

THE PRINTING OF INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

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STUDY of music printing and the dissemination of music has increasingly attracted attention in recent years as musicological scholarship has developed a strong interest in sociological phenomena. Knowledge of the practices and impact of music printing in early modern Europe has grown rapidly. Recent research has significantly expanded our knowledge of the technology of early printing, the printers of music, business practices, marketing, dissemination, consumerism and other such areas. Much of this scholarship has been directed to printing and publishing in Italy and, to a lesser extent, France.¹ Little attention has been focussed on the Iberian peninsula,² and only a negligible amount on the production of solo instrumental music and tablatures.

¹ Among the most recent publications which review the current state of research, see: Jane Berstein, «Financial Arrangements and the Role of the Printer and Composer in Sixteenth-Century Italian Music Printing,» *Acta Mus* 63 (1991): 39-56; Tim Carter, «Music-printing in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, Cristofano Marescotti and Zanobi Pignoni,» *Early Music History* 9 (1990): 27-72; Nicoletta Guidobaldi, «Music publishing in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Umbria,» *Early Music History* 8 (1988): 1-36.

² Barry Ife, «La imprenta y la música instrumental del renacimiento español», *El libro antiguo español: Actas del primer Coloquio Internacional (Madrid, 1986)*, ed. María Luisa López-Vidriero and Pedro M. Cátedra, Salamanca, Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Sociedad Española de Historia del Libro, 1988, p. 225-236; Klaus Wagner, *Martín de Montedoca y su prensa: contribución al estudio de la imprenta y la bibliografía sevillana del siglo XVI*, Seville, Universidad de Sevilla, 1982; John Griffiths

My intention here is to focus specifically on the printing of instrumental music in Spain, an area in which significant new documentation has recently come to light. This material provides insight into some of the operation of the printing trade, matters of copyright privilege, editorial practice, financial arrangements and so on. Due to national differences of state bureaucracy and business organization, Spanish documents provide perspectives on questions not readily answerable in studies of printing in other areas. These perspectives, however, may well be of more than local value. The broad conclusions to be drawn from my study are:

1. that instrumental books were published in Spain in large numbers, presumably for more than a regional market;
2. that, at least in the case of the vihuela, the evidence to be drawn from printing is further proof of my thesis that the instrument was not the mere courtly instrument that it has been asserted and re-asserted throughout scholarly literature,³ but rather an instrument that was equally known in the homes of the educated bourgeoisie;
3. that there is clear evidence in Spain that the authors of instrumental books had a direct role in the publication of their music. They held the printing privilege, the responsibility for financing publication and for editorial quality. There is little evidence to suggest that printers enjoyed a higher status than that of artisans performing a fee for service;
4. that printed books of instrumental music in Spain can be taken to be sources of the highest textual integrity and can be regarded with the same authority as autograph scores.⁴ This is also probably true of vocal polyphony printed in Spain during the same period. In the contract for Santa María's *Arte de tañer fantasia*, it is

and Warren E. Hultberg, «Santa Maria and the Printing of Instrumental Music in Sixteenth-Century Spain,» *Livro de Homenagem a Macario Santiago Kastner*, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1992, p. 345-360.

³ The book *El Cortesano* by the flamboyant courtier-vihuelist Luis Milán and the known employment at various Spanish courts of the authors of several of the published vihuela books has led to this assumption. My current archival research in civil records is producing substantial evidence to demonstrate that it was widely played among the educated middle-classes.

⁴ The research of Hultberg on Santa María, however, qualifies this in as much as variants can be demonstrated to exist between exemplars of this printed source. See Griffiths and Hultberg, «Santa Maria and the Printing of Instrumental Music» and Thomas de Sancta Maria, *The art of playing the fantasia*, trans. Warren E. Hultberg and Almonte C. Howell Jr, Pittsburgh, Latin American Literary Review Press, 1991.

specifically required that the author, resident in Guadalajara, be present in Valladolid at the time of printing.⁵ From what follows below, I tend to the conclusion that this was probably a normal procedure in Spanish music printing.

