John Griffiths

Hidalgo, merchant, poet, priest: the vihuela in the urban soundscape

It is only in recent decades that musicologists have begun to explore the urban context of Spanish Renaissance music through the abundant civil records and other documents preserved in Spain. Most are notarial records of commercial transactions, loans, investments, the dispersal of estates of the deceased, apprenticeships, and all variety of contracts and agreements between institutions and individuals from various sectors of society. The exploration of civil records continues to enlighten what is known about vihuelas, their players and makers, and has led to a fundamental reassessment of the way the instrument and its music are understood. The vihuela has escaped the courtly domain that it once was thought exclusively to have occupied, and now inhabits a much broader urban setting. Ongoing investigation continues to open doorways into the musical space of Spaniards from many walks of 16th-century life, and is a key element in the broader exploration of musical life in Spanish Renaissance cities. Each new discovery, however small, helps to fill in another part of the vihuela's still unwritten history even if, at the same time, the new information also serves to reinforce how little is known about music in 16th-century urban life, not only in Spain. In this study I wish to draw together some of the new information, place it alongside some better-known material and offer a glimpse of the vihuela in distinct social spaces: among the urban aristocracy and the *hidalgos* of the lesser nobility, as well as the professional and merchant classes in Spanish cities. This recent harvest of civil documents also presents new, broader challenges concerning urban musical history and makes evident the need to forge alternative models combining micro-history with a social history of music built 'from the bottom up'. Such a history would situate the polyphonic tradition and the institutions of church and state within a broader context, not necessarily occupying a central place as the sole generators of all the music of the city. Studies along these lines can no doubt amplify and complement existing historiography to add some of the connecting tissue between the music we know and the society that produced it. Alongside the Renaissance art music of the court and cathedral, it seeks to develop a meaningful representation of musical activity in the streets, town squares, market places, homes, workplaces, as well as the more familiar institutional spaces.

The people cited in the present study are drawn from documentary and literary references pertaining to some of the 180 players of the vihuela whose names are presently known, and a similar number of *violeros*, the makers of stringed instruments. The fact that the number of known makers is almost as great as the number of players is a clear indication that current knowledge scarcely scratches the surface. Extrapolating from the data about known *violeros* helps to give a clearer idea of the possible level of social penetration of the vihuela. Conservative calculations suggest that more than 150,000 stringed instruments may have been built in Spain during the 16th century, predominantly vihuelas and guitars.[1] Figures of this magnitude are supported by the contractual evidence concerning printed vihuela music that indicates editions of 1,000 to 1,500 copies were normal, and that between 12 and 16 *violeros* appear to have been active at any given time in cities such as Madrid and Lisbon during the 16th century.[2]

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Vihuelas and the nobility

The urban nobility clearly emulated the fashions and customs of the royal court. Compared to other European territory, little is yet known about music in Spanish noble households during the 16th century although some very recent work shows promise that this situation will change.[3] It is not yet possible, however, to make broad generalizations. Some noble households appear to have had musicians in their service while others did not. Among those with strong musical traditions are the dukes of the Infantado in Guadalajara where vihuelist Alonso Mudarra spent his youth, presumably as a page. The dukes of Medina Sidonia evidently not only employed musicians but also appear to have had instruments made for their musicians. This is the most likely explanation of the description of a guitar (possibly a vihuela) in the inventory of Francisco Rodríguez de Morales, probably a professional musician, who died in Valladolid in 1569 owning

> una guitarra muy buena toda de ébano y la tapa con un lazo hondo y unas piñas doradas y un escudo entre las clavijas con las armas del duque de Medina Sidonia de oro en una funda negra con su clavezón dorado…[4]
> a very good guitar made of ebony and a soundboard with gilt decorations and a plaque with the arms of the Duke of Medina Sidonia in gold between the tuning pegs in a black case with a gilt clasp…

In contrast, the scarcity of musical materials in the libraries of other noble families suggests little or no involvement with music, although personal library inventories might not be the best indicators of the real situation of music in noble households.[5] The total absence of music in the library of the Duke of Medinaceli in the late 17th century, for example, makes it hard to account for manuscripts such as the famous *Cancionero de Medinaceli* which has allegedly been in the family's possession since the 16th century.[6]

