

# ENCOMIUM MUSICÆ

## Essays in Memory of Robert J. Snow



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### THE TRANSMISSION OF SECULAR POLYPHONY IN RENAISSANCE SPAIN: Esteban Daza and Rodrigo de Ceballos

Considering the rich abundance of liturgical polyphony composed in sixteenth-century Spain for use in its great cathedrals and other religious establishments, it is indeed surprising that so little secular polyphony has survived. Whatever the reasons for this, it appears that the composition, transmission and performance of secular polyphony in Spain was far more widespread than the number of surviving sources would imply. It is also remarkable that very little is known about the place of music in Renaissance Spanish secular society. The pioneering documentary study of music at the court of Charles V by Higinio Anglés provided the groundwork for a deepened knowledge of the role of music in the daily lives of the royal household, but little illuminates musical activity in the courts of Spanish noble families, let alone the educated professional classes.<sup>1</sup> Despite the growth of study concerning the social context, this is one area that largely remains an enigma.

Standing tall among the secular sources of the mid-century is MS 13230 of the former library of the Dukes of Medinaceli whose secular contents were published in 1949 by Miguel Querol and commonly known as the *Cancionero de Medinaceli*.<sup>2</sup> The paradigm of a tradition, it confirms the existence of a Spanish secular repertory composed by some of the leading native composers whose professional livelihood came

<sup>1</sup>Higinio Anglés, *La música en la corte de Carlos V. Con la transcripción del "Libro de Cifra Nueva para Tecla, Harpa y Vihuela" de Luys Venegas de Henestrosa (Alcalá de Henares, 1557)*, 2 vols., Monumentos de la Música Española II-III (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1944).

<sup>2</sup>*Cancionero Musical de la Casa de Medinaceli*, 2 vols., Monumentos de la Música Española VIII-IX (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1949). The manuscript has been more recently reported at Madrid, private library of Don Bartolomé March Servera, MS R. 6829. See *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, 5 vols., *Renaissance Manuscript Studies I* (Neuhausen and Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1979-1988), II: 131f. We cite this manuscript hereafter as MadM 6829.

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from church employment, and who set texts of the courtly-popular and contemporary literary traditions in a style that reflects both the strong legacy of Franco-Flemish polyphony as well as an awareness of recent developments in Italian secular music. Many of the questions surrounding the circumstances and direct incentives for the production of this repertory remain unanswered, but the number of concordant sources—apparently still not exhaustive—in both polyphonic manuscripts and instrumental intabulations points to widespread circulation. MadM 6829 thus appears not to contain a repertory that was the exclusive domain of its patron, but an anthology of secular polyphony that was known in middle-class circles as well as within the courtly echelons of Spanish society. Compared to both France and Italy, where the music printing trade was more highly developed, the repertory represented by the MadM 6829 manuscript must have circulated in manuscript copies. One *triple* partbook of such a collection has recently been located in the Museo Lázaro Galdiano in Madrid by Alejandro Iglesias.<sup>3</sup>

At a broader level, there is growing evidence about the extent to which polyphonic music circulated in sixteenth-century Spain. In the course of my own archival research into musical life in Valladolid in the second half of the sixteenth century, a number of documents have appeared that are clear evidence, at least, that some of the city's booksellers stocked a wide variety of imported and local polyphony. The most striking of these is a 1571 inventory of Jerónimo Rouillé, a merchant of presumably French origin, that shows a stock of multiple copies of music books of all genres.<sup>4</sup> Valued at over fifty thousand *maravedis*, the 153 inventoried volumes include, among the works with precise titles, fourteen volumes of masses, forty-five volumes of motets, hymns and other liturgical works, thirty-seven volumes of Italian madrigals and *villanesche alla napolitana*, fifteen volumes of French chansons, four books of polyphonic dance music, nine volumes of French tablatures for lute, guitar and cittern, and four volumes of French keyboard tablature. Among the better-known composers are volumes by Cadeac, Certon, Clemens non Papa, Colin, Contino, Ficino, Gombert, Goudimel, Jachet, Lambert, Lassus, Johannes Lupus, Maillard, Manchicourt, Mouton, Phinot, Richafort, Cipriano de Rore, Roussel, Ruffo, Sermisy, and Willaert. A less comprehensive inventory dating from 1595 is that of Ana Beléz, described as a printer and bookseller, and the widow of Bartolomé de Santo Domingo, that includes forty sets of polyphonic partbooks in addition to copies of Montanos, *Arte de música teórica y práctica* (Valladolid, 1587) and Fuenllana's *Orphénica Lyra* (Seville, 1554).<sup>5</sup> Books of polyphony are also found among the possessions of private individuals.

<sup>3</sup>Ref. 15411, sign. 648, entitled *Canciones Musicales por Cristóbal Cortés, Rodrigo Ordoñez, el maestro Navarro y otros. Año 1548*. I am grateful to Alejandro Iglesias for furnishing me with details and copies of this partbook.

<sup>4</sup>This document is located in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid. It was brought to my attention by researcher Anastasio Rojo Vega who provided me with a photocopy of the inventory which, unfortunately, we have been unable to relocate, and therefore cannot provide precise location details.