As a case study for this paper I wish to examine the vihuela book *El Parnasso* (1576) by Esteban Daza, and to follow through the author-printer-consumer chain that represents the transmission path of printed musical sources. Daza's is a book of vihuela tablature of 120 folios printed in octavo format containing some sixty works. It includes the usual mix of intabulated vocal music and original fantasias that are typical of Spanish instrumental publications, although it contains no dances or variation sets. It was produced in Valladolid by the printer Diego Fernández de Córdoba. The two principal documents for this study are the printing licence issued to authorise publication of the book, reprinted in the volume itself, and the contract between Daza and Fernández de Córdoba for its printing.⁶ The printing licence was issued to Daza by the King in his name and signed by the Secretary of the royal council on 29 June 1575, the printing contract was signed in January 1576, and the colophon of the book indicates that it was completed on 12 April of the same year.

Even before Philip II ascended the throne in 1556, controls on printing in Spain became significantly more rigorous than they had been during the earlier part of the forty-year reign of his father Charles V. From the late 1540s, it became mandatory to obtain royal approval for the publication of books, and it became customary for the licence authorising publication to be reprinted in all books. From at least 1547, these licences were issued under the signature of the prince. While there are no such documents in the instrumental tablatures printed in the 1530s and early 1540s, such licences are to be found in the music books of Enríquez de Valderrábano and all subsequent authors. In all cases, it is evident that Spanish practice was to grant privilege to the author, not the publisher as was normal elsewhere.

In the first instance, the purpose of the royal scrutiny appears to have been to affirm the originality of the work, to register its existence, and to censor it if necessary. All printing licences that I have examined generally affirm the usefulness of the book, and implicitly underline its moral worthiness. The opening of the licence issued to Esteban Daza is no exception:

⁵ See Griffiths and Hultberg, «Santa Maria and the Printing of Instrumental Music.»

⁶ Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid, Protocolos, leg 562, fols. 173-175.

El Rey:

Por quanto por parte de vos Esteban Daza, vecino de la villa de Valladolid, nos fue hecha relación, diciendo que vos habíades hecho un libro de música de Vihuela, el cual era muy útil y provechoso, y atento el trabajo que en le hacer habíades tenido, nos suplicastes os mandásemos dar licencia para le hacer imprimir y privilegio por veinte años, o como la nuestra merced fuese. Lo cual visto por los del nuestro Consejo, por quanto en el dicho libro se hizo la diligencia que la pragmática por nos ahora nuevamente sobre ello hecha dispone, fue acordado que debíamos mandar dar esta nuestra cédula en la dicha razón, y tuve lo por bien, por la cual vos damos licencia...

The King:

Whereas a request has been made on behalf of you, Esteban Daza, citizen of the City of Valladolid, informing us that you had made a book of music for the vihuela which was very useful and beneficial, and diligent the labour which you have put into it, you besought us to command a licence be issued for its printing, and privilege [of copyright] for twenty years or as should seem good to us. Having been seen by our council, inasmuch as the said book has been subjected to due process as determined by our recently established ordinance on these matters, it was agreed that we should authorise our permit to that effect be issued, to which I have assented...

Documents such as this also provide details of the copyright privileges granted to authors and the mechanism for authorisation of reprints during the period of copyright. The Daza licence goes on to say:

...por la cual vos damos licencia y facultad para que vos o la persona que para ello vuestro poder hubiere, y no otra persona alguna, podáis hacer imprimir y vender el dicho libro que de suso se hace mención, en estos nuestros reinos por tempo y espacio de diez años cumplidos, primeros siguientes, que corren y se cuentan desde el día de la data de ésta nuestra cédula...

y todas las veces que se hubiere de imprimir el dicho libro durante el tiempo de los dichos diez años se traiga al nuestro consejo juntamente con el original que en él fue visto, que va rubricada cada plana, y firmado al fin de él de Alonso Vallejo nuestro escribano de cámara, y uno de los que en el nuestro consejo resi-