In other cases post-mortem inventories reveal the presence of music in noble households, sometimes providing significant details. The inventory made in December 1572 on the death of the Count of Ribadavia, Luis Sarmiento de Castro, contains '77 music books in Spanish, French and Italian', 47 other '*piezas de música*'—presumably items in musical notation, as well as a spinet or harpsichord.[7] His splendid palace in Valladolid, the birthplace of Philip II (now the Palacio de Pimentel), was located in the most prestigious area of the city, the Plaza San Pablo. One of his neighbours living across the square was Charles V's secretary of state, Francisco de los Cobos (illus.1), until his death in 1547 the probable employer of vihuelist Luis de Narváez. Family relations between the neighbouring houses were close given that Cobos's wife, María de Mendoza y Sarmiento, was Luis Sarmiento de Castro's aunt. The intertwining of the families increased following the marriage of their respective children, Diego de los Cobos and Leonor Sarmiento de Castro. The inventory made of Diego's possessions following his death in Zaragoza in 1576 includes 15 instruments, mainly vihuelas, lutes and guitars, as well as four viols, a violin and 20 books of music. The inventory includes two large vihuelas, another with ebony ribs, and three lutes described as old, probably an indication that they were not in playing condition. Of the three guitars, two were of ebony, one had notable inlay on its soundboard, the second had a vaulted back, while the third was 'all white' with an inlaid soundboard.[8] The collection closely resembles that of another of their Valladolid neighbours, Rodrigo Sarmiento de la Cerda, Count of Ribadeo, inventoried in 1580.[9] It describes the collection of ten instruments in unusual detail and includes the names of several makers that provide another link between the nobility and their urban context. The inventory includes instruments made by *violeros* in Valladolid, Toledo and Madrid, among which are an expensive ivory lute valued at 200 *reales*, and a *vihuela alaudada,* a 'luted vihuela' by Sebastián Rodríguez valued at 16 *reales*, with a vaulted back and a *lazo hondo*, the type of concave parchment rosette common on 17th-century guitars.[10] The other vihuelas and guitars were all choice ebony instruments made by Valladolid *violeros* Juan de Villalpando (active 1556–87) and Diego del Castillo (active before 1593), and the Toledan maker Diego del Portillo (b. 1550, active 1575–1608).[11] The collection also includes a large walnut vihuela by Juan Rodríguez, probably the same maker who was examined by the Madrid guild of *violeros* in 1578.[12] The inventory is also noteworthy as providing the earliest known record of a double harp, 'una arpa de dos órdenes'.

1 Jan Gossaert (Mabuse), Portrait of Francisco de los Cobos y Molina (*c.*1530–32), oil on panel, 43.8 × 33.7 cm (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles; with permission)

This context of noble households is the environment in which vihuelists Luis Milán, Luis de Narváez and Miguel de Fuenllana can be situated, although the latter two eventually entered royal service. After all, Fuenllana's surviving music published in *Orphenica lyra* (1554) reflects his musical experience in Seville in the household of the Marchioness of Tarifa and her husband Pere Afán de Ribera, Duke of Alcalá, rather than the royal court. It was only after the duke's appointment as Viceroy of Naples in 1559 that Fuenllana entered royal service.

