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Santiago de Murcia's *Cifras Selectas de Guitarra* (1722): a new source for the Baroque guitar

Santiago de Murcia's output occupies a place of the greatest importance in the guitar music of the 17th and 18th centuries, as witnessed by, among other things, the large number of studies dedicated to it especially since the late 1970s,¹ and the significant number of recordings of his music.² The earliest known source for his music was published in 1714 under the title *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra*; together with Nicola Matteis's treatment, this is the most detailed treatise dedicated to this instrument on the art of accompanying.³ It includes a detailed explanation on how to accompany a figured bass by transposing the high clefs, when applicable, and executing suspensions precisely, all of this accompanied by a selection of examples in different metres and modes for the executant to practise.⁴ Aside from the treatise itself, the book contains a selection of pieces in guitar tablature; predominant are French dances,⁵ such as 'La Mariée' and 'La Bourgogne', that were taken directly from the compilations published by the dance-master Raoul Auger Feuillet in Paris at the beginning of the 18th century.⁶ The widespread circulation of the French repertory of that period in Madrid is undoubtedly linked to the influence and personal tastes of Philip V, though it would not have been possible without the greater sense of openness that began before 1700.⁷ In any case, *Resumen de acompañar* is the first Spanish guitar source that incorporates this repertory in such a systematic manner.

Murcia's second known source to date is the manuscript entitled 'Passacalles y obras de guitarra', copied in 1732 and presently preserved as British Library, Add. Ms.31640.⁸ Unlike *Resumen de acompañar*, this anthology combines in more or less equal propor-

tion traditional Spanish dances written by Murcia himself (mostly *pasacalles*) with pieces originating from France and Italy, mainly by other composers, especially François Campion, Francesco Corbetta and Arcangelo Corelli, some of whose sonata movements are transcribed by Murcia for guitar.⁹ Likewise, 'Passacalles y obras' includes some pieces attributed to François Le Cocq in a manuscript copied by Jean-Baptiste Louis de Castillion in Ghent around 1730. Given that other sources with Le Cocq's music are not known, and that he was, according to Castillion, a musician of the royal chapel in Brussels, Monica Hall has conjectured that Murcia may have visited the Netherlands, though this has not been proven.¹⁰ With the exception of Corelli, none of these composers is cited by Murcia. There may have been various reasons for this, but it was a convention of the period to use pre-existing material, so it is possible that some of the suite movements for which concordances have not yet been found may belong to other musicians who have yet to be identified. The *pasacalles* have the pattern of a theme and variations or 'diferencias', a form with a long tradition in Spain.¹¹ Murcia's variations are especially difficult from the technical point of view, given their abundant use of cascading scalic passages (called *campanelas*) or slurred scales and ornaments for the left hand. This is partly because the degree of rhythmic activity constantly increases, a feature that distinguishes them from those composed by Francisco Guerau, for example, and lends them a special attraction and expressiveness.¹²

This can also be seen in Murcia's third known source, the so-called 'Códice Saldívar n°4', a manuscript discovered in Leon (Guanajuato) in 1943 by

the musicologist Gabriel Saldívar and currently owned by his heirs. Though it lacks a cover and has no indication of the author nor the date, Michael Lorimer has shown that it is by Santiago de Murcia from its musical contents, format and copyist, and has even suggested that the 'Códice Saldívar' is the first volume of 'Passacalles y obras', as the latter contains an annotation indicating that it was the second volume ('T[om]o 2º') of a larger anthology.¹³ The 'Códice Saldívar' mainly contains variations on traditional Spanish dances such as *jácaras*, *vacas* and *marionas*. Less well represented, though nevertheless significant, are the French dances such as 'Fustamberg' or 'Cotillón' and, finally, a sonata in three movements in Italian style for which no concordances have been found, though the influence of Corelli is clear in the slow movement. Noteworthy are the *fandango*, *cumbé* and *zarambeques*, three types of dance cultivated not only in Spain, but also in Hispanic America, from where they may possibly have originated.¹⁴ Aside from the attractiveness and quality of this repertory, it is probably the novelty of these pieces—with their rhythmic variety and sonorities alien to the received idea of the European Baroque musical tradition—that has contributed to the positive reception of Murcia's music by the early music movement, which by the mid-1980s already displayed signs of falling into certain traditions, largely through standardization of the repertory as a result of its institutionalization and incorporation into the music industry.¹⁵

As a whole, Santiago de Murcia's three known sources to date constitute an invaluable synthesis of the most representative genres of the repertory for guitar of the 17th and 18th centuries, and reveal his importance as a composer. However, despite this relatively large amount of music to have survived, it is surprising how little we know about his life. Practically no documents have been found that directly relate to him; the few reliable data we do have are found in the musical sources themselves, especially the *Resumen de acompañar*. From the cover of this book we know that he was guitar teacher to Queen Maria Luisa of Savoy, Philip V's first wife, who died in 1714. The queen also had in her service the dance-master Nicolas Fonton, most

probably of French origin,¹⁶ which may explain why Murcia was well acquainted with Feuillet's dance

anthologies. Moreover, the *Resumen* is dedicated to Jacome Francisco Andriani, an Italian nobleman who resided in Madrid in the first half of the 18th century. The dedication reveals that Murcia was in Andriani's service and that Andriani financed the printing of the *Resumen*.¹⁷ This would not have been the only time Andriani had contributed to the printing of a book, as some years later the precursor Francisco de Hospina requested his help from Santa Fe de Bogotá for the printing in Madrid of the second volume of a work by him.¹⁸

Some scholars have tried to reconstruct other aspects of Santiago de Murcia's life through various hypotheses. The most convincing is that he was the son of Gabriel de Murcia, the queen's *violero* (instrument maker) and *guitarrero* (guitar maker) of the Royal Chapel towards the end of the 17th century.¹⁹ This is quite plausible considering that Gabriel de Murcia was the nephew of the composer Juan Hidalgo, and his wife, Juliana de Leon, was the daughter of the *violero* Francisco de Leon, which would explain the musical inclinations of his hypothetical son.²⁰ Similarly, he may have been related in some way to Antonio de Murcia, who, among other things, succeeded Marcos Jimenez as *violero* in the queen's household in 1704, and who died suddenly in 1709 without leaving a will.²¹ These relationships are likely, but have not been conclusively proved.

There has also been speculation about a possible trip Santiago de Murcia took to Mexico. The arguments in favour are suggestive: first, 'Passacalles y obras', though preserved in England, was bought in Mexico by its previous owner, Julian Marshall; second, the copy of the *Resumen de acompañar* now in Los Angeles Public Library was probably acquired in Mexico City by Cornelius F. Borton; third, two manuscript editions of the treatise by Juan Antonio de Vargas y Guzmán in which he cites the *Resumen de acompañar* are dated Veracruz (Mexico), 1776; fourth, the Ms.1560 source for guitar and violin held at the Biblioteca Nacional de México has concordances with *Resumen de acompañar*; and fifth, the 'Códice Saldívar n°4' was found in Leon, Guanajuato.²² All of this might suggest that Murcia himself had taken or copied these sources in Mexico. Nevertheless, there are many other possible explanations: for example,

he might have sent them from Madrid to Mexico at the commission of a private individual or an

institution, without having to cross the Atlantic himself. The intercontinental trade in music books was quite active in the colonial period, especially if the composers had intermediaries or contacts who helped them to circulate their works.²³ It is thus interesting to note that Jácome Francisco Andriani, whose connection with Murcia has already been mentioned, had close links to Hispanic America, especially to the viceroyalty of New Spain. His correspondence reveals the contacts he had there and the goods that were sent to him, even from Asia. Among Andriani's contacts was his brother-in-law, Juan Francisco Ramírez de Castro, whose letters to Andriani or his family circle between 1711 and 1719 survive.²⁴ But his relationship with Hispanic America was probably mainly professional, as in 1736 he was the 'director y administrador general de las rentas reales de las aduanas de España' (General Director and Administrator of the Royal Income from the Customs of Spain).²⁵ Consequently it is possible (though this must remain conjectural) that Santiago de Murcia's relationship with Andriani facilitated the sending of his guitar books to America. Whatever the case, there are indications that 'Passacalles y obras' was copied in Madrid and not in Mexico, as its watermark (an S linked with a P at the bottom) is the same as that found in some of the *villancicos* Francisco Corselli, master of the Royal Chapel of Madrid, copied in the 1740s; therefore the paper used by Murcia was the same as that used by court musicians.²⁶ Moreover, this manuscript is dedicated to Joseph Álvarez de Saavedra, who can be identified, according to Russell, as Joseph Álvarez del Valle, a knight of the Order of Santiago who resided in Madrid.²⁷

It is clear that, despite these tantalizing snippets of information and possible hypotheses, much research remains to be done on Santiago de Murcia's biography.