<sup>5</sup>Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid, Protocolos, legajo 695, ff. 169v-182v.

A 1596 inventory of the library of María de Zúñiga, wife of don Pedro de Laso, reveals ten volumes of the works of Orlando di Lasso, the motets of Guerrero, and five volumes of Franco-Flemish chansons among a broad collection of books in Latin, Spanish, Italian, and German.<sup>6</sup>

Beyond references such as these that indicate both a flourishing trade in music books and the domestic consumption of polyphony, it is the repertory included in printed instrumental tablatures that confirms a more widespread circulation of secular music than the polyphonic sources represent. The vihuela tablatures printed in the second half of the sixteenth century, Pisador's *Libro de música* (1552), Fuenllana's *Orphénica Lyra* (1554) and Daza's *El Parnasso* (1576), all include significant numbers of arrangements of Spanish secular vocal works. While Fuenllana was a professional musician employed in both the Castilian and Portuguese courts, Pisador and Daza were both amateur musicians whose anthologies reflect the musical tastes of the Spanish professional classes in Salamanca and Valladolid, two of the most prosperous and important cities of the realm. As I have argued elsewhere, the simplicity of vihuela tablature, the fact that it permitted sophisticated music to be played without requiring extensive prior musical training, and the size of the editions in which it was printed, all suggest that it was probably one of the principal ways in which the musically untrained bourgeoisie was able to enrich their musical experience within the domestic environment.<sup>7</sup>

Daza's book has particular relevance in the present context as it includes intabulations of seven works concordant with MadM 6829, including four by Rodrigo de Ceballos. With regard to Ceballos, Robert Snow indirectly acknowledges the probable fate of many sources of Spanish secular polyphony. The seven surviving secular works, he comments, "surely constitute but a small portion of those which Ceballos wrote", and he laments that "it seems unlikely that a significant number of additional secular works by him will ever be identified even if they are extant because most of the preserved sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century *cancioneros* already have been studied in detail and published."<sup>8</sup> It thus appears clear to him that not only are many sources likely to have been irretrievably lost, but also that anonymous secular works in Spanish manuscripts may be the work of prominent composers such as Ceballos, but will probably never be identified as such. In view of this, the purpose of the present study is to examine in detail two secular works by Ceballos that survive in Esteban Daza's vihuela tablature, to codify his intabulation technique and, on this basis, to reconstruct Ceballos' madrigal *Pues ya las claras fuentes* for which no complete polyphonic version survives. This latter task is made simpler by the conservation of the first *triple* of *Pues ya las claras fuentes* survives in Galdiano 15411, f. 15.

<sup>6</sup>Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid, Protocolos, legajo 438, ff. 318 ff.

<sup>7</sup>John Griffiths, "At Court and at Home with the Vihuela de Mano," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* XXII (1989), 1-27.

<sup>8</sup>Robert Snow, *The Extant Music of Rodrigo de Ceballos and its Sources*, Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography XLIV (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1980), p. 31.

*El Parnasso* was compiled by Esteban Daza in Valladolid during the period immediately preceding its publication in 1576. Some, but not all, of Daza's sources can be determined for the forty vocal works it contains. Six of the thirteen motet intabulations were drawn from Simon Boyleau's *Motetta nunquam hactenus impressa* (Venice, 1544). The close correspondence between Daza's intabulations and the 1544 print makes it likely that Daza had access to a copy of the Boyleau edition and that he worked directly from it. While vocal concordances have been located for the remaining seven motets, their compilation appears to have been eclectic and provides few clues to the sources upon which he drew.

Daza's secular anthology of twenty-seven works comprises one *romance*, thirteen Spanish madrigals, eleven villancicos, and two French chansons by Crecquillon and Clemens non Papa. The madrigals, all in four voices, are subdivided into two categories according to text type: three sonnet settings precede the ten *villanescas* that set texts of diverse forms.<sup>9</sup> The villancicos are presented with the three for three voices preceding those in four parts. Among the twenty-five intabulations of secular Spanish works, eleven are anonymous, and fourteen appear still to be unica. There are four works ascribed to Ceballos, three each by Juan Navarro and Francisco Guerrero, and two by Pedro Ordoñez.<sup>10</sup>

A situation parallel to that of the Boyleau motets possibly pertains to at least one group of Daza's secular intabulations, and may have broader ramifications concerning the circulation of manuscripts of secular music in Spain. Eight works in *El Parnasso* are concordant with Galdiano 15411, seven with MadM 6829, and six are common to the three sources. Comparing *El Parnasso* with Galdiano 15411, we find that not only are the versions of the *triple* parts virtually identical in their musical and textual content, but they occur in both sources in close proximity, almost as a contiguous group. This coincidence appears sufficient to propose that Daza must have worked from a manuscript source closely related to Galdiano 15411; it is unlikely that he worked directly from the Galdiano manuscript given his misattribution of *Esclarecida Juana* to Villalar while it is correctly attributed to Francisco Guerrero in Galdiano 15411.<sup>11</sup> The eight pieces occur between folios 77<sup>v</sup> and 94 of *El Parnasso* and between ff. 14 and 30 of Galdiano 15411. Ordoñez's *Ay fortuna cruel* is separated in *El Parnasso* from the other works as its text is a sonnet, but otherwise, in the group from numbers 41-48, the only Daza intabulation not in Galdiano 15411 is number 44, *Adios verde ribera* by Francisco Guerrero. Table 1 shows these concordances and their source foliation, together with those from MadM 6829.

