some sections].		
	çhula 4° tom			

Table 4.7: Concordances for the Conde de Redondo codex P-*Ln* F.C.R. ms. Ne 1.

1v [2]	Divina Filis	P-Lcg [n.n.], [4r]: Minuete 5° Tom Divina Filis;	
34v [66]	Minuet Divina Filis	E-Mn M. 816, 2r: Filis divina tonada [harp] [?].	
2r [3]	Cupidilho	E-Mn M. 816, 1r-v: Cupidillo desleal tonada [harp] [?].	
3v [6]	Amable	Campra 1700: Hésione, Aimable Vainqueur [voice and	
23r-v [45-6]	Amable 6° tom	ensemble];	
49r-v [95-6]	Mable de 7º tom	ensemble]; Ferriol y Boxeraus 1745, [28-33]: Amable, con musica Antigua; Amable, con musica moderna [melody and choreography]; Feuillet 1704, 202-8: L'Aimable Vainqueur [melody and choreography]; Rameau c1730, 39: Aimable Vainqueur [incipit]; Magny 1756, 183-88 [melody and choreography]; F-Pn Rés F. 844, 159: Aimable Vainqueur; F-Pn Rés. Vm ^b 9m 6v: [mandola]; F-Pn ms. Vm ⁷ 3555, 41: Aimable vainqueur d'besoine [ensemble]; F-Pn ms. Vm ⁷ 6222, 159: Aimable Vainqueur;	

Table 4.7 (continued)

	E-Mn M. 2810, 9r: Amable [salterio];		
		MEX-Mn ms. M. 1560, 71v-72r: La amable;	
		MEX ms. Saldívar 4 [private coll.], 73r-76r: La Amable despa.º /	
		Difren. ^a dela Amable;	
		Murcia 1714, 66-7: La Amable desp. ^{ao} ;	
		Minguet e Yrol, <i>Explicación</i> , pl. 5-6: El Amable;	
		Minguet e Yrol, <i>Noble arte</i> , 43r-48r: El Amable [melody]; 49r:	
		El Charman vainqueur;	
		Minguet e Yrol: Reglas y advertencias, [Introduction], pl. 2-3: El	
		Amable variado [keyboard]; "Guitarra," pl. 4: El amable	
		[melody]; pl. 5: El amable; "Psalterio," pl. 2: El amable	
		[salterio];	
		Paz 1757, 119-20: El amable [keyboard];	
		Hernández 1837, sec. 1 no. 61: El Amable;	
		Weaver 1722, 107-12: The Louvre;	
5 503	0.7	US-LA Southwest Museum ms. Eleanor Hague, 72r: Amable.	
5r [9]	Oitavado	P-Lcg [n.n.], 40r-43v: Arromba oitavado chamado chula 4º tom	
		[some sections].	
4v [8]	Minuete da Marcha		
15v [30]	Minuete de 7º tom		
17r [33]	Contra Dança 1º tom	Feuillet 1706, 4-8: La Jalousie;	
	Gelozia	Murcia 1714, 83: La Jelousie.	
18r [35]	Contradança	Greensleeves: several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century	
		versions;	
		Feuillet 1706, 17-24: Les Manches Vertes [melody and	
		choreography];	
		Le Clerc c1725, 2: Les manches vertes [melody and	
		choreography];	
		F-Pn ms. Vm ⁷ 3555, 51: Les manches verts [ensemble];	
		E-Mn M.C. ^a 4103/5, 22: Les Manches Verds [melody and b.c.];	
		Murcia 1714, 66: Los Paysanos;	
		MEX ms. Saldívar 4 [private coll.], 77v-78r: Payssanos;	
		E-Mn M. 811, 123-4: Paysana;	
		E-Mn M. 918, 17v: La casaca verde [?].	
		,	
21v-22v [42-4]	Sonata 1° tom opera 5 ^a	Corelli 1700: Sonata op. 5 no. 7, Giga [violin and b.c.].	
	de Corely	, - <u>o</u> [
22v [44]	Augusto Príncipe	P-Lcg [n.n.], [2v]: Augusto Príncipe Viola;	
[]		P-Lcg [n.n.], 20r: Augusto Príncipe;	
		P-Lcg [n.n.], 75v: Augusto Príncipe;	
		P-BRp MS 964, 216v: Augusto Príncipe [harp].	
42v-44r [82-5]	Al son de la cadena	P-Ln CP M82, 59r-64r: Solo resitado q dis al son de la cadena	
724-441 [02-3]	Ai soii ue la caucila	[voice and b.c.].	
50 [07]	Fantezia de 8º tom		
50r [97]	rantezia de 8° tom	P-Cug M.M. 97, 18v-20v: Fantasia 8° tom de Marques [first five	
		lines].	

Table 4.8: The eight modes (tons).

Tom, or mode	Approximate keys (compare with figure 3.2)		
	P-Cug M.M. 97	P-Lcg Serviço de	P-Ln F.C.R. ms. Ne 1
		música [n.n.]	
1° tom	D minor	D minor	D minor
2° tom	G minor	G minor	G major
	G minor, ends in D major		E minor [roro]
	[rare]		E minor [rare]
20	G major [rare]		
2° tom b			G minor
2° tom b mol			
2° tom maior			A major
2° tom b do coadro			
2° tom duro			E minor
3° tom	E minor	E minor	E major
	E major		
	A major, ends in E major		E minor [rare]
	[rare]		
4° tom	A minor	A minor	A minor
	A major [rare]		
	E major [rare]		
5° tom	C major	C major	C major
	C minor [rare]		
5° tom 1° ponto baixo			B flat major
6° tom	F major	F major	F major
7° tom	D major	D major	D major
8° tom	G major	G major	G major
		C major, ends in G major [rare]	

5 REPERTORY

In Francisco Manuel de Melo's *Auto do Fidalgo Aprendiz* (The Apprentice Nobleman), of 1665, a rustic squire, dom Gil Cogominho, hires a dancing master to teach him the manners of the Lisbon court. The instructor explains him that if he wants to attend a *sarao* (see below), first he should learn the *alta*, the *pé de xibao*, the *galharda*, and the *pavana*. Cogominho protests that he would rather learn more popular dances, such as the *capateado*, the *terolero*, the *vilão*, and the *mochachim*. ¹

During the reign of Felipe III, the *sarao* has flourished in Spain--as well as in Spanish-ruled Portugal--as a court ball organized around the old Iberian noble dance-types dances cited by Melo, but by the mid-seventeenth century it had already fallen out of use in Spain.² After the restoration of Portuguese sovereignty in 1640, times of political and economic instability resulted ultimately in the cultural stagnation of the Lisbon court--or one should say closure to foreign influences--reflected in the reduced theatrical activity and the retention of types of court entertainment considered outdated everywhere else. That situation would start to change only after 1666, when Mademoiselle d'Aumale, future wife of dom Pedro II, arrived in Portugal, and French ways began slowly to infiltrate Portuguese courtly life. In music, that influence would be felt more and more in court entertainments and dance.

¹ Francisco Manuel de Melo, *Auto do fidalgo aprendiz* (Mem Martins: Publicações Europa-América, [1992]), 26-7. Though not spelled out, the Spanish distinction between aristocratic *danzas* and popular *bailes* (allowing movements of the hips and upper body) is also seen here.

² See Louise K. Stein, Songs of mortals, dialogues of the gods: Music and theatre in seventeenth-century Spain (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 66-86.

while in opera and sacred music Italian models would prevail, especially after the turn of the century. With the discovery of gold in Brazil in 1694 and the economic stability guaranteed by the new influx of resources, the Portuguese court regained for some decades much of the grandeur of past eras. Lisbon became once more a cosmopolitan center, and thanks to its maritime business, a place where cultures of every corner of the world could meet and interact.

It was during this period of changing tastes and clashing cultures that the Portuguese codices for *viola* were compiled. Although the three codices present a fair number of Iberian dance-types, from the time the Coimbra codex was compiled to the more recent Conde de Redondo codex one sees a decline of those forms in the face of imported models, such as the minuet and, to a lesser extent, the *contredanse*. On the other hand, emphasizing a strong connection with seventeenth-century musical ideals, most of the Iberian forms and dance-types found in the Coimbra and Gulbenkian codices are based on early techniques of composing over a ground: a bass line, a harmonic progression, a melody, or a combination of these.

5.1 Iberian and Italian grounds and melodic-harmonic schemes

5.1.1 Rojão

Most of the *rojões* (pl. of *rojão*) in Portuguese guitar sources are exactly the same form known in other parts of Europe as *passacaglia*, *passacaille*, or *passacalle*.³ Originally a

³ In Portuguese and Brazilian traditional singing practices, *rojão* is a generic term for an instrumental prelude or interlude played in the *viola* or *rabeca* (a type of folk bowed viola). See Luís da Câmara

type of ritornello, by the mid-seventeenth century the *passacaglia* developed into an elaborate form exploring the principle of variations on a harmonic bass. ⁴ The Portuguese settings correspond to late-seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Italian and Spanish developments of this form. Like most *passacaglie* of this period, the Coimbra *rojões* are generally based on the following harmonic pattern, which allows some chordal inversions and the insertion of passing harmonies:

$$\|: i \mid [VII] \mid iv \mid [i] \mid V \mid [i] : \|$$

On the other hand, some of the *rojões* in the Coimbra book, and roughly half of the settings in the Gulbenkian and Conde de Redondo codices are in major mode. They usually coincide with another typical feature of Iberian *passacalles*—the use of binary meter, known in Spain as *a compasillo*. These settings tend to move towards two variations of the basic progression I IV V I:

The first one is commonly found in early-eighteenth-century *a compasillo* settings by Guerau and Murcia, while the second one, which recalls the harmonic structure of the *villano*, is typical of the Conde de Redondo codex. While these patterns begin to appear already in the last settings of the Coimbra codex, they are the basis for virtually all the *rojões* of the Conde de Redondo codex. That is a point of departure from French and even Italian

Cascudo, *Dicionário do folclore brasileiro* (Brasília: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1972), vol. 2, 769-770.

⁴ See Richard Hudson, *The folia, the saraband, the passacaglia, and the chaconne* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1982), vol. 3; Maurice Esses, *Dance and instrumental diferencias during the 17th and early 18th centuries* (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1992), vol. 1, 684-91.

models of the late-seventeenth and early eighteenth century, which are always in ternary meter and minor mode (a setting in major mode is usually identified in those countries as a *chaconne* or *ciaccona*).

Many *rojões* in the Coimbra book contains indications of Italian provenance. If some of these indications may refer simply to the style of those settings, there are pieces actually drawn from Italian sources. A *rojão* in the Coimbra codex (ff. 36v-37r), for example, is the *Passachaglia sopra X* (B minor) published in Francesco Corbetta's book of 1643.⁵ While the first page of the printed version is copied with only a few changes, the material of the second page is reassembled and suffers several cuts. Besides that, the last eight measures are replaced by a different six-measure ending, and a four-measure ritornello is suppressed in order to finish the piece in B minor. While this piece appears isolated in the Coimbra codex, Corbetta's printed version is inserted in a series of *passacaglie*, and the ritornello modulates to A major in order to connect with the following number. It is not clear whether the Coimbra version was reworked by a Portuguese *viola* player, or was based on an already modified source, now lost.

Instead of the *passacaglia*, a *rojão* might follow the major-mode *ciaccona* pattern, although rarely. An example is the *rojão* do 5° tom in the Coimbra codex f. 32r-v, whose opening has some similarity to Pellegrini's *Chiaccona in parte variata alla vera Spagnuola*.

⁵ Francesco Corbetta, *Varii capricii per la ghittara spagnvola* (Milan: n.p., 1643), 32-3.

⁶ Domenico Pellegrini, *Armoniosi concerti sopra la chitarra spagnvola* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1650), 33-5.

5.1.2 Chácaras

Although in Portugal and Brazil *chácara*, or *xácara*, has been generally understood as a form of narrative song, its danced form was also known in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, probably through Spanish influence. Yet, it is odd that contemporary literary sources give so little information about it, when so many Portuguese musical settings have survived. Since in Spain the *jácaras*--both sung and danced--were so integrated in the theatre, perhaps a reason for the lack of contemporary information in Portugal is precisely the reduced theatrical activity in that country during most of the seventeenth century.

Chácaras are among the most numerous pieces in the Coimbra codex--thirteen for viola and three for bandurra, which makes it the most important musical source for this dance. The number of settings is reduced dramatically in the Gulbenkian codex--four for viola and two for bandurra, and the dance disappears completely in the Conde de Redondo book. The chácaras in the Coimbra codex are also much more clear-cut examples of the form, with settings mainly in first mode (roughly D minor), but also in fourth (A minor) and second (G minor) modes. In these pieces, similarly to what happens in Spanish danced jácaras, a process of recomposition is noticeable, based upon two melodic formulas associated with harmonic progressions, which play a simultaneous role of refrain and variation material.⁷

In his recent study on a Mexico

⁷ In his recent study on a Mexican source of Santiago de Murcia's music (*Santiago de Murcia's Códice Saldívar no 4* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995], 26-30), Craig Russell examines the process of recomposition in several variants of *jácaras*, including one from the Gulbenkian codex. See also Emílio Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mogigangas* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2000), cclii, cclxxiv-ccxc; Esses, *Dance and instrumental diferencias*, 668-73.

Another setting in a Portuguese source is a *xacra de 1° tom*, by the Catalan Bartolomeo de Olagué in the keyboard manuscript M 1577 at the Oporto Biblioteca Municipal (f. 70r-v).

5.1.3 Folia types

It might seem strange that the Coimbra and Gulbenkian codices do not mention even once the *folia*, a dance for which so many sources claim a Portuguese origin, starting with Salinas's treatise of 1577. More than a specific tune or even a choreography, in Portugal and its colonies the expression "to make a *folia*" referred to an open-air gathering of musicians and dancers arranged in a certain disposition and usually taking part in a procession. Some sources—the often cited definition by Covarrubias, for example—imply that a *folia* was simply a noisy gathering of leaping dancers playing some specific percussion instruments. Besides that, from the early seventeenth century until today the Portuguese verb *foliar* means "to play," "to have fun," or "to kid around." It is not certain whether these gatherings used to be associated with a specific chord progression already in sixteenth-century Portugal. The narrowing into a single harmonic scheme seems to have happened outside Portugal, and during the first decades of seventeenth century, as explained by Richard Hudson in his comprehensive study of the form. Besides that the Coimbre of the form.

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⁸ The meaning did not change significantly in five centuries. For an account of the modern *folias* in Portugal and Brazil, see Câmara Cascudo, *Dicionário do folclore brasileiro*, 384-5.

⁹ Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid: Turner, 1984 [1611]), 603.

¹⁰ Hudson, *The folia, the saraband, the passacaglia, and the chaconne*, vol. 1. See also Esses, *Dance and instrumental differencias*, 636-48.

Hudson identified two main harmonic patterns for the *folia*. The first one, found in earlier sources up to the late seventeenth century, is a flexible scheme. It is found in both minor and major mode and allows some harmonic variety in the form of substitute chords. Another important particularity is the pick-up-note opening:

$$i \parallel: V \mid i \mid VII \mid VII \mid VII \mid i \mid V \mid V \mid V \mid i \mid VII \mid VII \mid i \mid V \mid i \mid i : \parallel$$

A later pattern that begins to appear by the 1670s is always in minor mode, it does not display the pick-up-note opening, and its harmonic scheme is more stable. Because of that, as Hudson points out, this model is much more suitable as a basis for melodic variations:

$$\parallel: i \mid V \mid i \mid VII \mid III \mid VII \mid i \mid V \parallel i \mid V \mid i \mid VII \mid III \mid VII \mid i \mid V \mid i : \parallel$$

In spite of the apparent Portuguese origin of the term, except for one case, the musical settings of the *folia* found in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Portuguese sources receive different designations (see table 5.1). The later *folia* pattern--sometimes called *folias italianas* in Iberian sources--is the model for the three pieces called *Alanella* in the Coimbra codex, two in the first mode and one in second mode, roughly D minor and G minor. Another piece in first mode, *Meninas de Montemor* (f. 54v), uses a different pattern, which is nonetheless derived from the later *folia*:

$$\parallel: i \mid V \mid i \mid i \mid VII \mid VII \mid VII \mid VII \mid III \mid VII \mid i \mid V \mid V \mid i \mid i \mid V \mid i : \parallel$$

Of course, because of the lack of rhythmic indications in the Portuguese *viola* codices, one should allow some margin of imprecision in this type of analysis.

Portuguese keyboard sources also feature settings of the later *folia*. In the northern city of Braga, a late-seventeenth-century organ codex, the Ms 964 of the Arquivo Distrital, has at least three settings (ff. 219r, 220r, 225r-v), and the keyboard tablature *Libro de Cyfra*, M.1577 at the Biblioteca Municipal of Oporto presents another one (f. 111r-v).

P-Cug M.M. 97 ff. 46v-47v Alanella 1° tom
P-Cug M.M. 97 ff. 47v-48r Alanella 1° tom de Sylva
P-Cug M.M. 97 f. 48r Alanella 2° tom de Sylva
P-Cug M.M. 97 f. 54v Meninas de Montemor 1° tom de Sylva
P-Ln F.C.R. ms Ne 1 ff. 23r-24r [46-7] Folias de Espanha 1° tom

Table 5.1: Compositions based on the *Folia* pattern in Portuguese *viola* sources.

5.1.4 Magana

Early mentions of a dance called *mangana* are found in Garcia de Resende's *Cancioneiro Geral*, of 1516.¹¹ Later, Luís de Camões (1524-1580) referred to the *mangana* as a sung piece.¹² The only extant musical examples of the *magana*, found in the Coimbra

¹¹ Quoted by Luís de Freitas Branco, *História da música portuguesa* (Mem Martins: Europa-América, 1995), 100-101. The following lines of the *Cancioneiro Geral* put the *mangana* in the category of *bailes*, rather than *danças*, such as the *alta* and the *baixa*. The second passage plays also with a non-musical meaning of the word *mangana*, which is probably the same as *magana*--according to Morais Silva, "a happy, jovial, unrestrained woman … a dissolute woman":

I know better how to dance [bailar] the mangana than to dance [dançar] the alta or the baixa.

You look like a *mangana* from Madrid, Who is here teaching how to dance [bailar].

sei bailar melhor mangana que dançar alta nem baixa.

pareceis madril mangana qu'ensina a bailar aqui.

¹² Luís de Camões, *Obras completas* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1972), vol. 3, 262:

Where, in sad tone [set in a sad music], They sang her the *mangana*;

Aonde, com triste som, lhe cantaram a mangana;

codex, are unlikely to be in any way related to the dance and song mentioned in the sixteenth century.

The Coimbra *maganas* are always in minor mode, usually based on the following harmonic pattern:

This pattern can be expanded to a six-measure scheme, as seen in the *Magana ou* chacoina 4° tom (ff. 49v-50r):

The way the notes are grouped in the tablature, more than an alleged connection with the *ciaccona* given in some titles, strongly suggests a ternary meter for the *magana*.

5.1.5 Chacoina

In spite of a supposed link between the *chacoina* and the *magana*, the two works called simply *chacoina* in the Coimbra codex are in major mode and follow the most usual *ciaccona* pattern of the late seventeenth century, in ternary meter:¹³

According to Raphael Bluteau, by the 1720s the *chacouna* [sic] was understood in Portugal as:¹⁴

It seems that Camões was being sarcastic, for, according to Garcia de Resende, the *mangana* was by definition a jovial dance.

¹³ Hudson, *The folia, the saraband, the passacaglia, and the chaconne*, vol. 4. See also Esses, *Dance and instrumental differencias*, 612-23; Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de entremeses*, vol. 1, ccxl-ccxlii.

¹⁴ Raphael Bluteau, *Supplemento ao vocabulario portuguez, e latino* (Lisbon: Patriarcal Officina da Musica, 1727), vol. 1, 221. Antoine de Furetière (1619-1688) was the author of a standard French dictionary.

A *som*, or dance, which, according to the Abbot de Furetière, comes from the Moors, and whose basis is of four notes that proceed by conjunctions, over which it is customary to make many consonances and variations always repeating that basis [volta]. Maurorum Saltatio, commonly known as Chacouna.

Som, ou dança, que Segundo o Abbade de Furetiere, veyo dos Mouros, e cuja base he de quarto notas, que procedem por graus unidos, sobre a qual se fazem muitas consonancias, e coplas sempre com a mesma volta. *Maurorum Saltatio*, vulgo *Chacouna*.

The hypothesis of a Moorish origin of this dance, as also the Mexican one, was never confirmed. On the other hand, Bluteau's description of the musical structure makes perfect sense. The basis of four notes to which he refers is the descending tetrachord, a very common bass line in late-seventeenth-century *chaconnes*, obtained by inverting some chords of the basic harmonic progression (I V6 vi IV6 V).

The Coimbra *chacoinas*, bearing the title *chacoina italiana*, might well be Italian imports. In Italy the *ciaccona* was more popular as an instrumental piece--like the *passacaglia*--than as a dance-type. Even on the Iberian peninsula the *chacona*, several times condemned by religious and secular authorities as an immodest dance, ¹⁵ went out of fashion as a dance long before the Coimbra codex was compiled. A stylized French choreography still remained by that time, and, exported back to the Iberian peninsula, was probably what the Frenchman Bluteau had in mind.

A *ciaccona* is also found among the *rojões* of the Coimbra codex (*rojão do 5*° *tom*, f. 32r-v), as explained above.

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¹⁵ Hugo Albert Rennert, *The Spanish stage in the time of Lope de Vega* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1909), 221.

5.1.6 Capona and Mariona

The earliest mention of the *capona* in Portugal seems to be in the catalogue of the music library of king dom João IV, of 1649, where it is given as a subtitle for the *vilancico Cara Buena Linda*, by Gabriel Dias. ¹⁶ Even though the *Capona* is mentioned much earlier in several Spanish literary sources, the only extant Iberian musical settings are in the Coimbra codex. With more or less variety, these settings are based on the basic *ciaccona* pattern (I [IV or vi] V I). One of these settings (ff. 51v-52r) follows a little more elaborate version of the harmonic scheme:

The connection between the *capona* and the *chacona* is stressed in the Spanish *entremés*, *El Prado de Madrid y baile de la Capona*, by Salas Barbadillo, printed in 1635 but probably written before 1626:¹⁷

ROBLEDO

The *capona* is a lively dance [*baile*], and a dance [*baile*] that is castrated [*capón*] should come with plumes.

ROSALES

How meddling are these castrated ones [capones]; it is not enough that they sing so extrovertedly [desenfadados], now they also want to be danced [bailados].

DOÑA JULIA.

Could something castrated [capona] be good? Only one, which they call the chacona.

DOÑA TOMASA

The *chacona*, isn't it a very old dance [baile]?

¹⁶ Esses, Dance and instrumental diferencias, 554.

¹⁷ Cotarelo y Mori, Colección de entremeses, vol. 1, 297.

ROBLEDO

A castrated one [un capón] rejuvenated it very gracefully [con gran donaire].