...we therefore grant our licence and authority so that you, or any person empowered by you, and no other person whatsoever, may print and sell the aforementioned book in these our Realms for the time and space of ten full years henceforth immediately following, to run and be counted from the day of the date of this permit...

and on all occasions on which the said book is to be printed for the space of the said ten years, that it be laid before our council together with the original which was seen by them, and with every page initialed, and at the end of the whole, signed by Alonso de Vallejo, notary to the treasury, and resident upon our council, in

den, para que se vea si la dicha impresión está conforme al original, y se os dé licencia para lo poder vender

order that it may be seen whether the said impression conforms to the original and see if a licence may be issued to you

The extent of legal indemnity offered under the terms of the privilege is also set out, in part as reassurance to the author but also as a deterrent to anyone with unscrupulous intentions. Book piracy was not unknown in the sixteenth-century, although only one case has come to light relating to Spanish instrumental music: a pirate edition of Miguel de Fuenllana's *Orphenica Lyra* was issued shortly after the original edition. Klaus Wagner, reprints documents in which the blind Fuenllana authorises an agent to seek out the fraudulent copies and instigates litigation against the offending party. In the Daza contract, we find standard measures of confiscation and financial restitution:

„,so pena que cualquiera persona que sin tener para ello vuestro poder lo imprimiere, o vendiere, o hiciere imprimir o vender, pierdan toda la impresión que hicieren y vendieren, con los moldes y aparejos de ella, y más incurran en pena de cincuenta mil maravedíes por cada vez que lo contrario hicieren, la mitad de la cual dicha pena sea para nuestra cámara e fisco, y la otra mitad para vos el dicho Esteban Daza

...Whomsoever not being by you so empowered, should print it, or sell it, or cause it to be printed and sold, [will] suffer confiscation of the entire impression, together with the formes and equipment used therein, and furthermore incur as a fine, fifty thousand maravedies for each and every offence, half of which is to be for our treasury and revenue and the other half for you, the said Esteban Daza

Read in conjunction with the printing contract between author and printer, this information takes on clearer significance. The size of the fine is almost the same as the entire production cost of the book, and although only half of this compensation was paid to the author, it was certainly a substantial sum and a substantial deterrent to would be pirate editors.

The details of the licence document also attest that book prices were established by Royal Council, that for the sale *El Parnasso*:

...se tase el precio en que se hubiere de vender cada volumen so pena de caer e incurrir en la penas contenidas en la dicha pragmática y leyes de nuestros reinos...

...a price is to be fixed at which each volume ought to be sold, under threat of incurring the penalties set forth in the said ordinance and laws of our Realms...

Fortunately in Daza's book and many others of the time, the retail price was included on the title page, handwritten in ink. *El Parnaso* was taxed at 136 *maravedies*, that is 4 *reales* in silver currency. While all printing contracts that I have studied indicate that the costing of book printing was based on the amount of paper that was to be used, I have not yet been able to determine the formula upon which prices were established. However, comparison of available contracts indicates that retail price at somewhere in the vicinity of between 0.5 and 1.0 *mrs* per folio, depending upon the size and format of pages and the detail of printing.

The contract between Esteban Daza and Diego Fernández de Córdoba for *El Parnasso* came to light in the course of my archival research into the biography of Daza. It is characteristic of other known contracts concerning the printing of instrumental music in sixteenth-century Spain.⁷ While my current research on Daza is revealing him as a well-to-do amateur, very little information has come to hand regarding the identity of the printer. Like other printers in Spain who produced books of music, the Fernández de Córdoba were not exclusively involved in music printing. Although I have not yet been able to compile a substantial list of books that emanated from their press, titles include works on diverse subjects such as history, lives of saints, books of quotations, calculation tables for precious metals, navigation, commercial practice and law.⁸ At least three members of the family appear to have been involved in printing: Francisco and at least two with the name of Diego, as books printed by Diego Fernández de Córdoba date from as far apart as 1538 and 1611. No evidence has come to light that might confirm the family relationship between any of these individuals. In the field of music, particularly instrumental music and music theory, their