<sup>9</sup>The term *villanesca* was used in Spain to designate the local equivalent of the madrigal. The term was probably imported by way of Spanish Naples, and adopted perhaps by individuals who were unaware of the difference between the popular *villanesca alla napoletana* and the more serious madrigal.

<sup>10</sup>Howard Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967) contains a detailed inventory.

<sup>11</sup>Guerrero included this work in his *Canciones y Villanescas Espirituales* (Venice, 1589) in a version *a lo divino* as *Esclarecida Madre*.

The relationship between the three sources adds further weight to the hypothesis of related provenance and transmission, even though the relationships between MadM 6829 and *El Parnasso* are not quite as strong. Of the seven concordant works, the three Ceballos works and Navarro's *No ves amor* were copied into the MadM 6829 immediately following a group of *fabordones* and other liturgical works that occupy ff. 107<sup>v</sup>-129. *Quán bienaventurado* is copied on ff. 129<sup>v</sup>-130 and then *Duro mal terrible llanto*, *Dime manso viento* and *No ves amor* occur as a contiguous sequence on ff. 134<sup>v</sup>-137. The first two of these works also occur in the same sequence in *El Parnasso*. The fact that *Ay de mí sin ventura* and several other works were copied twice into the MadM 6829 suggests that its compilation was not carried out as a single exercise by the same scribes. Without having examined the manuscript physically and merely judging by the order of contents, it is tempting to speculate that the portion from f. 129<sup>v</sup> forwards may represent a layer in some way connected to Galdiano 15411, and part of the repertory that somehow reached Daza's hands in Valladolid.<sup>12</sup> Notwithstanding, there is a case to be made that the works indicated in Table 1 are possibly all of close provenance, in a related musical style, and from a common manuscript tradition.

Daza was a precise and methodical craftsman. As an intabulator, he provided instrumental short scores of his vocal models, modified only minimally for instrumental setting. All the works he arranged were treated according to the same criteria. His tablature highlights one voice

Table 1. Concordances between *El Parnasso*, Galdiano 15411, and MadM 6829

<i>El Parnasso</i> [work] & folio	Title and composer	Galdiano 15411 folio	MadM 6829 folio
[38] f. 77 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Ay fortuna cruel</i> , Ordoñez	22 <sup>v</sup> -23	
[40] f. 81 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Quán bienaventurado</i> , Ceballos		129 <sup>v</sup> -130
[41] f. 83	<i>Prado verde y florido</i> , F. Guerrero	21 <sup>v</sup>	64 <sup>v</sup> -65
[42] f. 84	<i>Pues ya las claras fuentes</i> , Ceballos	15	
[43] f. 85 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Ay de mí sin ventura</i> , Navarro	28 <sup>v</sup> -29	43 <sup>v</sup> -44; 151 <sup>v</sup> -152
[45] f. 89	<i>No ves amor</i> , Navarro	28	136 <sup>v</sup> -137
[46] f. 90 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Esclarecida Juana</i> , F. Guerrero	30	189 <sup>v</sup> -190
[47] f. 91 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Duro mal terrible llanto</i> , Ceballos	17	134 <sup>v</sup> -135
[48] f. 93	<i>Dime manso viento</i> , Ceballos	14 <sup>v</sup>	135 <sup>v</sup> -136

<sup>12</sup>Querol remarks only that about eighty percent of the manuscript appears to be the work of one scribe, and that several other hands are evident. *Cancionero musical* I: 11.

in each work for singing by the use of *puntillos* (apostrophes at the top right of the relevant figures), he barred all his intabulations in semibreve units, and he also indicated the pitch relationship between the vocal model and the strings of the vihuela for most works. By careful comparison of his intabulations to their polyphonic models, his working method can be accurately reconstructed. Firstly, he had to decide where on the vihuela to place these vocal works and which voice to highlight with *puntillos* for singing. In the course of intabulating, it became necessary to make other decisions concerning the alteration of durations of notes, chromatic inflections, and so forth.

The placement of music on the vihuela is a topic explained in detail by Bermudo and discussed in depth in scholarly literature.<sup>13</sup> Daza worked in a way that accords closely to Bermudo, but the subtleties of his intabulation technique provide further insights.<sup>14</sup> Daza placed music on the vihuela taking into account three main elements: the range of the music, the sonority of the instrument, and the ease with which the music could be played. He explained the majority of his decisions in the rubrics that preface his intabulations by specifying the intersection of fret and string at which the note of the C or F clef was located. By calculating the pitch of the vihuela's open outer strings (there is two octaves between them) these rubrics indicate the theoretical pitch of the instrument equivalent to Bermudo's vihuelas in Gama-ut, A-re, B-mi, C-faut, D-solre, E-lami, and F-faut, in reality, all the same instrument.