The *Cifras Selectas de Guitarra* manuscript and a new copy of the *Resumen de acompañar*

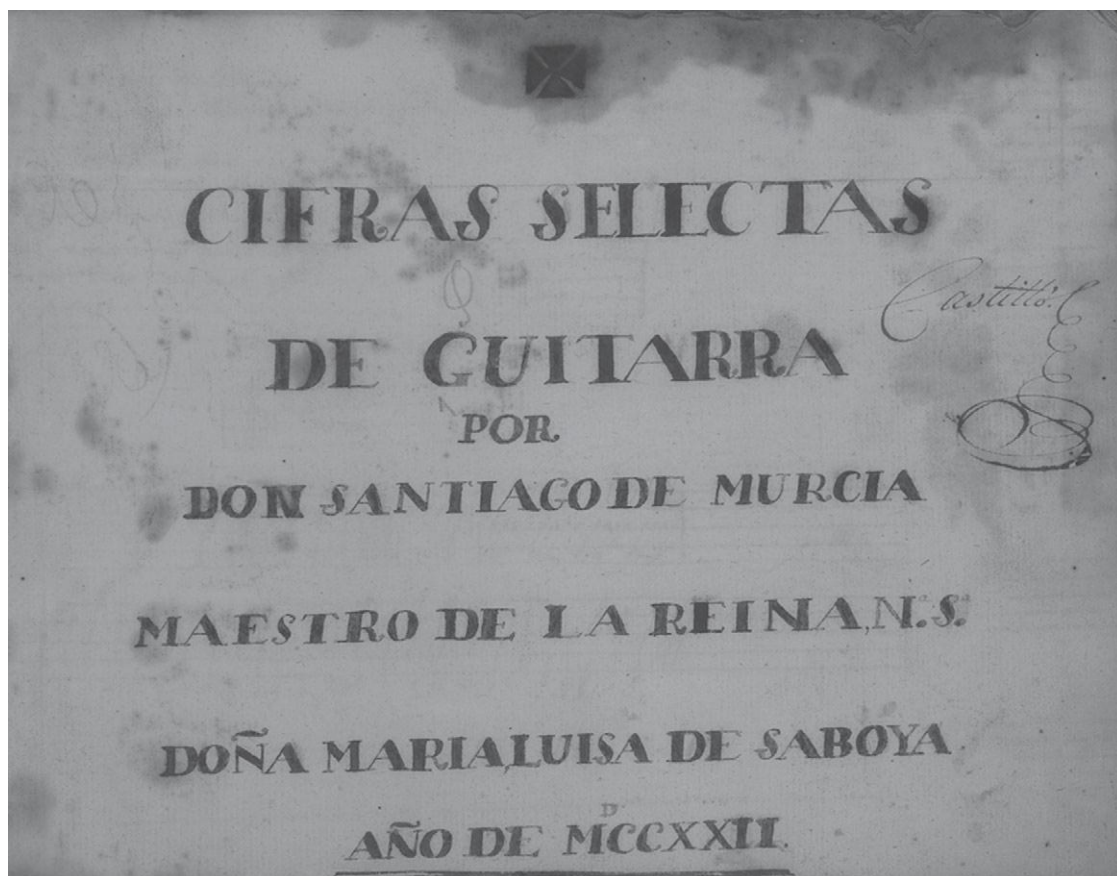
Despite the lacunae, the above comments nevertheless provide some context for the discovery of a new manuscript by Santiago de Murcia entitled *Cifras Selectas de Guitarra* (hereafter *CSG*). It is a book in oblong format (24 × 16.5 cm), bound in

leather and, as indicated on the front cover (illus.1), copied in 1722.²⁸ I discovered this source in Santiago

de Chile during research I undertook between September 2003 and August 2004, which was partly aimed at locating musical sources of the 17th and 18th centuries in that city.²⁹ The manuscript was found in the bookshop belonging to César Soto, who had bought it on 30 November 2001, at the auction of the possessions of its previous owner, Alfredo García Burr. García Burr was a collector who had gathered an impressive number of objects of art and books in his private residence, known as the 'Casa de los Diez'.³⁰ The inventory of the books auctioned, produced by the auctioneers Enrique Gigoux Renard,³¹ not only reflects the value of the more than 6,000 volumes in García Burr's personal library, but also indicates that he was interested in music, although some other disciplines attracted him more. For example, 40 'Librillos musicales con óperas, dramas líricos, comedias musicales ...' ('Musical booklets with operas, lyric dramas, musical comedies ...'), are listed, together with 19th-century opera scores and the book *La guitarra* by Segundo N. Contreras (Buenos Aires, 1927), which García Burr arguably acquired in order to understand the content and meaning of *CSG*. After various negotiations I carried out at the end of 2004, the manuscript was acquired by the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile and is currently in the Biblioteca Campus Oriente, as yet uncatalogued. It is the earliest source wholly dedicated to the guitar preserved in Latin America; Sebastián de Aguirre's manuscript, from the end of the 17th century, includes only a dozen pieces for this instrument.³²

Codicologically, *CSG* is composed of at least three different parts: (1) the initial section, that includes the cover (with the inscription, 'Castilló', a possible owner) and two folios, one of a smaller size with notes on musical notation and another with instructions for tuning the guitar in relation to other instruments (harp, bandurria, violin and tiple); (2) a middle section of three folios with the contents of the manuscript and an 'Explicación para facilitar la ejecución en aquellas cosas más estrañas de estas obras' ('Explanation to facilitate the execution of the strangest things in these works'); and (3) 70 folios with guitar pieces in tablature forming the main part of the manuscript. This section is written on the same type of paper, as is clear from the

chain line measurements and, especially, the 'SP' watermark



1 Title-page of Santiago de Murcia's *Cifras selectas de guitarra* (Santiago de Chile, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Biblioteca Campus Oriente, uncatalogued) (with permission)

that appears in the corners of some folios. This watermark is identical to that of 'Passacalles y obras de guitarra', an interesting fact to which I will return (illus.2).

Parts 2 and 3 of *CSG* were copied by the same hand, as can be seen from a comparison between some of the titles of the pieces in the list of contents and the musical section (illus.3). This is the same copyist as for the 'Passacalles y obras' and 'Código Saldívar', as is clear from comparing the facsimiles that have been published of these sources with folio 1 of *CSG* (illus.4),³³ and may well be Murcia's own hand. However, there are noticeable differences between the calligraphy with the tablature of the *Resumen de acompañar* (for example, in the rhythmic figures over the staff and the number 5), despite their apparent

similarity at first glance. Given that this source was written some years before the other manuscripts, such differences possibly reflect the effects of time, so that Hall's hypothesis that Murcia executed the engraving of *Resumen* cannot be dismissed.³⁴

Comparison between the musical section and the list of contents reveals that the manuscript originally consisted of 85 folios, the last 15 of which have been lost, including, unfortunately, a suite 'por la E' in three movements;³⁵ a suite by Corelli in the same key, in four movements; another suite by the same author, 'por el +'; and different pieces 'por la B' not specified in the list of contents. In addition, ff.33, 42 and 44 are missing, with the loss of the 'Canarios por la A', a 'Paspied viejo' and a gavotte, and the partial loss of 'Los imposibles', 'Cumbé', 'Marcha de

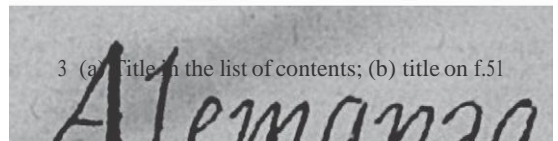


2 Watermark from the musical section of the *Cifras selectas de guitarra*

los guardias de la reina Ana', 'Paspied nuevo' and another gavotte. Nevertheless, the fact that almost all these pieces are concordant with others found in the extant Murcia sources means that most of these fragments can be reconstructed.

There are signs that what I have termed the middle section was added to the musical portion at a later period. Apart from being on different paper, the 'Explicación' (Explanation) was written on pages used for correspondence, as in the corner of one folio the inscription 'Muy Sr. Mío' ('Dear Sir') is found, which might denote the circumstantial nature of this part and perhaps the haste with which it was compiled. In addition, the first folio of the musical section containing the 'Jácaras por la E' is slightly stained and darkened in comparison to the others (illus.4); this would be explained if for some time the folio had formed the beginning of the book. The first section seems to have been added later than the other two. The cover was written by a different hand and on another type of paper. (Its watermark, which does not appear in the rest of the manuscript, consists of three circles grouped vertically: the first topped with a cross, the one in the centre having the letters C, B and R, and the lowest one with a circle or the letter O inside it.) This may explain the error in the year, in which originally one of the figures was missing (see illus.1). As regards the two folios with notes on notation and tuning, the former is smaller

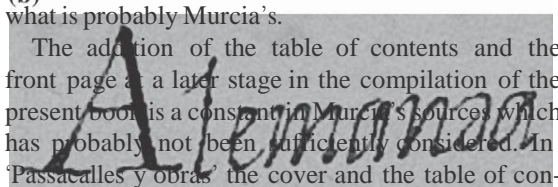
(a)