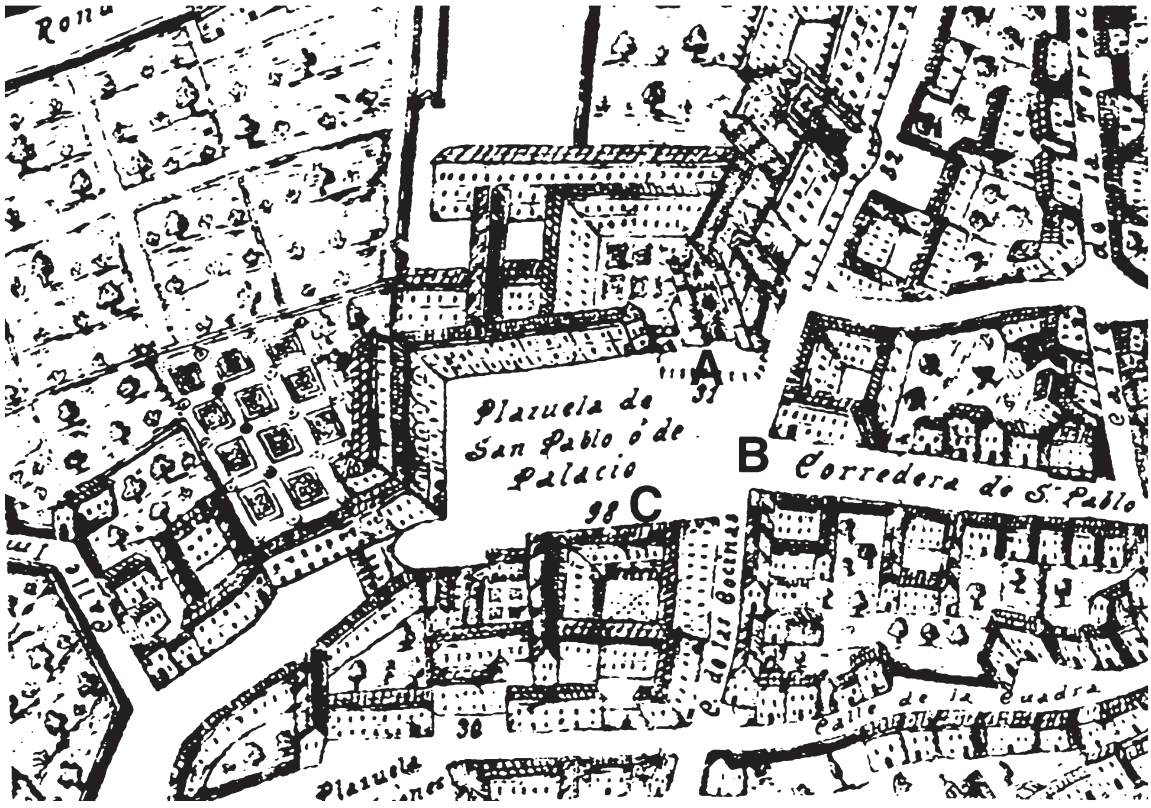
Clerics

Even though the vihuela was not used directly in liturgical celebration, it was associated with church life in other ways. With few exceptions, the religious class interacted fluidly with the rest of society. Clerics in fact accounted for close to 20 per cent of the population of Spanish cities such as Valladolid and cannot thus be considered as outside their urban context. Accordingly, nearly one-third of the music contained in the printed vihuela books was originally composed for liturgical use and is a clear reflection of the intellectual and artistic leadership in music that came from church musicians as well as an indication of broader pathways of dissemination. Outside the church, religious music adapted for the vihuela was a pastime and a didactic tool for learning about the music of leading composers, and intabulations served to transmit this music more widely than would otherwise have been possible. Similarly, the vihuela was part of the polyphonist's toolkit. Not only was vihuela tablature the most effective means of writing polyphony in score, it was also a way of hearing how newly written music sounded. It is probable that this is one of the reasons why composers such as Francisco Guerrero played the vihuela, as is revealed by Francisco Pacheco.[13]

For other clerics, playing the vihuela was evidently a leisure activity. This would have been the case with the outstanding vihuela composer Alonso Mudarra, who began his 36-year career as a canon at Seville Cathedral in December 1546 just two months after the publication of his *Tres libros de música en cifras*. According to the 1580 post-mortem inventory of his possessions, he owned two vihuelas at the time of his death as well as various books of music.[14] Throughout his ecclesiastical life, the Chapter of the Cathedral made use of his musical knowledge by assigning him responsibilities ranging from advising Francisco Guerrero on the musical requirements of the new Tridentine rite, to purchasing music for the choir and supervising the construction of a new organ.[15]