In making these decisions, the total range of the musical texture was the principal factor. The standard range of the vihuela, according to the practice of using up to the tenth fret on the first course, is one tone short of three octaves. In the case of works with a range of more than two octaves and a fourth, there was little option but to place the lowest note on the open sixth (lowest) course, or on the second fret, although Daza never chose this latter option. Works of broad range are placed with the lowest note on the open sixth course, and extend upwards until the fifth, seventh, ninth, or tenth frets of the highest string. Daza opted for this relationship between instrument and model in seventeen of his forty intabulations. In thirteen of them the lowest note of the bass was also the root of the final chord; in the other five instances, where the bass voice was in a plagal mode, the final root was located on the fifth course, either open or at the second fret.

Where the range of the vocal work was smaller, of around two octaves, Daza preferred to place his music so as to use the higher register

<sup>13</sup>Juan Bermudo *Declaracion de Instrumentos Musicales...* (Osuna: 1555); facsimile ed., Macario Kastner, ed., *Documenta Musicologica XI* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957), ff. 98v-108. See also John Ward, "The 'Vihuela de mano' and its Music, 1536-1576" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1953), pp. 100-10; and Antonio Corona-Alcalde "Fray Juan Bermudo and his Seven Vihuelas," *The Lute XXIV* (1984), 77-86.

<sup>14</sup>Antonio Corona-Alcalde "On the Manipulation of Intabulation: a proposed Transposition of 3 Fantasias by Esteban Daza", *Lute Society of America Quarterly XXVI/4* (1991), 4-11. Corona deals with the same issue of Daza's choice of tunings in the context of his Fantasias. In note 11 of that article he, too, speculates that instrumental sonority may have been an influencing factor.

rather than the lower, even if the resulting intabulation might have been less comfortable to play. On the first course, Daza's range usually extends beyond the third fret; most commonly it goes to the seventh, eighth, ninth, or tenth fret. Given the difficulty that some of these intabulations present to the performer, I suspect his choice may have been acoustically determined and related to the nature and quality of sixteenth-century instruments and strings. Although no evidence has come to light concerning the manufacture of strings in Spain, the bass strings of the vihuela were certainly not overspun and, unless the density of the gut was increased by techniques such as chemical loading or twisting of multiple strands that were practiced elsewhere in Europe, their thickness and diminished elasticity would have severely limited their sonority. Compared with the sounds we are familiar with in the twentieth century, the tone quality of the bass would have had neither the same loudness nor richness of sound. Daza's intabulation of Ceballos' *Pues ya las claras fuentes* is one example of works where the sixth course is not used at all.

The third factor was that of player comfort. Daza placed his music to make use of standard left-hand chord configurations of the vihuela, particularly those which used open strings abundantly. In terms of their fingering configurations, these correspond to the chord shapes common in pieces in G major and G minor on the lute (in standard G-tuning), C major and minor, E-flat and F major. They are essentially the same chord configurations that have been used by guitarists from the seventeenth century to the present day in both popular and concert music: the equivalents of E and A major or minor, C major and D major.

Daza could have determined the voice to indicate with *puntillos* at any stage of the intabulation process. In his motet arrangements, his preference was for the lower voices. He "pointed" the tenor voice on six occasions and the bass voice five times, choosing the superius only twice and never the alto. By contrast, the *tiple* is the chosen voice in twenty-two of the Spanish secular works. His reasons must surely have been made on musical grounds. The secular works are mostly treble dominated, either by virtue of the predominantly declamatory style of the madrigals and the quasi-popular melodies of many of the villancicos. The motets, on the other hand, show a much more equal treatment of each voice of the contrapuntal web. It is also to be presumed that for the sung performance of intabulations, the vihuelist was also the singer. Daza himself, or any other male performer, would have sung his intabulations using his natural voice for tenor and bass parts, and the treble lines either in falsetto or at a lower octave. The use of falsetto for singing to the vihuela is suggested by Valderrábano in the opening of his third book.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup>Valderrábano presents a collection of original songs and intabulations of motets, villancicos, and other works printed with an upper voice on a separate mensural staff and a specific indication for the vihuelist to sing them in falsetto (*para cantar en falsete*). *Silva de sirenas* (Valladolid: 1547), f. 26v.

Ceballos' madrigals *Quán bienaventurado* and *Pues ya las claras fuentes* provide appropriate models to explain the inner details of Daza's intabulation technique.<sup>16</sup> Like the majority of works in the MadM 6829 *cancionero*, they both are composed for two *tiples*, alto and tenor. For the first work, the MadM 6829 polyphony provides a point of comparison, while the Galdiano *tiple* is of assistance in *Pues ya las claras fuentes*. In his instrumental versions of these two works are to be found examples of most of the adaptive practices that he consistently used throughout *El Parnasso*. These modifications are a result of his knowledge of the practice of *musica ficta*, the sonority of the vihuela, instrumental technique and instrumental limitations, and the characteristics of tablature notation.