ROBLEDO

La capona será baile ligero, que un baile que es capón vendrá con plumas.

ROSALES

Qué entremetidos son estos capones; no les basta cantar desenfadados, sino que también quieren ser bailados.

DOÑA JULIA.

¿Puede haber cosa buena, si es capona? Sola una, que llaman la chacona.

DOÑA TOMASA

La chacona, ¿no es baile muy antiguo?

ROBLEDO

Remozóla un capón con gran donaire.

An earlier play, the *Entremés de los maldicientes*, by Quiñones de Benavente, is even more explicit in the connection between the two dances: 18

ESTEFA[NÍ]A

My husband, it is the Master Who gives us some *chacona* lessons.

BAJÓN

Is this what they call capona?

MAESTRO

It is the same one, Sir.

¹⁸ Abraham Madroñal Durán, ed., *Nuevos entremeses atribuidos a Luis Quiñones de Benavente* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1996), 229. In his commentary (p. 219-20) Durán points out to even earlier mentions of the *capona* in the theater of Lope de Vega and the poetry of Baltasar de Alcazar.

ESTEFA[NÍ]A

Marido mío, es el señor Maestro, que nos da unas liciones de chacona.

BAJÓN

¿Es aquesto que llaman la capona?

MAESTRO

La misma, mi señor.

The first *entremés* plays ostensively with the main meaning of the word *capón* in Spanish, that of a castrated man or animal, and the characters of the play associate the *baile* called *capona* with the *capones*, or *castrato* singers (see the line *no les basta cantar desenfadados*). It also should be noted that the *capona* is often associated with another dance, the *mariona*, and a certain resemblance of meaning exists here also at a non-musical level. The term *marión* is given in the *Diccionário de Autoridades* as a synonym of *maricón*, a vulgar term roughly meaning "effeminate" (see below, on *marisapoles*). ¹⁹ This meaning is emphasized in several seventeenth-century *entremeses*, such as the *Entremés del marión*, and the *entremés Los mariones*, both by Quiñones de Benavente. ²⁰

Maybe an explanation for the apparent confusion of dance names could be found in a regulation of 1615, which forbids *bailes* such as *escarramanes*, *chaconas*, *zarabandas*, *carreterías*. Equally forbidden was to "invent other new and similar ones bearing different names." The simple fact that the authorities were careful enough to detail it shows that the practice of renaming old dances in order to escape punishments was fairly common.

¹⁹ Diccionário de Autoridades (Madrid: Gredos, 1963 [1734]), 2nd part, 501.

²⁰ Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de entremeses*, vol. 2, 722-5, 595-8.

²¹ Rennert, *The Spanish stage*, 221.

The connection between the *chacona*, the *capona*, and the *mariona* is corroborated also in Italian musical sources. Alessandro Piccinini's 1639 lute book, published after his death, contains some examples of two types of *ciaccona*: a *chiaccona mariona alla vera Spagnola*, and a *chiaccona cappona alla vera Spagnola*.²² The former, sometimes called simply *mariona* in other sources, is structured around variations on the borrowed *ciaccona* harmonic progression, usually beginning with a form of ascending arpeggiation. The overwhelming majority of the *mariona*-type settings are in C major (5° tom/tono).

Piccinini's *chiaccona cappona* finds correspondences in *capone* by Kapsperger, Carbonchi and the manuscript Mus. Sch. C94 of the Oxford Bodleian Library. Besides the preference for D major and G major, another particularity of these settings--sometimes called "Spanish *capona*"--is a strong rhythmic drive, stressed by the bass line and the dactyl rhythmic figuration. One should remember that the Piccinini family had strong ties with Spain.²³ Since Piccinini himself names these dance-types as Spanish, and the earliest Italian settings are his, it is quite possible that the *capona* and *mariona* were introduced in Italy by him or his brothers.

The Coimbra codex displays one example of the *mariona* type, called *capona*Italiana (f. 52r-v), and one example of the so-called Spanish *capona* (ff. 52v-53r). Besides these, three other *caponas* do not fit easily in any of these groups, being most likely a later development. Another setting, entitled simply *mariona*, in G major, appears in the section of foreign music of the Coimbra codex (f. 99r). It resembles a French or Italian late-

²² Alessandro Piccinini, *Intavolatvra di livto* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1639), il-lii, lv-lix.

²³ See also Stein, *Songs of mortals*, 193-6.

seventeenth-century *chaconne*, and do not display the features usually associated with the *mariona*, such as the key, the arpeggiation motive, and the bass-line.

5.1.7 Vacas

One of the most common harmonic schemes in Southern Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the *romanesca*, also known in Spain as *Guárdame las vacas*, or simply *vacas*, because of its use in a Spanish *villancico* with those words.²⁴ Even though its first printed appearance was in Spain (Mudarra 1546), its probable origin was Italy, where besides being used as a basis for instrumental improvisation, the *romanesca* was also a formula to sing poetry in *ottava rima*. In its simplest form, the formula comprises a descending melodic line over a harmonic bass (see example 5.1).

$$\parallel: \ III \ \mid \ VII \ \mid \ i \ \mid \ V \ \parallel \ III \ \mid \ VII \ \mid \ i \ V \ \mid \ i \ :\parallel$$



Example 5.1: Melodic-harmonic scheme of the *romanesca* (vacas).

²⁴ See also Esses, *Dance and instrumental diferencias*, 659-61; Russell, *Codice Saldivar no. 4*, 58-9, 163-4.

In two very ornamented *vacas* of the Coimbra codex (ff. 53v-54v), that pattern is framed by a pick-up measure and a two-measure extension, functioning as a ritornello:

$$i \parallel: III \mid VII \mid i \mid V \parallel III \mid VII \mid i \mid V \mid i \mid V \mid iv \mid V \mid i : \parallel$$

5.1.8 Pavana

Despite protests of the character dom Gil Cogominho in Melo's *Auto do Fidalgo Aprendiz*, by the mid-seventeenth century the *pavana* was a highly regarded aristocratic dance in Portugal, as it was in Spain.²⁵ The *Pavana 1° tom de Barros*, of the Coimbra codex (f. 45r-v), follows the usual harmonic pattern of the late-seventeenth-century Spanish *pavana*, as it appears in Sanz and Antonio de Santa Cruz:

$$\parallel: i \mid V \mid V \mid i \mid i \mid VII \mid VII \mid VII \mid III \mid VII \mid i \mid i \mid V \mid i \mid IV \mid V \mid i \mid IV \mid V \mid i : \parallel$$

One sees, however, a tendency in Sanz to use the fourth degree in its major form in the first half of the piece (missing in Barros's setting) and in its minor form in the second half, which coincides with most Italian *pavane* of the early seventeenth century. The Coimbra and Gulbenkian codices also feature other *pavanas* in the second, third and fourth modes (G minor, E major, A minor), following the same basic scheme, but allowing more passing harmonies.

The Coimbra codex has a setting of the *pavaniglia*, also known as *pavana italiana* (ff. 45v-46r), which present some *glosas*, or variations, over the following pattern--a simplified version of the ones found in seventeenth-century Italian guitar sources:

$$\parallel: i \mid V \mid i \mid V \mid i \mid i \mid VII \mid iv \mid VII \mid VII \mid i \mid iv \mid V \mid V \mid i \mid i \mid V \mid i : \parallel$$

²⁵ See also Esses, *Dance and instrumental diferencias*, 691-8.

5.1.9 Sarao

In the early nineteenth century, Antonio Morais Silva defined *sarao* (modern spelling: *sarau*) as "a festive evening gathering at a house in which there are dances and performance of musical compositions," which is still the main meaning of the term in Portuguese. In 1665 Francisco Manuel de Melo still had in mind the court version of the *sarao*, featuring specific dances in a certain order, and subjected to a certain theme. The definition given by Bluteau in 1728 is already similar to the one found in a recent edition of Morais's, but Bluteau added: B

it is also a particular dance, whose main terms are *campanela*, *esporada*, *vazio*, *romper*, *saltilhos*, *encaixe*, and others, which designate the several steps [*mudanças*] of this dance. It is a very serious [well ordered, well arranged; orig.: *muito grave*] piece [*som*] played on string instruments.

tambem he dança particular, cujos termos principaes saõ Campanela, Esporada, Vasio, Romper, Saltilhos, Encaxe, e outros, que explicaõ as varias mudanças desta dança. He som muito grave, em instrumentos de corda.

The Coimbra codex has six settings of the dance-type *sarao*, three in major and three in minor mode. Besides sharing motivic material, these settings are clearly based on a single harmonic pattern, whose first half seems to derive from the *magana*, if not the opposite:

||: i | VII | III | V | V || i | iv | V | i | i :||

²⁶ Morais Silva, *Dicionário* (Lisbon, 1949), vol. 9, 920: "A festive gathering, at night, at home, where one dances and there is performance of musical compositions, etc" (*Reunião festiva, de noite, em casa onde se dança, se executam composições musicais, etc.*).

²⁷ See n1; n2; Esses, Dance and instrumental diferencias, 354-5.

²⁸ Bluteau, *Supplemento*, vol. 2, 197. Spanish dance treatises, such as the works by Esquivel Navarro and Minguet e Yrol explain the several dance steps mentioned by Bluteau.

This scheme does not accord with three extant *saraos* found in Spanish and Mexican sources.²⁹ Neither share these settings a harmonic pattern nor do they agree rhythmically among themselves, for two are in ternary and one in binary meter.

5.1.10 Mantuana

The *Ballo di Mantova*, or *mantoana*, became very popular during the seventeenth century, with several arrangements for instrumental ensemble or solo lute. Several Italian guitar books in *alfabeto* notation feature its harmonic background detached from the melody and lyrics. In the Iberian peninsula, the *Ballo di Mantova* appears in Sanz's 1674 book and in the Coimbra codex. Sanz's setting is virtually identical to the one Carlo Calvi presented in 1646, the only difference worth mentioning being Calvi's major chord ending. The A minor and B minor settings in the Coimbra codex share the following harmonic scheme:

This scheme is closely related to Sanz's, in D minor, which was most likely drawn from an Italian source. That seems to be the case with the Coimbra versions too, since they are included in a section of foreign music--mostly Italian--within the codex.

While Sanz's and so many other seventeenth-century guitar settings are notated in the *alfabeto* system, the Coimbra versions are notated in tablature, one of them in so ornamented a fashion that the main melody is no longer recognizable.

.

²⁹ See also Russell, *Codice Saldívar no. 4*, 96-9, 181-2.



Example 5.2: Settings of the *Mantuana*.

Since the harmonic pattern seems to have been drawn from a vocal setting, most likely the canzonetta *Fuggi, fuggi da questo cielo*, one can actually play them together (see example 5.2).³⁰

5.1.11 Gagliarda

Even though the *galharda* was a common courtly dance in Portugal--as seen in Melo, and later in Bluteau--the only setting found in Portuguese tablatures has its title spelled in Italian. The setting is placed in the section of imported music within the Coimbra codex, probably copied from a foreign source. It is unlikely, though, that the source was Italian, for it follows the harmonic and rhythmic structure of the Spanish *gallarda--a compasillo*, with some binary-ternary ambiguity--and resembling in many aspects Sanz's setting of 1674.³¹ The harmonic pattern of the Coimbra *gagliarda* is identical to the one found in many major-mode Spanish settings, as follows (although in its first appearance, the initial harmonies of I V VI are substituted by I IV IV):³²

 $I \parallel: I \ V \mid VI \ [II] \mid V \mid V \ I \mid IV \ V \mid I :\parallel$

-

³⁰ Transcription by John Walter Hill, in *Roman monody, cantata, and opera from the circles around Cardinal Montalto* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), vol. 2, 396.

³¹ Despite the lack of durational indications, the rhythmic structure is obvious in the Coimbra setting.

³² See also Esses, *Dance and instrumental diferencias*, 651-7; Russell, *Codice Saldívar no. 4*, 31-4, 147-9.

5.1.12 Terantela

The *tarantella* supposedly derived its name from the Italian city of Taranto, or to a long since discredited effectiveness of the dance in the treatment of tarantula bites. One of the earliest known settings, by Athanasius Kircher, already displays the same general harmonic and melodic features of later guitar versions.³³ Sanz's setting of 1674--the first Iberian one--may well have been collected during his stay in Italy. The Coimbra codex has one setting of the *terantela* [sic], which, although shorter, is very similar in its harmonic and melodic contour with Spanish settings:

```
      Kircher (1641)
      i ||: [i or III] VII | III | iv V | i :||

      Sanz (1674)
      i ||: i | i VII | III | iv V | i :||

      E-Mn M.811 (1705)
      i ||: i [iv or VII] | III | IV V | i :||

      Murcia (1714)
      i ||: i VII | III | iv V | i :||

      Coimbra
      ||: [III or i] vii | III vii | i V | i :||
```

5.1.13 Ballo del Gran Duca

The origins of this piece can be traced back to an *intermedio* by Emilio de'
Cavalieri, written in 1589 for the wedding of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinando de'
Medici, and Christine de Lorraine. As Warren Kirkendale observed, the settings of the *Ballo del Gran Duca*, *Aria di Fiorenza*, or simply *Granduque*, that proliferate throughout the

³³ Athanasius Kircher, *Magnes* (Rome, 1641), vol. 3, chapter 8.

seventeenth century and even later, are based on the bass line and harmonic progression of one of the pieces in that *intermedio*, the five-voice ballo "O che nuovo miracolo."³⁴

Cotarelo y Morí observes that in Spain the *Granduque* was associated with the Danza de hacha, whose choreography features dancers carrying torches. There is no documented evidence of that association in Portugal. The Coimbra version is structured as variations, featuring an initial motive that appears in many instrumental settings. Because of the guitar's narrow range, it is not the bass line, but the harmonic progression that remains intact in the Coimbra setting, which resembles in many aspects Sanz's setting of 1675 (see example 5.3).



Example 5.3: Bass line and harmonic scheme of the Aria di Fiorenza, or Ballo del Gran Duca.

³⁴ Warren Kirkendale, *L'Aria di Fiorenza id est il ballo del gran duca* (Florence: Leo Olschki, 1972). See also Russell, Codice Saldivar no. 4, 90-2, 179-80.



Example 5.4: Melodic-harmonic scheme of the *espanholeta*.

5.1.14 Espanholeta

The Portuguese *espanholetas*, like its Spanish counterparts, are based on a melodic-harmonic progression (see example 5.4).³⁵ The earliest mentions of this dance date from the

³⁵ See also Esses, *Dance and instrumental diferencias*, 630-3; Russell, *Codice Saldívar no. 4*, 34-5, 149-51.

late sixteenth century, but it appears documented in Portugal only by the mid-seventeenth century. In Brazil, it is mentioned in a poem by Gregório de Mattos late in that century. ³⁶

The later Coimbra and Gulbenkian settings follow Spanish models, but present what seem to be some distinctive Portuguese features

5.1.15 Marisapoles

Marizápalos was a song and a *baile* remarkably popular on the Iberian peninsula and Latin America from the mid-seventeenth century until at least the 1730s.³⁷ Cotarelo y Mori traces its origins to a poem by Jerónimo de Camargo y Zárate, but the first printed version appeared in a *pliego suelto* published by Miguel López de Honrubia in 1657:³⁸

Marizápalos went down one afternoon To the green banks of Vaciamadrid, Because when she stepped on that soil She no longer thought of Flanders as her homeland.

. . .

Marizápalos was a young girl, In love with Pedro Martín, She was the beloved niece of the priest, The jewel of the village, the flower of April.

. .

Pedro told her, kissing the snow [her skin?], Which was melting because of him, In your hands two small coins are worth more Than all gold from Valladolid.

. . .

³⁶ Gregório de Mattos, *Obra Poética* (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1990), vol. 2, 828.

³⁷ See Russell, *Códice Saldívar no. 4*, 60-4, 164-5.

³⁸ Miguel Lopez de Honrubia, *Aqvi se contiene vna xacara nveva ... con vn Romance de Mariçapalos a lo humano* (Madrid: Andres Garcia, 1657).

Because of the noise of leaves From the horseshoes of a certain nag, Adonis quickly flew away, Fearing the teeth of some wild boar.

. . .

It was the priest who was coming,
Had he arrived a little before,
Since he knows grammar,
He could have caught them in bad Latin [old expression, meaning to take unawares, flat-footed].

Mariçapalos baxò vna tarde Al verde sotillo de Vaciamadrid, Porque entonces pisandole ella No huuiesse mas Flandes, que ver su Pais.

. . .

Mariçapalos era muchacha, Y enamorada de Pedro Martin, Por sobrina del Cura estimada, La gala del pueblo, la flor de Abril.

. .

Dixo, Pedro, besando la nieue, Que ya por su causa mirò derretir, En tus manos mas valen dos blancas, q~ todo el ochauo de Valladolid.

. .

Al ruido que hizo en las hojas De las herraduras de cierto rocin, El Adonis se puso en huyda, Temiendo los dientes de algũ jauali.

Era el cura que al soto uenia, Y si poco antes aportara allí, Como sabe gramática el cura, Pudiera cogerlos en el mal latin.

The song, which tells a spicy story about the young girl Marizápalos and her beloved Pedro Martín, appeared in several Spanish *entremeses*, as well as in Portuguese literary works (by Francisco Manuel de Melo and Antonio José da Silva). It was also parodied by the Brazilian poet Gregório de Mattos, during his stay in Portugal.



Example 5.5: Melodic-harmonic scheme of the *marisapoles*.

Mattos's poem *Marinicolas*, written before 1682, satirizes a high functionary of the Royal Mint--whom he calls *Nicolau de tal*, or "Nicholas what's-his-name"--because of his unpopular handling of the Portuguese currency. *Marinicolas* might seem just a compound word using the particle Mari--abbreviation of Maria--to give a feminine connotation to the name Nicolau.³⁹ But the word is used in other situations by Mattos, though always as a sexual insult. In Bluteau's dictionary, the terms *marinicola* and *marinicolas* are given as synonyms of *maricola*, a vulgar word denoting "a man, who looks more like a woman than a

³⁹ Heitor Martins, "A música do Mari-Nícolas de Gregório de Matos," Suplemento Literário de Minas Gerais, 7 April 1990, 4-5.

man."⁴⁰ In Mattos's parody, the amorous encounters of Nicolau and his servant Marcos replace the escapade of Marizápalos and Pedro Martin in the original song. As pointed by Heitor Martins, Mattos repeats several expressions and even three complete lines in Spanish, even though the poem is in Portuguese:

Marinícolas, every day I see him passing by in his carriage, A gentleman from such nice places As, for example, London and Paris.

.

But hearing some noise at the door, Where a civil guard was knocking, One and another flew away Fearing the teeth of some wild boar.

. .

It was *Baeta*, the mischievous one, Had he arrived a little before, Since *Baeta* knows Latin, He could have caught them in bad Latin [see above].

Marinículas todos os dias O vejo na sege passar por aqui Cavalheiro de tão lindas partes Como *verbi gratia* Londres, e Paris.

. . .

Mas sentindo ruído na porta, Aonde batia um Gorra civil, Um e outro se pôs de fugida Temiendo los dientes de algum Javali.

. . .

Era pois o Baeta travesso, Que se um pouco dantes aportara ali, Como sabe latim o Baeta, Pudiera cogerlos en un mal Latim.

. . .

⁴⁰ Bluteau, Supplemento, vol. 2, 19-20.

At least thirteen musical settings of the *marizápalos* survive in Portuguese sources, one for keyboard (Oporto Biblioteca Municipal, M 1577, f. 112r), and twelve for *viola* (Coimbra and Gulbenkian codices).

Only two of the *viola* settings, both in the Coimbra book (*Marisapoles 1° tom Italiana*, ff. 37v-38r, and *Marisapoles 4° tom*, ff. 39v-40), follow the usual *marizápalos* melodic-harmonic scheme. Of the remaining settings, four bring a varied first section on the same harmonic progression--three of these are in E minor (*3° tom*), an unusual key among *marizápalos* settings. Five other settings in the Coimbra codex and one in the Gulbenkian codex bring a different melodic-harmonic scheme for the first part (see example 5.5).

5.1.16 Vilão

Discarding the possibility of a connection with the Gallician-Portuguese *cantigas de vilão*, the earliest references to a dance called *vilão* (literally a villain; also a peasant, a hillbilly) date from 1451, in a letter sent from Italy, describing the marriage of dona Leonor of Portugal and the Habsburg Emperor Frederick III. The wedding took place in Siena, after which the couple went in a honeymoon trip to Naples, from where the Portuguese envoy Lopo de Almeida wrote to the king Afonso V, the brother of the bride:⁴¹

Prince Rossano, son-in-law of the king, asked us to dance, since he was dancing too, and so all of us who knew how to dance were dancing. When it came to the *alta*, all five danced alone, and after that was the *chacota* led by your sister. When it was finished, they ordered my nephew to dance a *baile mourisco* with Beatriz Lopes, and afterward, the *vilão*. The king was

⁴¹ Lopo de Almeida, *Cartas de Itália* 1451-1452 (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1935). Quoted in José Sasportes, *Feasts and folias: the dance in Portugal* (New York: Dance Perspectives Foundation, 1970), 17.

astonished with his manner of dancing and made me understand that he would be pleased if he remained some days . . .

The dance is mentioned in Portugal again in the *Cancioneiro Geral* (1516), first in the trovas of Henrique da Mota to Vasco Abul:⁴²

[She] was either dancing the *balho* [dance] *vilão*, Or the *mourisca* [moresca],
But I call it *carraquisca*,
For it is livelier than the *tordião* [tourdion].

Bailava balho vilão, ou mourisca, mas, chamo-lh'eu carraquisca, mais viva que tordião.

and later by Garcia de Resende:

Neither are you fit To dance the *tordião*, Maybe if you practiced, You could dance the *bailo vilão*.

Sois também desensoada, para dançar tordião, quiçá se foreis vezada, bailareis bailo vilão.

As Freitas Branco observes, these lines imply a certain individual ability in the performance of the *vilão*. This *vilão* probably corresponds to the *villano* mentioned in Spanish *pliegos sueltos* (a type of pamphlet literature) since the 1510s, but it is not clear whether there is any connection between these and the seventeenth-century *villano*, a *danza*, whose music first appears in Cesare Negri's treatises of 1602 and 1604 (called there

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⁴² Freitas Branco, *História da música portuguesa*, 99-100.

villanico). ⁴³ Likewise, the famous refrain *Al villano se le dan / la cebolla con el pan* appears in Spanish *comedias* and *entremeses*--also *a lo divino*, or in contrafacta--only around the turn of the century. In Portugal, the new form of *vilão* appears during the seventeenth century, but there is no evidence of the use of any sung refrain. This is most likely the *vilão* that Melo mentioned in the *Auto do fidalgo aprendiz* (1665).

Some decades later two settings for *viola* would appear in the Coimbra and Gulbenkian compilations. Except for some *glosas*, or variations in the Gulbenkian codex, there is nothing distinctive about these settings, which coincide melodically and harmonically with earlier Spanish versions by Sanz and Ruiz de Ribayaz.