The names of many other clerics who evidently devoted their leisure time to the vihuela are also transmitted through post-mortem inventories. Francisco de Lerma, a singer in Toledo Cathedral, died in 1569 with two vihuelas in his possession, for example, and another cleric, Millán de Ribera, who had no professional involvement with music, also had two vihuelas among the belongings inventoried upon his death in Valladolid in 1562.[16] Other recreational cleric-vihuelists had greater acquisitive powers. Lorenzo Fernández de Córdoba, a cleric from Palencia who died in Valladolid in 1593, left nine vihuelas and an important collection of music books that included Masses, motets, madrigals and villancicos by composers including Morales, Guerrero, Verdelot, Phinot, Palestrina and Vásquez.[17] Inventory reports are complemented by literary references that assist in revealing the attributes of people who played the vihuela, even if they do not provide much information about musical practice. A noted theologian documented in this way, *el licenciado* Perea, was an amateur player resident in the town of Almedina, between Andalucía and La Mancha, and is cited in the *Relaciones topográficas de los pueblos de España* commissioned by Philip II in 1576, where he is described as 'one of the most distinguished men in vihuela music that has been known in this land and beyond'.[18] The use of superlatives in such descriptions is common and the literal texts need to be understood with certain qualifications.

Other churchmen such as Juan Bermudo and Tomás de Santa María, today considered as authoritative music theorists more than practising priests, were able to share the musical knowledge they had acquired through religious life with a broader lay public by means of the printing press. Their respective and well-known treatises *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna, 1555) and *Arte de tañer fantasía* (Valladolid, 1565) were published in a print-run of 1,500 copies and attained a broad readership, contributing to music education in areas of society where only a small privileged few had access to university training.



2 Valladolid, Plaza de San Pablo, from the plan by Ventura Seco (1738); (a) Church of San Pablo; (b) Palace of the Pimentel family; (c) Palace of Francisco de los Cobos

Urban professionals, merchants and working people

The vihuela appears in many corners of urban life even though the nature of the surviving documents associate it more readily with the upper strata of society. Among artisans and unskilled workers, references to other stringed instruments, particularly guitars and *rabeles* (rebecs), are more common than the references to vihuelas among educated professionals or those associated with commercial life. The vihuela was also closely associated with poets and poetry, no doubt due to the common use of the instrument to accompany song including both traditional *romances* and the new Italianate poetry that was at the cutting edge of contemporary fashion among aristocrats, *hidalgos* and well-to-do intellectuals whose circumstances allowed them to live without working. It is within this culture that we find Garcilaso de la Vega, one of the most eminent poets of his time, but also a professional soldier and a player of the vihuela. Men of this type are found throughout the 16th century. They range from nobleman Rodrigo de Moscoso Osorio, Count of Altamira, who died in the battle of Bugía in North Africa in 1510, through to Felipe Alonso a century later who was described by Andrés de Claramonte as a 'genius of Segovia, knowledgeable about the vihuela and learned in poetry'.[19] Closely related to this group is Juan de Arguijo, a *hidalgo* and member of the council of 24 who governed Seville. He was recorded by Rodrigo Caro in his *Varones insignes en letras naturales de la ilustrísima ciudad de Sevilla* as a talented musician who surrounded himself with poets and musicians in his house as if it were an academy of Antiquity, wasting away his wealth until he died in poverty.[20] Not all poet-vihuelists from the higher echelons of society lived by independent means. Born in Seville around 1547 and educated in

3 Valladolid, Church of San Pablo with its plateresque façade (photo: John Griffiths)

4 Valladolid, Palace of the Pimentel family, patio (photo: John Griffiths)

the universities of Salamanca and Osuna in canon law and jurisprudence, Cristóbal Mosquera de Figueroa (d.1610) held various public posts, spending the last 25 years of his life as a magistrate in Écija until his death. His writing also includes an elegant dedication to Guerrero published in his *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* of 1589.[21] Guillermo Díaz-Plaja, modern editor of his poetry, praises him as an 'example of loyalty, energy, prudence and humanity. His poetic works are in consonance with this, but with greater rhetorical exaltation.'[22] Knowledge of his vihuela-playing comes from the praise bestowed on him by Pacheco in his *Libro de descripción* cited above.