Tablature notation, by specifying each note as a fret position on a string, is chromatically specific. It is thus of great value in determining the practice of *musica ficta*.<sup>17</sup> In *Quán bienaventurado*, as with all his other intabulations, Daza is consistent in his application of standard principles, resolving melodic and harmonic tritones and sharpening cadential leading-tones. With regard to the resolution of cadences, in their essential form as a two-part progression from sixth to octave, Daza opts most frequently for the sharpened leading-tone rather than for a flatted lower part. In general terms, his application of *ficta* makes it clear that sharpened leading-tones were more familiar to his ear than many of the flatted lower parts that are suggested in numerous modern editions of Spanish polyphony, more in line with standard European practices than romanticized notions of Andalusianisms. His *ficta* in *Quán bienaventurado* confirms that the general tone of that applied by Querol in his edition of the MadM 6829 manuscript, although there are some notable differences that alter the color of certain passages. In the setting of the second half of the first line of Garcilaso's text "aquél puede llamarse" (Ex. 4, mm. 7-13), Querol, like Daza, suggests B-flats in the second *tiple* and tenor parts to mirror the E-F semitone of the first *tiple* and alto. Daza goes further than this, however, and inflects the Cs in this pair of voices upwards as sharpened leading-tones. In other instances that are more ambivalent, Daza opts for the leading-tone resolution. In the syncopated homophony of "ni la soberbia puerta" (Ex. 2, mm. 51-54) where a sixth-to-octave progression occurs between *tiple 2* and alto (m. 53), Daza elects to add sharps in the *tiple 2* part to F and G rather than flattening the alto B. Note

<sup>16</sup>*Quán bienaventurado* is published in Querol, *Cancionero Musical II*: 54-57. The following examples draw from Querol's transcription, while the transcription of Daza's arrangement is my own. Querol's transcription preserves the original note values of the manuscript. Similarly, I have retained the original values of the Daza version.

<sup>17</sup>See Robert Tofts, *Aural Images of Lost Traditions: Sharps and Flats in the Sixteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992). This is an area that scholars of vocal music have been reluctant to investigate. Tablature sources reflect the extent to which instrumental practice concords with theoretical writings, local or regional habits, as well as changes in taste from one generation to the next.

Example 1. Ceballos, *Quán bienaventurado*, mm. 7-13

Example 2. Ceballos, *Quán bienaventurado*, mm 51-54

Example 3. Ceballos, *Quán bienaventurado*, mm. 91-97

91 97

Vihuela (in B)

Tiple 1  
gir, te - mer y es - tar que - xo - so.

Tiple 2  
fin - gir, te - mer y es - tar que - xo - so.

Alto  
fin - gir, te - mer y es - tar que - xo - so.

Tenor  
fin - gir, te - mer y es - tar que - xo - so.

also that this measure shows a variant in *tiple 2* between Daza's version and the MadM 6829 reading, with E replacing G in mm. 52-53, and Daza has added a D in the tenor at the end of m. 53. A similar alteration occurs in the final cadence of the work (Ex. 3) where Daza strengthens the sense of the interrupted cadence in measure 94 by using F-sharp, perhaps facilitated by a variant version of *tiple 2*, where Daza's source appears to not have included the B that occurs on the second beat of the MadM 6829 reading. Daza then proceeds to the final cadence, again using a sharpened leading tone G-sharp rather than the flatted tenor B recommended by Querol, significantly changing the color of the final progression.

Resulting from the inability of the vihuela's plucked strings to sustain the sonority of long notes, one of Daza's standard procedures was to reiterate notes of longer duration than a semibreve. This was also a product of tablature notation where barlines divide the music into semibreve tactus units. Accordingly, dotted semibreves are altered to a semibreve plus a minim; breves become two equal semibreves, and with less frequency, semibreves are also reduced to two minims. Daza was less likely, however, to divide longer notes that form part of a suspension. Example 4, measures 19-28 of *Quán bienaventurado*, shows examples of these alteration practices. The alto and tenor breves in the vocal version (mm. 21-22) are divided by Daza, the dotted whole note in *tiple 1* (mm. 23-24) is replaced with three half notes, and the corresponding *tiple 2* note is substituted by a whole-note and a half-note pair. The whole-note

Example 4. Ceballos, *Quán bienaventurado*, mm. 19-28

19 28

Vihuela (in B)

Tiple 1  
dad se a - bra - ça y

Tiple 2  
dad se a - bra - ça y

Alto  
bra ça

Tenor  
se a - bra ça

bi - be des - cuy - da - do

bi - be des - cuy - da - do

y bi - be des - cuy - da - do

ya le - xos de en - pa - char

E in the alto (mm. 25-26) is divided into two half notes, while the following whole-note F is left unchanged as it forms a suspension resolved on the following beat.



One of the aspects of mensural notation least adaptable to tablature is the problem of how to handle syncopations that go over the barline, and how and when to use notated rests. This is the area where Daza appears to be the least predictable, and where recourse to his polyphonic models is invaluable in the transcription of his tablature. The most predictable instances relate to his transcription of vocal homophony. Four-part consonances with the duration of a dotted semibreve translate into chords of a semibreve and a minim reiterated at the beginning of the following tablature measure, such as occurs in mm. 2-3 of *Quán bienaventurado*. In performance, the vihuelist may restrike the chord or leave the previous chord sounding, having understood the intabulator's code. In other cases, where a minim rest is intended in all voices before a new entry, Daza clearly places a rest in the tablature. Regarding other syncopations, the type that Daza dealt with most consistently is the Spanish commonplace of two semibreve units syncopated into 3 + 3 + 2 semiminims. Particularly in homophonic passages such as mm. 52-53 of *Quán bienaventurado* (Example 2 above), Daza's method of notation avoids rests or ties, simply having one measure with a total value of five semiminims followed by another of three semiminims. His tablature corresponding to the syncopated passage of *Quán bienaventurado* is given as Example 5a.