3 (a) Title in the list of contents; (b) title on f.51

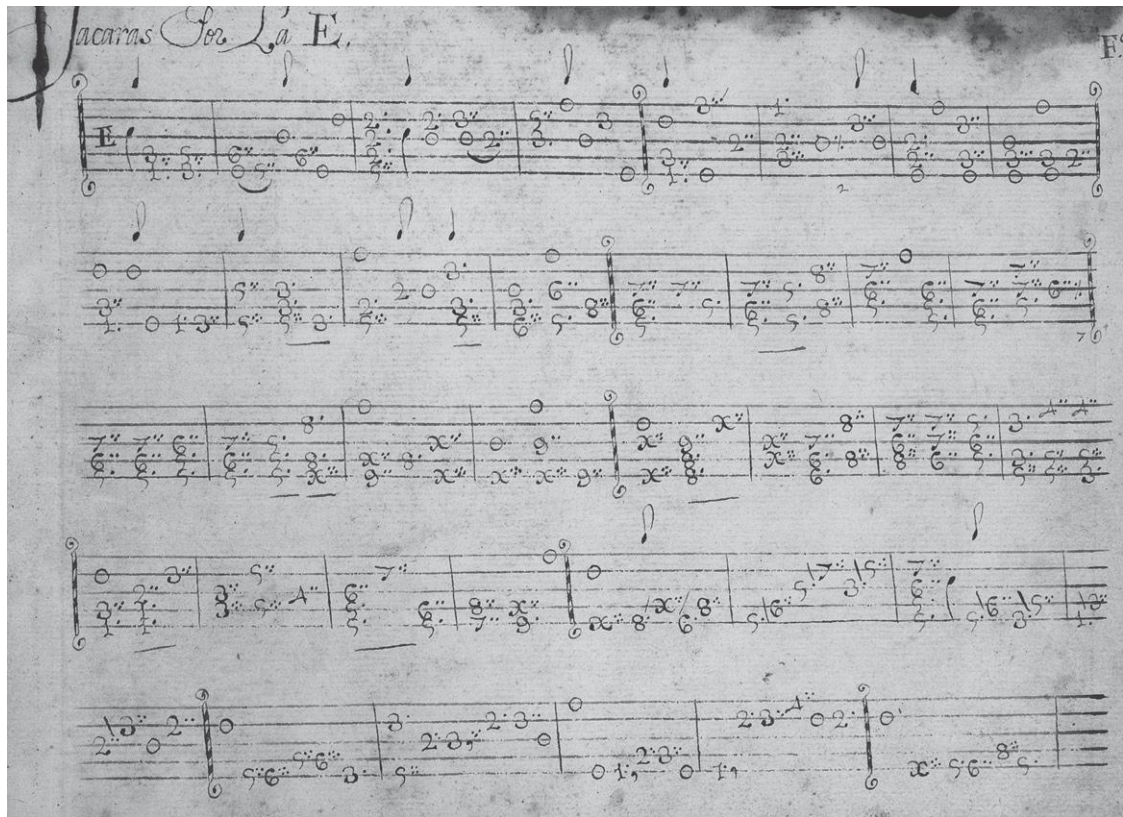
in size and the second has a '0' in the upper right-hand corner, indicating that these were later inclusions and probably came from other sources. Their presentation is also much less careful than the rest of the manuscript, and the hands do not correspond to what is probably Murcia's.

(b)



The addition of the table of contents and the front page at a later stage in the compilation of the present book is a constant in Murcia's sources, which has probably not been sufficiently considered. In 'Passacalles y obras' the cover and the table of contents seem to have been added by another person.³⁶

The cover is missing from the 'Código Saldívar' and no list of contents was ever entered, though a page had clearly been left for it.³⁷ Possibly Murcia had these manuscripts prepared without front page or contents so as to add these parts when they were sold; that way it would be possible, for example, to accommodate the title and the dedication to the recipient or allow the latter to design it to taste. The variations on the covers and dedications present in Foscarini's guitar books, which were printed in Italy in the first half of the 17th century,³⁸ might reflect this practice. According to this hypothesis, the cover of *CSG* could indicate that the manuscript was sold in 1722 or sent to a recipient that year, though it may not necessarily be the date it was copied. Nevertheless, it can be considered valid as an approximate date.



4 Santiago de Murcia, *Cifras selectas de guitarra*, f.1

While the tablature and ornaments contained in the manuscript are identical to those used by Guerau in his book of 1694,³⁹ the 'Explicación' alludes to several interesting technical aspects. Regarding the right hand, Murcia indicates that laying the little finger near the bridge of the guitar to rest the hand is typical of amateurs, since these are 'delicadas' (delicate) pieces with strummed chords and must be played in the middle of the instrument with the hand in the air. He does, though, admit that this technique can be used to obtain greater sonority when the guitarist accompanies another instrument. He additionally explains that the index and the middle fingers must strum the strings alternately on the first and second course, while the thumb must be used to strum the third, fourth and fifth courses. Nothing is said of the ring finger.⁴⁰ This is undoubtedly a general recommendation that cannot be taken literally, as some passages in the *campanelas* cannot be executed with-

out plucking the third course with the index finger. However, the similarity with Guerau on this point could, as has previously been suggested, indicate that Murcia was trained by him.⁴¹ Another interesting aspect concerns the execution of the trill. Murcia indicates that its execution is always 'en el traste de adonde se levanta el dedo' ('on the fret where the finger is lifted'), making it understood that it must be executed on the upper auxiliary note, a practice that has been questioned with regard to his music by some authors.⁴²

The musical content of *CSG* is extremely interesting, and constitutes a significant contribution to the history of the Baroque guitar. As in the 'Código Saldívar', variations on Spanish dances such as the *villano*, *vacas* and *canarios* predominate. There are 17 *pasacalles* in binary and ternary metre, grouped, as in 'Passacalles y obras', by tonality. Dances possibly of American origin, though widely known in Spain,

are included, such as the *cumbé* and the *zarambeque*, and 17 minnets are grouped between ff.24v and 28v. There are also two suites (or ‘obras’, as Murcia calls them) with their traditional allemande, courante (‘correnta’), saraband and gigue movements (one of them additionally contains a prelude), and a third that groups other types of pieces: ‘Idea nueva de clarines’, ‘Canción airosa’, ‘Llamadas’, ‘Marcha’, ‘Canción de ecos’, ‘Fagina’ and ‘Idea de dos clarines’ (ff.45–50v). The first of these serves the function of a prelude, as the entry in the list of contents states ‘Idea nueva, y obra especial de clarines’, an analogous expression to the ‘Preludio por la E y obra’ found in the index of ‘Passacalles y obras’. This last manuscript also contains the same suite, though with important variants (discussed in greater detail below).⁴³

While *CSG* constitutes an important document in its own right, the presence of a new copy of *Resumen de acompañar* bound with it confers on it even greater interest. As far as I know, it is the fourth copy known of this edition, together with those in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, the Newberry Library (Chicago) and the Los Angeles Public Library.⁴⁴ This edition does not contain the prologue to the reader by Murcia nor the ‘aprobación’ (recommendation) of the *Resumen* written by Antonio de Literes in 1717. As Hall explains, both these are contained in a bifolium that was inserted between the front page and the dedication three years after the book was printed.⁴⁵ Russell suggests that only then was it made available to the public,⁴⁶ but the fact that both the edition attached to *CSG* and the copy in the Los Angeles Public Library do not contain that section seems to indicate that the *Resumen* circulated before 1717. In addition, pages 80–81 are missing from this edition and the front page includes the inscription ‘Ortega’ at the bottom: possibly he was another owner.

Concordances

The concordances found for *CSG* are listed in table 1. The references in the column ‘Concordant sources’ indicate whether it is the same piece or a different one that nevertheless is clearly related to that found in *CSG* (for example, it has one or more

variations in common). Other less important similarities are indicated in the column ‘Observations’.

In general, I have not considered those pieces that have only harmonic similarities as concordances, since, as in the case of the Spanish dances, a characteristic harmonic progression does not necessarily imply a special link. The study of the concordances is still in process, and I have not yet been able to check some of the sources related to Murcia. Among these, possibly the most important is the 'Recueil des pieces de guitare' by François Le Cocq,⁴⁷ for which I have, however, found a concordance through Hall's dissertation. In the case of Ms.1560 of Mexico and Ribayaz's *Luz y norte musical* (1677) I have had to use photocopies that do not include the sections for violin and harp included in these sources, so additional concordances may come to light. I have checked the dance anthologies published by Feuillet and Pécour at the beginning of the 18th century only in the editions of 1700 and 1704.⁴⁸ Even so, I believe that the results obtained so far are illuminating as regards the circulation of the repertory found in *CSG*.

The concordances can be divided into two main groups: those contained in Murcia's own sources and those in anonymous sources or those of other authors. As regards Murcia's sources, the manuscript presents 19 pieces concordant with the 'Código Saldívar nº4', plus another three ('Canarios por la A', 'Paspied nuevo' and 'Paspied viejo') whose titles coincide but which do not survive, since ff.33 and 42 have been lost. Even so, the two 'Paspied' must have been similar, if not identical, since they are also found in the *Resumen de acompañar*. The concordances with the 'Código Saldívar' occur without exception among those pieces in the form of a theme and variations, so that the correspondence with *CSG* is never exact. Usually some variations are the same, though sometimes presented in a different order, but new variations are often added resulting, in many cases, in two very different versions of the same type of dance.⁴⁹ For example, of the 16 variations comprising 'Jácaras por la E' in *CSG*, Murcia uses only four in the 'Código Saldívar'; and of the 20 variations contained in 'Marionas por la B' in *CSG* (ex.1),⁵⁰ the beautiful version in the 'Código Saldívar' uses only six. In both cases, the version in *CSG* is very technically

demanding, with rapid mordents and slurred semi-quaver scales, whereas the version in the 'Código' offers few real difficulties.