Still today another type of *vilão* is found in Southern Brazil as part of the *fandangos*, all-night gatherings that include several types of dances in a specific order. ⁴⁴ The earliest descriptions and musical sources of this modern *vilão* are from the early nineteenth century. ⁴⁵

5.2 Sectional and free-composed pieces

Sectional and free-composed forms--sometimes of a semi-improvisatory charactersuch as fantasias, *caprichos*, *batalhas* and *rojões*, comprise roughly one quarter of the

⁴³ See also Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de entremeses*, vol. 1, cclxiii-cclxv; Esses, *Dance and instrumental diferencias*, 726-35; Russell, *Codice Saldívar no. 4*, 35-7, 151-3.

⁴⁴ Like its Luso-Brazilian counterpart, the *villano* was still found in twentieth-century Spain. Kurt Schindler (*Folk Music and Poetry of Spain and Portugal* [New York: Hispanic Society, 1941]) collected three *villanos* (no. 780, 781, and 782) and one *milano* (no. 704); the music of the last one bears some resemblance with the seventeenth-century *villano* melody.

⁴⁵ In a tablature for *salterio* by Antonio Vieira dos Santos (1784-1854), at the Círculo de Estudos Bandeirantes, Curitiba (no catalogue number).

Coimbra and Gulbenkian codices, a proportion that diminishes to a little more than one sixth in the Conde de Redondo codex. Except for the Coimbra book, sectional and free-composed pieces are also identified by terms such as *obra*, *passo* (the term may also mean a section of a fantasia or a *passacalle*), *consonancias*, and *partida*.

5.2.1 Fantasia

The Coimbra codex has an impressive number of fantasias--the largest found in a single volume in all guitar literature. It is significant that by the time the codex was compiled the fantasia was already out of fashion in most of Europe. In fact, the type of fantasia found in the Coimbra and Gulbenkian codices does not correspond to the new musical ideals of simplicity and clarity that begin to take shape particularly in Italy by the late 1720s. As evidence of changing times, the later Lisbon codex contains only two fantasias. One of these (f. 50r [p. 97]) has a concordance in the Coimbra codex (ff. 18v-20v, attributed to Marques), but of the original 182 measures the new version retains only the initial 22--virtually all development material is suppressed.

Another example of internal concordance in the Portuguese *viola* codices is a fantasia by Marques in the Coimbra codex (ff. 2v-3v), which is attributed to Antonio Marques in the Gulbenkian volume (1r-2r). The Gulbenkian version lacks an introduction, but is considerably larger, encompassing several sections. Some of these are based on motives that appear in other fantasias of the Coimbra codex, which could imply some reassembling work, similar to what happens in some *batalhas*. The Gulbenkian codex additionally identifies the composer Antonio Marques as a player of the royal chapel, which strongly suggests that he was actually Antonio Marques Lésbio (see chapter 2). Since several

other pieces in the Coimbra codex are attributed to Marques, that might ultimately result in a considerable addition to the body of works attributed to this Portuguese composer.

Considering factors such as structure, compositional devices, stylistic features, and overall dimensions, the fantasias of the Coimbra codex--and to a lesser extent those in the volume at the Gulbenkian Foundation--form a heterogeneous group. A small number of fantasias approach the model of *arpeggiata* toccatas by Kapsperger and Granata. More sophisticated harmonically, exploring unusual progressions, is a *fantasia de falsas*, by Barros (f. 4r). But most fantasias are free-composed pieces featuring several sections in varied styles--chordal, imitative, displaying scale passages, or in *sesquialtera* meter (6/8)--which corroborates the definition given in Raphael Bluteau's dictionary:⁴⁶

FANTASIA, or *Fantesia*. It is customary to compose for the *viola* some pieces that use several positions [of the left hand], which, multiplied and set in all eight modes, are called *fantesias*, because they are according to the fantasies and ideas of their authors.

FANTASIA, ou Fantesia. Costumaõ fazerse nas violas humas peças, que constaõ de varias posturas, e multiplicadas, que postas por todos os oito tons da solfa, se chamaõ fantesias, porque são conforme as fantesias, e idéias dos seus authores.

Bluteau's remarks also show that by the early eighteenth century, the fantasia was more closely identified in Portugal with the *viola* than with any other instrument...

Several fantasias, *caprichos*, and *batalhas* of the Coimbra codex are based on Italian models. This is sometimes revealed by the title itself (*fantasia italiana*, *batalha italiana*). In other cases, a comparison with Italian contemporary or earlier works may reveal a stylistic connection. The *capricio* on f. 94v, for example, displays a remarkable similarity with some of the toccatas published in the 1640s and 1650s by Giovanni Battista Granata.

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⁴⁶ Bluteau, *Supplemento*, v. 1, 420.

5.2.2 Batalha and Trombeta

The late-seventeenth-century battaglia, or bataille--whose origin goes back to Jannequin's Bataille de Marignan--is composed around war-like fragments evoking trumpet calls (e.g., butta sella, allo stendardo, a cavallo, ritirata), drum rolls, horses galloping, and sometimes sounds from the fight itself, such as cannon fire and the clashing of swords. These sounds alternate with several popular songs--soldiers' songs in this context--such as the L'antururu, the Girometta, and several others (in Portuguese sources, some of these song sections are named gayta, cansonetta, venetianna, and moschettera). The Iberian peninsula had a strong tradition of keyboard batalhas--mainly for organ--but some guitar settings also survived. Probably the best known Iberian example is Sanz's Clarines y Trompetas, from his 1675 book, 47 which quotes popular songs from Italy, France, and Portugal. Mostly using material from this piece, the *batalhas* in the Gulbenkian codex show exemplarily how elements from foreign sources could be reassembled and reworked into new pieces of music. The Batalha Italiana de 7° tom (ff. 9r-10v) uses Sanz's entire setting, reassembled and framed in a different way. In fact, while Sanz's piece begins with trumpet calls and proceeds immediately to the songs, quoting them one after another, the Gulbenkian version adds an introduction and has many more interludes in between the songs, though sometimes in sharp contrast with the original material. Another piece that uses Sanz's material is the batalha on ff. 16r-18v, but it only quotes five of the eleven fragments from Clarines y Trompetas. The war-like sections here are much more elaborated, with subtitles explaining the battle events

⁴⁷ Gaspar Sanz, *Libro segvndo de cifras sobre la gvitarra española* ([Zaragoza: Herederos de Diego Dormer, 1675]), pl. 12 [f. 49r].

(the presence of such interludes and war-like sections, rather than just trumpet calls and songs, is probably the key difference between a true *batalha* and a piece entitled *trombeta*).

Table 5.2: Compositions based on the *gaitas* pattern in Portuguese *viola* sources.

P-Cug M.M. 97	f. 26r	Gaita de folle 7º tom
P- <i>Cug</i> M.M. 97	ff. 57r-57v	Meya Dança 7º tom de Abreu
P-Lcg [n.n.]	f. 24v	Mea dança 7° tom
P-Ln F.C.R. ms. Ne 1	ff. 28v-29r [p. 56-7]	Batalha de 7° tom: Gaitas

One of the songs that is sometimes included in Iberian battle pieces is the *gaitas*, a popular tune evoking the sound of bagpipes.⁴⁸ In both the Coimbra and Gulbenkian codices, it appears as an individual piece called *meia dança* (lit. half-dance), which features the *gaitas* tune and the harmonic support with its characteristic drone in the tonic (see table 5.2).

5.3 Other Iberian instrumental forms

The Conde de Redondo codex presents two pieces--*Cupidilho* and two settings of *Divina Filis*, also found in the Gulbenkian codex--that have correspondence in the harp manuscript M.816 in the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional. While *Divina Filis* is identified as a minuet in both Portuguese sources, the Madrid manuscript calls it a *tonada*, which is a designation usually given to small solo vocal pieces. However, no lyrics are found in either of these sources.

Cupidilho desleal, also identified as a tonada in the Madrid manuscript, was performed in the comedia Todo lo vence el amor, by Antonio de Zamora in the second half

⁴⁸ See also Esses, *Dance and instrumental diferencias*, 648-50; Russell, *Codice Saldívar no. 4*, 66-9, 166-8.

of the seventeenth century.⁴⁹ The similarity between the Madrid and Conde de Redondo settings is not convincing enough to draw a connection.

The Conde de Redondo codex also has a *baile castelhano* and a piece named simply *dança*--for which I found no correspondence. Likewise, the meaning and use of other titles that presumably refer to Iberian forms and dance-types in the Coimbra codex, such as *ananita galega, maricota do brejo, pai Ambrósio, picaró, quererá*, and *sexto* (lit. sixth) are still elusive. ⁵⁰

Portuguese forms and dance-types displaying African or African-Brazilian influence, or linked somehow to black and mulatto musicians and dancers, such as the *amorosa*, *arromba*, *cãozinho*, *cubanco*, *cumbé*, *gandum*, *oitavado*, *marinheira*, *paracumbe*, and *sarambeque* will be examined in the next chapter.

5.3.1 Matachim

The sixteenth-century Spanish dance *matachin* (*mattaccino* in Italy, and *matassins* in France) was known in Portugal as *machatins*. The origin of the term is still controversial,

⁴⁹ Stein, Songs of mortals, 373.

⁵⁰ According to Frei Lucas de Santa Catarina (1660-1740), *picaró* was a little black strip that young ladies used to attach laces to their cuffs (Graça Almeida Rodrigues, *Literatura e sociedade na obra de Frei Lucas de Santa Catarina* [Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1983], 162-3). That is the same meaning given in Morais Silva's dictionary. Frei Lucas de Santa Catarina also mentions a *quererá voluntário* among the dances of the Alfama quarter of Lisbon in the first decades of the eighteenth century (*Anatómico Jocoso* [1758], vol, 3, 209-10, quoted in José Ramos Tinhorão, *História social da música popular brasileira* [Lisbon: Caminho, 1990], 289).

and there seem to have been at least two distinct choreographies--a serious and a comic one--always danced by men and depicting sword combats.⁵¹

In sixteenth-century Portugal, the *machatins* are mentioned by Luís de Camões in his play *El-Rei Seleuco*, and in a contemporary morality play by José de Anchieta, a Spanish Jesuit missionary who lived in Brazil from 1553 to 1597. In an *auto* that Anchieta prepared for the day of Our Lady's Assumption, six Indians playing the role of savages newly arrived from the jungle are asked to dance the *machatins*, probably replacing the European swords and shields with their own weapons.⁵² In the following century, the *mochachins* that Francisco Manuel de Melo mentioned were most likely the *machatins*.

The only Portuguese musical setting--in the Gulbenkian codex, entitled *Matachim de la Reyna* (f. 25v)--dates from the early eighteenth century. However, it was not drawn from the Portuguese tradition--not entirely one should say, for it replicates Sanz's setting of 1675 interspersing it with newly-composed interludes in a somewhat different style.

5.3.2 Canario

The earliest references and musical settings of the *canario* date from the second half of the sixteenth century, usually referring to this dance as native to the Canary Islands.⁵³ It

⁵¹ See also Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de entremeses*, vol. 1, eccviii-cccxiv; Esses, *Dance and instrumental diferencias*, 677-81.

⁵² José de Anchieta, *Poesias* (Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1989), 582-583.

⁵³ See also Esses, *Dance and instrumental diferencias*, 600-09; Russell, *Codice Saldívar no. 4*, 39-43, 153-5.

was first mentioned in Brazil only in the late seventeenth century, by Gregório de Mattos,⁵⁴ and according to Raphael Bluteau, it was still danced in Portugal as late as 1727:⁵⁵

SOM, and piece played on a string instrument, very well ordered [*grave*], though hasty, it is customary to dance to it.

SOM, e peça de instrumento de cordas, muito grave, ainda que apressado, costumase dançar a elle.

Near the end of the eighteenth century, the Portuguese poet Filinto Elísio referred to the *canario* in the past tense, and added details about its choreography:⁵⁶

It was an *oitavado* very much tinkled [*repinicado*] on the *viola*, danced with very difficult steps, and very well ordered [*de muita gravidade*]. Those who danced it with perfection were rare.

Era um outavado muito repenicado na viola, e dansado com muitas posturas difíceis e de muita gravidade. Erão raros os que o dansavão com perfeição.

The Coimbra settings follow the typical four-bar pattern explained in 1729 in the *Diccionário de Autoridades*, and seen already in the earliest settings by Caroso and Negri.⁵⁷
Yet, the Coimbra *canarios* are unusual in their virtuosic writing and large overall extension.

⁵⁴ Mattos, *Obra poética*, vol. 2, 828.

⁵⁵ Bluteau, *Supplemento*, vol. 1, 189.

⁵⁶ Mário Costa, *Danças e dançarinos em Lisboa* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1962), 116.

⁵⁷ Diccionário de autoridades (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1963 [1729]), vol. 1, 2nd. part, 106.

5.4 Iberian vocal forms

From the sixteenth century on there is documented information about the use in Portugal of the *viola* as an accompanying instrument for the voice. Among the earliest musical sources to illustrate that practice are two *tonos* by Antonio Marques Lésbio, composed around the end of the seventeenth century. One might argue that the term *viola* actually referred there to the bowed viol (usually called *viola de arco*), but Lésbio marked the part as an "accompaniment on the *viola*," and included a couple of figured-bass signs.

A few years later, one of the compilers of the Gulbenkian codex included *viola* accompaniment for some Spanish "*solos*"--a term that could encompass *tonos*, theatrical songs, or even fragments of cantatas. However, these settings do not include vocal parts or lyrics. ⁵⁸

The vocal pieces in the Conde de Redondo codex also present the *viola* accompaniment without a voice part, but at least the lyrics are notated. Though possible, a reconstruction of the vocal line based on the prosody, as suggested by João Manuel Borges de Azevedo, ⁵⁹ would be better classified as a recomposition, because the *viola* part does not feature an interspersed vocal line in the tablature (as used to happen in the vihuela repertory), but only the accompaniment (see below, under *Amable*).

However, at least in one case--the *cantata humana Al son de la cadena* (P-Ln F.C.R. ms. Ne 1, 42v-44r [82-85])--a *viola* accompaniment can be reunited with a contemporary

⁵⁸ I was unable to check a possible connection between the piece *Fuentecilla que alegre risueña* (f. 39v) and the keyboard piece *Risueña fuentecilla*, in manuscript M.811, f. 58v, in the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional.

⁵⁹ João Manuel Borges de Azevedo, *Uma tablatura para guitarra barroca* (Lisbon: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1987), xiv, xxvi.

vocal part, giving also an important insight into early-seventeenth-century performance practices. The tablature contains only the lyrics and the guitar part, but a complete setting for voice and *basso continuo* is found at the same library, in codex MS 82 of the *Colecção Pombalina*. The guitar part, which can be juxtaposed with only minor differences, shows a harmonic realization of the bass line by a contemporary guitar player, at once showing that the guitar was used as an accompanying instrument for such a repertory and illustrating how that could be done.

The Conde de Redondo codex also features some *minuetes cantados*--a very common hybrid form in the Iberian peninsula during the eighteenth century, whose popularity may help explain the setting of Portuguese lyrics to another courtly dance, the *Aimable Vainqueur* (see below).

5.5 French and Italian dance-types

The Coimbra codex contains a whole section of imported music, entitled *Peças de Viola Italianas e Francesas* (ff. 91r-99r). The following section, with settings in several *scordatura* tunings features a similar repertory of French and Italian dances (ff. 99v-103v; the only piece that does not seem to fit here is a *gandum* on f. 102r). The *rebeca* (violin, or perhaps bowed viola) section at folios 109r-115r was probably copied from a foreign source as well--most likely Italian, judging by its titles (*zvizzera*, *passagio*, *trombetta*, *coranta*, *ciaccona*).

⁶⁰ Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Colecção Pombalina MS 82, *Livro de rusitados de Alexandre Antonio de Lima: Colecção de cantatas de vários auctores*, ff. 59r-64r.

In the *viola* sections, only two pieces could be ascertained so far as having French origins: the courante "L'Immortelle," by Ennemond Gaultier (*La Immortale*, f. 100v), and the anonymous allemande "Tombeau de Mazarin" (*Tombo de Mazzarin*, f. 99r). However, even these might have been copied from Italian or Spanish sources. It should be noted that, except for one *gandum* and one *rojão*, all dance names between folios 91r and 103v are spelled in Italian (*giga*, *alemanda*, *corrente*, *ballo*, *tricotte*, *gagliarda*, *gavotta*, *sarabanda*, *borea*), or a mix of Italian and Spanish (*bayletto*). In fact, some of these numbers can have their origins traced back to books published by Francesco Corbetta and Domenico Pellegrini in the 1640s and 1650s (see table 4.5).

A comparison with the original sources gives us an important insight in the process of transmission of this repertory. Corbetta's *alemanda* on f. 92r was carefully copied,⁶¹ with most of the ornamentation and *strasci* (ties) indications, and the *alfabeto* signs correctly interpreted in the tablature. For the most part, the *alemanda* on f. 91v is also faithful to Corbetta,⁶² although some chords of the first, fourth and fifth measures of the original are missing. That would pose no problem for the player, who could play the first bar in quarter notes, and the fourth and fifth bars in eighth notes, instead of the combination of eighth and sixteenth notes in the original (of course, other solutions are equally possible).

An *alemanda* by Pellegrini on ff. 92v-93r is also carefully notated,⁶³ the only shortcomings being a couple of wrong notes and the lack of indication of repeated notes and chords. Even so, measure lines help the player to get the correct rhythmic division. The

⁶¹ Corbetta, Varii capricii, 47.

⁶² Ibid., 44.

⁶³ Pellegrini, Armoniosi concerti, 49.

alemanda on f. 92r-v poses a problem of a different nature.⁶⁴ Besides a missing last section (the last eleven measures in the original), there is only one mistake in the copy--the *alfabeto* sign *R* was taken as a C major, rather than B major chord. However, this piece is a *corrente*, not an *alemanda*. That is a major issue, for the player should make rhythmic choices that would conform to the ternary meter of a *corrente*. Since this piece appears among several other *alemandas*, and not in the section of *correntes*, the Coimbra compiler probably just replicated a mistake he found in another source (see figure 5.1).



Figure 5.1: Comparison between a *corrente* by Pellegrini and an *alemanda* from the Coimbra codex.

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⁶⁴ Ibid., 50.

Serious copyists' mistakes appear again in the *Corrente del Cavagliero Mascarelli*, on f. 97r. The first part of this piece is actually an *alemanda* found in Pellegrini book of 1650, page 39, while the second part is the *corrente* on the following page of the same publication (both pieces are in D minor). Besides the wrong identification of the dance, the copyist here had some trouble determining the *alfabeto* chords, taking the signs *O* and *I* as numbers θ and θ in the third course, rather than G minor and A major chords (see figure 5.2 and example 5.6). Besides several other cases of misinterpretation of chords, the copyist does not seem aware of the meaning of the strumming signs, which are mostly ignored, but sometimes identified as the number θ . The results might have sounded a little strange to early-eighteenth century ears.



Figure 5.2: Comparison between an *alemanda* by Pellegrini and a *corrente* from the Coimbra codex.



Pellegrini, Armoniosi concerti, p. 39: Alemanda seconda, last measures.



P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 97r: Corrente del cavagliero Mascarelli, end of first part. Conjectural reconstruction in corrente rhythm. See explanation for the selected notes.

Example 5.6: Transcription of figure 5.2.

Another interesting case of *pasticcio* is the *Tricotte da Alemanda*, on f. 92v, which, despite the title, has no connection with the previous or the following *alemandas*. The piece is in three parts, for which I could not identify the first two--it could be a single *giga* or *corrente*. The third section is a rearrangement of themes from Gaspar Sanz's *coriente*, printed in his 1674 book--or perhaps from a source now lost, in which Sanz based his version.

In the Gulbenkian codex, the French influence is more clear. Some French pieces are concentrated in a small section around the middle of the *viola* section (ff. 25v-28v). The compiler might have had access to French sources, but some of these versions are so modified that several stages of written or even oral transmission could separate them from the original sources by Robert de Visée and Francesco Corbetta.

The franceza 7° tom on f. 26r is a chaconne by Corbetta published in Paris in 1671.65 Some divergences between this version and its original should be considered more as different solutions than as mistakes. The filling of chords with extraneous notes on open strings, for example is probably a reflection of local practices, for similar passages are seen in other pieces of the Coimbra and Gulbenkian codices (see example 5.7).





Example 5.7: Comparison between a chaconne by Corbetta and the Francesa 7° tom from the Gulbenkian codex.

⁶⁵ Francesco Corbetta, La guitarre royalle (Paris: H. Bonneüil, 1671), 69.

Visée's pieces found in the Gulbenkian codex (see table 4.5) also present insights into local practices. Of particular significance is the *burê* on f. 28r, which features a *bourée* from Visée's 1686 book first in its original form, ⁶⁶ then ornamented.

French dance-types are very well represented in the Conde de Redondo codex, in terms of quantity, if not variety: there are 34 minuets out of a total of 85 pieces; besides two sarabandes and three settings of the "Aimable Vainqueur." Although originally a French, somewhat pastoral dance-type, the minuet is the closest thing to an international dance to have appeared up through the mid-eighteenth century. The wide acceptance of the minuet is at least in part related to an aim to emulate the habits and tastes of Versailles, seen in several courts and urban centers in Europe and the Americas throughout the eighteenth century. Evidently, on the Iberian peninsula Frenchification was more intense after the question of the Spanish succession was settled and the grandson of Louis XIV, Philippe d'Anjou--now Felipe V--began ruling Spain in 1713. However, just like the allemandes, some of the minuets might well have their origin traced back to Italy, rather than France. An example is the minuet ascribed to "Escarlate," most likely Domenico Scarlatti (f. 7v), which resembles the minuets of sonatas K73 (L217), K78 (L75), and K88 (L36).

Several other minuets in the Lisbon codex display features that approach the style of some other minuet movements by Scarlatti, such as the incipient rounded binary scheme and the emphasis on repeated notes. Scarlatti, who stayed in Portugal several years as a teacher of Princess Maria Bárbara de Bragança, left some disciples there when he moved to Spain accompanying his pupil, after she married Prince Ferdinand.

⁶⁶ Robert de Visée, *Liure de pieces pour la gvittarre dedié au roy* (Paris: Bonneüil, 1686), 12.

If some English influence, mainly in *contradanças* and *gigas*, can also be detected in the Conde de Redondo codex, it seems to have been indirectly assimilated into the Portuguese guitar repertory. One of the *contradanças* in that volume (f. 18r-v), for example, is the fairly-known English ballad "Greensleeves," but its incorporation was certainly mediated through the success of the *contredanses* at the French court by the early eighteenth century: Feuillet's *Recueil de Contredanses*, printed in 1706, contains a version of that ballad, entitled "Les Manches Vertes." There is another possibility, though. Several Spanish sources compiled before the Lisbon codex also feature this number (see concordances), almost always identified by its French name or referred to as a *contradanza*, which strongly suggests that the importation occurred through Spain, with which Portugal had stronger cultural ties than, say, with France or England.