Non-professional vihuelists Diego Pisador and Esteban Daza can be situated in the same sector of Spanish society, in an environment that allowed them to intermingle freely among nobles, *hidalgos* and the professional bourgeoisie. Pisador was born around 1509, son of Alonso Pisador and Isabel Ortiz. In their recent edition of Pisador's music, Francisco Roa and Felipe Gertrúdix have begun to uncover the world in which this vihuelist moved.[23] Despite the limitations found in Pisador's own compositions, it is obvious that this vihuelist from Salamanca possessed a broad knowledge of local and international trends in vocal polyphony. He chose to intabulate eight entire Josquin Masses in his *Libro de música de vihuela* of 1552, for example, to balance the relatively few works included in previous vihuela publications. Roa and Gertrúdix suggest that Pisador's mother was an illegitimate daughter of Alfonso de Fonseca III (1476–1534), and that his father was a notary in the archbishop's service. As Archbishop of Santiago, Alfonso de Fonseca was a great patron of the arts in Salamanca before being elevated to the position

of Archbishop of Toledo and primate of Spain in 1523. Pisador can thus be situated in the orbit of the cathedral of Salamanca, an environment that would have given him ample opportunity to learn about leading figures of the international musical scene. Diego Pisador's father spent over 20 years living out of Salamanca, administering the estate of the Count of Monterrey, another of the Alfonso III's descendants. During this time, the vihuelist replaced his father as titular head of the family in Salamanca, having taken minor orders in 1536, aged 17. Diego's daily life would have consisted of replacing his father as major-domo of the city, looking after his mother and younger brother, and devoting himself to the vihuela. He resided comfortably in one of the family houses, living on an allowance from his father that included his own horse and a servant. Following the death of his mother in September 1550, Diego inherited a substantial part of her estate which gave him the money he needed to print his *Libro de música de vihuela.* Documents from this period attest to intense resistance from his brother and later his father who also admonished his son's foolish enterprise.[24] Diego finally was paid 30,000 *maravedies* from his mother's estate in 1553 to discharge the debts arising from the book.

According to its colophon, Pisador's *Libro de música de vihuela* was printed in his own home in Salamanca in 1552, although the initials 'GM' in the vignette beneath it indicate the involvement of the printer Guillermo Millis. The book was printed with the same type used by Francisco Fernández de Córdoba five years earlier to print Valderrábano's *Silva de sirenas* in neighbouring Valladolid, and it was later reused by the Fernández de Córdoba printers for Esteban Daza's *El Parnasso* in 1576. This typographical connection between the two vihuelists is not the only one as Pisador was probably acquainted with a *racionero* at Salamanca Cathedral, Francisco Daza, maternal grandfather and great uncle of Esteban Daza, given that his parents, Tomás Daza and Juan Daza, were first cousins. Just like Pisador, Daza was also from a family of *hidalgos* who achieved the peak of their wealth and prestige in the early decades of the 16th century. As a child, Esteban lived close to the Plaza San Pablo mentioned above in connection to urban nobles, but later moved to a house near the University of Valladolid.[25] Even in the family's downward spiral through the 16th century, Esteban's daily life would have brought him into contact with a broad cross-section of urban society. He had associates and friends who were employed at the royal exchequer, and an uncle who was a leading lawyer; he had contact with printers and clerics, as well as casual daily dealings with other individuals.

Unfortunately, very few archival documents reveal details about musical practice and the repertory of urban vihuelists. Many of the people cited above are likely to have played music of the kind that is transmitted in the surviving printed books and the small number of manuscript fragments. A few inventories are specific enough to name vihuela books by their titles, but others only refer to music books generically. Inventories of book sellers also indicate that Italian and French tablature books were imported into Spain, but the area that remains to be uncovered in greater depth concerns the music of unwritten practice. Surviving manuscripts such as *Ramillete de flores* (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms.6001) suggest a bridge between written and orally transmitted traditions through the predominant number of variation sets based on popular grounds.[26] As well as solo music, all the printed books include songs with vihuela accompaniment, both intabulations and works directly conceived as accompanied songs. Luis Milán's *El cortesano* (1561) describes situations in which its author accompanied himself on the vihuela at the Valencian court in informal, spontaneous song performances, presumably without the aid of notation, and there is further evidence to suggest that this kind of practice was common throughout the urban populace. Arguing that the distinction made between the 'popular' strummed *guitarra* and the 'noble' plucked vihuela by writers such as Covarrubias is somewhat exaggerated, Pepe Rey presents convincing evidence to support the use of the vihuela to play strummed music of popular character.[27] Spanish broadsheets, *pliegos de cordel*, are among the principal evidence of the vihuela being used to accompany songs, probably with simple strummed accompaniments and in many cases using chord schemes such as those that underpin the sets of variations on *Conde Claros*, *Guárdame las vacas* and the *Pavana* (folia) found in the vihuela repertory. These include the broadsheets with titles that explicitly imply vihuela accompaniment, such