Table 1 *Table of contents and concordances of CSG*

	<i>Title of composition</i>	<i>Concordant sources</i>	<i>Observations</i>
1	Jácaras por la E	CSA, 1	
2	Marionas por la B	CSA, 3	
3v	Diferencias de gallardas por la E	CSA, 4v	
4v	Pavanas por la E		
6	Españoletas por la E	CSA, 6	Some similarities with LDC, 104.
7v	Folías Españolas por la E	CSA, 20v	Some initial similarity with the <i>folías</i> of LDC, 105.
8v	Jácaras Francesas por la D	CSA, 29	Beginning is similar to <i>jácaras francesas</i> of LDC, 127 and <i>Air</i> of CAMP, 81.
9v	El Amor por la E	CSA, 27v	Similar to LDC, 113, which does not include variations.
10	Tarantelas por la E	CSA, 18v	
11	Las Vacas por la E	CSA, 23v	
13v	Folías despacio al estilo de Italia	CSA, 60v	Beginning very similar to <i>folías italianas</i> of LDC, 136.
18v	Pasacalles de compasillo por la E	PO, 23v	
19v	[Pasacalles] A proporción por este tono	PO, 25v	
20v	Villanos por la C	CSA, 7	
21	Caballero por la C	CSA, 8	LDC, 105, has a <i>villano caballero</i> , also preceded by a <i>villano</i> .
22	Paradetas por la C		The second variation in <i>CSG</i> is similar to that at the beginning of LDC, 109.
23v	Canarios por la C	CSA, 9	The beginning is very similar to the <i>canarios</i> of LDC, 108.
24v	Menuet fácil [por la C]	RA, 90; LDC, 116	Same piece with some variants.
25	Menuet [por la A]		
25	Otro [por la A]	LDC, 134	Same piece with some variants and a 4th lower.
25	Otro [por la D]		
25v	Otro [por la C]	Ms.1560, 23	Same piece with some variants.
25v	Otro [por la C]		
26	Otro [por la C]		
26	Otro [por la C]		
26v	El Menuet Inglés [por la B]		
27	Menuet [por la B]		
27	Otro [por la B]		
27v	Otro [por la A]		
27v	Otro [por la O]		
28	Otro difícil [por la I]		
28	Otro [por la I]		

Table 1 (continued)

	<i>Title of composition</i>	<i>Concordant sources</i>	<i>Observations</i>
28 _v	Otros [por la C]		
28 _v	Otro [por la E]		
29	Jácaras de la Costa	CSA, 39	
29 _v	El Torneo por la C		In <i>Torneo</i> of LDC, 79, the fragment indicated as ‘retiradas’ is very similar to <i>CSG</i> , bar 14. The same occurs with <i>GS</i> , lxxxiii, and <i>LRR</i> , 89 (copy of <i>GS</i>).
30	Batallas [El Torneo]		The same <i>batalla</i> with some variants appears in <i>LDC</i> , 80; <i>GS</i> , lxxxiii; and <i>LRR</i> , 90; however, it is not an independent piece, but a brief fragment that is part of the <i>Torneo</i> .
30	Reverencias [El Torneo]		Similar to <i>retiradas</i> of <i>LDC</i> , 80.
30	Últimas reverencias [El Torneo]		Includes previous musical material.
30 _v	Jácaras del torneo		Melodic coincidences with <i>jácaras por la C</i> of <i>ASC</i> , 3.
31	Gallardas del torneo		Two bars in the second variation of ‘Gallardas por la C’ of <i>ASC</i> , 9, are concordant with the fourth of <i>CSG</i> . There are harmonic similarities with <i>LDC</i> , 83; <i>LRR</i> , 72; and <i>GS</i> , lxxxiii.
31 _v	La Azucena por la E		
32	Los Imposibles por la D	CSA, 12 _v	Only brief fragments of both versions are concordant. The one in <i>CSG</i> is not complete as it is missing f.33.
[33]	[Canarios por la A]	CSA, 10?	Piece listed as f.33 is missing.
34	Cumbé por la A	CSA, 43; <i>LDC</i> , 46	The beginning of this piece is missing as f.33 was torn out. It has variations in common with <i>CSA</i> . The strummed introduction of <i>CSA</i> is almost identical to that of <i>paracumbé</i> of <i>LDC</i> . The latter also has a passage in common with <i>CSG</i> . The concordance is highly significant.
35	Zarambeques por la C	CSA, 45	
35 _v	Obra por la C. Alemanda		
36	[Obra por la C] Correnta		
36 _v	[Obra por la C] Zarabanda	<i>LDC</i> , 35	Same piece with some variations. The title of ‘zarabanda francesa por la C’ in <i>LDC</i> could indicate that it originates from a French source. Shares the initial motif with <i>VIS</i> , 115, and <i>CORB</i> , 40.
37	[Obra por la C] Giga		
37 _v	Bailad Caracoles por la C	CSA, 11 _v	
38	Marsellas por la B	CSA, 56 _v ; <i>RA</i> , 107	
39 _v	Canción		
40	Marcha de los Oboes		

Table 1 (continued)

	<i>Title of composition</i>	<i>Concordant sources</i>	<i>Observations</i>
40	Marcha Balona		
40v	Marcha de los Carabineros		Similar to <i>Marcha de carabineros</i> of LDC, 130.
41v	Marcha de las guardias de la Reina Ana		
[42]	[Paspied viejo]	CSA, 79; RA, 57?	Piece lost as f.42 is missing.
[42]	[Paspied nuevo]	CSA, 79v; RA, 57?	Piece lost as f.42 is missing.
43	Buree por la D		
43v	Gavota		
43v	Gavota	PO, 109; LC, 10	The concordance between Le Cocq and PO comes from Hall, <i>The guitar anthologies</i> , i, p.503.
45	Idea Nueva de Clarines Primorosos por la C. [Obra especial de clarines]	PO, 58	It is the prelude of <i>Obra especial de clarines</i> . This piece, as well as <i>Idea de dos clarines</i> that appears later (f.48v), has variations in common with that of PO.
46	[Obra especial de clarines] Canción Airosa	PO, 63	
46	[Obra especial de clarines] Llamadas	PO, 63v	
47	[Obra especial de clarines] Marcha	PO, 65	
48	[Obra especial de clarines] Canción de ecos	PO, 64v–65	
48	[Obra especial de clarines] Fagina	PO, 66v	
48v	[Obra especial de clarines] Idea de dos clarines	PO, 58	Fragments of this piece and that of f.45 are found in PO.
50v	[Obra por la K3] Preludio por la K3. que es lo mismo que la L	PO, 124v; CAMP, 50	The title ‘Obra por la K3’ figures in the contents. In PO the prelude is a semitone, and in CAMP a tone lower.
51	[Obra por la K3] Alemanda	CAMP, 50	Same piece, a tone higher.
51v	[Obra por la K3] Correnta		
52	[Obra por la K3] Zarabanda	CAMP, 57	
52	[Obra por la K3] Giga	CAMP, 51	Same piece, a tone higher.
52v	Buree	PO, 108v	
53	Pasacalles de compasillo por la O	PO, 43v	
54	[Pasacalles por la O] A proporción	PO, 45v; LDC, 48v	The first variations are concordant, but in a different order. This allows for an unidentified concordance to be added between PO and LDC.
55	Pasacalles de compasillo por el +	PO, 4	
56v	[Pasacalles por el +] A proporción	GS, CVI	Though these are different pieces, variation 7 of <i>CSG</i> is a direct quote of variation 5 of the <i>pasacalle</i> by Sanz. Variation 3 of both pieces is also very similar.
57v	Pasacalles de compasillo por la B		

Table 1 (continued)

	<i>Title of composition</i>	<i>Concordant sources</i>	<i>Observations</i>
58	[Pasacalles por la B] A proporción	PO, 12	
59	Pasacalles de compasillo por la G	PO, 30	
61	[Pasacalles por la G] A proporción	PO, 32	
62	Pasacalles de compasillo por la D	PO, 20	
63v	[Pasacalles por la D] A proporción	PO, 22	
64v	Pasacalles aclarinados por la C a compasillo	PO, 13v	
66	Pasacalles a compasillo por la H	PO, 33	
67v	[Pasacalles por la H] A proporción	PO, 35	
68v	Pasacalles de compasillo por la A	PO, 7v	
69v	[Pasacalles por la A] A proporción	PO, 9	

Abbreviations

ASC = Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, m.2209, Antonio de Santa Cruz, *Livro donde se verán pazacalles de los ocho tonos*.

CAMP = François Champion, *Nouvelles découvertes sur la guitarrre*, facsimile edn, intro. F. Lesure (Geneva, 1977).

CORB = Francesco Corbetta, *La guitarrre royale [1670]*, facsimile edn (Geneva, 1975).

CSA = [Santiago de Murcia], *Códice Saldívar n° 4*, facsimile edn, intro. M. Lorimer (Santa Bárbara, 1987).