Syncopations and rests occur in *Pues ya las claras fuentes* less consistently. To some extent, the sense of the underlaid text can assist in decoding the tablature, although reference to the surviving Galdiano *triple* makes his procedure considerably clearer in this instance. Four times in this work (Example 8, mm. 1, 2, 8 and 16) Daza inserts a semiminim rest at the beginning of a tablature measure. In each of these cases, the Galdiano *triple* gives the minim prior to Daza's rest as dotted. Example 5b shows the opening six measures of Daza's tablature corresponding to measure 1-3 of the transcription. There are various other places in the transcription where rests appear in other parts. In most cases the number of notes in individual consonances suggests these rests: absent voices are understood to be silent, particularly if a note on one beat is not consonant with the chord on the next. The opening imitative duo, where no notes precede the alto-tenor duo, is the most obvious example. However, there are always places where the solutions are not so obvious, but where the careful reconstruction of the polyphony is helpful in suggesting when notes are to be dotted or when the insertion of rests is prudent. In the tablature measure corresponding to the second half of measure 12 of the polyphonic reconstruction, for example, Daza's notation (Example 5c) does not use rests, given that the *triple 2* and tenor parts have the duration of a half note. The Galdiano *triple*, however, uses a rest between the two Gs of the *triple*, which I have replicated in the alto, in light of the duo writing. By extension, in measure 20, eighth-note rests have been chosen in the *triple 2* and alto parts rather than dotted quarter notes at the beginning of the measure. This is in line with the polyphonic practice of preceding new entries with rests, and it is also consistent with the *triple 1*

imitation in the following measure that agrees with the notation in Galdiano 15411.

Daza was indeed sparing with ornamentation and other editorial additions. He is readily identifiable with Bermudo and Fuenllana who were critical of those who sought to improve upon the art of greater masters.<sup>18</sup> Fuenllana was also guided by practical considerations and agrees in both word and deed with Daza's practice. With the exception of cadential passages, he notes the difficulty of glossing intabulations on the vihuela due to the physical constraints that the instruments imposes.<sup>19</sup>

Daza is sparing even in the addition of cadential decorations. No ornamentation is added to either *Quán bienaventurado* or *Pues ya las claras fuentes*. He was more inclined to gloss opening phrases, exposed duos, or slow moving expansive textures. Such an instance occurs in the opening gesture of Ceballos' *Duro mal, terrible llanto*, where the opening tenor note is lengthened, passing notes are added to both tipples, and a cadential turn decorates the alto to enhance a highly effective passage of vocal writing that otherwise would be reduced to blandness by literal

Example 5a. Ceballos/Daza, *Quán bienaventurado*, tablature mm. 51-54



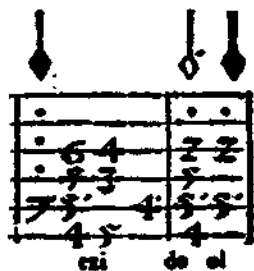
Example 5b. Ceballos/Daza, *Pues ya las claras fuentes*, tablature, mm. 1-6



<sup>18</sup>Bermudo, *Declaración*, ff. 29<sup>v</sup> and 84<sup>v</sup>; Fuenllana, *Orphénica lyra*, introductory f. v. Also see John Ward, "The 'vihuela de mano' and its Music" pp. 100 ff; and Lee Eubank, "Spanish Intabulations in the Sixteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1974).

<sup>19</sup>Fuenllana, *Orphénica lyra*, introductory f. v.

Example 5c. Ceballos/Daza, *Pues ya las claras fuentes*, tablature, mm. 23-24



translation (Example 6 below). In other places he was also occasionally wont to add passing notes, especially when a semibreve is followed by a skip of a third, as occurs in the tenor in measure 95 of *Quán bienaventurado*. (See Example 3 above.)

Other additions for expressive purposes are infrequent. One of Daza's uncharacteristically flamboyant gestures occurs at the climax of Pedro Ordoñez's setting of the sonnet *Ay, mudo soy, hablar no puedo*, where he adds an ascending scale in the *tiple* to arrive at the upper D, the highest note in the piece and the opening of the final tercet of the text (Example 7 below). In view of this, his addition of a more temperate passing note in the second *tiple* of *Quán bienaventurado* preceding the Phrygian cadence in measure 21 may well have been added as dramatic enhancement (Example 4 above). In both cases, it reveals an intabulator who was conscious of the rhetorical significance of the poetry he was handling and who saw intabulation as more than a mechanical task. With even less frequency, Daza lowered the final bass note of works by an octave, apparently for purely instrumental reasons. This occurs at the end of several of the motet intabulations.