5 Valladolid, Palace of Francisco de los Cobos, originally constructed in 1526, but with substantial 19th-century modifications to the original façade (photo: John Griffiths)

as the anonymous *Aquí se contienen doze Romances de amores muy sentidos … para cantar y tañer con vihuela*, published in Granada in 1570 by Hugo de Mena.[28] Some of these broadsheets include parody texts indicated to be 'sung to the tune of…', while others include texts that are known from settings in printed vihuela books.[29] These sources are no doubt further traces of widespread use of the vihuela across the breadth of the urban populace.[30]

Among the most wealthy sector of Spaniards devoted to trade and commerce, Madrid banker Andrés de Écija owned two *vihuelas de arco*, three *cítaras*, two harps, two clavichords, lute, vihuela, guitar and a small positive organ that were sold on his death in 1588.[31] In contrast, others of apparently more modest means from the merchant class also owned instruments. Francisco de Castro who died in 1546 in Seville, 'formerly a citizen of Antwerp in the County of Flanders', owned a 'small vihuela' that fetched a modest 1.5 *reales* (51 *maravedies*) on his death.[32] Similarly, a vihuela from the estate of Catalina de Bobilla in Seville, fetched 2 *reales* at auction in the same year. One of the few women owners whose names have come to light in archival documents, she was the wife of 'Luys de Moya presently in the Indies, and citizen of Triana' and a worldly woman whose estate included a substantial quantity of fine clothing and jewellery.[33] Many women in conventual life, however, are likely to have played the vihuela in the same way as their male counterparts. Some possible insight into the musical practices of tradesman vihuelists is found in a contract drawn up in Granada in 1616 between a professional 'maestro de instrumentos, harpa y vihuelas', Juan de Cienfuegos, a silk weaver named Juan Bautista, a shoemaker Juan de Soto and Pedro Rodríguez who 'is at present without sight'. The agreement specifies that Cienfuegos was to coach the other three every day for a full year

and that he was to teach them to play their instruments, to teach each one his part individually, and to rehearse with them.[34]

It is clear that this selection of material barely scratches the surface of the real questions surrounding the gamut of musical activity in Spanish cities in the 16th century, although it does serve to underscore the potential of civic archives in Spain to contribute to a broader understanding of musical life, and begins to address some of the unanswered questions that confront us. Our knowledge of vihuelas, vihuelists and the environment in which they flourished is no doubt enriched by disconnected scraps of haphazard and superficial evidence, yet these are still far from able to provide a three-dimensional image of the vihuela in urban life.

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1 To arrive at these figures it is assumed that (1) the surviving names of *violeros* might be between 10 and 25 per cent of the total number who worked during the period, and (2) that an average working life may have been 20 years with an annual production of 12 instruments.

2 Concerning Iberian *violero* guilds, see C. Bordas, 'La construcción de vihuelas y guitarras en Madrid en los siglos XVI y XVII', *La guitarra en la historia*, vi (1995), pp.47–67; and M. Morais, 'A Viola de Mão em Portugal (c.1450–c.1789)', *Nassarre*, xxii (2006), pp.393–462. Concerning the printing of tablatures, see J. Griffiths, 'Printing the Art of Orpheus: vihuela tablatures in sixteenth-century Spain', in *Early music printing and publishing in the Iberian world*, ed. I. Fenlon and T. Knighton (Kassel, 2006), pp.181–214.

3 Notable recent incursions into this area include the ground-breaking study by Juan Ruiz in this issue of the journal and the doctoral thesis by R. F. Schwartz, 'En busca de liberalidad: music and musicians in the courts of the Spanish nobility, 1470–1640', Ph.D diss., University of Illinois (2001). The lack of research is substantially explained by the inaccessibility of the archives of noble houses.