⁷ Besides the Daza contract discussed here, three other contracts are known: for Fuenllana's *Orphenica Lyra* see Wagner, *Martín de Montedoca*; for Cabezón's *Obras* see Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, «Escrituras de concierto para imprimir libros», *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 3ª época, 1 (1897): 363-371; and for Santa María's *Arte de tañer fantasia* see Hultberg and Howell.

⁸ Juan de Arfe de Villafañe, *Quilatador de la plata oro y piedras*, Valladolid, Alonso y Diego Fernández de Córdoba, 1572; Antonio Daza, *Quarta parte de la Chronica General de Nuestro Padre San Francisco*, Valladolid, Diego Fernández de Córdoba y Juan Godinez de Millis, 1611; Gregorio López Madera, *Excelencias de la monarchia y reyno de España*, Valladolid, Diego Fernández de Córdoba, 1597; Pedro de Medina, *Arte de Navegar*, Valladolid, Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, 1545; Juan Sedeño, *Summa de varones illustres en la qual se contienen muchos dichos, sentencias y grandes hazañas*, Valladolid, Diego Fernández de Córdoba, 1551; Cristóbal de Villalón, *Provechoso Tratado de cambios y contrataciones de mercaderes y reprouacion de usura*, Valladolid, Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, 1546.

production was as great as any other sixteenth-century Spanish printer. In addition to the Daza tablature, they also produced the vihuela books of Narváez and Enríquez de Valderrábano as well as the treatises by Santa María, Martín de Tapia and Francisco de Montanos.⁹

Turning now to the contract itself, it is headed:

Esteban Daza y Diego Fernández de Córdoba, concierto para imprimir libros

Esteban Daza and Diego Fernández de Córdoba, agreement to print books

and commences:

Conocido sea a todos los que la presente vieren cómo en la muy noble villa de Valladolid a trece días del mes de enero de mil quinientos y setenta y seis años ante mí Alonso Pérez Cerón escribano de su magestad y del número de esta dicha villa y de los testigos de yuso escritos pareció Diego Fernández de Córdoba, impresor de libros, vecino de esta dicha villa y se concertó con Esteban Daza, vecino de esta villa que está presente, y se encargó y tomó a su cargo de le imprimir mil quinientos libros de música de vihuela de cifras que el dicho Esteban Daza ha hecho.

Be it known to all who see the present [document] how in the noble town of Valladolid on the thirteenth of January 1576, before me Alonso Pérez Cerón, notary of his majesty and of those appointed in the aforesaid town, and before the witnesses who have signed below, appeared Diego Fernández de Córdoba printer of books, citizen of this town, and he reached agreement with Esteban Daza, citizen of this town here present, and he took upon himself and accepted to print 1500 books of music for the vihuela in ciphers that the said Esteban Daza had made.

An impression of 1500 copies is indeed large by comparison to general book printing in Spain, but consistent with other instrumental sources. The smallest is Fuenllana's *Orphenica Lyra* where an impression of 1000 copies; the contract for Cabezón's *Obras* specifies a total run of 1225 copies while 1500 copies are specified for Santa María's treatise the *Arte de tañer fantasia*. While insufficient detail is available to make valid comparison with general practice in the printing of part music, only 200 copies were printed of Victoria's *Missae*,

⁹ Luis Narváez, *Los seys libros del delphin* (1538); Enríquez de Valderrábano, *Silva de sirenas* (1547); Tomás de Santa María, *Arte de tañer fantasia* (1565); Martín de Tapia, *Vergel de Musica* (1570); Esteban Daza, *El Parnasso* (1576); Francisco de Montanos, *Arte de canto llano y de canto de organo* (1592).