CSG = Santiago de Murcia, *Cifras Selectas de Guitarra*, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Biblioteca Campus Oriente.

GS = Gaspar Sanz, *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española [1674, 1697]*, facsimile edn, intro. L. García-Abrines (Zaragoza, 1966).

LC = François Le Cocq, *Recueil des pieces de guitarrre*, Brussels, Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Ms. Littera S, no.5.615. I have not checked this source yet; the reference comes from Hall, *The guitar anthologies*.

LDC = Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, m.811, *Libro de diferentes cifras de guitarra*, 1705.

LRR = Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz y norte musical para caminar por las cifras de la guitarra española* (Madrid, 1677).

Ms.1560 = Biblioteca Nacional de México, Ms.1560.

PO = Santiago de Murcia, *Passacalles y obras de guitarra por todos los tonos naturales y accidentales (1732)*, facsimile edn, intro. M. Macmeeken (Monaco, 1979).

RA = Santiago de Murcia, *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra*, facsimile edn, intro. M. Hall (Monaco, 1980).

VIS = Robert de Visée, *Les deux livres de guitarrre: Paris 1682 et 1686*, ed. H. Charnassé, R. Andia and G. Rebours (Paris, 1999).

Note: In Table 1, the spelling of the titles has been modernized where the original has no phonetic value, and the abbreviations have been expanded.

The first three pieces of *CSG* and 'Código Saldívar' are concordant, suggesting that the first part of both manuscripts could have had a common source, perhaps the drafts to which Murcia alludes in the dedication to the *Resumen de acompañar*.⁵¹ These concordances would confirm that the 'Código Saldívar' was written by Santiago de Murcia, but at the same time rather weaken one of the arguments offered in support of the idea that this is the first volume of 'Passacalles y obras', since such an idea was partly based on their *uniqueness* concerning the format and copyist.⁵² Although this hypothesis cannot be dismissed, the discovery of *CSG* also makes it possible that these were independent manuscripts that formed part of others that Murcia prepared during his life.

If the relationship between *CSG* and 'Código Saldívar' is significant, the number of concordances with the 'Passacalles y obras' is even greater. The 25 concordances include *pasacalles*, French dances and the 'Obra especial de clarines' already mentioned. This work is of special interest, as it shows that the 'Idea especial de clarines' in the 'Passacalles y obras' (f.58) includes variations from two different pieces in *CSG*: the 'Idea nueva de clarines' (f.45) and the 'Idea de dos clarines' (f.48v). This demonstrates the extent to which Murcia's sets of variations are open, subject to improvisation, and not fixed musical works.

Despite the similarity in repertory in Murcia's three manuscripts, the comparison between *CSG* and *Resumen de acompañar* results in only two certain concordances, 'Menuet fácil' and 'Marsellas por la B', and two others that are highly likely, the above-mentioned 'Paspied viejo' and 'Paspied nuevo'. This therefore reflects a change of repertory between the *Resumen* of 1714, in which French dances predominate, and the manuscripts of 1722–32, in which traditional Spanish dances prevail. This could be related to Murcia being more distanced from court after 1714, the year of Queen María Luisa's death, as the new queen, Isabel de Farnesio, does not seem to have had a special predilection for the guitar. This distancing may be what Murcia was referring to when he wrote of his 'adversa suerte' ('adverse luck') in his dedication to Andriani.⁵³

Of the sources not directly related to Murcia, the most closely connected with *CSG* is the 'Libro de dife-

rentes cifras' of 1705 now in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, a manuscript that includes two minuets and one *zarabanda* found in *CSG*. It also contains a *pasacalle* 'por la O' in triple metre that figures both in *CSG* and the 'Passacalles y obras' (the eight concordant variations are presented in a different order), and a 'Paracumbé' that has a passage in common with the incomplete version in *CSG* whose initial dissonant chords coincide exactly with those of the 'Cumbé' in the 'Códice Saldívar'. Additionally, the 'Libro de diferentes cifras' has similar versions of dances that have only been found in Murcia's own collections, for example, the 'Jácaras francesas' and 'El Amor'. It is difficult to say whether these pieces known around 1705 were collected by Murcia in his manuscript of 1722 or if, on the contrary, his music was already known in 1705 and was gathered in the 'Libro de diferentes cifras'. The latter case seems more likely, as Queen María Luisa of Savoy, in a letter sent to her grandmother that same year, claims to be learning guitar, and it is reasonable to suppose that Murcia was her teacher at that time.⁵⁴ In any case, it is clear that this manuscript is much more closely related to Santiago de Murcia than previously thought.⁵⁵

The second source with a relatively large number of concordances, as might have been expected, is the anthology *Nouvelles découvertes sur la guitarrre* published by François Campion in Paris in 1705. With the exception of the 'Correnta', all the movements of the 'Obra por la K3' of *CSG* were taken from this anthology. Three of these were written for a guitar with another tuning (or *scordatura*) in *Nouvelles découvertes*, forcing Murcia to make some modifications. Campion is the foreign composer most represented in the 'Passacalles y obras' of 1732,⁵⁶ and these new concordances show that he had cast his influence on Murcia still earlier. Three other pieces each have one concordance. The first is the 'Recueil des pieces de guitarrre' by François Le Cocq, copied by J. B. Castillion, with a gavotte found in both *CSG* (f.43v) and 'Passacalles y obras'. This concordance is enough to cast doubt on whether Murcia borrowed Le Cocq's pieces. As *CSG* was copied around 1722 and Castillion's manuscript in 1730, it is also possible that it was Le Cocq (or even Castillion himself)

who reused Murcia's pieces. Two additional pieces of information make this idea more plausible. The

Ex. 1 Transcription of the opening of 'Marionas por la B', in the *Cifras Selectas de Guitarra*, f.2

(last variation in *Códice Saldívar no.4*)

first is that Castillion's father, as he himself indicates in the preface, had studied guitar in Madrid around 1690 with Miguel Pérez de Zavala,⁵⁷ so that he must have been familiar with the late 17th-century Spanish repertory. The second arises from the comparison between Murcia's 'Obra por la O' in 'Passacalles y obras' and that of Le Cocq's 'Recueil'. As Russell indicates, in Murcia's suite almost all the movements derive from a common, unifying motif, whereas in Le Cocq's version only the 'Allemande' and 'Courante' have such a motif.⁵⁸ Therefore, it seems more logical that Le Cocq borrowed the two movements from one of Murcia's suites rather than the other way round, although the question must remain open for the present.

A further new concordance with the Ms.1560 of the Biblioteca Nacional de México is found: a minuet that does not appear in any of Murcia's other collections and appears to link him again to Mexican territories, though it is possible that this piece originated from a still unidentified third source. Less clear, though equally interesting, is a concordance with Gaspar Sanz which demonstrates that even between very different pieces it is possible to find significant relationships. In the *pasacalle* 'por el +' in triple metre in *CSG* (f.56v) Murcia quotes a variation of a *pasacalle* from Sanz's *Instrucción de musica*, though the two versions as a whole have little to do with each other (see ex.2). This fact highlights not only Murcia's knowledge of Sanz's work, which would seem obvious, given the popularity of Sanz's music, but also the intensely intertextual character of his sets of variations, which are in a continual dialogue with other pieces by him and other musicians.

Lastly, as table 1 shows, there is a significant number of pieces for which no concordances have yet been found. Among these is the 'Pavana por la E' and 'La Azucena por la E', this last a work of intimate character and minimum technical difficulty that thus contrasts with most of the themes and variations in the manuscript. Similarly, there are some minuets and an 'Obra por la C' that could be Murcia's or originate from some other source that has not yet been identified.

The context for production and reception

In conclusion, I would like to consider briefly the possible context for the production and reception of the manuscript. Although any such consideration must inevitably be hypothetical at this stage, an analysis of the source itself, together with some complementary documentation, is a necessary first step. Logically, the first question that arises from the discovery of *CSG* in Chile is whether it was copied there or arrived later and, if this were the case, whether this occurred during the 18th century or more recently. This question does not alter the importance the manuscript holds for the history of the Baroque guitar, but it does affect its significance for the colonial American world.