4 Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid (AHPV), Protocolos, leg.291, f.821.

5 The library of the first Marquis of Tarifa in 1532, for example, includes two volumes of polyphony (*libros de canto de órgano*) while that of the third Duke of Béjar, 12 years later, contains none. See A. Redondo, 'La bibliothèque de don Francisco de Zúñiga y Guzmán de Sotomayor, troisième duc de Béjar (¿1500?–1544)', *Mélanges Casa de Velázquez*, iii (1967), pp.147–96; M. C. Alvarez Márquez, 'La biblioteca de Don Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, I Marqués de Tarifa (1532)', *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos*, xiii (1986), pp.1–39.

6 Concerning the 1673 inventory, see M. C. Alvarez Márquez, 'La biblioteca de don Antonio Juan-Luis de la Cerda VII Duque de Medinaceli', *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos,* xv (1988), pp.251–390.

7 'Item. Cuarenta y siete piezas de música de diferentes órdenes / Item. setenta y siete libros de música en lengua española, francesa e italiana / Item. Un clavecinvano que es instrumento de música.' AHPV, Protocolos, leg.296, 2ª parte, f.657.

8 See P. Calahorra, *La musica en Zaragoza en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Zaragoza, 1977), i, pp.330–1.

9 AHPV, Protocolos, leg.386, f.587, reproduced in J. Griffiths, 'La vihuela en la época de Felipe II', in *Políticas y prácticas musicales en el mundo de Felipe II*, ed. J. Griffiths and J. Suárez-Pajares (Madrid, 2004), pp.415–48. An identical copy of the inventory from Zaragoza is published in T. Dadson in 'Music books and instruments in Spanish golden-age inventories: the case of Don Juan de Borja (1607)', in *Early music printing and publishing in the Iberian world*, p.115.

10 See C. González, 'La vihuela anonyme du Musée de la musique de Paris', in *Aux origines de la guitare: la vihuela de mano*, ed. J. Dugot (Paris, 2004), pp.62–73.

11 See F. Reynaud, *La polyphonie tolédane et son milieu des premiers témoignages aux environs de 1600* (Paris, 1996), p.404; and J. L. Romanillos 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, 2002), p.311.

12 Details of this examination are given in Bordas, 'La construcción de vihuelas y guitarras en Madrid', p.55.

13 F. Pacheco, *Libro de descripción de verdaderos Retratos de Illustres y Memorables varones* (Ms.1599).

14 K. Wagner, 'Los libros del canónigo y vihuelista Alonso Mudarra', *Bulletin Hispanique*, xcii (1990), pp.655–61.

15 See R. Stevenson, *La música en la Catedral de Sevilla 1478–1606: documentos para su estudio* (Madrid, 1985).

16 Francisco de Lerma: Archivo Histórical Provincial de Toledo (AHPT), Protocolos, leg.1845, f.42, dated 24 January 1569, cited in Reynaud, *La Polyphonie tolédane*, p.392; Millán de Ribera: AHPV, Protocolos, leg.58, f.722.

17 AHPV, Hacienda, 1ª serie, censos, leg.547.

18 '…el licenciado Perea, el cual demás de ser un gran theólogo fue uno de los insignes hombres en la música de vigüela que hubo en esta tierra y en otras partes', Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Est.21, 1[a], 12, f.380.

19 A. de Claramonte, *Letanía moral* (Seville, 1612): 'ingenio de Segovia, sabio en la vihuela, y entendido en la poesía', n.p.

20 See Juan de Arguijo, *Obra poética*, ed. S. B. Vranich (Madrid, 1971), and the article on him in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, ed. E. Casares *et al* (Madrid, 1999–2002).

21 The dedication is reproduced in F. Guerrero, *Canciones y villanescas espirituales (Venecia, 1589)*, ed. V. García and M. Querol Gavaldá, Monumentos de la Música Española xvi (Barcelona, 1955/ R1982).

22 C. Mosquera de Figueroa, *Obras i Poesías inéditas*, ed. G. Díaz-Plaja (Madrid, 1955), p.25: 'ejemplo de lealtad, de energía, de prudencia, de humanidad. Su obra poética vibra al mismo compás pero con más exaltación retórica.'