Magnificat, motecta, psalmi of 1600.¹⁰ In other areas, specialist books on topics such as law and medicine were frequently printed in quantities of 300-400, and widely used books such as liturgical books were often printed in runs of 800-1000 copies. The size of the Daza impression and the other instrumental sources cited is too large to argue that the books were intended for use in restricted courtly circles. It is clear from numbers alone that they were intended for a wide middle-class public. Early indications from a brief study of wills and inventories provides no contradiction of this. Considering the large number of intabulations contained in these sources, in addition to the music of purely instrumental conception, these anthologies were obviously an important means of disseminating high quality art music to a sector of society that would have had virtually no access to it prior to the advent of music printing.

The calculation of printing costs in all of the contracts mentioned above were based on estimates of the quantity of paper to be used. The Daza contract continues by saying that:

los cuales dichos libros ha de tener cada uno una mano que son veinticinco pliegos de muy buena impresión, letra clara, porque le ha de dar y pagar por cada libro un real que sale cada resma a veinte y un reales que monta en todos los dichos libros que son setenta y cinco resmas, mil quinientos y setenta e cinco reales y si hubiere más de los dichos mil quinientos libros se le ha de pagar al respecto y si menos se ha de desfaltarlos...

...e para en cuenta de los dichos mil quinientos y setenta y cinco reales le dan luego de presente trescientos reales de los cuales se otorgó por bien contento y pagado a toda su voluntad porque los recibió del dicho Esteban Daza y los pasó a su parte e poder realmente y con efecto en presencia del presente escribano y toda de esta

each of which said books has to have one quire which is twenty-five sheets of very good impression [and] clear type, because he has to be paid one real for each book, which comes to twenty-one reales per ream which, for all the said books adds up to seventy five reams, which is 1575 reales and if there might be more than the said 1500 books he must pay in respect of them, and should there be less, they should be deducted...

...and on account of the 1575 reales he shall pay forthwith three hundred reales and he [Fernández] declared himself satisfied and paid in full and with goodwill, because he received them from the said Esteban Daza and passed them into his possession and safekeeping, in cash and in the presence of the present notary, and all

¹⁰ The printer was given the right to print a further one hundred copies after twelve months had elapsed. See Robert Stevenson, «Victoria,» *The New Grove*, 19, p. 703, and Victoria, *Opera Omnia*, ed F. Pedrell, vol. 8, p. lxxxv.

cantidad en reales que los sumaron y montaron, e yo el dicho escribano doy fe que se los vi recibir...

paid in silver [*reales*] which he counted and added, and I the said notary testify that I saw him receive them...

Detail then follows regarding payment of the remaining money:

y otros trescientos reales se le han de pagar al medio del tiempo que ha de imprimir la dicha impresión y los cuatrocientos reales restantes luego que haya acabado la dicha impresión y los quinientos setenta y cinco reales restantes se los ha de pagar como se fueren vendiendo los dichos libros con que habiendo vendido el número de libros que montare en los dichos quinientos setenta y cinco reales se los ha de pagar luego y confesó que los dichos mil quinientos setenta y cinco reales es supuesto precio de la dicha impresión y con ello se contenta y satisface y no quiere otra cosa alguna...

and another three hundred *reales* are to be paid to him halfway through the time of the said printing and four hundred *reales* of the balance after the printing is completed and the five hundred and seventy-five *reales* remaining are to be paid as the books are sold so that, having sold the number of books that adds up to the said five hundred and seventy-five *reales*, he is then to be paid. And he confessed that the said 1575 *reales* is the estimated price of the said impression and with that he will be satisfied and content and does not seek anything more...