Daza had a highly developed knowledge of the fingerboard of the vihuela and of the possible alternative fingerings of chords in various positions along it. He was no doubt mindful of the possibilities relating to each piece when making his initial decisions about where to place it on the vihuela. There are infrequent instances, however, where a particular vertical combination of notes from a vocal composition cannot physically be reproduced on the vihuela. In such instances, Daza resolves the difficulty simply by omitting a single note. As these are fleeting and occur most frequently in chordal passages or dense polyphony, they are generally undetectable in performance.

As Daza's intabulations were made systematically and with a high degree of accuracy, it is possible to reconstruct with reasonable certainty those works whose polyphonic models have been lost. In homage to Robert Snow, for his dedication to Spanish and Hispanic music

Example 6. Ceballos, *Duro mal, terrible llanto*, mm. 1-8

Example 7, Ordoñez, *Ay mudo soy hablar no puedo*, mm. 44-49

and for the generosity that has always accompanied his scholarly endeavor, I offer the following reconstruction of *Pues ya las claras fuentes*. It is the only known Ceballos secular work with no complete polyphonic source, decoded here from Daza's reading on the basis of the foregoing



analysis of his intabulation technique and in conjunction with the recently located *triple* part in Galdiano 15411.

The setting of *Pues ya las claras fuentes* is direct and effective. The nine verses of anonymous poetry are crafted in the Italianate pastoral style, and with clear Petrarchan echoes. The imagery is naturalistic; water images in the first quatrain depict both purity and the force of nature, while the remainder of the text associates the anti-instinctive behavior of

Pues ya las claras fuentes,  
los caudalosos rios,  
al triste son de los suspiros mios  
detienen sus corrientes.  
Las aves d' este ejido  
olvidan el su nido  
de mi compañía y mal también  
dolientes,  
porque cruel pastora,  
tu condición jamás no se mejora.

Just as the crystal fountains,  
the flooding rivers  
hold back their currents  
at the sad tune of my sighs.  
The wild birds of this common  
remove their nests  
from my company and woes, suf-  
fering also because your condition,  
cruel shepherdess, will never ever  
improve.

birds abandoning their nests at the poet's own despair, revealing the fickleness of his lover who is portrayed as an Arcadian shepherdess. The structural scheme of the poem—a<sup>7</sup> b<sup>7</sup> b<sup>11</sup> a<sup>7</sup> c<sup>7</sup> c<sup>7</sup> a<sup>11</sup> d<sup>7</sup> d<sup>11</sup>—shows customary hepta- and hendecasyllabic lines, but the verse structure is otherwise uncommon among poems set to music in the sixteenth century.

The musical setting identifies closely with both Ceballos' other works and with the prevalent Spanish madrigal style. It uses a variety of textures, predominated by homophonic declamation and simple tonal organization, akin to the Italian madrigal style of the Arcadelt generation. Homophony and animated homophony alternates with textures using imitative voice pairs, with the greatest amount of imitation and text repetition being reserved for the final verse which occupies almost one third of the piece. This final section is also noteworthy for the manner in which the four voices are compressed into a narrow register and for the voice crossings that contrast with the preceding clear textural stratification. The setting with an S S A T configuration was one of the most favored combinations of ranges in Spanish secular music, and the one that predominates in MadM 6829. This makes the range quite high, although the tablature version in Daza's book would sound a fourth lower than the present transcription if played on the *vihuela común* in G tuning.

Regarding the polyphonic reconstruction, few specific comments need to be made in addition to the general criteria established above. The rubric to the piece in *El Parnasso* specifies "*Otra villanesca a quatro de Zaballos, señalase la clau de C solfaut en la quarta en segundo traste, y señalase la voz del tiple con vnos puntillos*" [another four-part villanesca by Ceballos, showing the C-clef on the fourth course at the second fret, and showing the *tiple* with *puntillos*]. The clef indication gives a vihuela in C, the outer strings of the vihuela an octave above and below the pitch located by the rubric. Daza's pointed *tiple* corresponds with remarkable exactitude to that in Galdiano 15411. There is only one small pitch dis-

crepancy. In measure 22, Daza's tablature appears to misplace two *puntillos*, placing them on the notes corresponding to the second and third notes of *tiple* 2. At this point, the Galdiano reading has been followed, as the most frequent errors in Daza's tablature concern the placement of *puntillos*, particularly at points where voice crossing occurs. Daza's chromatic alterations have been left within the staves rather than placing them above as editorial *musica ficta*. The B-naturals in measures 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 22, and the F-sharp in measure 18 presumably would not have been notated by Ceballos in his original polyphonic version. The transcription reduces the note values to half their original duration.

The literary text in both sources similarly presents only minor differences, spelling variants customary in Spanish orthography of the time.<sup>20</sup> For the purposes of the edition, I have used regularized modern spelling and diacritical accents. The underlay of the lower voices presents few difficulties given that many phrases are set homophonically or are based on clearly identifiable imitative motives.

<sup>20</sup>Daza's version reads: *Pues ya las claras fuentes / los caudalosos rios / al triste son de los suspiros mios / detienen sus corrientes / las aves deste exido / olvidan el su nido / de mi cõpañia y mal tambien dolientes / porque cruel pastora / tu condicion jamas no se mejora*. The Galdiano 15411 version, however, reads: *Pues ya las claras fuentes / los caudalosos rios / al triste son de los sospiros mios / detienen sus corrientes / las aves deste jido / olvidan el su nido / de mi companã y mal tambien dolientes / porã cruel pastora / tu condicion jamas no se mejora*.