23 F. Roa and F. Gértrudix, *El libro de música de vihuela de Diego Pisador (1552)*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 2002), Estudio y transcripción, pp.37–9.

24 These documents are reproduced in N. Alonso Cortés, 'Diego Pisador: algunos datos biográficos', *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo*, iii (1921), pp.331–5.

25 For a more complete account, see J. Griffiths, 'Esteban Daza: a gentleman musician in Renaissance Spain', *Early Music*, xxiii/4 (1995), pp.437–49.

26 J. J. Rey, *Ramillete de flores: colección inédita de piezas para vihuela (1593)* (Madrid, 1975).

27 See particularly the definitions of *guitarra* and vihuela in S. Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid, 1611). On vihuela broadsheets, see P. Rey, 'Otros libros de vihuela', in *Estudios sobre la vihuela*, ed. C. González (Madrid, 2007), pp.11–30.

28 A. Rodríguez-Moñino, *Diccionario bibliográfico de pliegos sueltos poéticos (siglo XVI)* (Madrid, 1970), no.721.

29 *Aquel caballero, madre* (L. Milan, *El maestro*, f.Q1*v*), for example, is also found in an undated broadsheet headed *Glossa sobre el Romance que dizen tres cortes armara el rey* issued in Burgos by Alonso de Alcaudete (Rodríguez-Moñino, no.10).

30 For further information, see G. Fiorentino, 'Música española del Renacimiento entre tradición oral y transmisión escrita: el esquema de folía en procesos de composición e improvisación', Ph.D diss., University of Granada (2009), or the same author's 'La música de "hombres y mugeres que no saben de música": polifonía de tradición oral en el Renacimiento español', *Revista de Musicología*, xxxi (2008), pp.9–39.

31 B. Kenyon de Pascual, 'Two 16th-century Spanish inventories', *Galpin Society Journal*, xlix (1996), pp.198–203.

32 O. Schöner, *Die Vihuela de mano im Spanien* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), p.99.

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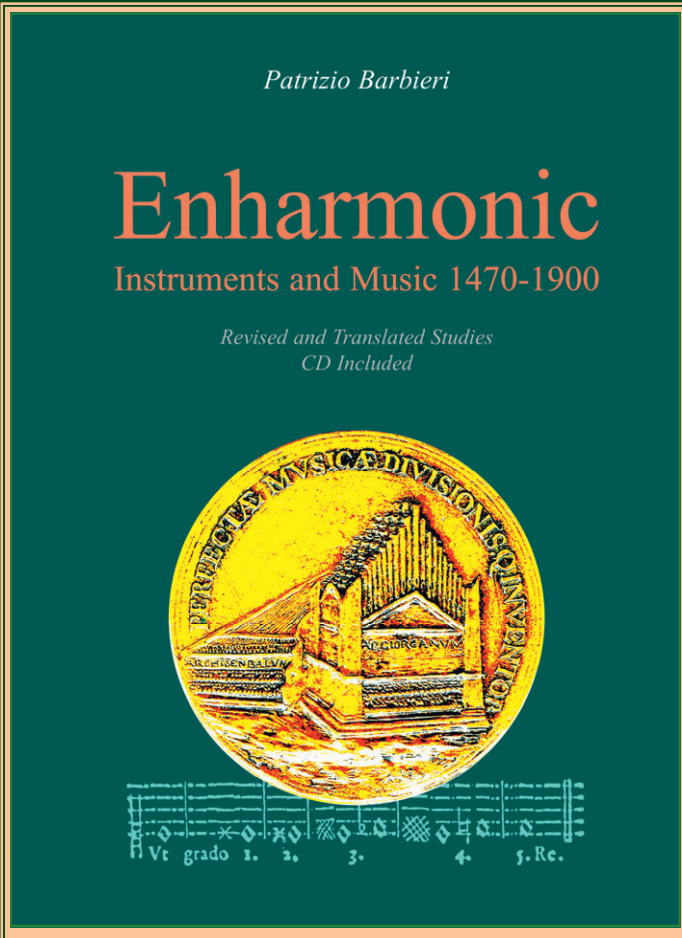

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