Here we learn that the total cost of printing was estimated at 1575 *reales* and that the terms of payment were essentially in four instalments: 300 *reales* up front, 400 *reales* to be paid during the printing, a further 300 *reales* due on completion of printing and the remaining 575 *reales* from money raised through sales. Bearing in mind that the retail price of the book was 136 *mrs.*, or 4 *reales* (half of a piece-of-eight) as established by the royal council, sale of 144 copies would have discharged this remaining liability. But from these figures we can also establish the profitability of the entire exercise. Sale of the entire impression at the official rate would have yielded 6000 *reales*, a profit margin of 381% over the cost price. In actual fact this may have been a little less as my estimate of the paper required for the run is higher than that given in the contract: closer to 90 reams would have been required. In this case, Daza's profit margin would have been considerably lessened to 317%. Even this margin appears initially high, but it must be remembered that no further royalty of any kind was due to the author for his intellectual property or endeavour. Also, this margin was dependent upon sale of the

entire impression. There is no evidence to confirm that editions sold rapidly. There are no known reprints of any other vihuela source, although the motivation for the pirate edition of Fuenllana must have been based on some kind of commercial premise. In the case of Cabezón's book we know that sales were not rapid and a large remaining batch of copies was sold off to a book dealer whose tardiness in paying required the Cabezón family to instigate legal action.¹¹ The questions of whether sales, in this instance, were influenced by the fact that Antonio de Cabezón was 22 years dead when his son Hernando published his music, or that keyboard instruments enjoyed less domestic popularity than the vihuela cannot be answered at this stage. It is quite clear, however, that many professional organists were not interested in playing the music of others from books of tablature.¹²

The following passage of the contract is of great interest as it specifies the mechanism for ensuring the fidelity of the printing. On this basis, it can fairly be taken that the printed book should be afforded the same level of textual authority as an autograph manuscript, and it should be noted that similar conditions are included in all other contracts with which this one has been compared. It might be conjectured that such a procedure was a normal convention of the printing trade in Spain:

...el dicho Esteban Daza le ha de dar el original correcto de la dicha cifra y que las pruebas que le diere firmados de su nombre esté obligado a dárselas correctas y el dicho Diego Fernández de Córdoba esté obligado a dárselas conforme a la muestra que el dicho Esteban Daza le diere firmado de su nombre que se entiende que ninguna emienda o falta de punto o letra que saliere falta en los dichos libros y impresión no sea obligado el dicho Diego Fernández a pagarle y ha de ser a cargo del dicho Esteban Daza...

...the said Esteban Daza is required to provide the original of the said tablature, corrected, and the proofs, which he should sign in his name, he is [also] obliged to give them back corrected. And Diego Fernández de Córdoba is obliged to print them in accordance with the copy that Esteban Daza gives him signed in his name, by which it is understood that, for any error or missing note or letter that might occur in the said books and printing, Diego Fernández will not be liable and the cost is to be borne by Esteban Daza...

¹¹ Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, «Escrituras de concierto.»

¹² See Robert F. Judd, «The Use of Notational Formats at the Keyboard: A Study of the Printed Sources of Keyboard Music in Spain and Italy c. 1500-1700, Selected Manuscript Sources Including Music by Claudio Merulo, and Contemporary Writings Concerning Notations,» diss., Oxford, 1988.

It can be concluded from this passage that the printer played no editorial role in the publishing process, that all responsibility for the accuracy of the printed product was vested in the author. Even in the case of the blind Fuenllana, the role of checking the proof sheets is assigned in the printing contract to a sighted confidant.

The next clause in the contract deals with the time scale for printing. As can be observed, the production schedule was indeed short

...[Diego Fernández de Córdoba] obligó su persona e bienes muebles e raíces derechos e acciones habidos y por haber que para principio de la cuaresma primero de este dicho año comenzará a imprimir los dichos libros bien impresos y a de hechar muy buen papel grueso numerado bueno y no alzará la mano de la dicha impresión hasta lo acabar y lo dará hecho y acabado para mediada cuaresma ocho días más o menos sin poner en ello excusa ni inconveniente alguno