It is not likely that the "Aimable Vainqueur," of which the Conde de Redondo codex presents three settings, was introduced in Portugal in its original form, that is, within André Campra's *tragédie lyrique Hésione*, first performed in 1700. The Portuguese probably knew the original melody from Pécour and Feuillet's 1706 book of *contredanses*. The Lisbon settings, as well as those found in Spanish, Italian, Mexican, and other French sources, adhere closely to Campra's melody, sometimes treating it as a basis for variations. However, the first *Amable* in the Lisbon codex is the only setting, besides Campra's, in the form of an aria, or a song, for it is the only one in which there is a text (ff. 3v-4r)--not Campra's original text, or even a translation of it, although it displays similar affects. The intabulation is more a realization of the accompaniment than a literal transcription of Campra's melody.

⁶⁷ Raoul-Auger Feuillet, *Recueil de contredances mises en chorégraphie* (Paris: The author, 1706), 17-24.

In *Hésione*, the aria "Aimable Vainqueur" appears at the end of the third act, right after a dance number, which is repeated literally after the aria as an *entracte*. Although the dance number and the aria share the same motif--the first seven measures are identical--it is the first one that is usually found arranged in later sources, obviously because many of these are found in dance treatises and collections. However, even though it is a vocal number, the Portuguese setting also uses the music of the dance, rather than the aria, which strengthens the hypothesis that the work as a whole was unknown in Portugal. Composing a song or an aria in a dance rhythm was nothing new, as seen in some *minuetes cantados* in the Lisbon codex itself and in many Spanish eighteenth-century sources, not to mention many examples in contemporary operas and even sacred music.

An intriguing detail in the text of this setting, as noted by João Manuel Borges de Azevedo, is the presence of expressions used in Brazilian Portuguese, such as *meu bem* (roughly "my darling")--very common in the so-called *modinhas brasileiras*, Brazilian *modinhas*, of the late eighteenth century. ⁶⁸ However, the evidence is too weak to allow one to connect the Portuguese *amable* and the later *modinha*. Yet, there is evidence of a Brazilian influence in the Portuguese repertory for the *viola*, as I will discuss in the following chapter.

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⁶⁸ Azevedo, *Uma tablatura*, xi-xii.

6 AFRICAN AND AFRICAN-BRAZILIAN INFLUENCES

In June 30, 1685, the Holy Inquisition of Lisbon received a letter denouncing several citizens from Bahia, in the Portuguese colony of Brazil. Among these was Gregório de Mattos Guerra, the famous Brazilian poet, who was also, according to the letter, a "man of loose habits, lacking Christian manners," and a notorious "atheist," whose disdain for the Holy Inquisition was well known to everyone. The denunciation did not go any further, probably because of the prestige of Mattos's family. Nevertheless, it emphasized aspects of Mattos's personality that resonate in much of his poetic work, and that, after his death, contributed to the placing of his name in a realm between history and legend. Particularly in recent decades, certain features of the writings attributed to him, such as reckless exposition of religious and political hypocrisy, delight in profanities and obscenities, his heterodoxy (for some researchers even suggesting a form of anti-religion), have instigated creative new interpretations of his work--sometimes dangerously anachronistic--molded in Bakhtinian, when not clearly Oswaldian, theories. In fact, Augusto and Haroldo de Campos see in Mattos a kind of forerunner of the *Movimento Antropofágico*--literally Cannibal movement-headed by Oswald de Andrade in the 1920s. The approach was in part encouraged by the

¹ Fernando da Rocha Peres, *Gregório de Mattos e a Inquisição* (Salvador: Universidade Federal da Bahia, 1987), 18-19.

² Oswald de Andrade (1890-1954) was a key figure in Brazilian *modernismo* of the 1920s. For him cannibalism (anthropophagy) was the only true Brazilian philosophy, as he summarized in the 1928 *Manifesto Antropofágico*. The movement urged to a critical ingestion of European culture and the "reworking of that tradition in Brazilian terms." See interview with Haroldo de Campos: "Concrete poetry and beyond," *Review: Latin American Literature and Arts* 36 (January-June 1986), 38-45.

fact that the writings of both Mattos and Andrade reveal the frequent use of such literary devices as parody, recomposition, and combinatoriality.

Some contemporaries of Mattos, however, were not as enthusiastic--one of his rivals used to call him a "pirate of the others' verses." In the poem *Marinicolas*, Mattos used one of those literary devices, parody, to satirize one of his many enemies (see chapter 5). As Heitor Martins observed in 1990, the poem was composed over the famous *Marizápalos*, a widely popular song in the Iberian peninsula and Latin America during the second half of the seventeenth century.³

There is little doubt that *Marinicolas*, the most popular of Mattos's poems, used to be sung with the melody of some version of *Marizápalos*. Manuel Pereira Rabelo, Mattos's earliest biographer, recalled that the poet used to sing his stanzas to a *viola* that he made himself out of a gourd.⁴

This chapter focuses on other and perhaps more important connections between Mattos's poetical work and the Portuguese repertory for the five-course guitar, or *viola*. Mattos's poetry is a source of information about the repertory of *viola* players from Bahia during the second half of the seventeenth century. It also describes several occasions when the *viola* was an accompanying instrument for dances of African and African-Brazilian origin. The Portuguese *viola* repertory displays the musical counterpart to this picture. Besides settings of Iberian, African and African-Brazilian dances that Mattos mentioned, such as *canário*, *vilão*, *arromba*, *cãozinho*, *gandu*, and *cubanco*, it presents other dances

³ Heitor Martins, "A música do Mari-Nícolas de Gregório de Matos," *Suplemento Literário de Minas Gerais*, 7 April 1990, 4-5.

⁴ Manuel Pereira Rabelo, "Vida do excelente poeta lírico, o doutor Gregório de Matos Guerra" (first section of the codex 3576, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, early 18th century), in Gregório de Matos, *Obra Poética*, ed. James Amado (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1990), 1264.

whose titles are not found in his writings, such as the *amorosa*, *sarambeque*, *cumbé*, and *paracumbé*. The African or African-American origin of these dance types is suggested by references in Iberian literary sources of the first half of the eighteenth century.

Rather than a separate, independent group, the pieces displaying African influence should be considered a subgroup of the Iberian dance types, not only because of their musical structures, which parallel those of many dances native to the Iberian peninsula, but also because of the historical context in which they flourished, which is always related to the Iberian enterprises of navigation, commerce and colonization. Some of these dances might have appeared first on the Iberian peninsula, whose harbors and coastal cities were inhabited by a large black population from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Others seem more likely to have developed first in the Atlantic coastal cities of Africa and the Americas. Regardless of the place of origin, most of this repertory was shared by people in different areas subject to Portuguese and Spanish influence. To illustrate this point, one might consider examples of the propagation of this repertory in Brazil as seen in Mattos's poetry, and how Brazil may have played a role of mediator between Africa and Portugal in the development of part of this repertory.

The "Rules for good living" is one of those poems by Gregório de Mattos that influenced the Brazilian avant-garde, from the *Antropofagia* to the Concrete Poetry movement. Following what appears to be an inventory of domestic utensils, and always exploiting the *double-entendre*, Mattos lists some dances that were common in seventeenth-century Bahia: ⁵

⁵ "Regra de bem viver, que a persuasões de alguns amigos deu a uns noivos, que se casavam," Gregório de Matos, *Obra poética*, ed. James Amado (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1990), vol. 2, 828. In a footnote, Amado suggested that this would be a list of ornamental pieces.

EIGHT SERVICE PIECES

The Canário, the Cãozinho, the Pandalunga, the Vilão, the Guandu, the Cubango, the Espanholeta, and one Brave Black man in Flanders.

PEÇAS DE SERVIÇO OITO O Canário, o Cãozinho, o Pandalunga, o Vilão, o Guandu, o Cubango, a Espanholeta, e um

Valente negro em Flandres.

The *canário*, the *vilão* and the *espanholeta* are Iberian dance types well represented in both the Coimbra and Gulbenkian codices. With the exception of the *pandalunga* and the "brave black man in Flanders" (*valente negro em Flandres*), the other terms also refer to titles found in the same volumes. In addition to that, the *cãozinho* (little dog) can be found also in the Conde de Redondo codex. What type of pieces would these be, and in what context were they played? In a bizarre way, Gregório de Mattos describes a banquet offered during the Feast of Our Lady of Guadeloupe, where he saw the *cãozinho* being danced by Luísa Sapata, a black woman:⁶

Right after this appeared Sapata,
And trying to bare her teeth
She did not have any to bare;
To make up for that, however,
She started dancing the *cãozinho*,
And, since over the mill
She took so many *embigadas* [belly blows]
She ended up transforming
Wine into pure vomit.

Tomou a Garça no ar a Sapata incontinenti, e indo arreganhar-lhe o dente, não teve, que arreganhar: porém por se desquitar

⁶ Ibid., 482.

foi-se bailar o cãozinho, e como sobre o moinho levou tantas embigadas, deu em sair às tornadas a puro vômito o vinho.

The *umbigada*, belly blow, the choreographic movement in which the dancers touch their belly buttons, is a basic feature of many dances imported from the Congo-Angola region to Brazil and Portugal. It is also one of those elements that contributed to make these dances appear so obscene to European eyes.

The Coimbra codex contains two pieces called *cãozinho de Sofala*, and another one called simply *cãozinho*. There is also a *cãozinho de Sofala* in the Conde de Redondo codex. The indication "from Sofala" probably refers to a variant of the dance from that region in Southeastern Africa, known today as Mozambique, although it does not belong to the so-called Congo-Angola area.

Gerhard Kubik, and more recently Peter Fryer, noticed that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many dances of African influence seem to appear simultaneously in different points of the so-called Atlantic triangle, a region that would comprise coastal cities from the Congo-Angola, Portugal and Brazil. In addition to that, Peter Fryer suggests that one should consider also the Spanish-American coastal cities, both in the Atlantic (or Caribbean) and the Pacific, besides places such as Seville and New Orleans. All these places were inhabited by large black populations, and musical interactions and exchanges could

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⁷ Gerhard Kubik, "O intercâmbio cultural entre Angola e Portugal no domínio da música desde o século XVI," in *Portugal e o Encontro de Culturas na Música* (Lisbon: Dom Quixote, 1987), 381-405.

happen almost simultaneously in one place or another. Because these contacts would happen by sea, sailors and harbor workers--many of them black--played a very important role in this cross-fertilization between sounds and rhythms of three continents. Thus, it is no coincidence that one of the dance types or forms in the Coimbra and Gulbenkian codices is precisely the *marinheira* (a sailor's dance or song), and that a rhythm with the same name can be found still today among the black population in Peru. A Portuguese pamphlet of 1758 described how some of these sounds and rhythms arrived at the Alfama harbor quarter, and from there propagated among Lisbon's lower classes:

From Brazil in procession
The sounds arrive there barefoot,
Breed there, grow up there,
And from there they pass
By degrees to the *chulas* [lower-class women],
Step by step to the *mulatos*.

Do Brasil em romaria
Os sons vêm ali descalços
Criam-se ali, e ali crescem,
E dali se vão passando
Pouco a pouco para as chulas,
Piam piam para os mulatos.

According to Raphael Bluteau, an eighteenth-century Portuguese lexicographer, the term *som*, or "sound" meant, among other things, "a piece that one plays on the *viola*."

Among the most popular "sounds" of his time he mentioned the *arromba*, the *arrepia*, the

⁸ Peter Fryer, *Rhythms of resistance: African musical heritage in Brazil* (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 2000), 137.

⁹ Frei Francisco Rey de Abreu Matta Zeferino [Frei Lucas de Santa Catarina], *Anatomico Jocoso* (Lisbon: Officina de Miguel Rodrigues, 1758), vol. 3, 209. Quoted by José Ramos Tinhorão, *As origens da canção urbana*, 121. Also in Luiz Moita, *O fado: canção de vencidos* (Lisbon: Anuário Comercial, 1936), 254 n. 9. English translation by Peter Fryer, *Rhythms of Resistance*, 132.

gandu, the canário, the amorosa, the marinheira and the cãozinho. ¹⁰ As was noted by José Ramos Tinhorão, the sounds arrived barefooted at the Alfama because the slaves brought from Brazil walked barefooted. ¹¹

Some of these *sons*, or sounds, seem to have been restricted to areas of Portuguese influence. That was the case with the *cãozinho*, the *gandu*, the *arromba* and the *cubanco*, as well as other dances of which no musical setting has been found so far, such as the *arrepia*, the *fofa*, the *zabel-macau* and the *paturi*.

Gregório de Mattos mentions the *gandu* in connection with the brothel of black women that he used to visit, alluding in the same context to the *viola* player of that house, a certain Fernão Roiz Vassalo. José Ramos Tinhorão has found several mentions of the *gandu* in eighteenth-century Portuguese literary sources, which always associate the word-referring to the dance or to something else--with the color black or the black race. Tinhorão also suggests that the gandu is actually the forerunner of the *lundu*--sometimes spelled *landu*--and Peter Fryer recently defended the hypothesis, though the argumentation of

Raphael Bluteau, *Supplemento ao vocabulario portuguez e latino* (Lisbon: Patriarcal Officina da Música, 1728), vol. 2, 220:

A piece that one plays on the *viola*. The more common sounds, or pieces that one plays at the *viola* are the following ones: *Arromba*, *arrepia*, *gandu*, *canário*, *amorosa*, *marinheira*, *cãozinho*, *passacalhe*, *espanholeta*, *marisápola*, *vilão*, *galharda*, *sarau*, *fantasia*. The reader will find the definition of each one of these sounds in its alphabetical place within this supplement.

Péça, que se poem à viola. Os sons, ou peças mais ordinarias, que na viola se tocaõ, saõ os seguintes. Arromba. Arrepia. Gandù. Canario. Amorosa. Marinheira. Caõsinho. Passacalhe. Espanholeta. Marisápola. Villão. Galhurda [Galharda], Sarao. Fantesîa. Neste Supplemento acharà o Leitor a diffiniçaõ de cada som destes no seu lugar Alphabetico.

¹¹ Tinhorão, As origens da canção urbana (Lisbon: Caminho, 1997), 121.

neither researcher seems entirely convincing.¹² Nor does the analysis of the music corroborate that theory. The melodic behavior of the Coimbra's *gandus* points to a ternary meter, instead of the binary, or compound binary meter, usually associated with the *lundu*. In addition to that, none of the *gandus* presents anything similar to the perpetual arpeggiation found in the earliest *lundus*. However, the harmonies and the cadential approaches seem close to those of dances of supposedly North-African influence, such as the *fandango*, with which the *lundu* shared some choreographic features.¹³

To the sound of a *guitarrilha*That an Indian boy [or a black boy] was playing,
I saw dancing in the Água Brusca
The Mulatas from Brazil:
How well the Mulatas dance,
How well they dance the Paturi.

They do not use castanets
But they make such a noise
With their gentle fingers
That after hearing them I yelled:
How well the *Mulatas* dance,
How well they dance the *Paturi*.

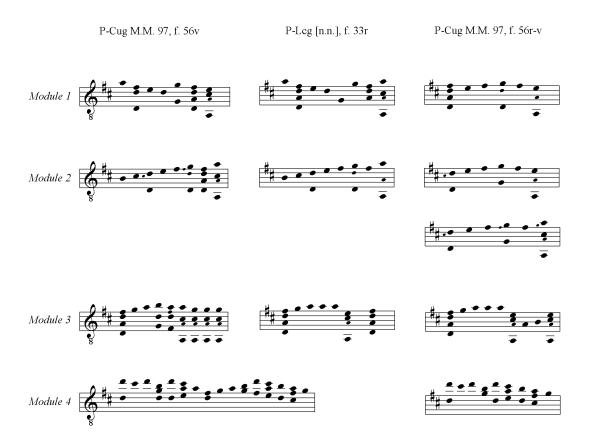
Ao som de uma guitarrilha, que tocava um colomin vi bailar na Água Brusca as Mulatas do Brasil: Que bem bailam as Mulatas, Que bem bailam o Paturi!

Não usam de castanhetas, porque cos dedos gentis fazem tal estropeada, que de ouvi-las me estrugi: Que bem bailam as Mulatas, Que bem bailam o Paturi!

¹² Tinhorão, *Os negros em Portugal, uma presença silenciosa*, 2 ed. (Lisbon: Caminho, 1997), 361. Fryer, *Rhythms of resistance*, 116.

¹³ For example, the waving of the arms above the head and the snapping of the fingers, imitating castanets, which were also features of another dance described by Mattos, the *paturi*:

Although several *cubancos* are found in both the Coimbra and the Gulbenkian codices, no description of this dance--if it was a dance--has reached us. The Portuguese settings reveal that *cubancos* were composed over a few melodic-harmonic modules, in a process similar to what happens in *jácaras* and other forms discussed in chapter 5 (see example 6.1).



Example 6.1: Standard compositional modules for *cubancos* in the Coimbra and Gulbenkian codices.

There is a short mention of a *cubanco* in a pamphlet attributed to Frei Lucas de Santa Catarina, dated 1755, which gives us some information on the context in which such piece used to be played:¹⁴

Near the place of the cross the *mochilos* walked while playing the *gandum por pontos* [ponteado, or fingerstyle, as opposed to the rasgado, strummed style]. And in that same night, there was one mochilo who broke two machinhos with his cobango: no wonder, because in that function I saw a mulatto who, by singing the amorosa without taking breath, was already with a candle in his hand [i.e. dead].

Junto à Cruz andavão os mochîlas ao socairo com seu gandum por pontos. E mochilo houve, que naquela noite quebrou dous machinhos a puro cobango: nem he de admirar; porque nesta função eu vi mulato, que de cantar a amorosa, sem tomar folego, esteve com a candêa na mão.

The *mochilo* who destroys two *machinhos* while playing the *cubanco* is a servant. It is not clear whether he is black or not, but he certainly belongs to a low social stratum. The *machinho*, or *machete*, was a guitar-like instrument, with dimensions approximating those of the modern ukulele (see chapter 2). The *amorosa*, sung in the excerpt by a mulatto man, is also found in both the Coimbra and Gulbenkian codices, although only in instrumental settings.

A 1708 Spanish source associated the *amorosa* with another dance of African influence, the *paracumbé*. The Portuguese connection is also clear, for the *paracumbé* was mentioned as coming from the Portuguese colony of Angola, and, in the description that follows, it is danced in the Portuguese manner. The text that follows switches from Spanish

¹⁴ "Festas Heroicas Da Sobrelevante Irmandade da Vera Cruz Dos Poyae," in Frei Francisco Rey de Abreu Matta Zeferino [Frei Lucas de Santa Catarina (1660-1740)], *Anatomico Jocoso* (Lisbon: Officina do Doutor Manoel Alvarez Solano, 1755), vol. 1, 278. Quoted by José Ramos Tinhorão, *Os negros em Portugal: Uma presença silenciosa*, 2 ed. (Lisbon: Caminho, 1997), 212.

¹⁵ Emílo Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mogigangas desde fines del siglo XVII á mediados del XVIII* (Madrid: Casa Editorial Bailly Bailliére, 1911), vol. 1, n. 1, ccxx:

to Portuguese, and contains even a suspicious $voc\hat{e}$, a typical Brazilian colloquial way of using the third-person pronoun to address the second person. Since this usage also occurs in Portugal, though in a much lesser degree, one cannot establish a Brazilian connection based solely on this detail.

The terms *paracumbé* and *cumbé* surely refer to the same dance type. The Gulbenkian codex uses the first term and the Coimbra and Conde de Redondo volumes the second one. According to the 1737 *Diccionário de Autoridades, cumbé* is a "dance [baile] of blacks, which one does to the sound of a joyful tune, called by the same name, and consists of many swings of the body from one side to another." José Ramos Tinhorão mentions another eighteenth-century pamphlet that describes a religious feast in the Alfama quarter, in which the blacks walked nicely, and "danced the *cumbé* to the sound of the drum, all in a dignified way."

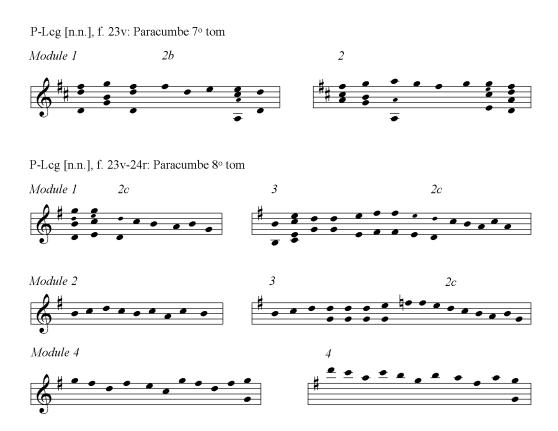
GRACIOSO: What? You do not know me? I am the *Paracumbé* from Angola, Citizen from Guinea, Married to the *Amorosa* Whom I chose as my wife. If you want to know who I am Be present at this *baile*, And accompany my *romance* In Portuguese style.

GRACIOSO: ¿Pues qué? ¿No me conocéis? El Paracumbé de Angola, ciudadano de Guiné, casado con la Amorosa que escogí yo por mujer. Sí queréis saber quién soy en este baile atended, y compañad mi romance en estilo portugués.

¹⁶ Diccionario de autoridades (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1737; reprint, Madrid: Gredos, 1963), vol. 1, 700.

Murcia, Codex Saldivar no. 2, f. 43r-44v: Cumbees Module 1 2 Module 3 4 (related to 2) E-Mn M. 811, 46-8: Paracumbe Module 1 Module 3 4 (related to 2) E-Mn M. 811, 145-50: Guineos Module 2 Fernández de Huete, 1702, pl. 4: Paracumbe 3 Module 2

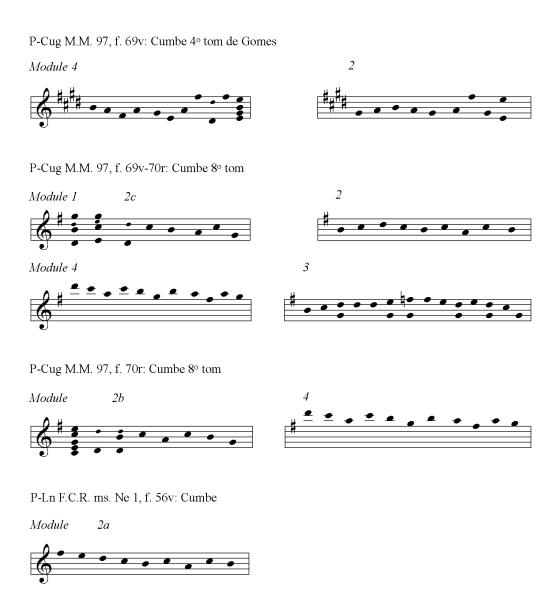
Example 6.2: Standard compositional modules for *cumbes*, *paracumbes*, and instrumental *guineos* in Spanish and Mexican sources.