The first issue of interest is the 'SP' watermark found in most of the manuscript, which demonstrates that the paper used in *CSG* was the same as that employed by the musicians of the Royal Chapel in the 1740s. As I have already mentioned, this watermark reappears in the 'Passacalles y obras' of 1732. Thus, while alternative hypotheses are possible (Murcia could have taken the paper with him to

Mexico or even to Chile), it is most likely that both CSG and 'Passacalles' were copied in Madrid.⁵⁹

On the other hand, it is surely no coincidence that a new source by Santiago de Murcia has been discovered in Chile, just as the 'Código Saldívar' and 'Passacalles y obras' were found in Mexico. Rather, it would suggest that probably Murcia's manuscripts were, if not taken by him to Hispanic America, then expressly sent there. Thus, the implicit reference that Ruiz de Ribayaz makes to the New World in the prologue to his *Luz y Norte Musical* (1677) is of some interest here:

On seeing the principles of this book, the judicious reader (especially if he has some knowledge of music theory, instruments and tablature) will say that this author was unproductive; inasmuch as he set about writing things which are so common that even the children in Madrid and other places understand and practice them, and that also there are *maestros* who teach these things. To this charge, several responses are given. First, the world is large, and what is present in Madrid is not present everywhere. This author knows by experience (because he has seen different kingdoms and remote overseas provinces) that elsewhere they do not know or practise the said tablature or any other ciphers; because, although they play instruments and sing, they do so only from memory, except for a few persons who know mensural musical notation.⁶⁰

A few decades later, Murcia will argue the contrary to justify his decision not to include any explanation whatsoever regarding the ornaments used in the *Resumen de acompañar*:

Tampoco me detengo en explicar las gracias que hay en ejecutar, las cuales son la sal de lo que se tañe (aunque van figuradas), persuadido a que *no habrá aficionado que no haya visto el libro tan singular que dio a la estampa Don Francisco Garau* (de tañidos de España, y pasacalles primorosos), en el cual pone al principio toda la explicación, con notable luz y conocimiento, para el que quisiere manejar este instrumento; con todas las feligranas; que pueden caber en la última destreza. [my italics]⁶¹

I do not stop to explain the graces there are in playing either, which are the salt of the performance (though they

are intabulated), persuaded that *there will be no amateur who has not seen such a singular book given to print as that of Don Francisco Garau* (of the sounds of Spain and exquisite *pasacalles*), in which he gives full explanation at the beginning with noteworthy clarity and knowledge, for whoever wishes to play this instrument; with all the ornaments that pertain to this last skill.

Murcia clearly takes it for granted that in Madrid and surrounding areas any amateur would know the symbols used by Guerau and himself for the mordent, the trill and other ornaments. Consequently, when he decides to add a detailed 'Explicación' of such symbols to CSG, he does so undoubtedly expecting that the manuscript will be received somewhere different, where the amateurs may not know their meaning or even that of the basic rhythmic figures (since he also explains their duration in duple metre). All this is reminiscent of the image of Hispanic America projected by Ribayaz in his prologue of 1677, as a place where people usually played by heart and only a few understood mensural notation. Murcia must have known this prologue, which would suggest that the 'Explicación' was written with the inhabitants of that continent in mind.

The exportation of vihuela and guitar books from Spain to its colonies has not been studied in detail yet, though there is some information of interest. In 1600 the ship *La Trinidad* transported to Mexico the *Libro de música de cifras para vihuela intitulado El Parnaso* by Esteban Daza (Valladolid, 1576).⁶² The *Libro de música para vihuela, intitulado Orphénica Lyra* by Miguel de Fuenllana (Seville, 1554) reached Mexico in 1576 as part of a merchant's shipment.⁶³ In direct relation to the guitar, two references included in a document in the Archivo General de Indias (Seville) that contains the inventories of the books presented to the Inquisition for their approval to be dispatched to America are of great importance.

Ex. 2 Concordant variation in the *pasacalles* 'por el +' by Murcia and Sanz

The oldest was recorded by Jania Sarno, and concerns the shipment to New Spain in 1699 in a fleet under the orders of General Manuel de Velasco, of the book *Luz y norte musical* by Ruiz de Ribayaz.⁶⁴ The second is the inventory of books presented on 17 November 1723 by the presbyter Joseph Juárez de Estrada and sent to Tierra Firme, that includes a book entitled 'Zifras de guitarra', by an unspecified author.⁶⁵ If the reference is too general to ascertain whether the book could have been *CSG*, it is noteworthy that it occurs on a date so close to that on the cover of the manuscript (1722). Whatever the case, this information demonstrates that guitar books were sent to America.

Thus it is possible that the manuscript reached Chile in the 18th century and that it may even have even been sent there by Murcia himself. This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that its previous owner, Alfredo García Burr, never travelled abroad, but gathered his whole collection in Chile by buying in auctions or directly from private owners.⁶⁶ However, for anyone familiar with the traditional studies on music in colonial Chile with their image of almost absolute isolation,⁶⁷ it would seem unlikely that there would have been a demand for this kind of source there and, above all, that anyone there would have had contact, whether direct or indirect, with Santiago de Murcia. However, in this regard I have found a reference of potential interest. On 4 August 1717 a Chilean friar who had just returned to the port of Buenos Aires from Spain wrote a letter to a Madrid nobleman in the following terms:

Muy Señor mío, mi amigo, y todo mi bien. Llegué a este puerto de Buenos Aires el día 9 de julio, con salud y en todo con muy buenos sucesos, a Dios gracias. Holgáreme sea la de VSS.^a como deseo [...] y que de la mesma gocen el señor don Ambrosio, mis señoritas, los niños, y toda la familia, a quienes me encomiendo muy de corazón y diré a VSS.^a que no olvido del encargo de las braceras, y anillos de tumbagas, las cuales remitiré a VSS.^a con los mil, y doscientos pesos en estos navíos ...⁶⁸

Dear Sir, my friend, and all my good. I reached this port of Buenos Aires on the day of the ninth of July in health and without inconvenience in anything, God be thanked. I hope you share my good fortune [...] and that Mr. Ambrosio, my ladies, the children and all the family enjoy the same, to

whom I entrust myself from my heart and I will tell you that I do not forget the request of *braceras* and *tumbaga* rings, which I shall send to you with the thousand and two hundred pesos in these ships ...

The same friar writes a similar letter on 28 March 1718, but this time from Santiago de Chile, indicating among other things:

El señor don Gabriel Cano [de Aponte] va gobernando con grande acierto es un hombre muy prudente, de grande espera y de muy buena intención, y poco interesable, que estoy entendiendo que ha de salir más pobre que lo que vino. Dios lo favorezca ...⁶⁹

Mr. Gabriel Cano [de Aponte] is governing with great correctness and is a very prudent man, of great patience and very good intention, and not very ambitious, so that I am to understand that he is to leave poorer than he came. God favour him ...

The noble to whom these letters were sent was Jácome Francisco Andriani and the sender was the Franciscan Juan Murillo, custodian of the great convent of Santiago de Chile who had travelled to Spain to vote in the general chapter of the Order held in Vitoria.⁷⁰ This demonstrates that at a date very close to the compilation of the manuscript there were contacts, which were quite close as witnessed by the familiar tone of the letters, between the Chilean friar of San Francisco and Andriani, who, as we have seen, knew Murcia, contributed to the printing of the *Resumen de acompañar* and probably counted on his services as a guitar player. Clearly, it is not possible to establish whether this link with the Franciscans of Santiago was or was not related to the arrival of *CSG* in Chile, though it is not impossible, given that they cultivated the guitar assiduously.⁷¹ So, while there is as yet no firm evidence that the manuscript reached Chile in the 18th century, I believe that there are some indications that *CSG* was not conceived by Murcia for the Madrilanian context, but that America was the likely intended recipient. Thus, study of this source contributes not only to greater knowledge of Baroque guitar music, but also to a better understanding of the transmission of this repertory in that 'large world' alluded to by Ribayaz to which Madrid and its surroundings, as well as Santiago de Chile and other 'overseas provinces', belonged.

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1 See E. M. Lowenfeld, *Santiago de Murcia's thorough-bass treatise for the Baroque guitar (1714), introduction, translation and transcription* (MA thesis, City U of New York, 1975); and N. D. Pennington, *The development of Baroque guitar music in Spain, including a commentary on and a transcription of Santiago de Murcia's 'Passacalles y obras' (1732)* (PhD diss., U. of Maryland, 1979).

2 Of the 15 recordings I have located exclusively with music by Murcia, I will mention only as examples those of R. Lislevand (dir.), *Santiago de Murcia Codex* (Paris, Astrée, 2000); P. O'Dette and A. Lawrence-King, *¡Jácaras! 18th century Spanish Baroque guitar music of Santiago de Murcia* (Harmonia Mundi, 1997); and W. Waters, *Santiago de Murcia: Passacalles y obras de guitarra* (Barcelona, La Mà de Guido, 1996).

3 This is at least the opinion given in J. Tyler and P. Sparks, *The guitar and its music from the Renaissance to the Classical era* (Oxford, 2002), p.159.

4 Santiago de Murcia, *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra*, facsimile edn, intro. M. Hall (Monaco, 1980), and facsimile edition with an introduction by Gerardo Arriaga (Madrid, 1984).

5 In reference to the differentiation made during the period between *bailes* and *danzas* see, among others, *Santiago de Murcia's 'Códice Saldívar N° 4'. A Treasury of Secular Guitar Music from Baroque Mexico*, ed. C. H. Russell (Urbana, 1995), i, pp.12–16. For this research, whose purpose is not to study in detail the musical genres

mentioned, I use the English equivalent of 'dances'.

6 C. H. Russell, *Santiago de Murcia: Spanish theorist and guitarist of the early eighteenth century* (PhD diss., U. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1981), i, pp.154–9.

7 I refer especially to the introduction of recitative in court theatre of the mid-18th century and to the musical reform that started with the biennium of Juan José de Austria as prime minister (1677), which facilitated the introduction of musical groups related to the trio sonata: see L. K. Stein, *Songs of mortals, dialogues of the gods: music and theatre in seventeenth century Spain* (Oxford, 1993), pp.130ff., and P. Rodríguez, *Música, poder y devoción: la capilla real de Carlos II (1665–1700)* (doctoral thesis, Zaragoza U., 2003), pp.4ff.