...[Diego Fernández de Córdoba] pledged his person and property, goods and chattels, rights, past and pending actions that by the beginning of first Lent (Sexagesima?) of this said year he will commence printing the said books well printed and using very good thick paper, and well numbered, and will not cease printing until it is finished, and he will hand it over finished and completed by the middle of Lent, or within eight days thereafter, without excuse or impediment

Bearing in mind that this contract was signed on 13 January, Fernández de Córdoba was obviously confident of being able to commence work soon afterwards, and to bring the book to fruition within a remarkably short time. Easter fell on 22 April in 1576,¹³ so I interpret the dates specified as implying that printing was to commence in the week beginning 11 March, with completion anticipated in the week commencing 8 April. Fernández de Córdoba was apparently able to keep to his proposed schedule, with the completion of printing on 12 April being recorded in the colophon of *El Parnasso*.

Additional conditions were built into the contract to obligate the printer to his task, to ensure adherence to the specified time schedule, and to give Esteban Daza the right to break the contract and seek publication elsewhere should the printer not comply. Fernández de Córdoba therefore agrees that:

¹³ F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, Leipzig, J. C. Hinrich, 1914, vol. 3, p. 416.

...y no lo cumpliendo consiente e quiere que el dicho Esteban Daza lo dé imprimir en cualquier parte que quisiere y todo lo que le costare así de los aparejos que pusiere como de la que costare la dicha impresión se lo pagará luego de llano en llano...

...and [by] not complying he consents and wishes that Esteban Daza might give it [the book] to be printed anywhere else and all that it might cost him for equipment as well as for the cost of printing the said impression he will pay him openly...

Likewise, in the event that the printing was not of sufficiently high quality:

...y si impresos los dichos libros y no estuvieren bien impresos y acabados por la orden que dicha es, todo lo que estuviere mal hecho lo tornará luego hacer a su costa y no lo cumpliendo consiente e quiere que lo torne hacer a su costa y todo lo que costare se lo pagará luego de llano en llano...

...and if the books, when printed, should not be well printed and finished in the manner specified herein, all that is badly done will be redone at his [Fernández's] expense, and not complying, agrees and wishes that it might be done at his expense, and all that it might cost he shall then pay openly...

The remaining sections of the contract deal with the obligations and liabilities of the parties and the jurisdictions under which the contract is valid. These legal formalities provide no further relevant information and do not warrant quoting here. At the end of the contract appear the signatures of the two parties and the notary Alonso Pérez Cerón.

The remaining issues relate to the marketing, distribution and destination of the book. There are more questions than answers. It cannot be established whether Fernández de Córdoba was involved in retailing the books he produced, whether they were handed over to the author for marketing or whether either party struck an arrangement with a book dealer. The town of Medina del Campo that neighbours Valladolid was the centre of the Spanish book trade and it is not improbable that some commercial arrangement was entered into.

It is clear that instrumental music volumes, both tablatures and Santa María's treatise were produced in large quantities with the expectation that they would achieve wide distribution. A production of 1500 copies of Daza's *Parnasso* in a city with a population in the vicinity of six thousand inhabitants makes this patently evident. But even in Valladolid, I have not been able to track down 16th-century owners of the volume. In the numerous detailed inventories that survive appended to the wills

of the city's educated gentry, not a single copy has appeared in those that I have examined, although a few isolated copies of other vihuela books appear from time to time. The only knowledge we have of this particular volume is of a copy that was bought by a book merchant in Mexico City in 1576 along with a copy of Narváez's *Delphin*.¹⁴ Despite the lack of positive evidence, we cannot ignore the large quantities in which Daza's and other instrumental books were produced. They were obviously intended to reach a wide market and I cannot help but suppose that it was through these books, with their high quality original music and substantial numbers of intabulated vocal works, that the most sophisticated art music of the sixteenth century became part of the regular sound environment of the homes of the growing educated urban classes.

¹⁴ See John Ward, «The *Vihuela de mano* and its Music, 1536-1576,» diss., New York University, 1953, p. 363.