Example 6.3: Standard compositional modules for *paracumbes* in the Gulbenkian codex.

Tinhorão points out that the Brazilian blacks also had a dance called *cumbe* or *cumbi*, suggesting that the name comes from the fact that it was the dance of the "*cumbas*," which was the designation used in Congo for skilled dancers."¹⁷

¹⁷ Tinhorão, Os negros em Portugal, 209.



Example 6.4: Standard compositional modules for *cumbes* in the Coimbra and Conde de Redondo codices.

Around the mid-eighteenth century, the *cumbé* was already going out of fashion in the face of new dances, as shown in a 1750 pamphlet:¹⁸

The *fofa* is a fine dance,
It makes you tap your feet [or "it is danced with tap steps;" literally "it is shaken with the feet"]
And makes better harmony
Than dancing the *cumbé* [.]

A fofa é boa dança sendo tremida com o pé, e faz melhor consonância de que bailar o cumbé [.]

The Portuguese codices contain nine settings of *cumbés* and *paracumbés*. They all share important melodic and harmonic features with those found in Spanish and Mexican sources for guitar and harp, in fact, most settings of *paracumbes* and *cumbés* are based on a few compositional modules, as seen in examples 6.2, 6.3, and 6.4.

The *fofa* (literally soft, fluffy) cannot be found in the Portuguese *viola* sources, possibly because these were compiled before its popularization. Notably, there is an explicit mention of the Bahian origin of the *fofa* in a 1752 pamphlet, as has been observed by José Ramos Tinhorão.¹⁹

The *sarambeque* is probably the most common dance of African influence in the Iberian-American world during the last four centuries, being mentioned in Portuguese,

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¹⁸ Relação das cantigas da fofa: compostas pelo memoravel e celebrissimo estapafurdio Manoel de *Paços* [Lisbon: n. p., c. 1750]. English translation by Peter Fryer, *Rhythms of resistance*, 128.

¹⁹ Excerpts from this pamphlet, entitled *Relação da fofa que veyo agora da Bahia*, can be found in Tinhorão, *Os sons dos negros no Brasil* (São Paulo: Art Editora, 1988), 52-53; *História social da música popular brasileira* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1990), 76; *Fado: Dança do Brasil, cantar de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1994), 21-22. There is a diplomatic transcription in Peter Fryer, *Rhythms of resistance*, 176-177, and an English translation in page 127.

Spanish, Mexican and Brazilian sources. The *Diccionário de Autoridades* defines *zarambeque* as an "instrumental piece [*tanger*], and a very joyful and lively [*bulliciosa*] dance, which is very common among the blacks." Again, there are reasons to believe that the introduction of the dance in Spain and its colonies was mediated through Portugal. Not only do the earliest mentions of this dance appear in Portuguese sources, its Portuguese origin is also reaffirmed in an eighteenth-century *entremez*, as Craig Russell has pointed out. However, Peter Fryer suggests that before its appearance in Portugal, the dance could be found in its African colony of Mozambique, for among the Chuabo, Yao, and Nyungwe, the terms *saramba*, *salamba* and *sarama* mean practically the same as the Portuguese *sarambeque*: a dance with swinging motions of the hip. 22

20

FILOMENA: Let us finish, Pascual [,]

The baile at this point,

PASCUAL: It is so languid [lit. melting]

Because it is from Portugal...

"Zarambeque, go, Go, Zarambeque, Which is a joyful tune

For the sainetes [little theatrical play]."

FILOMENA: Demos fin, Pascual

al baile esta vez,

PASCUAL: Tan derretido es

que es de Portugal...
"Zarambeque vaya,
vaya Zarambeque,
que es alegre tono
para los sainetes."

²⁰ Diccionário de Autoridades, vol. 3, 562.

²¹ Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de entremeses*, cclxxiii:

²² Fryer, *Rhythms of resistance*, 107. The definition is from J. T. Schneider, *Dictionary of African borrowings in Brazilian Portuguese* (Hamburg, 1991), "Sarambeque," 267.

Already in 1651, in the *Carta de guia de casados*, Francisco Manuel de Melo warned husbands that a wife knowing how to dance the *sarambeque*, and bringing castanets in her purse, were dangerous signs of unrestraint.²³ Gregório de Mattos also used the word in some of his poems, but always with an erotic, rather than musical, connotation. The historian Luiz Edmundo, in *O Rio de Janeiro no tempo dos Vice-Reis*, asserted that the *sarambeque* used to be danced in eighteenth-century Rio de Janeiro, but he did not disclose his sources of information. The dance persisted into the early twentieth century, when music historian Guilherme de Almeida mentioned it and Ernesto Nazareth composed a *sarambeque* for the piano.

The Coimbra and Gulbenkian codices register ten *sarambeques*. The rhythmic reconstruction can be done based on other settings in Spanish and Mexican sources for guitar and harp. One of the *sarambeques* of the Coimbra codex is assigned to a certain Frei João (f. 58r), who is also author of several fantasias and one *batalha* in the same volume. Although the codex seems to originate from the Santa Cruz de Coimbra monastery, Frei João is the only composer explicitly mentioned as belonging to a religious order.

Gregório de Mattos mentioned another dance, the *arromba*, which, like the *gandu*, seems to have been restricted to Brazil and Portugal. He described the *arromba* (literally a breaking down of something, or something outstanding) as being danced with "the foot and the hand, but with the hip always in one place," which seemed curious to him, since in Bahia that part of the body was always dancing.²⁴ The Coimbra codex contains two *arrombas*, one for *viola* and one for *bandurra*, and the Gulbenkian codex has seven, three for *viola* and four

²³ D. Francisco Manuel de Melo, *Carta de guia de casados* (Lisbon: Europa-América, [1992]), 44.

²⁴ Mattos, *Obra poética*, vol. 1, 455.

for bandurra. Some of the titles are unusually revealing: *Aromba 4 tom com rocadilho aonde estiver os erres*, literally "*arromba* of the fourth tone with a little brushing where the letter 'r' is" (P-Leg, f. 34r), probably indicating some sort of *golpe* (stroke), or *repicco*; *Arromba oitavado chamado çhula 4 tom*, or "*arromba* in *oitavado* form (maybe "*oitavado*-like *arromba*"), known as *chula*" (P-Leg, f. 40r), associating the *arromba* with two other dances, the *oitavado* and the *chula*; and *arromba do inferno*, or "Hell's *arromba*" (f. 79v), which corroborates the association with the *oitavado*, for there is an *oitavado do inferno* in the Conde de Redondo codex (f. 19v [p. 38]), which is mentioned as a song in Antonio José da Silva's *Vida do engenhoso D. Quixote* (1733).²⁵

The information given by the compiler of the Gulbenkian codex, that the *arromba oitavado* was also known as *chula*, does not help in clarifying the features of this dance. Even today, there is a large number of different choreographies designated by the term *chula* in both Portugal and Brazil. Besides that, the term might have been used only as an indicative of "vulgar," which is what the term literally means. On the other hand, the association between the *arromba* and the *oitavado* is evidenced in the music itself. Some sections of an *oitavado* in the Conde de Redondo codex appear in the middle of one of the Gulbenkian's *arrombas* (ff. 40r-43v).

In a 1933 article, musicologist Rodney Gallop suggested that both the *arromba* and the *oitavado* presented traces of African influence.²⁶ Even though Gallop has never analyzed or even heard any of these dances, there are reasons to believe that he was not entirely wrong. The 1752 pamphlet *Relação da fofa que veio da Bahia*, mentioned the Alfama as the

²⁵ Antonio José da Silva, *Vida de D. Quixote, Esopaida e Guerras do Alecrim*, 2nd part (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1975), 113.

²⁶ Rodney Gallop, "The Fado," Musical Quarterly 19: 2 (April 1933), 203-4.

place of origin of the *oitavado*, and at that time, that quarter of Lisbon had a large black population. However, still in the eighteenth century, the writer Filinto Elísio related the *oitavado* to the *canários*, saying that the latter was a type of "*oitavado*, very much tinkled [*repinicado*] on the *viola*." In fact, the constant motion in three-note groups typical of the *canários* is also found in the *oitavados*. The Portuguese settings of the *oitavado* also feature many chordal sections, some of them unusually dissonant, when they are not simply copyists' mistakes. Maybe the relationship with the *canário* could be found in choreographic features, such as the tap steps, which would not eliminate the possibility of an African influence, since some sort of fast motion of the feet occurred also in the *fofa*, which was also "tinkled," and "shaken with the feet."

Common to the point of being converted into stereotypes, black guitar players appeared as characters of Iberian literary works as early as in the late sixteenth century (e.g. Antonio Ribeiro Chiado's *Auto da Natural Invenção*, and Miguel de Cervantes's *Novelas Ejemplares*). Later, in 1651, Francisco Manuel de Melo complained that the *viola*, "being an excellent instrument, it was enough now that blacks and scoundrels knew how to play it, that honorable men no longer wanted to put it in their arms." The first truly historical pieces of information that survive concerning black *viola* players are from a much later date. There were, for example, Manuel de Almeida Botelho, Domingos Caldas Barbosa and Manuel Joaquim da Câmara, Brazilian black *viola* players who lived in Lisbon during the second half of the eighteenth century. Manuel de Almeida Botelho was born in 1721, and moved to Portugal in 1749. The eighteenth-century historian Domingos do Loreto Couto listed among Botelho's works, besides sacred works for choir and instruments, "several sonatas and

²⁷ Melo, Carta de guia de casados, 67.

tocatas for both the *viola* and the harpsichord," as well as *cantilenas*, duos, minuets and *tonos*. ²⁸ The lack of any ethnic title among his compositions may appear unusual. If Botelho composed *gandus* and *cumbés*, Loreto Couto did not find it relevant to mention them, just as he did not mention other types of Iberian and Italian dance types that constituted the standard *viola* repertory of his contemporaries.

In any case, just as in our days, many of those dances, or *sons*, played on the *viola* were creations of practical musicians, without any formal musical training. And much of the repertory considered above belonged more to the oral than to the written tradition. A tablature lacking rhythmic values, although obviously written down, does not require any knowledge of musical notation to be deciphered. Yet, there are pre-requisites. Familiarity with the piece to be played may be one of these. However, the Coimbra codex contains almost three hundred *viola* pieces, a somewhat large number for the average memory. More important than knowing the works beforehand is knowing the mechanics of composition and recomposition, and the good practical musician actually recomposes--composes again in each new performance--sometimes helped by a written record, such as a tablature, or a musical recording, but never restrained by those.

Surely the Portuguese *gandus*, *cumbés* and *cubancos* were not ethnomusicologically correct transcriptions of dances performed by slaves or free blacks in Portugal or its colonies. They were recycled pieces, recomposed over some patterns or motifs of those dances. Being transposed to the *viola*, these motifs, whose origin could be traced to some recreational or religious gathering originating in or strongly influenced by African culture,

²⁸ Frei Domingos do Loreto Couto, *Desagravos do Brasil e Glórias de Pernambuco* [Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, MS F.G. 873] (Recife: Prefeitura da Cidade do Recife, 1981), 376. The manuscript is dated 1759. See chapter 3.

were now combined with idiomatic features particular to that European instrument. These are the details that make that music sound so Iberian to our ears, and these are the elements that made it comprehensible to the eighteenth-century European listener. Evidently, such fusion could have been undertaken by black musicians. That does not change the fact that, in order to be incorporated into the European repertory, that music should be tamed in some way.

For European observers of past centuries, certain African dances were odd and confusing (Cavazzi, 1654), and emphasized the rhythm in a strange way (Touissant-Samson, c1880). Instead of shedding some light on the nature of the African music, such reports reveal the incomprehension and perplexity of the European in face of those cultural phenomena. "Horrible outcry" was the expression Nuno Marques Pereira used to refer to the *calundus*, a type of African-Brazilian religious ritual featuring several dances and drumbeats, which he knew in early-eighteenth-century Bahia.²⁹ Even Gregório de Mattos mentioned the *calundus* in an unfavorable manner:³⁰

I know of *quilombos*With superlative masters,
In which they teach at night
Calundus and witchcraft,
One thousand female subjects
Attend them with devotion,
Besides many bearded ones
Who think of themselves as Narcissus.
They seek good fortune, they say,
One has not seen such a folly!
I hear it, look at it, and keep quiet
For I cannot amuse them.
What I know is that in such dances

²⁹ See chapter 3.

³⁰ Mattos, *Obra poética*, vol. 1, 42.

Satan is engaged, And that only such a father-master Could teach such follies. There is no scorned lady, Or disfavored gallant, Who misses going to the *quilombo* To dance a little bit.

Que de quilombos que tenho com mestres superlativos nos quais se ensinam de noite os calundus, e feiticos, com devoção os frequentam mil sujeitos femininos, e também muitos barbados que se prezam de narcizos. Ventura dizem que buscam; não se viu maior delírio! eu, que os ouço, vejo, e calo por não poder diverti-los. O que sei, é, que em tais danças Satanás anda metido, e que só tal padre-mestre pode ensinar tais delírios. Não há mulher desprezada. galã desfavorecido, que deixe de ir ao quilombo dançar o seu bocadinho.

The term *quilombo* might mean a fortress, or hidden place in the woods, where runaway slaves used to find refuge. In the case of Mattos's poem, however, it seems that it refers to something closer to its original meaning in Kimbundu language--as José Ramos Tinhorão suggests, simply a place of open ground in the woods, in which blacks, slaves or not, gathered to worship their gods.³¹ To Mattos, such rituals were signs of "delirium," and the attitudes of some white people who used to join them--some seeking the guidance of African priests, others just for fun--were incomprehensible. However, Mattos was no

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³¹ Tinhorão, Os sons dos negros no Brasil, 33.

moralist. As a survivor of the old nobility of the colony, what bothered him was the change of habits, the breaking down of the old institutional order. The fact that white folks were going to the *quilombo* to dance with black people to the sound of their drums contributed to an effacing of social and racial boundaries in a much more important way than his encounters with the black women of Bahia's brothels.

And those irrational sounds, incomprehensible to more conservative ears, would eventually rise to the salons and theater stages of the bourgeoisie, after borrowing musical instruments and structural elements from Iberian music. That was the case with black dances such as the *sarambeque*, the *fofa* and the *cumbé*. And so it was later with the *lundu*. As George Whittaker explained in 1826, that happened only after this dance was subjected to "certain decent modifications." Thus, according to a 1761 report, it did not seem strange to the population of the city of Olinda, in the Northeastern province of Pernambuco, that a certain Jesuit brother was a well-known dancer of the *fofa*. And, as late as 1838, it did not seem unusual to the inhabitants of Recife, also in Pernambuco, that *lundus* and *modinhas* were played in the church by the organist during the intervals of the Mass. And there was nothing extraordinary that *gandus*, *cumbés* and *sarambeques* were recomposed and played on the *viola* by the musician monks of the monastery of Santa Cruz of Coimbra.

³² Fryer, *Rhythms of resistance*, 115.

³³ Quoted by Pereira da Costa, "Folk-lore Pernambucano," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, vol. 20, part 2 (1908), 221. Pereira da Costa's source was never found.

³⁴ Lopes Gama, *O carapuceiro* 55 (August 25, 1838), 2.

7 TRANSCRIPTION AND PERFORMANCE

The disappearance of the *viola* from art-music circles and urban popular music in Portugal and Brazil by the late eighteenth century cannot be regarded as the sole reason for the absence of modern studies and performances of its repertory. Unable to cope with changes in taste and style, the lute, too, fell into oblivion some decades before, and that did not prevent it from being revived both by performers and musicologists in the last century. Perhaps an important factor to be considered is that, unlike the lute, the *viola* remained very much alive in the unwritten folk practices of both countries, which contributed to make it an uneasy topic for traditional musicology to deal with; an example of that is the cautious approach with which Sampayo Ribeiro treats the topic in the 1930s. Of course, the reduced number of sources and the particularities of notation, as well as the peripheral place to which Portugal is still relegated by the traditional history of Western music, should also be taken into account.

For almost two centuries, the *viola* was in all walks of life the first-choice instrument in musical gatherings and for the accompaniment of singing and dancing in Portugal and Brazil. The *viola* repertory was what people in these countries actually played and heard at their homes and during their pastimes. This popularity among amateur musicians, many of them lacking any traditional musical training, was reflected in the system of notation used-the rhythm-less Italian tablature--which brings us to the paradoxical situation in which what made that music accessible then is what makes it elusive now.

A similar context frames much of the seventeenth-century Italian repertory for the lute, as recently demonstrated by Victor Coelho. Pointing out that many of the Italian

manuscripts lacking rhythmic indications are of a pedagogical type, Coelho suggests that beginning lute students would memorize the melody of the pieces they were learning, while the tablature would serve only as a memory aid. Coelho bases his hypothesis in Thomas Robinson's 1603 treatise, in which it is stated that the apprentice would not learn the "times" before knowing the "stops" (i.e., the left-hand positions).¹

Of course, the ability to read rhythmic indications in a tablature would imply a more developed musical knowledge, which was exactly what the tablature aimed at substituting for in the first place. The performer for whom, or by whom, manuscripts in rhythm-less tablature were written was expected to have previous knowledge of the rhythm of standard dances. In other cases--an arrangement of a song, for example--the tune could be known to everyone, and the remaining parts could be supplied with more or less precision by filling the rhythmic spaces around it and paying attention to the barring. The missing rhythmic information could also be obtained from an instructor or fellow guitar player.

All of this would place this repertory in a region between oral and written traditions. In fact, there are other points of contact between popular, unwritten practices and a large segment of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Iberian guitar repertory. Many of the pieces in the Coimbra and Gulbenkian codices are Iberian popular dances that fit in the category of *bailes*, as opposed to the aristocratic *danças*. Moreover, as seen in chapter 3, there is a great number of pieces based on melodic-harmonic formulas--many of these known by virtually every musician in southern Europe at the time--whose uses and transmission are not necessarily related to the written tradition, even though some might have originated in such a context. Similar processes are found in the traditional music of

¹ Victor Coelho, *The manuscript sources of seventeenth-century Italian lute music* (New York: Garland, 1995), 32.

many cultures, in which the use of formulas is associated with the oral transmission of the repertory.

That the type of notation found in the Portuguese repertory for the *viola* was sketchy also in aspects other than rhythm is seen in the absence of final chords. Besides that, in some variation types the alternation between the harmonic-melodic pattern and its variations is expected but not notated. These pieces were not supposed to be played from beginning to end: first and second endings are not always notated, and decisions on where the original form of the melodic-harmonic pattern should be inserted were usually left to the interpreter.

Likewise, modern performers could approach that repertory with an open mind. By immersing themselves in the musical literature of that time, they will be able to apply to the Portuguese repertory rhythmic solutions found in Spanish, Italian, and Mexican sources, and to make their own decisions in matters of repetitions, and improvised sections--in other words, learning by doing it.

However, how should the performer approach more abstract pieces, such as fantasias and *capricci* that lack any melodic-harmonic pattern or connection with dance music?

Because of the large number of fantasias in the Portuguese codices, it is not plausible to imagine that a contemporary performer was supposed to memorize them all. The modern performer could start by assuming a somewhat steady pace, and make the necessary adjustments according to the barring or other types of note grouping, harmony changes, presence of chords and supporting bass lines, as well as cadential approaches. A comparison between natural and ornamented versions of melodic fragments may also offer some clues.

Nevertheless, this type of reconstruction will always tell as much about the restorer as it will about its original composer.

Restituting the missing elements of such sources is not an easy task, so detached we are from that musical context. Besides that, there are other complicating factors. Should someone be allowed to make *corrections* in the musical text? There are many cases that would classify as copyists' mistakes, as seen in chapter 3, whose performance as they stand would not conform to eighteenth-century rules of harmony and composition. Sometimes a mistake becomes clearly apparent when one compares repeated sections in the same piece, but in other occasions that supposed mistake could well represent some local practice, or the personal style of an individual composer.

In other cases the title of a dance is notated incorrectly: an *alemanda* might be entitled *corrente*, for example, changing entirely our approach to that number. Should we now play that *alemanda* in a *corrente* rhythm, even if we know, after the study of its concordances, that it is supposed to be otherwise? After all, when seeing a number entitled *corrente*, a *viola* player of the time would perform it as such.

And what about additions? Besides the simple placement of a lacking final chord, should the editor reconstruct all the details in a sectional piece, in which so many elements, such as the improvised or varied repetitions mentioned above, are left to the discretion of the performer?

The answers to these issues will always be subject to the purpose of a specific performance or edition, and I have tried to take a balanced approach in the transcriptions that I present as an appendix to this dissertation, sometimes leaving doubtful passages as they appear in the original, sometimes correcting probable mistakes, but always explaining them in editorial notes. In any case, it is not my intention to purge the tablature of all its

idiosyncrasies--or to add some of my own--in search of a musical ideal that might have never existed in real life.

Victor Coelho has pointed to the importance of the study of manuscript sources in understanding how music was actually played.² Printed editions alone might be helpful in determining an authoritative established text, but they contain very limited information about the choices made by an autonomous reader. The Portuguese *viola* sources bring us a great amount of information on how that *authority* of an established text was subjected to several changes by local performers, due to factors such as local taste and practices, modernization, ability of performers, musical proficiency of performers, or change of medium.

Many pieces in the *viola* sources are not the work of one specific composer, but represent only a stage in the development of a dance type, or the registering of one variant played by one player in a certain time. And there could be as many acceptable variants as there were players. The same could be said of today's performances, as long as the players are knowledgeable in that particular style.

In the appendix to this dissertation I provide transcriptions of a selection of works of the Coimbra, the Gulbenkian, and the Conde de Redondo codices. I notate these in double staff, along with the tablature with reconstructed rhythm and measure lines. More details are given in the explanatory notes.

The main purpose of these transcriptions is to help the non-specialist in the early guitar to form some musical image, by either playing or silent reading of these scores. The transcriptions might be used in the analysis of the features and the development of these

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² Victor Coelho, "Authority, autonomy, and interpretation in seventeenth-century Italian lute music," in *Performance on lute, guitar, and vihuela* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 108-41.

musical forms, as well as in the identification of imported and indigenous works, correspondences, concordances, and recomposed pieces. Should the reader consider my rhythmic solutions unsatisfactory, he or she can always adjust or simply disregard the barring and note values.

Another aim is to provide the performer of the early-guitar with a small repertory of reconstructed works. Even though I judge that each performer should study carefully this repertory and seek out his or her own solutions in the matter of rhythm, I find it appropriate to present my suggestions, which are by no means intended to be final.

Any edition of this repertory should not aspire to be definitive, but only the solution of an editor grounded in the information available at the time, and according to a number of choices according to his knowledge, expertise, and (why not say it) instinct. Likewise, through a careful study of primary sources, a performer might approach this repertory as an opportunity to exercise his or her own autonomy, accepting or rejecting editorial interventions and by developing, rearranging, adding, or suppressing elements, the same way musicians of other times used to do. In recent years, many recordings by well-informed musicians illustrate this departure from the notion of an ideal and absolute work of art, in search of a more creative and living approach, much more consistent with what is known about seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century musical practices.