8 Santiago de Murcia, *Passacalles y obras de guitarra por todos los tonos naturales y accidentales (1732)*, complete facsimile edn, introduction by M. Macmeeken (Monaco, 1979).

9 For the concordances of 'Passacalles y obras', see M. Hall, *The guitar anthologies of Santiago de Murcia*, (PhD diss., Open University, 1983), i, pp.489–507, and C. H. Russell and A. K. Topp Russell, 'El arte de recomposición en la música española para guitarra barroca', *Revista de musicología*, v/1 (1982), pp.15–18.

10 Additionally, the approval of the *Resumen de acompañar*, written by Lites in 1717, indicates that the book was opened ('abierto', possibly meaning printed) in Antwerp: see Hall, *The guitar anthologies*, i, p.63.

11 M. Esses, *Dance and instrumental diferencias in Spain during the 17th and early 18th centuries* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1992), i, pp.5–6.

12 Through a detailed analysis of Murcia's two *pasacalles* and one by

Guerau, this is demonstrated in Pennington, *The development of Baroque guitar music in Spain*, pp.297–9.

13 *Saldívar Codex No. 4*, facsimile edn, ed. M. Lorimer (Santa Bárbara, 1987), p.v. It must be noted that before Lorimer many musicologists, among them Stevenson and Saldívar himself, had noticed the apparent relationship between this source and Santiago de Murcia.

14 The *cumbé* and the *zarambeque* have been documented in Mexico in the 18th century. For a detailed study of the pieces of the 'Códice Saldívar n°4', see *Santiago de Murcia's 'Códice Saldívar N° 4'*, ed. Russell, i, pp.26–114.

15 In 1986 Martin Dreyer stated: 'All are recalling those heady days back in the mid-70s, when early music was a new ball we all wanted to get our hands on. Now, somehow, it has lost its shine and everyone is looking for a beneficent umpire to conjure up a replacement and put a little more life back into the game.' Quoted by H. Haskell, *The early music revival: a history* (London, 1988), p.197. See also pp.193–4.

16 Apart from the violinist Jacome Clair, who had entered the queen's household in 1712: see Archivo General del Palacio Real de Madrid, Sección Registros, Libro 185, ff.198, 214v.

17 See Russell, *Santiago de Murcia: Spanish theorist*, i, pp.40–46. The *Resumen de acompañar* also contains a laudatory poem by Francisca Chavarrí, who, according to Russell (p.47), was the daughter of Carlos II's 'proto-doctor', and whom Murcia declares to be 'apasionada y favorecedora suya' ('a fervent admirer').

18 Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereafter *E-Mah*), Diversos-Colecciones, 45, N.46, Letter of Francisco de Hospina to Jácome

Francisco Andriani, 13 April, 1717: '... por lo cual suplico a V. Sria. [...] se sirva de especular cómo podré entrar en esta segunda imprenta a menos costo, y mayor brevedad.' (... for which I beg Your Ladyship ... to speculate how I shall be able to enter into this second print at a lower cost and in a shorter time.) This and other documents quoted here are available on the website of the Archivos Españoles en Red <http://aer.mcu.es/sgae> (AER). In the transcription of the original documents I have modernized the spelling when it has no phonetic value, as well as the accents and punctuation.

19 Lowenfeld, *Santiago de Murcia's thorough-bass treatise*, p.5.

20 *Santiago de Murcia's 'Código Saldívar N.º. 4'*, ed. Russell, i, pp.122–6. It must be added to Russell's information that Gabriel de Murcia was named examiner of violeros in Madrid in 1719; see J. L. Romanillos Vega and M. Harris Winspear, *The vihuela de mano and the Spanish guitar: a dictionary of the makers of plucked and bowed musical instruments of Spain (1200–2002)* (Guijosa, Guadalajara, Spain, 2002), p.265.

21 *Santiago de Murcia's 'Código Saldívar N.º. 4'*, ed. Russell, i, pp.126–8, and Romanillos and Harris, *The vihuela de mano*, p.264.

22 See R. Stevenson, 'Santiago de Murcia: a review article', *Inter-American music review*, iii/1 (1980), pp.92–3; Hall, *The guitar anthologies*, i, pp.65, 83, 93, 97; and *Santiago de Murcia's 'Código Saldívar N.º. 4'*, ed. Russell, i, pp.133–5. On Ms.1560 see also G. Arriaga, 'Un manuscrito mexicano de música barroca', *Revista de*

musicología, v/1 (1982), pp.115–21. The manuscripts of Vargas y Guzmán's treatise are described in J. A. de Vargas y Guzmán, *Explicación de la guitarra (Cádiz, 1773)*, ed. A. Medina Álvarez (Granada, 1994), pp.xiii–xiv.

23 See J. Sarno, 'El tráfico de instrumentos y libros musicales de España al Nuevo Mundo a través de los documentos del Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla: notas para el comienzo de una investigación',

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Latine du XVI^{ème} au XX^{ème} siècle, ed. R. de Maeyer (Brussels, 1986), pp.95–108; E. Ros-Fábreas, 'Libros de música para el Nuevo Mundo en el siglo XVI', *Revista de musicología*, xxiv/1–2 (2001), pp.39–66 (on the exportation of choirbooks); and J. Marín López, 'Por ser como es tan excelente música: la circulación de los impresos de Francisco Guerrero en México', *Concierto barroco: estudios sobre música, dramaturgia e historia cultural*, ed. J. J. Carreras and M. A. Marín (Logroño, 2004), pp.209–26.

24 In a letter dated January 1717, his correspondent Domingo de Rebollos writes from Mexico City promising to send him fans he has received from China 'muy ricos y de nueva moda' ('very rich and of the latest fashion'): *E-Mah*, Diversos-Colecciones, 43, N.115, ff.3r–v. Ramírez de Castro's letters are preserved at *E-Mah*, Diversos-Colecciones, 45, N.44 (5 Jan 1711); Diversos-Colecciones, 43, N.27 (30 Jun 1717); Diversos-Colecciones, 43, N.116 (18 Feb 1718); and Diversos-Colecciones, 43, N.104 (18 Feb 1719). Documents available at AER.

25 This position is recorded in the dedication written to Andriani by Juan de Ripia in his *Práctica de la administración y cobranza de las rentas reales y visita de los ministerios que se ocupan de ellas* (Madrid, 1736). I would like to thank Juan Jorquera, PhD student of the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, for this information. At the moment, I do not have more information about the duties of the position or of the exact period in which Andriani held it.

26 Archivo General del Palacio Real de Madrid, Legajos 1482 and 1484, 'Felices

mortales' (1743) and 'Al que de pastorcico' (1748). Also see A. Torrente, *Fiesta de Navidad en la Capilla Real de Felipe V: villancicos de Francisco Corselli, 1743* (Madrid, 2002), pp.43–8.

Hall, *The guitar anthologies*, i, p.11 indicated the existence of this watermark but not its presence in the manuscripts of the Royal Chapel. Neither Russell nor Lorimer describes the watermark in the 'Código Saldívar' (but see note 59).

27 *Santiago de Murcia's 'Código Saldívar N.º. 4'*, ed. Russell, i, pp.117–19. Álvarez

del Valle's mother was Isabel González de Rellán de Saavedra. Russell (p.135) adds that someone called Joseph Álvarez who was in Puebla, Mexico, c.1737 could be the same person, but there is no evidence to confirm it.

28 I offered a first and brief study of this manuscript as A. Vera, 'Una nueva fuente para la música del siglo XVIII: el manuscrito Cifras Selectas de Guitarra de Santiago de Murcia (1722)', *Resonancias*, xviii (2006), pp.35–49. At present I am working on a critical edition of the manuscript.

29 'La música en Santiago de Chile en el periodo colonial', research project DIPUC/346/2003, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.

30 The only publication I have found on García Burr and his collection is a magazine article: M. P. Larraín, 'El grupo de Los Diez', *Revista ED*, lii (2000), pp.90–97.

31 The complete inventory was kindly sent to me by Carlos Salinas, an employee of the auction house. Among the books, there were editions of the 17th and 18th centuries.

32 It is Sebastián de Aguirre's 'Método de cítara' (Zither Method), also known as 'Código Saldívar n.º2'. On this source, see Tyler and Sparks, *The guitar*, p.151.

33 Murcia, *Passacalles y obras; Santiago de Murcia's 'Código Saldívar N.º. 4'*, ed. Russell, ii; and *Saldívar Codex*, ed. Lorimer. Some minor differences that appear could be due to the distance in time between these manuscripts and CSG.

34 Hall, *The guitar anthologies*, i, p.75.

35 The relationship between *alfabeto* notation and modern guitar chords is explained in detail in the bibliography quoted here.