Example 8. Rodrigo de Ceballos, *Pues ya las claras fuentes*. Polyphonic reconstruction after tablature by Esteban Daza, *El Parnasso* (1576). Transcribed and edited by John Griffiths.

Tiple 1  
Pues ya la cla-ras fuen-tes, Pues ya las cla-ras fuen - tes,

Tiple 2  
Pues ya las cla-ras fuen-tes, Pues ya las cla-ras fuen-tes,

Alto  
Pues ya las cla-ras fuen - tes,

Tenor  
Pues ya las cla-ras fuen - tes,

Pues ya las cla - ras fuen - tes, los cau-da - lo-sos ri -  
cla-ras fuen - tes, las cla-ras fuen - tes, los cau-da-lo - sos ri -  
Pues, pues ya las cla-ras fuen - tes, los cau-da-lo - sos ri -  
Pues, pues ya las cla-ras fuen - tes, los cau-da-lo - sos ri -

os al tris-te son de los sus - pi - ros mi - os, de-tie-nen sus cor-rien -  
os, al tris-te son de los sus-pi - ros mi - os, de-tie-nen sus cor - rien -  
os, al tris-te son de los sus - pi - ros mi - os,  
os, al tris-te son de los sus - pi - ros mi - os,

Example 8, cont'd

tes. Las a-ves d'e-ste e - ji - do, ol -  
tes, de-tie-nen sus cor - rien - tes. Las a-ves d'e - ste e - ji - do,  
de tie-nen sus cor-rien - tes. Las a-ves d'e - ste e - ji - do, ol -  
de - tie-nen sus cor-rien - tes. Las a-ves d'e - ste e - ji - do,

vi-dan el su ni - do, ol - bi-dan el su ni - do, de  
ol - vi-dan el su ni - do, ol - vi-dan el su ni - do, de  
vi - dan el su ni - do, ol - vi - dan el su ni - do, de  
ol - vi-dan el su ni-do, ol - vi-dan el su ni - do, de

mi com - pa - ña y mal tam - bién do-lien - tes. por-que cru - el pas - to -  
mi com - pa - ña y mal tam - bién do-lien - tes. por-que cru - el pas - to -  
mi com - pa - ña y mal tam - bién do-lien - tes. por - que cru - el pas - to -  
mi com - pa - ña y mal tam - bién do-lien - tes, por - que,

## Example 8, cont'd

ra, por-que cru-el pas-to - ra, mi con-di-ción ja-más no se me-

jo-ra, no se me-jo - ra mi con-di-ción ja-más no se me-

jo-ra, no se me-jo - ra, no se me-jo - ra.

Juan Ruiz Jiménez

## PATRONAZGO MUSICAL EN LA CAPILLA REAL DE GRANADA DURANTE EL SIGLO XVI. 1.- LOS MUSICOS PREBENDADOS

La trascendencia de los maestros de capilla y organistas de la Capilla Real de Granada, a lo largo del siglo XVI, ha hecho que numerosos musicólogos se hayan acercado a ella para intentar documentar su paso por esta institución. Los resultados, en general, han sido bastante parcos, ya que las actas capitulares correspondientes a este período, una de las fuentes principales para su estudio, han desaparecido.<sup>1</sup> Al revisar los trabajos realizados, vemos como estos se limitan, en su mayor parte, a recopilar los datos que han podido establecerse sobre sus maestros de capilla y organistas, pero han dejado de lado, en gran medida, un estudio global de la estructura y funcionamiento de esta capilla musical. A estos estudios tenemos que añadir el catálogo de su librería musical, elaborado por José López Calo, y la transcripción y edición de las composiciones de sus maestros de capilla, aparecidas en diferentes monografías.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A excepción de unos autos capitulares fragmentarios del año 1559, estos no empiezan a tener continuidad hasta 1597.

<sup>2</sup> Edmond vander Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 8 vols., (Bruselas: G. A. Tright, 1867-1888); José López Calo, "El Archivo de Música de la Capilla Real de Granada", *Anuario Musical* 13 (1958): 103-128; José López Calo, *La Música en la Catedral de Granada en el siglo XVI*, 2 vols., (Granada: Fundación Rodríguez-Acosta, 1963); José López Calo, "Anónimo (¿Ambrosio de Cotes?): cuatro piezas instrumentales del siglo XVI", *Tesoro Sacro Musical* 53 (1970): 3-5 (con transcripción en una separata de 20 páginas); José López Calo, "El Archivo de Música de la Capilla Real de Granada", *Anuario Musical* 26 (1971): 213-235; José López Calo, "El Archivo de Música de la Capilla Real de Granada", *Anuario Musical* 27 (1972): 203-227; Dionisio Preciado, *Alonso de Tejada (ca. 1556-1628), polifonista español. Obras completas*, 2 vols., (Madrid: Alpuerto, 1974); José María Soler García, *El polifonista villenense Ambrosio de Cotes* (Alicante: Diputación

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