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THE FIVE-COURSE GUITAR (*VIOLA*) IN PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL IN THE LATE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTIONS

by

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ABBREVIATIONS

P-Cug	Coimbra. Biblioteca Geral da Universidade.
P-Lcg	Lisbon. Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
P-Ln	Lisbon Biblioteca Nacional

APPENDIX

Anthology of five-course-guitar (*viola*) music from Portuguese sources (c1700-c1750)

Explanatory notes

In this anthology I present a selection of pieces from the codices P-Cug M.M. 97 (the Coimbra codex), P-Ln F.C.R. ms. Ne 1 (the Conde de Redondo codex), and P-Lcg Serviço de música, n.n. (the Gulbenkian codex). I edit these works in double-staff notation: Italian tablature and conventional notation with rhythmic reconstruction.

Rhythmic indications in Portuguese tablatures for the five-course guitar are extremely rare. For that reason, all rhythmic values in this anthology are editorial, with the exception of the *Rojão 5° tom* (P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 34v, pp. 38-9 in this anthology), and the *Fantasia do 2° tom* (P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 76v, pp. 127-8 in this anthology), in whose tablature staff I notated original values in a bigger font size.

Original double bar lines are represented as such, while dashed double bar lines are editorial. However, I do not differentiate between original and editorial single bar lines. Repetitions, as well as first and second endings, are left to the discretion of the performer. I retain the original repetition signs in the tablature staff (see section "symbols"). The performer should keep in mind that the scores of some dance types provided here should be regarded more as sketches, or a guides, for some sections could be repeated, alternated with the chord pattern, or not played at all. The performer is also encouraged to seek his or her own solutions in matter of rhythm, provided that these are supported by concordances, correspondences, or similar passages in the guitar repertory of the period in question.

I did not make any attempt to correct the Portuguese spelling in titles, lyrics, and notes, but I did make additions, changes and deletions to the musical text whenever I found necessary to do so (see chapter 7). Additions and changes are identified by square brackets; deletions and changes are explained in footnotes.

The five lines of the tablature staff stand for the five courses of the guitar, in which the top line represents the fifth course. Numbers placed over these lines represent open and stopped strings. In P-Cug M.M. 97, the tenth fret is always represented by the Roman numeral X. The eleventh fret can be notated as n, q, or XI, the twelfth fret by m or d, and the thirteenth fret by T. Because of this inconsistency, I decided to use for the three codices only Arabic numerals, from θ to 13.

I present the transcriptions in conventional notation, in the so-called "guitar clef," which is also more convenient to the guitar player not versed in tablature. While there is no doubt that the five-course guitar is the most appropriate instrument for this repertory, with all its special effects and subtleties, I encourage players of the modern six-string guitar to find ways to play these works without losing too many of those particularities. That could be done by finding alternative fingerings and by sometimes playing the effect-notes, notated in the score by smaller-size notes, which, on the five-course guitar, sound after the plucking of the fourth or fifth courses tuned in octaves.

The five-course guitar player still has to face some decisions about stringing of the instrument. While the time of compilation as well as the musical tradition to which most of this repertory belongs would suggest the use of bourdons in the fourth and fifth courses, some pieces in the Coimbra and Gulbenkian codices were copied from French and Italian sources, which might imply the use of only one bourdon, in the fourth course. In addition to that, some pieces from the Gulbenkian codex are based on works by Gaspar Sanz, who

advocated stringing with no bourdons at all (see chapter 2). Evidently, that does not tell us anything about what was the customary practice in Portugal, and the playing with bourdons of pieces originally conceived to be played without them may well have been the custom in that country. In any case, the player should be aware of all these variants when making decisions on the most appropriate stringing.

Symbols



Indicates a trill, a mordent, or some sort of vibrato. A number placed above it shows the fret on which the string should be trilled. In some cases, when placed above a group of three notes, it could mean a triplet as well.



Downward right-hand stroke. Replaces a single vertical line placed under the staff (Conde de Redondo codex).



Upward right-hand stroke. Replaces a single vertical line placed above the staff (Conde de Redondo codex).



Repetition sign (not used consistently in the sources). Not used in the transcriptions.

:

. .

• • •

It is not clear whether these signs refer to some sort of vibrato, arpeggiation, repetition, fingering, or to the note values (not used consistently in the sources). Not used in the transcriptions.

Guitar courses. Used only in the transcriptions.

$$a - c\#^{1} - e^{1}$$

Notes played in sequence. Used only in the footnotes.

$$a / c\#^{1} / e^{1}$$

Notes played simultaneously. Used only in the footnotes.

Fantasia 1° tom de Monteyro



¹ b (@ 0)



² c² (1 8)



³ d (4 0)

⁴ d#1 (2 4)

⁵ Repeated section.



6 b b (3 3)

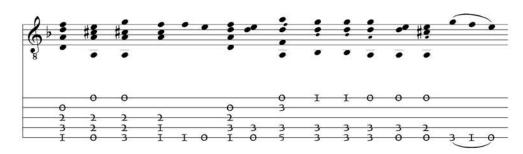


7 d#1 (2 4)

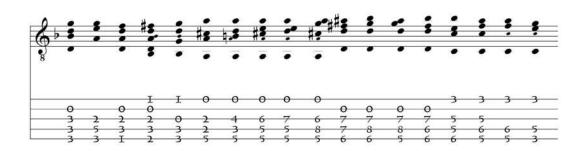


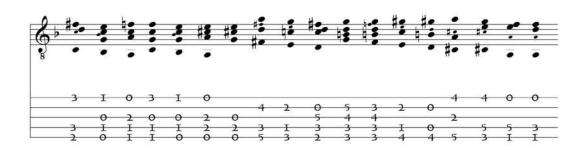
Fantasia de Falsas 1° tom de Barros

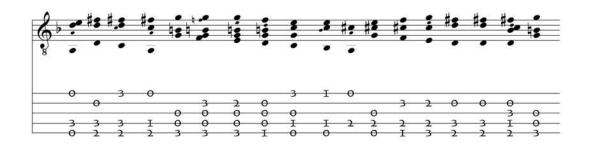
P-Cug MM. 97, f. 4r

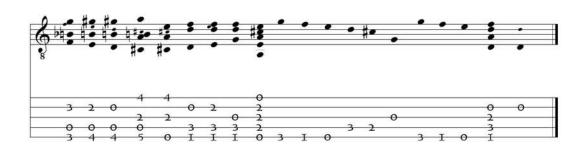




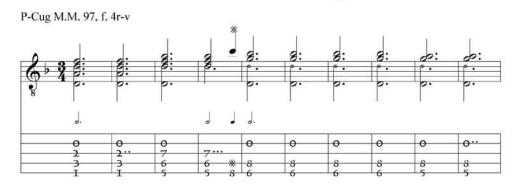


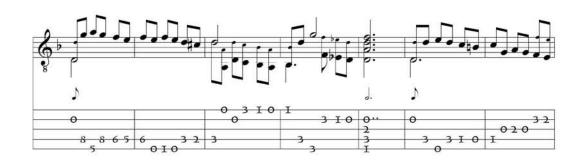






Fantasia 1° tom Italiana com sua Fuga e Corrente













² Deleted note: d¹ (② 3)

³ d (4 0)



Fantasia de 4° tom de Marques



¹ d#1 (2 4)

² d (2 3)









Fantasia 4° tom de Fr. João

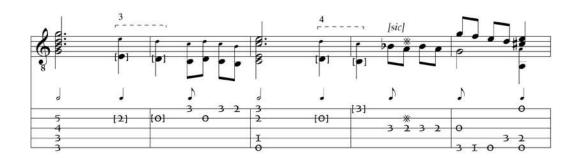
P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 14r

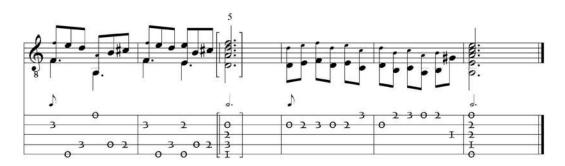


¹ f#1 (1) 2)









³ f - e > (4 3 - 1)

⁴ e - d (4 2 - 0)

 $^{^{5}}$ c / e / 1 / 1 (1 (1 3 / 2 2 / 2 1 / 1 0)

Fantasia 4° tom Italiana



¹ Deleted note: f# (2 4)



Fantasia de 7° tom Italiana

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 18r-v



Rojão 1° tom de Marques

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 26v



 $^{^{1} \}text{ Deleted notes: } e \ / \ b \ | \ / \ c^{1} \ / \ f \#^{1} \ - \ f \# \ / \ c^{1} \ / \ d^{1} \ / \ f \#^{1} \ (\textcircled{@ 2 / @ 3 / @ 1 / \textcircled{@ 2 - \textcircled{@ 4 / @ 5 / @ 3 / \textcircled{@ 2})}}$



Rojão 1º tom Italiano

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 28r-v

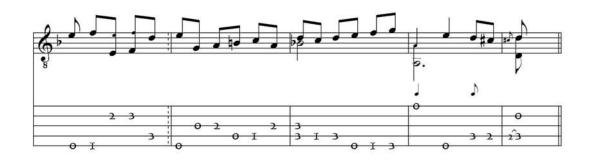


¹ g#1 (1) 4)

² d#1 (2 4)









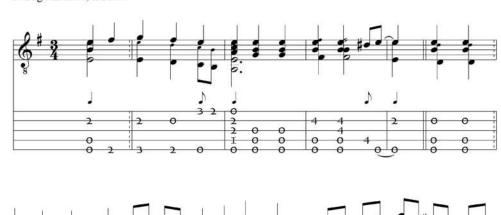
Rojão 2° tom de Sylva

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 29v

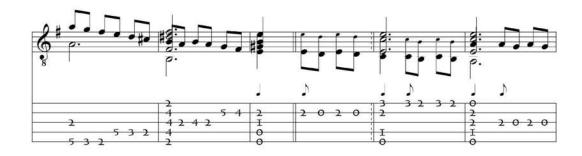


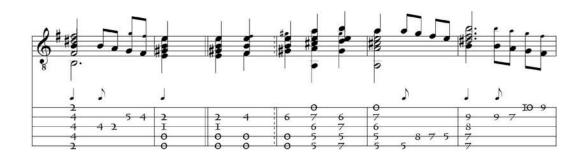
Rojão 3° tom de Barros

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 30r-v











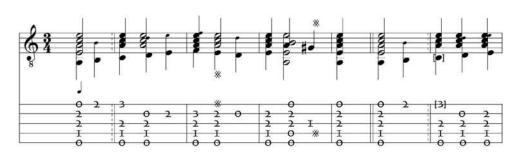
 1 c^{1} / e^{1} / g1 / c2 (@ 10 / 3 9 / 2 8 / 1 8)

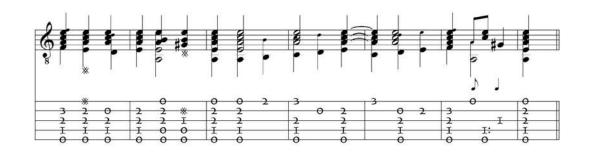




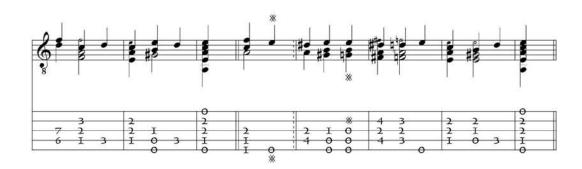
Rojão 4° tom Italiano

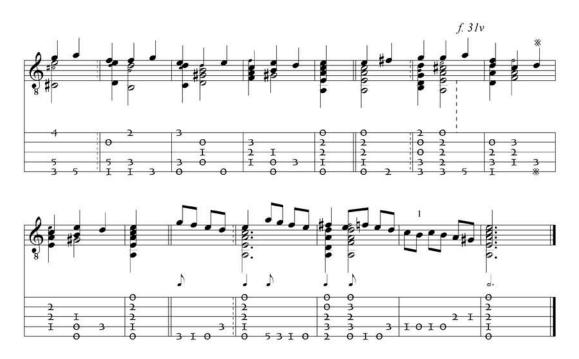
P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 31r-v











1 f1 (1)

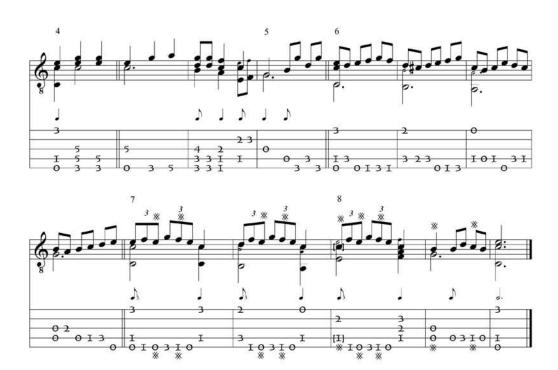
Rojão 5° tom Italiano



¹ Before the double bar line.

³ Before the double bar line.

² Before and after the double bar line.



⁴ Before the double bar line.

⁵ Deleted note c¹ (2 1)

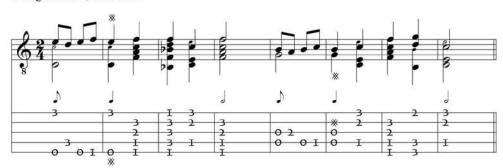
⁶ Before and after the double bar line.

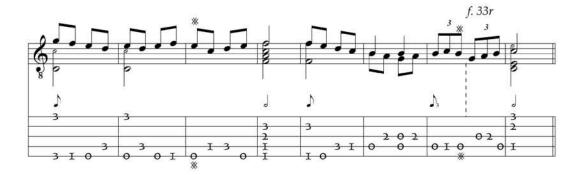
⁷ Before the double bar line.

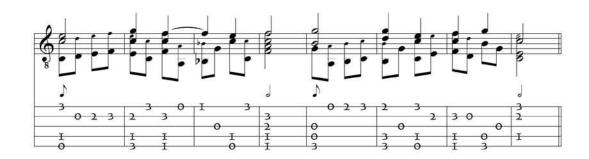
⁸ b (2 0)

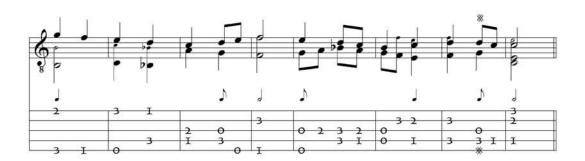
Rojão 5° tom

P-Cug M.M. 97, ff. 32v-33v













 $^{^{2}}$ c# 1 / f 1 (@ 2 / ① 1)



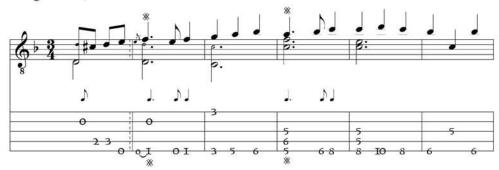


¹ Bar lines and rhythmic values are original.



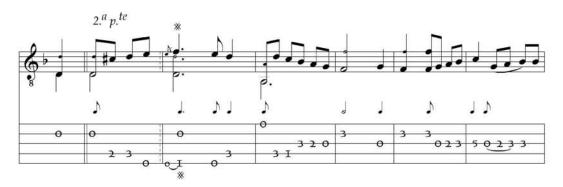
Marisapoles 1° tom Italiana

P-Cug M.M. 97, ff. 37v-38r











¹ f (3 3)

² A (⑤ 0)



 $^{3} f / e^{1} (33/10)$

Marisapoles 2° tom de Sylva

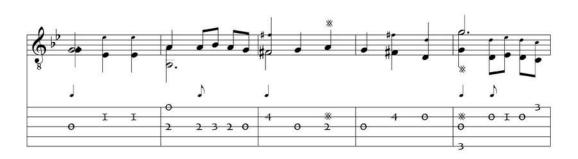
P-Cug M.M. 97, ff. 38v-39r

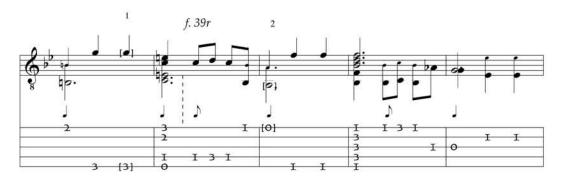


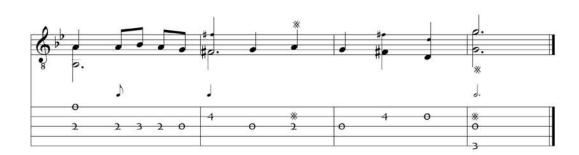












¹ f#¹ (⊕ 2)

² c (5 3)

Marisapoles 4° tom







¹ g (③ 0) ² f#¹ (① 2)

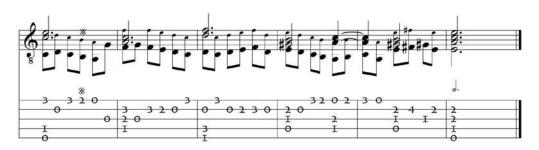
³ g (3 0)











⁴ c (5 3)

⁵ g (3 0)

Marisapoles 4° tom de Barros

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 40r-v



¹ c#1 (3 6)

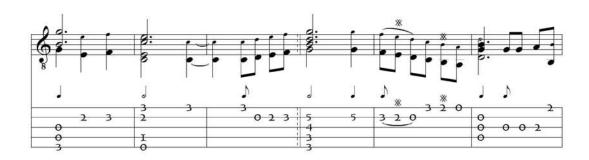


Espanholeta 4° tom de Gomes

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 43r









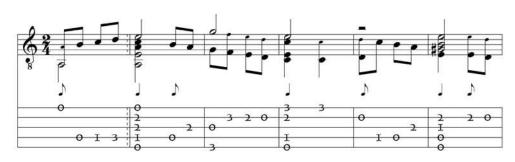


¹ A (⑤ 0)

² c#¹ (2 2)

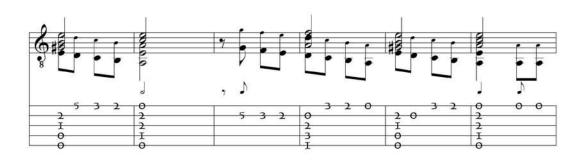
Saráo 4° tom de Sylva

P-Cug M.M. 97, ff. 44v-45r





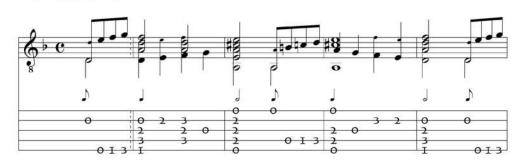




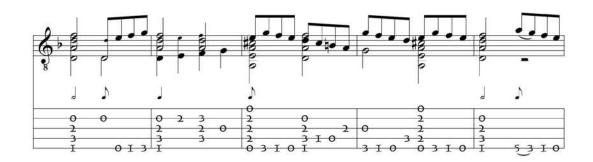


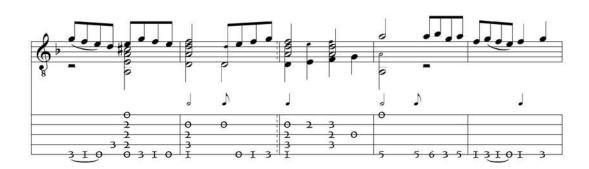
Pavana 1° tom de Barros

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 45r-v





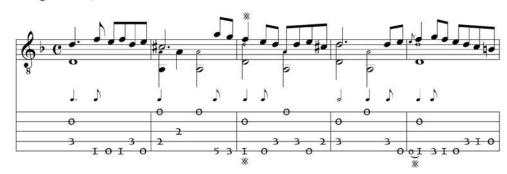




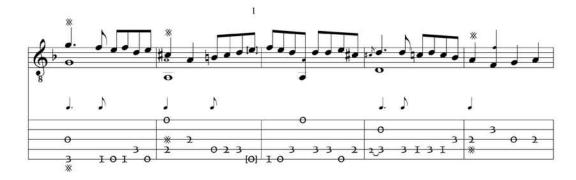


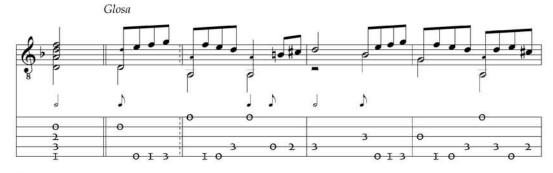
Pavana 1° tom Italiana

P-Cug M.M. 97, ff. 45v-46r







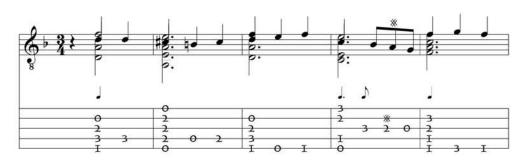


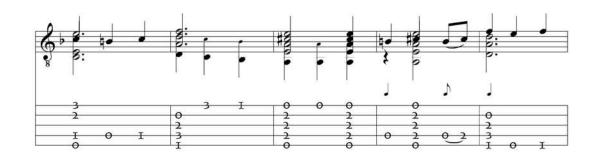
¹ g (3 0)

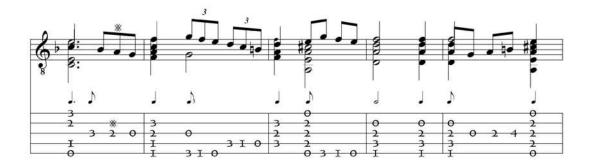


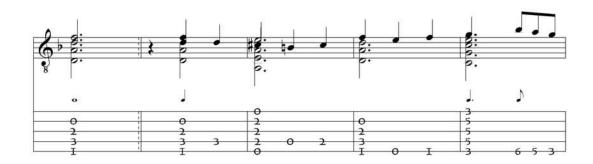
Alanella 1° tom de Sylva

P-Cug M.M. 97, ff. 47v-48r





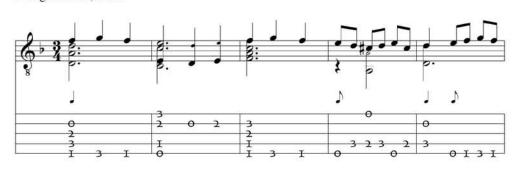


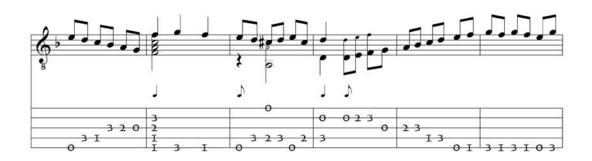


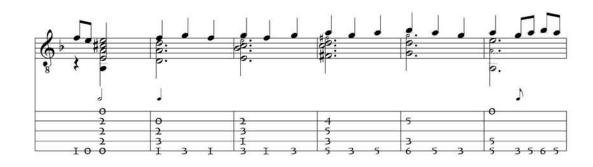


Magana 1° tom

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 48v











Magana ou Chacoina 4° tom

P-Cug M.M. 97, ff. 49v-50r





¹ Repeated section.