36 Hall, *The guitar anthologies*, i, p.81.
37 *Santiago de Murcia's 'Código Saldívar N.º. 4'*, ed. Russell, i, pp.4–5.

38 These variations are commented on in Tyler and Sparks, *The guitar*, pp.64–6.

39 F. Guerau, *Poema harmónico compuesto de varias cifras* (Madrid, 1694).

40 'El común estilo a todos los principiantes es: que pongan el dedo meñique fuera de la puente de la Guitarra, para que esté más firme la mano, porque muchos no pueden entonces herir las cuerdas puesta la mano en el aire, sino de la suerte dicha. Lo cual no se verá practicado en ningún diestro que trate a este instrumento con algún primor, mayormente cuando son obras delicadas y en ellas hay golpes rasgueados, pues debe en estos casos tocarse en el medio de el instrumento, y solo usar de la mano puesta en la puenticilla cuando se necesita que suene más, como cuando se acompaña a otro instrumento. Los dedos con que se hieren las cuerdas son el pulgar, el índice y el de el corazón. Advirtiendo que el pulgar sirve para terceras, cuartas y quintas. Los otros dos para segundas y primas: con el cuidado que nunca se hierde dos veces con un mismo dedo, pues siempre índice y el del corazón han de herir alternativamente.' ('The common style for all beginners is: that they put the little finger outside the bridge of the guitar, so that the hand will be firmer, and thus many cannot play the strings as the hand is in the air, but in the above mentioned way; which will not be seen in anyone accomplished who deals with this instrument with some exquisiteness, mainly when these works are delicate and there are strummed strokes, as in these cases the instrument must be played in the middle and the hand only rested on the bridge when it is required for it to sound louder, as when accompanying another instrument. The fingers with which the guitar is played are the thumb, index and that of the ring. The thumb is for thirds, fourths and fifths [strings]. The others for seconds and primes: taking care not to play it twice with the same finger, as the index and the ring finger must always play alternately').

41 'Y si glosas de los bordones hacia arriba, ha de ser con el pulgar hasta la segunda; y de ella arriba con el índice y largo' ('If you play from the bass strings upwards, it must be from the thumb to the second; and from there up with the index and long [middle finger]'): See Guerau, *Poema harmónico*, f.5, and *Saldívar Codex*, ed. Lorimer, p.xxi. On the possible links

between Murcia and Guerau, see *Santiago de Murcia's 'Códice Saldívar N.º. 4'*, ed. Russell, i, pp.120–22.

42 Russell, partly following Robert Strizich's opinion, proposes the use of the trill for Murcia's music beginning on the main note 'in pieces in the Spanish style', and on its upper auxiliary in French dance suites and minuets: *Santiago de Murcia's 'Códice Saldívar N.º. 4'*, ed. Russell, ii, p.xiv.

43 In his transcription of 'Passacalles y obras', Pennington (*The development of Baroque guitar music in Spain*, ii, p.395) considers it to be part of a previous suite, though both appear in the contents separately. It is recorded as an independent suite in Hall, *The guitar anthologies*, ii, p.vii.

44 See Hall, *The guitar anthologies*, i, p.67, and Stevenson, 'Santiago de Murcia', p.92.

45 In her introduction to Murcia, *Resumen de acompañar* (1980), p.iii.

46 *Santiago de Murcia's 'Códice Saldívar N.º. 4'*, ed. Russell, i, p.193.

47 The complete references to the concordant sources can be seen in the 'Table of contents and concordances'. The works of Hall and Russell have been an important reference source in their selection.

48 R. A. Feuillet: *Recueil de dances* (Paris, 1700); L. Pécour: *Recueil de dances* (Paris, 1700); R. A. Feuillet: *Recueil de dances* (Paris, 1704).

49 See an approximation to composition procedures with pre-existing material in Russell and Topp Russell, 'El arte de recomposición'.

50 In the musical examples I use notes without stems and of lesser size to indicate that originally they were on the fifth course. The issue of the tuning of the guitar that is most appropriate for Murcia has not been resolved and falls beyond the scope of this study. In general terms, the treatment of the fourth and fifth course shows a certain ambiguity, as at times the voice-leading suggests the presence of bourdons and in others it seems to indicate a totally re-entrant tuning. Such ambiguity could be because in practice when the upper octave string of the fourth or fifth course was in the upper part it

was possible to pluck it with the thumb without touching the bourdon, as explained in Tyler and Sparks, *The guitar*, pp.111–12. Whatever the case, none of the tunings proposed, not even that of *Saldívar Codex*, ed. Lorimer, p.xix (with an upper octave string in the third course), solves all the problems, which suggests that this ambiguity was inherent to the instrument and that, maybe, Murcia's music could take different types of tuning. This might be suggested by the fact that Murcia did not feel obliged to indicate the type of tuning required in any of his four known sources.

51 'Lo que me resta solo es dar a V. S. Ilustrísima inmortales gracias [...] de que salgan mis fatigas de la obscuridad de mis borradores, a las ahumadas luces de la prensa ...' ('All that remains is to give your Illustrious Self immortal thanks ... that my efforts leave the darkness of my drafts, to the smoky lights of the press ...'): Murcia, *Resumen de acompañar*, p.3.

52 *Saldívar Codex*, ed. Lorimer, p.v: '... it would be difficult to explain how the *Codex* could be anything other than the companion volume to *Pasacalles*. The format and handwriting of the two manuscripts are identical and they are unique.'

53 See *Santiago de Murcia's 'Códice Saldívar N.º. 4'*, ed. Russell, i, p.133.

54 Lowenfeld, *Santiago de Murcia's thorough-bass treatise*, p.4.

55 *Santiago de Murcia's 'Códice Saldívar N.º. 4'*, ed. Russell, i, p.231, affirms: 'The fact that the "Libro de diferentes cifras" includes a "Sarao" with a nearly identical melody argues against this piece being an original Murcia composition, given that this source seems to have been unaware of any of Murcia's compositions or arrangements' [my italics].

56 Hall, *The guitar anthologies*, i, pp.489–507; Russell and Topp Russell, 'El arte de recomposición', p.17.

57 See Esses, *Dance and instrumental diferencias*, i, p.134.

58 Russell and Topp Russell, 'El arte de recomposición', pp.18–19.

59 This led me to state in my article 'Una nueva fuente...' that it seemed

probable that the manuscript reached Chile after the colonial period. However, the additional information presented here shows that there are other possible or even more feasible alternatives. On the other hand, after this article had gone to press I was able to examine a digital image of the watermark in the 'Código Saldívar n°4', confirming that its design is almost identical to the 'SP' watermark in *CSG*, even though its size is larger by one centimetre. I am grateful to the musicologist Antonio Corona for sending this image to me (email of 20 February 2007).

60 Cited in the translation of Esses, *Dance and instrumental diferencias*, i, pp.3-4.

61 Murcia, *Resumen de acompañar*, preface.

62 Sarno, 'El tráfico de instrumentos y libros', p.104.

63 Marín López, 'Por ser como es tan excelente música', p.219.

64 Sevilla, Archivo General de Indias, Contratación 674, f.185. See Sarno: 'El tráfico de instrumentos y

libros', p.99. Sarno was the first musicologist to review this interesting document, though she published only a few of the musical references it contains.

65 Sevilla, Archivo General de Indias, Contratación 674, f.493v.

66 See Larraín, 'El grupo de Los Diez'. This has been confirmed by García Burr's two children, Gabriela and Eduardo García Powditch, interviewed by telephone on 21 June and 31 October 2006.

67 For example, the classic book E. Pereira Salas, *Los orígenes del arte musical en Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1941), pp.28 and 155, indicates that the harpsichord was unknown in Chile before 1707, and that the presence at the end of the 18th century of the book Benito Bails, *Lecciones de clave y principios de armonía* (Madrid, 1775) constituted a notable exception. These are claims I have been able to refute in A. Vera, 'A propósito de la recepción de música y músicos extranjeros en el Chile colonial', *Cuadernos de música iberoamericana*, x (2005), pp.7-33 (the harpsichord, for example, has now

been documented in Chile since the 16th century). Additionally, in recent research I have been able to prove that such a view was profoundly influenced by 19th-century historiographical nationalism, which explains the major (and, on occasion, even incredible) exaggerations it contains: see A. Vera, 'Musicología, historia y nacionalismo: escritos tradicionales y nuevas perspectivas sobre la música del Chile colonial', *Acta musicologica*, lxxviii/2 (2006), pp.139-58.

68 *E-Mah*, Diversos-Colecciones, 43, N.44, f.1. Available in AER.

69 *E-Mah*, Diversos-Colecciones, 45, N.48, f.2. Available in AER.

70 See Santiago de Chile, Archivo Franciscano, Actas del definitorio, iii, ff.224, 245v.

71 As proven by the prohibition of 'tener y tocar guitarras' ('of having and playing guitars') promulgated in 1680, 1683 and 1686, and the authorization in 1689 for the *vicario de coro* to play them, but only within the convent: see Santiago de Chile, Archivo Franciscano, Actas del definitorio, i, ff.53, 82v, 113, 142v.

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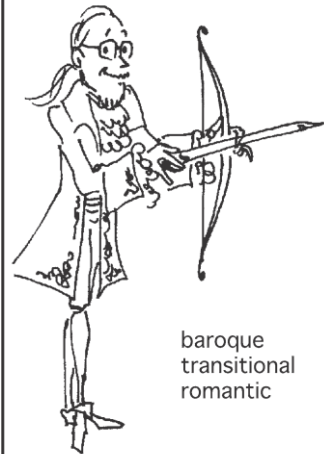
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