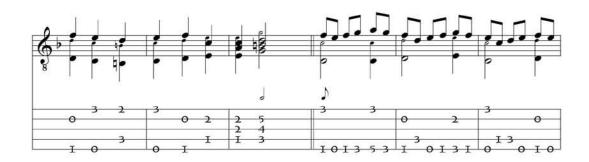
² Missing measure, see similar passage twelve measures before.

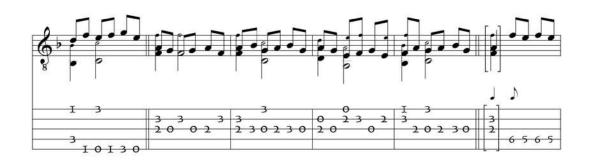


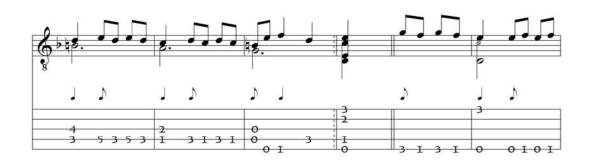
Chacoina 6° tom Italiana

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 51r











Capona 5° tom de Sylva

P-Cug M.M. 97, ff. 51v-52r





¹ Repeated section.



Capona 5° tom Italiana

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 52r-v



 $^{^{1}\,}A\,/\,d\,/\,g\,/\,b\,/\,e^{1}\,(\$\,0\,/\,\$\,0\,/\,\$\,0\,/\,\$\,0\,/\,2\,0\,/\,\$\,0)$



² f¹ (① 1)

³ c (⑤ 3)

 $^{^4}$ Deleted notes: $c / e / c^1 / e^1$ (⑤ 3 / ④ 2 / ② 1 / ① 0). These notes appear both before and after the double bar line, maybe as an indication of first and second endings, or of alternation between chord pattern and variations.

⁵ Deleted notes: $c / e / c^1 / e^1$ (⑤ $3 / \oplus 2 / ② 1 / ① 0$), before the double bar line. See n4.

Sarabanda 7° tom Italiana



¹ d1 (2 3)

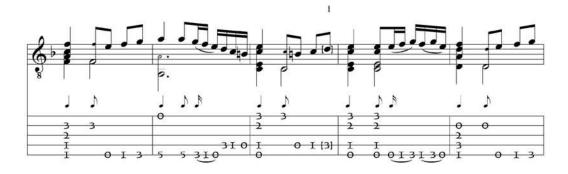


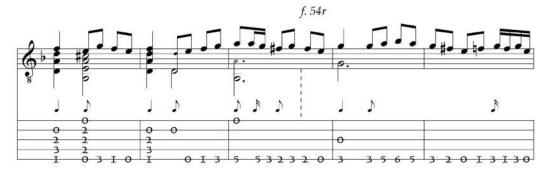
Vacas 1° tom de Barros

P-Cug M.M. 97, ff. 53v-54r









1 c1 (2 1)



Meninas de Montemor 1° tom de Sylva





Canario 1° tom

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 55r-v

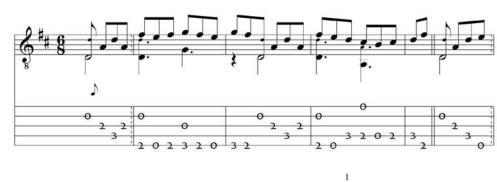


² B ♭ (⑤ 1)



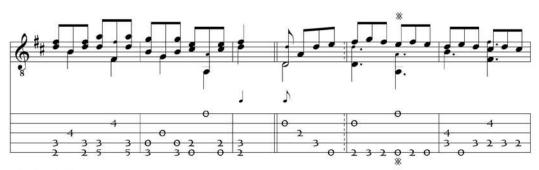
Canario

P-Cug M.M. 97, ff. 55v-56r









¹ Section lacks two measures.



 $^{^2}$ Repeated section (without the double bar line). 3 f# 1 - e - d# 1 (① 7 - 5 - ② 8)

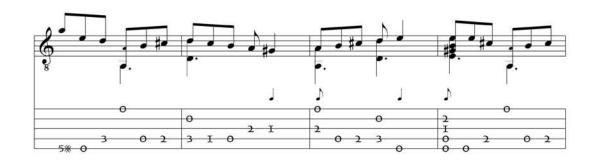
⁴ Repeated section.

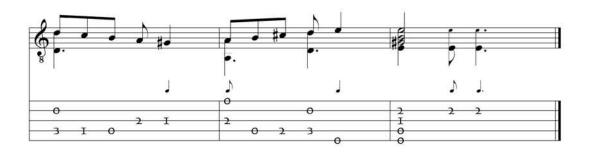


Cubanco 4° tom de Barros

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 56r

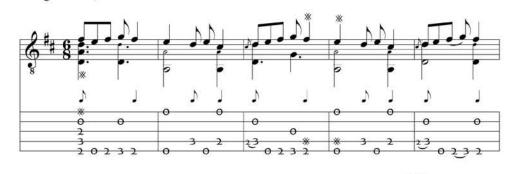


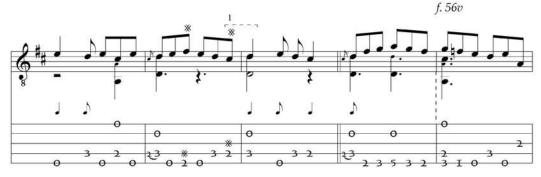




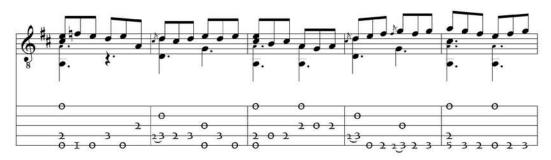
Cubanco 7° tom

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 56r-v







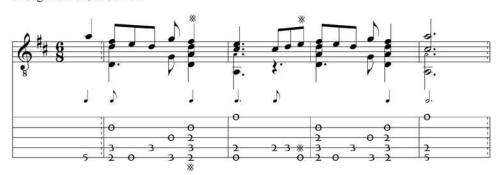


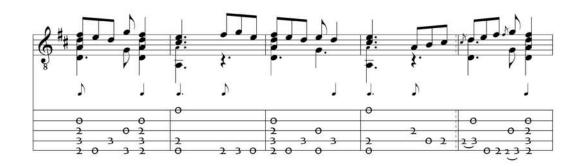
 $^{^{1}}$ d / c# 1 - d 1 (4 0 / 2 2 - 2 3)



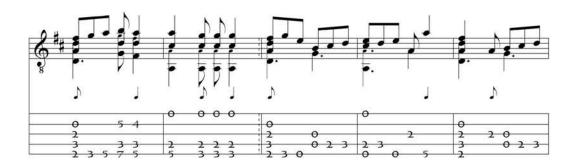
Cubanco 7° tom

P-Cug M.M. 97, ff. 56v-57r











¹ c#2 (1 9)

² The player might want to finish a performance with a D major chord, or by repeating the first seven measures followed by a V-I cadence (a V chord in the third beat of m.7 and a I chord in the first beat of m.8).

Villão 7° tom

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 57r



Meya Dança 7° tom

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 57r-v





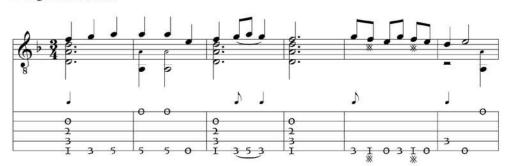


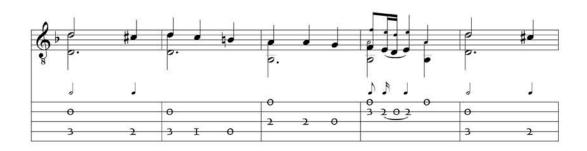




Sarambeque 1° tom de Sylva

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 58r



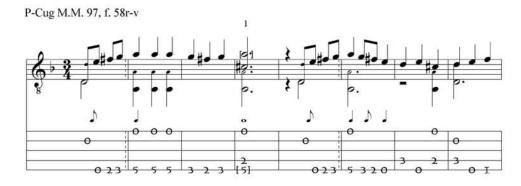


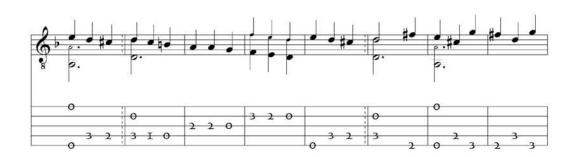


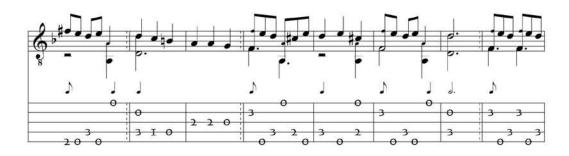


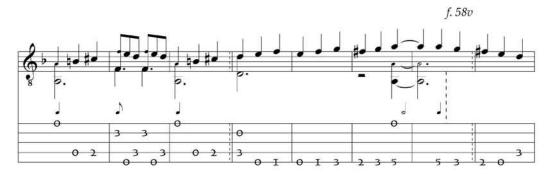
¹ g / e1 (3 0 / 1 0)

Sarambeque 1° tom de Fr. João









1 g1 (1 3)





² c#¹ (② 2) ³ c#¹ (② 2)

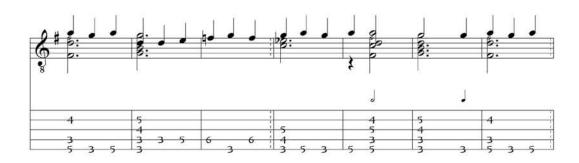
Sarambeque 2° tom

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 59r











Sarambeque 4° tom de Abreu





¹ g (3 0)





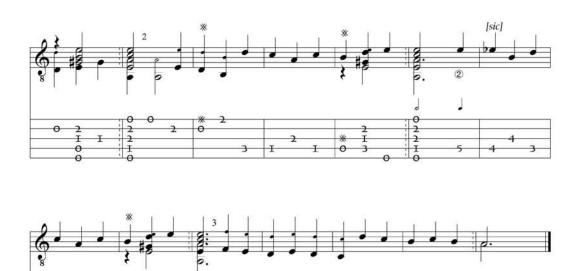
Sarambeque 4° tom de Sylva

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 59v



2

I

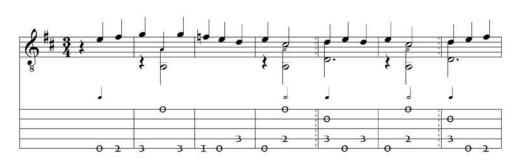


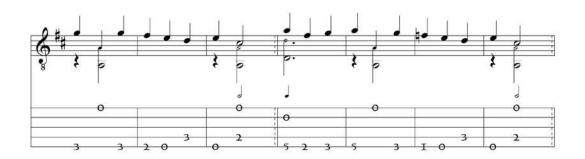
² Deleted note A (⑤ 0). Probably to be played as a first ending when repeating the section.

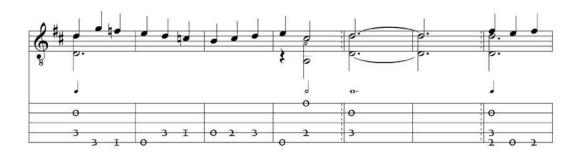
³ See n2.

Sarambeque 7° tom

P-Cug M.M. 97, ff. 59v-60r













Chacara 1° tom de Barros



¹ Deleted note: A (⑤ 0). Probably an indication of first ending. The second ending would include the remaining notes, up to the double bar line.

² See n1.

³ See n1.





⁵ See n1.

Chacara 1° tom de Abreu

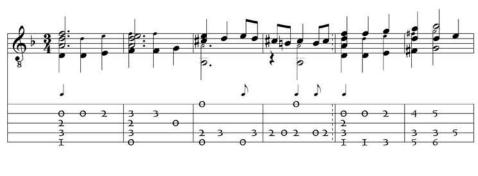


¹ Illegible

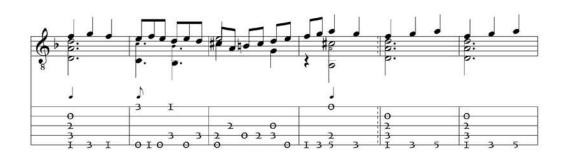


Chacara 1° tom de Abreu

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 62v









 $^{^{1}}$ g - a (③ 0 - 2) 2 c# 1 (② 2)



Chacara 1° tom Italiana

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 63r



¹ g¹ (① 3) ² g¹ (① 3)

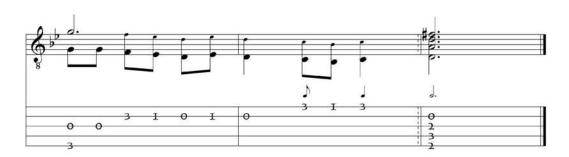


Chacara 2° tom de Marques









¹ g1 (1) 3)

² b¹ (① 7)

³ e¹ (10 0)

Chacara 4° tom de Barros







Amorosa 1° tom de Marques

P-Cug M.M. 97, ff. 65v-66r





Marinheira 2° tom de Sylva



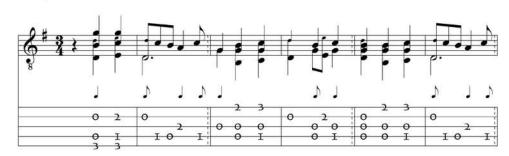
¹ e (4 1)

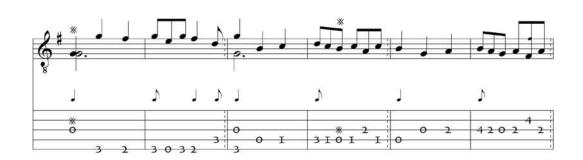
² f (4 3)

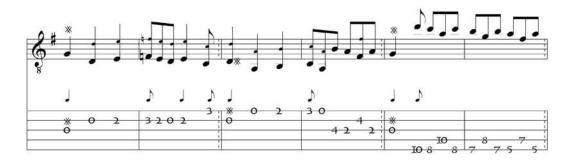


Cumbe 8° tom

P-Cug M.M. 97, ff. 69v-70r









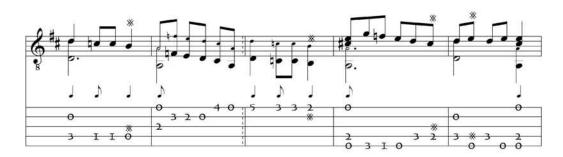
 $^{^{1}}$ Deleted note: e^{1} (1 0)



Gandum 7° tom









¹ f¹ (① 1)

³ Deleted note: c# (⑤ 4)

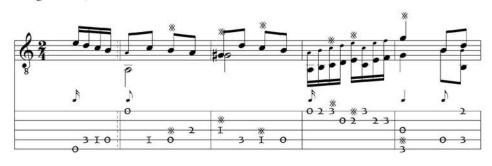
² c¹ (2 1)

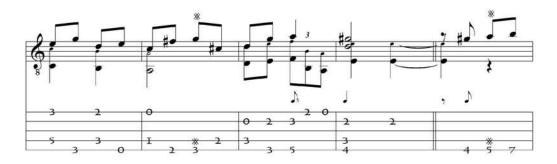




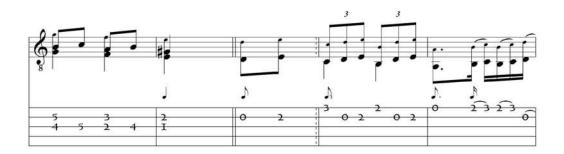
Cãosinho de Çofala

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 72r-v











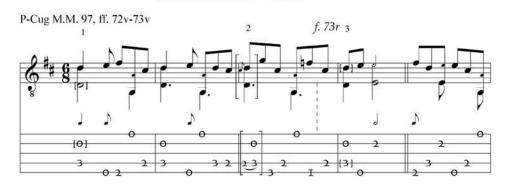
¹ Após a barra dupla no original.

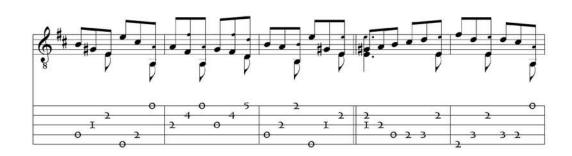
² B (⑤ 2)

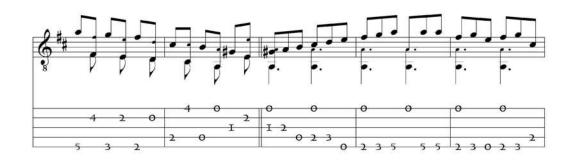


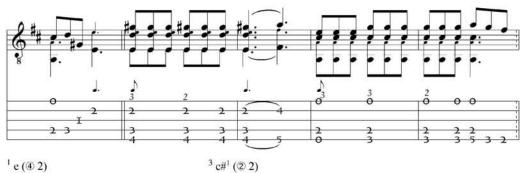


Arromba 4° tom









¹ e (4) 2) ² f#¹ - g¹ (1) 2 - 3)





Italiana 2° tom do D.or Joseph Ferr.a Cordovil



¹ c#2 (1 9)



Outra do mesmo tom



 $^{^1}$ Deleted notes: c / d² (③ 5 / ① 10). An ornament sign was mistakenly copied as the Roman numeral X. See similar passage 19 measures ahead.





Fantasia do 2° tom



¹ g# (3 1)

² c# - d / a¹ (⑤ 4 - 5 / ① 5)



 $^{^3}$ d# / g / e - a# - d# / g / e (③ 8 / ② 8 / ① 12 - ④ 8 - ③ 8 / ② 8 / ① 12)

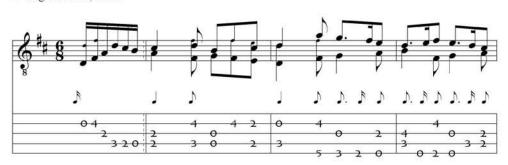
⁴ d# (3 8)

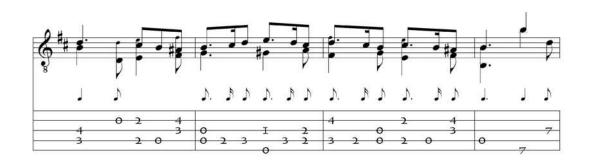
⁵ a# / g (3 8 / 2 8)

⁶ a#/g(38/28)

Giga de Pepo Licete

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 91r









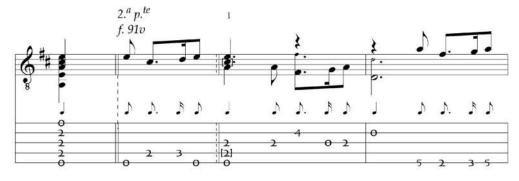


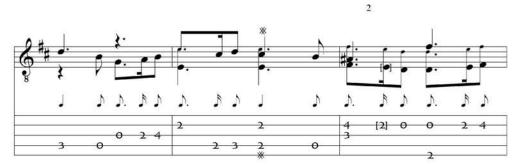
Outra Giga

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 91r-v









¹ b (2 0)

² d (④ 0)





Alemanda do Laúde posta na Guitarra

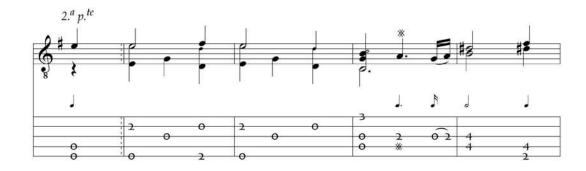


² g (3 0)

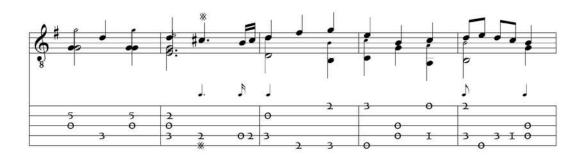
Tricotte da Alemanda











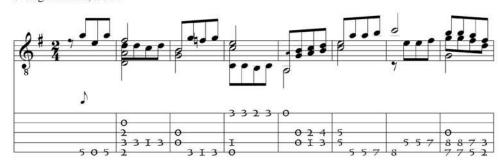


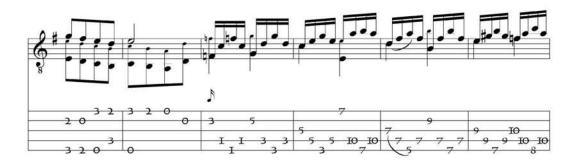
Bayletto del Corbetto

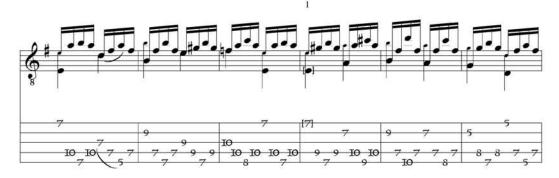


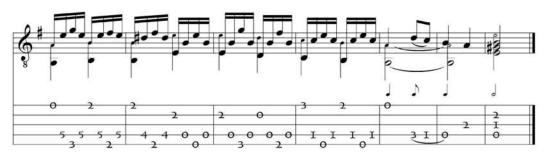








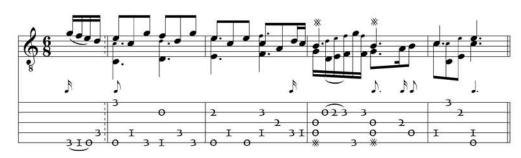


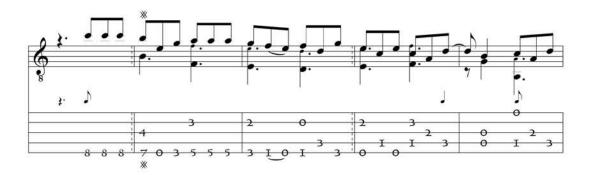


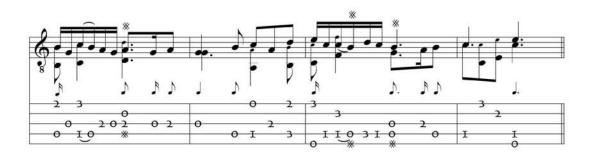
¹ a (4 7)

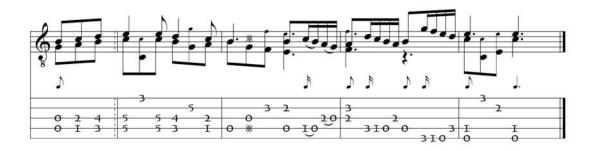
Corrente

P-Cug M.M. 97, ff. 95v-96r

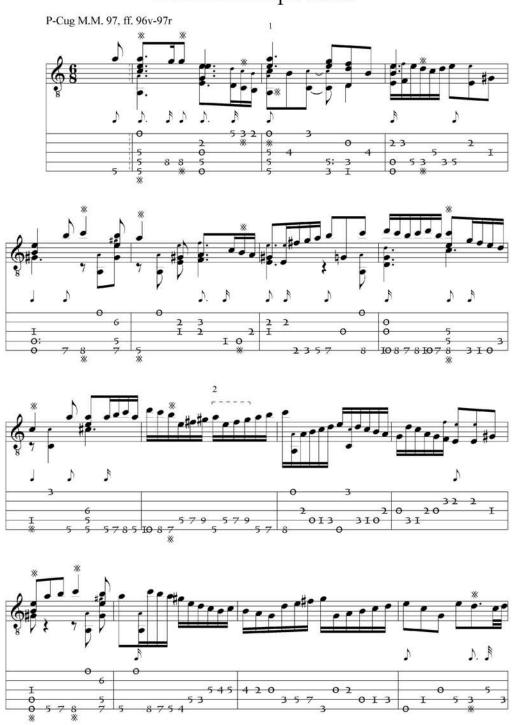








Corrente de Pepo Licete

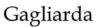


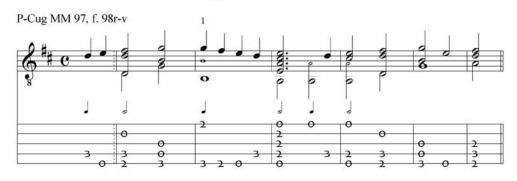
 $^{^{1}\,\}Lambda - c^{1}\,/\,e^{1}\,/\,a^{1}\,(\$\,0 - \$\,5\,/\,\$\,5\,/\,\$\,5)$

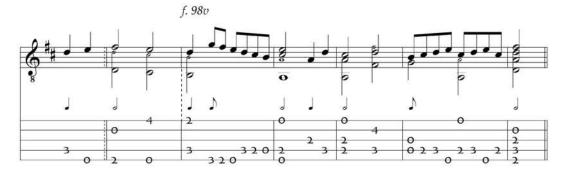
² Repeated section.















 $^{^{1}}$ B - g^{1} ($^{\circ}$ 2 - $^{\circ}$ 3)

Mantuana

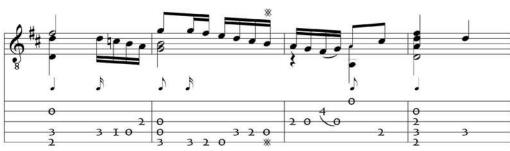


¹ Deleted note: b | (3 3)

² c#¹ (② 2)

Mantuana del Cavagliero Mascarelli



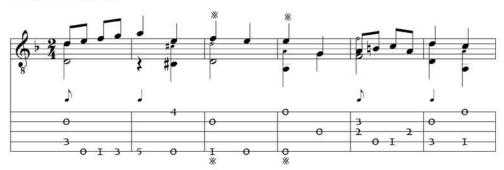


 $^{^{1}}$ g - b / g^{1} (③ 0 - ② 0 / ① 3)



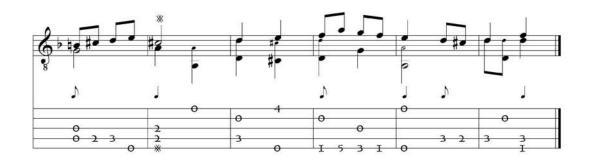
Gavotta

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 98v



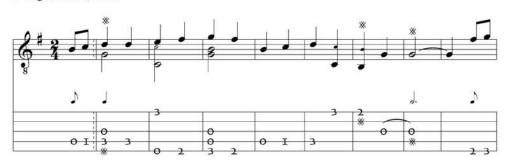


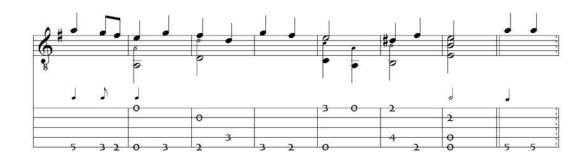




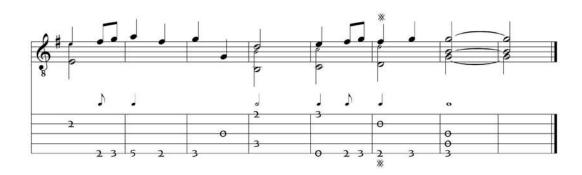
Borea

P-Cug M.M. 97, f. 98v









Terantela



¹ b (2 0)

² b (2 0)

³ A (⑤ 0)

Tombo de Mazzarin







Passo de Viola 4° tom













⁵ A (⑤ 0)

Sarambeque 7° tom



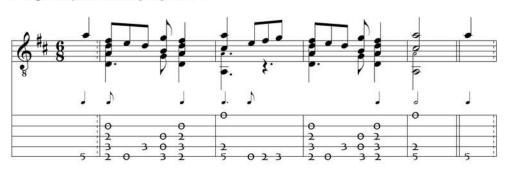


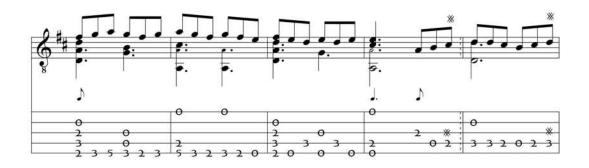


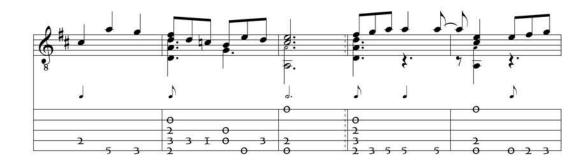
¹ b № (① 6)

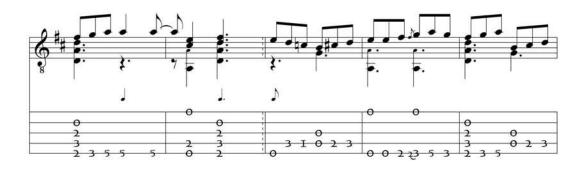
Cubanco 7° tom

P-Lcg Serviço de Música [n.n.], f. 23r-v













Paracumbe 7° tom





 $^{^{2}}$ g / 1 - f / 1 (@ 5 / ① 7 - @ 3 / ① 5)

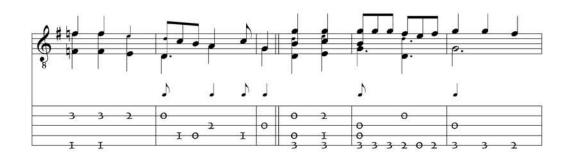
³ g1 (1) 3)

Paracumbe 8 tom

P-Lcg Serviço de Música [n.n.], ff. 23v-24r.





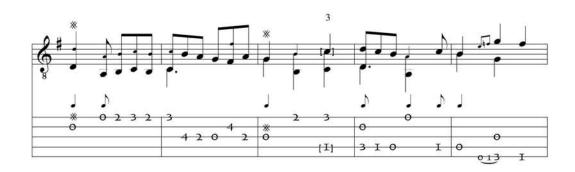


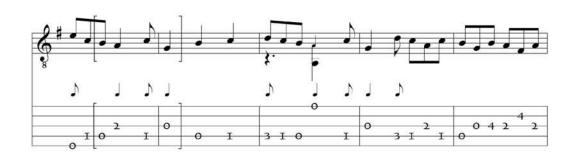


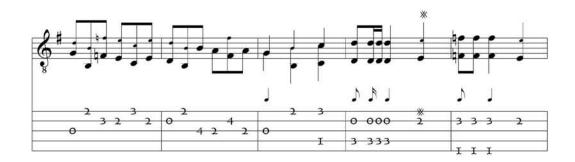
¹g (3 0)





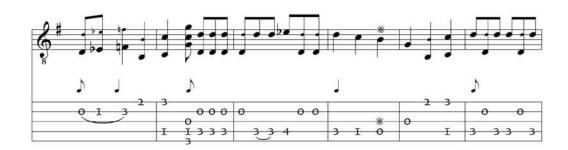


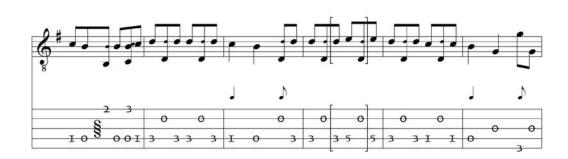






3 f¹ (1)







⁴ a# (3 3)

⁵ g# (3 1)

⁶ c (⑤ 3)

Vilão 7° tom

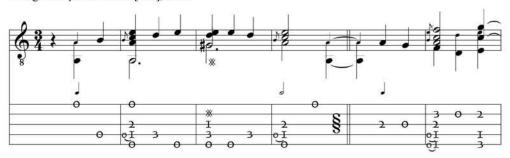


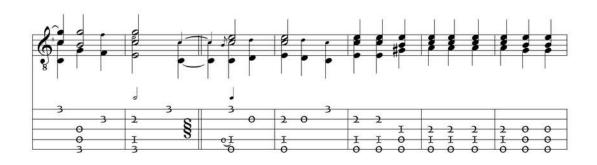


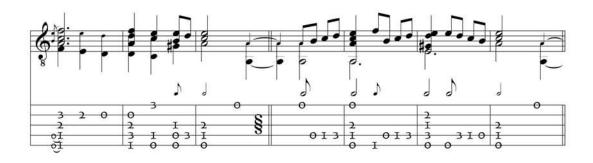
 $^{1}\,b\,\flat\,/\,\,c\#^{1}\,/\,g^{1}\,(\,\mathfrak{3}\,\,3\,/\,\,\mathfrak{D}\,\,4\,/\,\,\mathfrak{O}\,\,3\,)$

Estrangeira 4 tom

P-Lcg Serviço de Música [n.n.], f. 25r





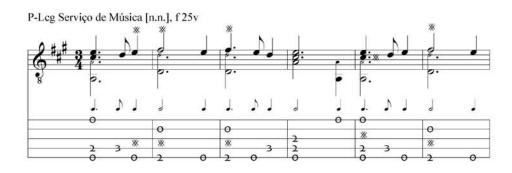




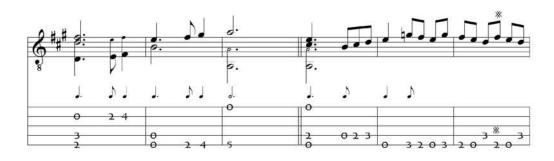


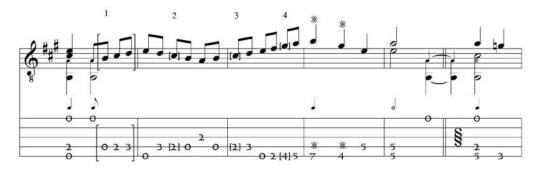


Matachim de la Reyna









 $^{^{2}}$ c^{1} ($^{\circ}$ 1) 4 g^{1} ($^{\circ}$ 3)



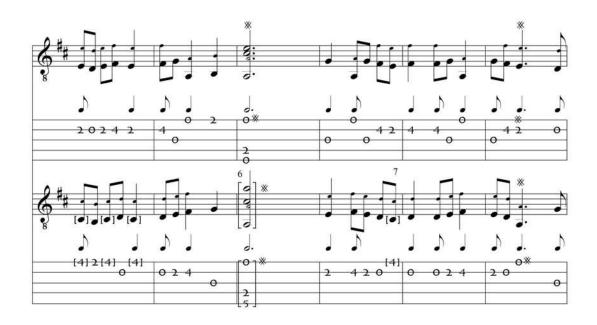
Minuete p.a duas violas

P-Lcg Serviço de Música [n.n.], f. 26v

³ c (⑤ 3)









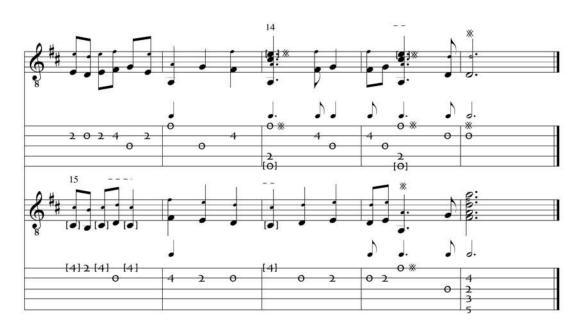
 $^{^{6}\;\}mathrm{f\#}\,/\,c^{1}\,/\,d^{1}\,/\,a^{1}\;(\textcircled{4}\;4\,/\,\textcircled{3}\;5\,/\,\textcircled{2}\;3\,/\,\textcircled{1}\;5)$

⁸ c¹ (3 5)

⁷ c (⑤ 3)

⁹ c (5 3)





 $^{^{10}\,}e\,/\,g\,/\,b\,/\,e^{1}\,(\,\,\textcircled{@}\,\,2\,/\,\,\textcircled{@}\,\,0\,/\,\,\textcircled{@}\,\,0\,/\,\,\textcircled{@}\,\,0\,/\,\,\textcircled{@}\,\,0\,)$

¹³ c (⑤ 3)

¹¹ f#1 (① 2)

¹⁴ f#1 (① 2)

 $^{^{12}\,}c\,/\,e\,/\,c^{1}\,/\,e^{1}\,(\$\,3\,/\,\$\,\,2\,/\,\,2\,\,1\,/\,\,\$\,\,0)$

¹⁵ c (⑤ 3)

Minuete da Marcha

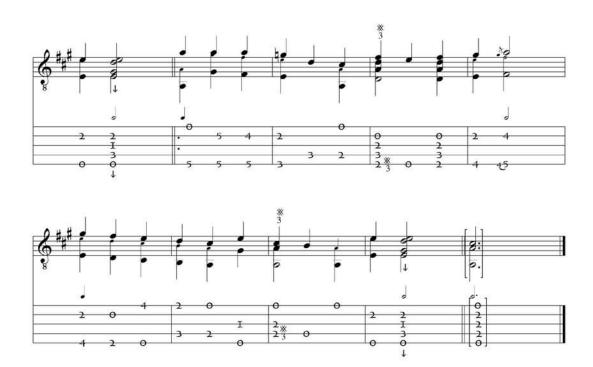


¹ A / b (\$\(\odgreengedesign 0 / 2 \)0)

Oitavado

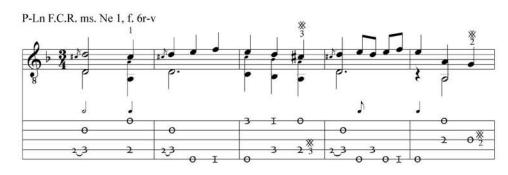


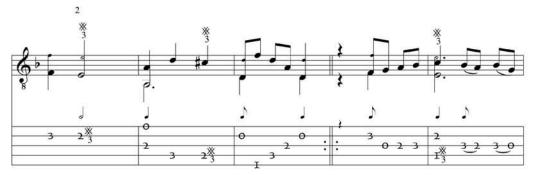


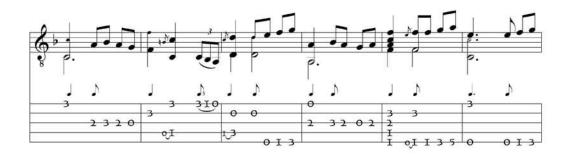


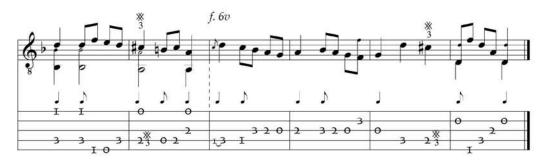


Minuete









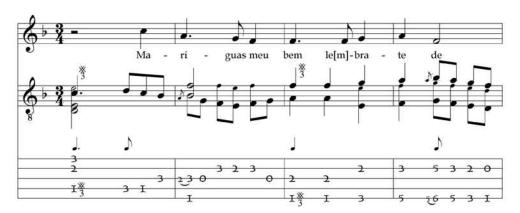
¹ Deleted note: d (4 0)

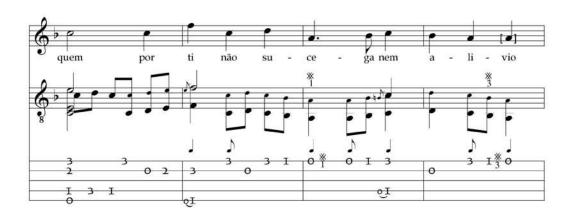
² e - f - d (4 2 - 3 - 0)

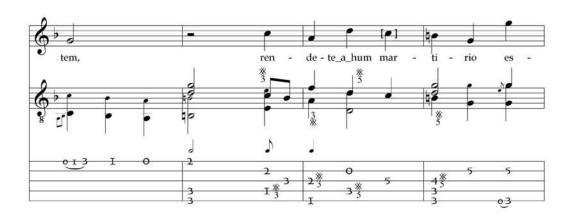
Amable

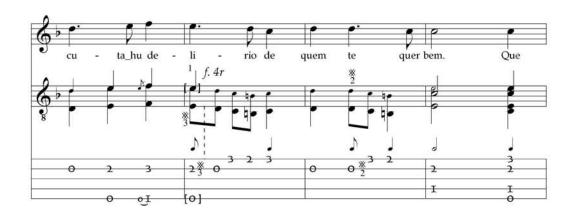
Melody: André Campra, Hésione act 3: Second air, Entracte.

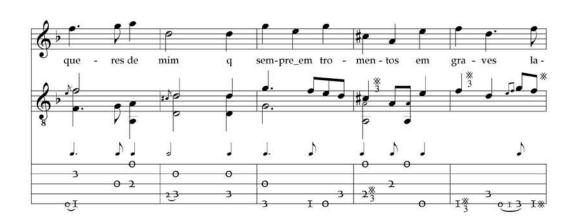
Lyrics and viola version: P-Ln F.C.R. ms. Ne 1, ff. 3v-4r: Amable.

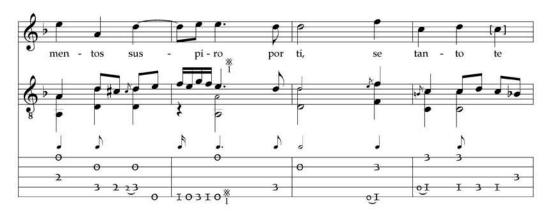




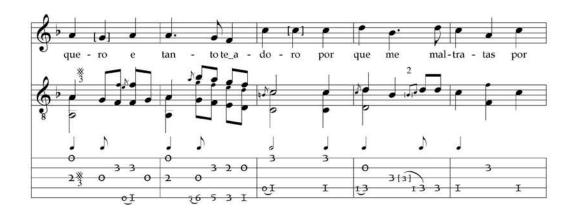


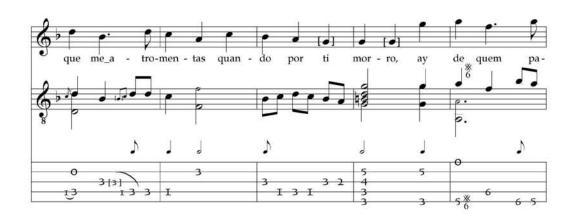






1 f1 (1)

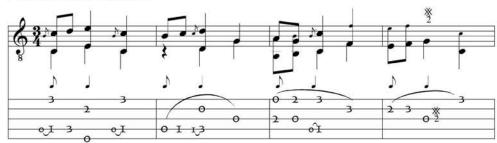


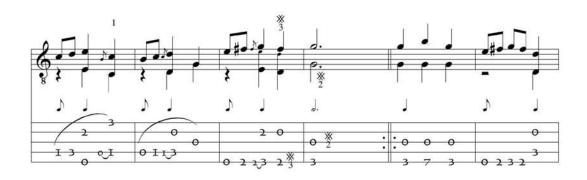


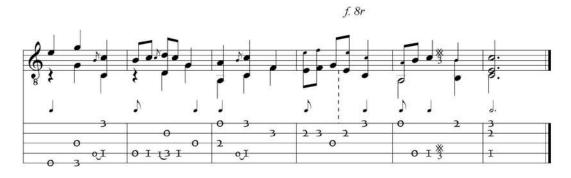


Minuete de Escarlate

P-Ln F.C.R. ms. Ne 1, ff. 7v-8r



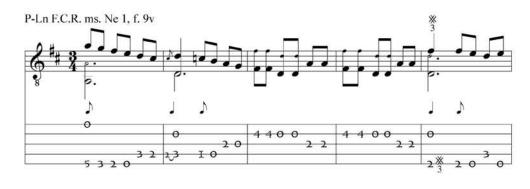


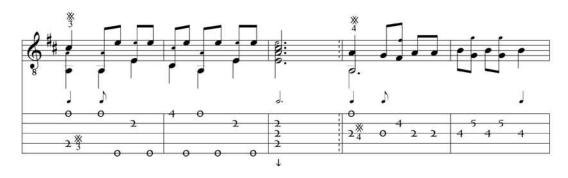


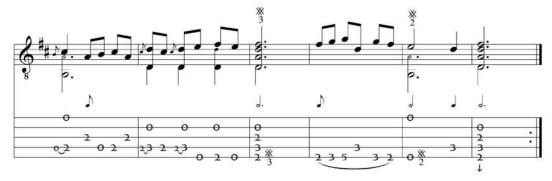
Minuete



Minuete 7° tom



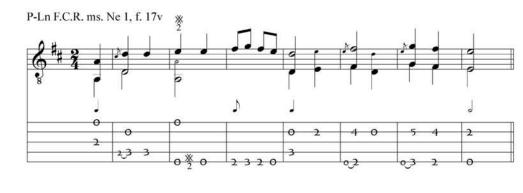




Minuete de 7° tom



Contradança



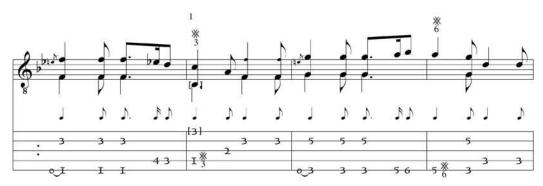


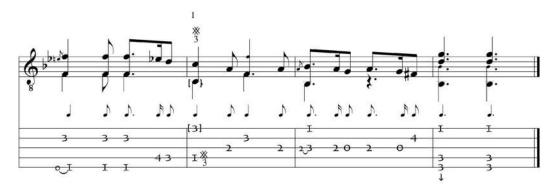
Contradança

P-Ln F.C.R. ms. Ne 1, f. 18r-v









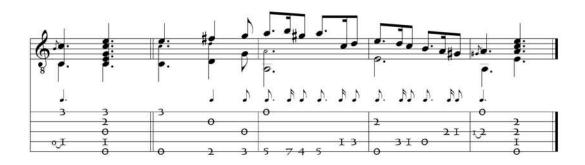
¹ d (4 0)

Giga de 4° tom

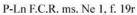




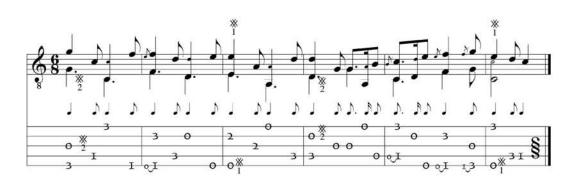




Giga de 5° tom







Folias de Espanha 1° tom



